

**HEARING THE VOICELESS – SEEING THE INVISIBLE:
ORPHANS AND DESTITUTE CHILDREN AS ACTORS OF SOCIAL,
ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL HISTORY
IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE**

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**SABANCI UNIVERSITY
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**by
NAZAN MAKSUDYAN**

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History
in the Institute of Social Sciences**

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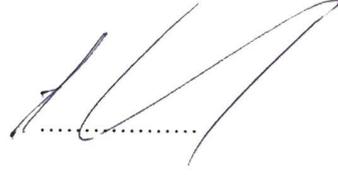
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ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL HISTORY IN THE LATE OTTOMAN
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*To my Great Grandmother, Antaram,
who resisted wilting in a cruel world that orphaned her,
and who had the courage and strength to start life anew*

ABSTRACT

HEARING THE VOICELESS – SEEING THE INVISIBLE: ORPHANS AND DESTITUTE CHILDREN AS ACTORS OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL HISTORY IN THE LATE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Nazan Maksudyan
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This dissertation is on the orphans and destitute children of the late Ottoman Empire and their role in various aspects of social, economic, and political history. The attempt is to see and hear these essentially invisible and voiceless actors, since the testimony of children provide an alternative gaze to different and unnoticed discourses and developments of Ottoman reform period. In the nineteenth century, unprotected children attracted the attention of the state, provincial governments and municipalities, the non-Muslim communities, and the missionaries. The motivation and discourse, on the one hand, was related to the desire to *save* children from the dangers to which they were prey, such as losing or being alienated to one's ethno-religious identity, being sold into slavery, sexual abuse and exploitation, juvenile criminality, prostitution, health problems, death, conversion, and apostasy. More importantly, these threats were targeting the public, political, and economic order of the society. The attention towards orphans and destitute children was also related to the *opportunities* they offered: these children were seen as candidates to become laborious workers, ardent nationalists/citizens, or staunch converts/believers. It was this *hidden potential* that placed the orphans at the center of significant social and political controversies of nineteenth century. The dissertation, taking a different group of destitute children as the protagonist in each chapter – foundlings, foster daughters, inmates of industrial orphanages (*islâhhanes*), and orphans of an ethnic conflict – elaborates upon various aspects of Ottoman modernization, such as urbanization, welfare policies, growth of urban child labor, imagined statehood and nationhood, from within the agency of children.

Keywords: Orphans, orphanages, welfare policies, child labor, modernization

ÖZET

SESSİZİ DUYMAK – GÖRÜNMEZİ GÖRMEK: GEÇ OSMANLI İMPARATORLUĞU'NDA TOPLUMSAL, EKONOMİK, VE SİYASİ TARİHİN ÖZNELERİ OLARAK YETİMLER VE KİMSESİZ ÇOCUKLAR

Nazan Maksudyan
Tarih, Doktora Tezi
Danışman: Selçuk Akşin Somel
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Bu doktora tezi Geç Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yetimler ve kimsesiz çocuklar ve onların toplumsal, ekonomik ve siyasi tarihteki çeşitli rolleri üzerinedir. Amaç, esasında görünmez ve duyulmaz olan bu aktörleri görmek ve duymaktır, zira çocukların tanıklığı Osmanlı yenileşme döneminin farklı ve gözden kaçmış söylemlerine ve gelişmelerine alternatif bir bakış açısı sağlar. On dokuzuncu yüzyılda, korunmasız çocuklar devletin, yerel yönetimlerin ve belediyelerin, gayri-müslim cemaatlerin ve misyonerlerin ilgisini çekmiştir. Motivasyon ve söylem, bir yandan çocukları kolayca yem olacakları, etnik-dini kimliklerini kaybetmek, köleleştirilmek, cinsel istismar ve sömürü, çocuk suçluluğu, fahişelik, sağlık sorunları, ölüm, ihtida ve irtidad gibi tehlikelerden kurtarma arzusuyla ilintiliydi. Ancak daha da önemlisi bu tehditler toplumun kamusal, siyasi ve ekonomik düzenini hedef alıyordu. Yetimlere ve kimsesiz çocuklara yöneltilen ilginin diğer bir sebebi çocukların sunduğu *fırsatlardı*: yetimler, çalışkan işçiler, gayretli milliyetçiler/vatandaşlar, sadık mühtediler/inananlar olmaya aday olarak görülmekteydi. İşte bu *gizli potansiyelleri* yetimleri on dokuzuncu yüzyılın önemli toplumsal ve siyasi çatışmalarının ortasına yerleştirmişti. Her bölümde farklı bir kimsesiz çocuk grubunu – terk edilmiş çocuklar, beslemeler, ıslâhhanelerdeki çocuklar, etnik çatışma yetimleri – baş oyuncu olarak ele alan bu doktora tezi, Osmanlı modernleşmesinin çeşitli cephelerini çocukları özne kabul ederek değerlendirmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Yetimler, yetimhaneler, yardım politikaları, çocuk işgücü, modernleşme

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of Institutions, Books, and Documents

A. AMD.	BEO Amedi Kalemi
A. DVN.	BEO Divân (Beylikçi) Kalemi Belgeleri
A. MKT.	BEO Sadaret Evrakı Mektubi Kalemi
A. MKT. DV.	BEO Sadaret Evrakı Mektubi Kalemi-Deavi
A. MKT. MHM.	BEO Sadaret Evrakı Mektubi Mühimme Kalemi
A. MKT. MVL.	BEO Sadaret Evrakı Mektubi Mühimme-Meclis-i Vala
A. MKT. UM.	BEO Sadaret Evrakı Mektubi Kalemi-Umum Vilayat
ABA	American Board Archives
ABC	Archives of Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ACM	<i>Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission</i>
AMAE	Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères
BEO	Bab-ı Ali Evrak Odası
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
C. ADL.	Cevdet Adliye
C. BEL.	Cevdet Belediye
C. DH.	Cevdet Dahiliyye
C. MF.	Cevdet Maarif
C. ML.	Cevdet Maliye
C. ZB.	Cevdet Zabtiyye
DH. EUM. 5. ŞB.	Dahiliye Nezareti Beşinci Şube
DH. EUM. ADL.	Dahiliye Nezareti Takibat-ı Adliye Kalemi
DH. EUM. ECB.	Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Ecanib Kalemi
DH. EUM.	Emniyet-i Umumiye
DH. EUM. THR.	Dahiliye Nezareti Tahrirat Kalemi
DH. EUM. KLU.	Dahiliye Nezareti Kalem-i Umumi
DH. EUM. MH.	Dahiliye Nezareti Kalem-i Mahsûs

DH. EUM. MTK.	Dahiliye Nezareti Muhaberât Ve Tensîkât Müdüriyeti
DH. EUM.VRK.	Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdiriyeti Evrak Odası Belgeleri
DH. İD.	Dahiliye Nezareti İdare
DH. MB. HPS.	Mebânî-i Emîriye Ve Hapishâneler Müdüriyeti
DH. MKT.	Dahiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî
DH. MUİ.	Dahiliye Nezareti Muhaberât-ı Umumiye İdaresi
DH. TMIK. S.	Dahiliye Nezareti Tesri-i Muamelat ve Islahat Komisyonu
DH. UMVM.	Dahiliye Nezareti Umûr-ı Mahalliye-i Vilâyât Müdüriyeti
HH.	Hatt-ı Hümayun
HR. MKT.	Hariciye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemî
HR. SYS.	Hariciye Siyasi Kısım
HR. TO.	Tercüme Odası
İ. DF.	İrade, Defter-i Hakani
İ. DH.	İrade, Dahiliye
İ. EVKAF.	İrade, Evkâf
İ. HB.	İrade, Harbiye
İ. HR.	İrade, Hariciye
İ. HUS.	İrade, Hususi
İ. MF.	İrade, Maarif
İ. MMS.	İrade, Meclis-i Mahsus
İ. MTZ. CL.	İrade, Cebel-i Lübnan
İ. MTZ. GR.	İrade, Girid
İ. MVL.	İrade, Meclis-i Vâlâ
İ. ŞD.	İrade, Şura-yı Devlet
MV.	Meclis-i Vükelâ Mazbataları
OEO	<i>Bulletin des Oeuvres des Écoles d'Orient</i>
Y. A. HUS.	Yıldız Sadaret Hususi Maruzat Evrakı
Y. A. RES.	Yıldız Sadaret Resmi Maruzat Evrakı
Y. EE.	Yıldız Esas Evrakı
Y. EE.k.	Yıldız Kamil Paşa Evrakı
Y. MTV.	Yıldız Mütenevvî Maruzat Evrakı
Y. PRK. A.	Yıldız Sadaret Maruzatı

Y. PRK. ASK.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Askerî Maruzat
Y. PRK. BŞK.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Mabeyn Başkitabeti
Y. PRK. DH.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Dahiliye Nezareti Maruzatı
Y. PRK. HH.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Hazine-i Hassa Nezareti Maruzâtı
Y. PRK. KOM.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Komisyonlar Maruzâtı
Y. PRK. MF.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Maarif Nezareti Maruzâtı
Y. PRK. ŞH.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Şehremaneti Maruzâtı
Y. PRK. UM.	Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Umum Vilayetler Tahriratı
ZB.	Zabtiye Nezareti

Abbreviations of Hicrî and Rumî Months and Days

M	Muharrem
S	Safer
Ra	Rebiyyü'l-evvel
R	Rebiyyü'l-ahir
Ca	Cumade'l-ula
C	Cumade'l-ahir
B	Receb
Ş	Şa'ban
N	Ramazan
L	Şevval
Za	Zi'l-kade
Z	Zi'l-hicce
El.	Eva'il
Et.	Evasıt
Er.	Evahir
Ka	Kanun-i evvel
K	Kanun-i sani
Ta	Teşrin-i evvel
T	Teşrin-i sani

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is on the orphans and destitute children of the late Ottoman Empire. The attempt is to see and hear these essentially invisible and voiceless actors of social, economic, and political history. Until recently, children are taken to be separated from various social and economic processes and they are underrepresented in historical studies. In that sense, what children can tell us about extremely important discourses and developments, such as urbanization, welfare policies, growth of urban workshop/factory and, in parallel, domestic labor, imagined statehood and nationhood, is a largely neglected realm. Their viewpoint, as actors, both in terms of being a part of, witnessing, and even shaping these processes, was simply disregarded. Voices of children in general, and for the purposes of the study, voices of orphan and destitute children in particular, can be considered as new testimonies for writing both nuanced and alternative histories.

Introducing a new point of observation into the already studied fields of study, not only for the nineteenth but also earlier centuries, has the potential of clarifying and enlightening untouched or unseen parts of the phenomena. However, it is important to note the specificity of the nineteenth century, in the sense that child-related concerns come together in the Ottoman Empire, in parallel with many other European states, in the period after 1860s.¹ Child anxiety came to constitute a general trend of modernity and by the 1870s it spread to all societies that perceived of themselves as part of that “modern and civilizing world”.² While levels of industrialization, economic

¹Hugh Cunningham identifies the period 1830-1920 as one characterized generally in the West by a new and important thrust in child philanthropy and child saving. Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*, London and New York: Longman, 1995, pp. 134-7.

²Carl Ipsen, *Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal*

development, literacy, urbanization, and other measures of modernization varied considerably from place to place, accompanying social values spread more rapidly and with greater chronological coincidence. Therefore, despite the discrepancies in economic or demographic indices with France or Britain, Ottoman rulers developed similar concerns towards children insofar as reformers embraced the larger Western modernizing discourse of the period.

Certain political, economic, social, cultural forces focused the attention of the state, the non-Muslim communities, the missionaries, and bourgeois public on the problems of orphaned and destitute children. The motivation and discourse, on the one hand, was related to the desire to *save* unfortunate children from the dangers to which they were easy prey. These dangers included losing or being alienated to one's ethno-religious identity, being sold into slavery, sexual abuse and exploitation, juvenile criminality, prostitution, health problems, death, conversion, and apostasy. However, it was not only children, who were threatened, but these dangers had the potential of creating new classes of children, which also posed threats to public, political, and economic order of society. In other words, the collection or kidnapping of abandoned children, forced or inveigled emigration of little girls to urban centers or abroad, vagrant, idle and begging children and juvenile crime in the cities, missionary ambitions over massacre orphans were dangers that many actors of nineteenth century political actors deeply felt and attempted to come up with strategies. Moreover, what was considered a threat by some parties might have been regarded as and turned into an *opportunity* by some others. Dangerous children – foundlings, street children, refugees, or *unchaste* maidservants – can always be turned into laborious workers, loyal citizens, or staunch religious believers.

The affected parties were multiple and different in each single case. For instance, in the case of abandoned children, who are the protagonists of Chapter 1, there were both sanitary – infants were either found dead in public places or they had enormously high mortality rates – and political concerns, especially the ones regarding the religious and civil status of foundlings, which affected non-Muslim communities, municipalities and police force, Ottoman government, Catholic missionaries at the same time. The policies or strategies created towards foundlings, therefore, were not only

Era, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 10.

about *saving* abandoned children from perishing in the streets but also about strengthening/weakening communities, constructing a modern image through new institutions, or raising followers – religious or political.

The specificities of each different group of *threatening/promising* children will become clearer towards the end of the Introduction and within the Chapters themselves. Yet, it is important to clarify here that the image of orphans and destitute children was that they were, first, endangered by the modernizing world they were living in and, second, they themselves were new dangers produced by that world. Therefore, either presented as victims or perpetrators, they were actually one of the heroes of a new plot in the nineteenth century Ottoman history – of both *modernization(s)* and *reform*.

Following French demographer and social historian, Philippe Ariès's *Centuries of Childhood*, the main lines of a school of the historiography on childhood were that there was no concept of childhood before the seventeenth century; children were regarded as being at the very bottom of the social scale and therefore, unworthy of consideration; there was a formal parent-child relationship; parents were distant, unapproachable beings and children were inferior, whose demands and needs were not sufficiently valuable to be met.³ However, it was argued that a very serious transition in attitudes toward children took place during the period between 1660 and 1800. The family became child-oriented, affectionate, with a permissive mode of child care and recognition of the uniqueness of each child. In *Family, Sex, and Marriage in England* (1977), Lawrence Stone underlines the impact of the rise of “affective individualism”, which was made possible due to growth and spread of commercial capitalism, and also the emergence of a large and self-confident middle class.

The new scholars of the 1990s, working on different materials or on different periods have not found material to support the assertions of Ariès, all in different ways have rebutted them. They have gathered copious evidence to show that adults regarded

³Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, New York : Vintage Books, 1962; John Demos, *Family Life in a Plymouth Colony*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970; Lloyd de Mause (ed.), *The History of Childhood*, London: Souvenir Press, 1976; Martin Hoyles (ed.), *Changing Childhood*, London: Writers' and Readers' Co-operative, 1979; 1979; David Hunt, *Parents and Children in History*, New York: Harper & Row, 1972; Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family*, London: William Collins, 1976; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England 1500-1800*, London: Wiedenfield & Nicolson, 1977.

childhood as a distinct phase or phases of life, that parents treated children like children as well as like adults, that they did so with care and sympathy, and that children had cultural activities and possessions of their own. Pollock argued that there was a concept of childhood in earlier centuries, since sixteenth century writers did appreciate that children were different from adults and were also aware of the ways in which children were different.⁴ Orme argued Childhood was recognized in medieval England for religious and legal purposes.⁵

While this new school of thought claimed that concept of childhood was not a modern invention and suggested a rather unchanging, but specific, status of children in society, there was also a trend emphasizing the worsening of conditions for children in modern times. To a large extent relying on the theoretical legacy of Michel Foucault, the scholars such as Robert Jütte, Erving Goffman, David J. Rothman, Jacques Donzelot emphasized the institutionalization of children under inhumane disciplinary conditions of boarding schools, orphanages, and reformatories.⁶ The children were not objects of care for modern states and societies, as Ariès previously argued, on the contrary they were among those to be surveilled, disciplined, and inculcated.

In other words, while early representatives of modernization theory perceived the history of childhood as a linear development from “bad old times” to “modern love for the child”, their opponents, still within the modernity paradigm, talked of “good old times” and “modern incarceration of children”. Both attempts to instrumentalize history reflect an ideological bias. Hugh Cunningham in a way corrected these sharpened extremes. His survey of parent/child relationships uncovers evidence of parental love,

⁴Linda A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

⁵Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children*, New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2001.

⁶Norbert Finzsch, Robert Jütte, *Institutions of Confinement: Hospitals, Asylums, and Prisons in Western Europe and North America, 1500-1950*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996; Bertrand Taithe, “Algerian Orphans and Colonial Christianity in Algeria, 1866–1939”, *French History*, vol. 20, no.3, 2006, pp. 240-259; David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic*, New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 2002; Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, trans. Robert Hurley, New York: Pantheon Books, 1979; Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays of the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*, Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961.

care and, in the frequent cases of child death, grief throughout the period, concluding that there was as much continuity as change in the actual relations of children and adults across these five centuries.⁷ He claimed that it is particularly important to underline the existence of change, for childhood is an essentially constructed category, which acquired altered meanings throughout different historical contexts.

In parallel with growing interest in the meaning of childhood in earlier time periods, the last three decades have produced discrete historical studies that provide richly detailed accounts of lives of European and American children, although the literature on the history of Ottoman children remains far scantier. As many other fields of social history, history of childhood is one of the relatively empty fields of Ottoman studies. The researches on specifically children and youth in the Ottoman Empire still would not pass a few articles and books.⁸ From a historiographical perspective, it can be said that some decades ago children were not considered to be a relevant actor of history, as interesting as they are today.

The growth of interest in the history of children and youth is, in part, related to the development of certain other fields or areas of research. Demography was amongst the first domains to be able to provide significant opportunities for the writing of social history of childhood. Historical-demographic micro-analyses based on diverse issues such as birth statistics, mortality rates, illegitimate births, and prevalence of child labor, may offer novel opportunities of study. Although statistical information and studies on the Ottoman Empire remains scarce, especially urban centers like Istanbul has been studied more in detail.⁹ Monographs, both dissertations and books, analyzing the court records of usually a single city for limited time periods are also able to provide

⁷Hugh Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*, London, New York: Longman, 1995.

⁸Though not specifically dealing with the Ottoman Empire edited volumes of Fernea are valuable. Elizabeth W. Fernea (ed.), *Children in the Muslim Middle East*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1996; *Remembering Childhood in the Middle East: Memoirs from a Century of Change*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003. Another important book on South Eastern Europe is Slobodan Naumović, Miroslav Jovanović (eds.), *Childhood in South East Europe: Historical Perspectives on Growing up in the 19th and 20th Century*, Belgrade: Graz, 2001.

⁹Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940*, Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

numerical data on number of children in the households, the average age of being an orphan, the workshops in which children are employed as apprentices (*çırak*), and so on.¹⁰ Moreover, legal historians, or those focusing on the court records in general, have productively studied seventeenth and eighteenth century Islamic legal rulings outlining norms for custody of children who had not reached puberty, acceptable practices for “child marriages”, and the question of criminal liability for crimes committed by children who had not reached “the age of reason”.¹¹

Considering the Ottoman Empire in nineteenth and early twentieth centuries – social historians working on gender and the family have provided the greatest insight into our understanding of childhood in the Ottoman society.¹² In the literature on history

10Abdurrahman Kurt, *Bursa Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Ailesi (1839-1876)*, Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1998; Hayri Erten, *Konya Şeriyye Sicilleri Işığında Ailenin Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yapısı (XVIII. yy'in İlk Yarısı)*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Kültür Eserleri, 2001; Eyal Ginio, “18. Yüzyıl Selanikinde Yoksul Kadınlar”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 89, Summer 2001, pp. 190-204; Nuri Köstüklü, *Sosyal Tarih Perspektifinden Yalvaç'ta Aile (1892-1908): Bir Osmanlı Kazası Örneğinde Türk Ailesinin Temel Bazı Özellikleri*, Konya : Günay Ofset, 1996; Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, Berkeley (Calif.): University of California Press, 2003; Cafer Çiftçi, *Bursa'da Vakıfların Sosyo-Ekonomik İşlevleri*, Bursa: Gaye Kitabevi, 2004; Margaret L. Meriwether, “The Rights of Children and the Responsibilities of Women: Women as Wasis in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840”, in *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History*, Amira al-Azhary Sonbol (ed.), Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996, pp. 219-235.

11Harald Motzki, “Child Marriage in Seventeenth-Century Palestine”, in *Islamic Legal Interpretation: Muftis and Their Fatwas*, Muhammad Khalid Masud, Brinkley Messick, David S. Powers (eds.), Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996, pp. 129-140.; Mahmoud Yazbak, “Minor Marriages and Khiyar al-Bulugh in Ottoman Palestine: A Note on Women's Strategies in a Patriarchal Society”, *Islamic Law and Society*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2002 , pp. 386-409; Judith E. Tucker, “If She Were Ready for Men: Sexuality and Reproduction”, *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, pp. 148-78.

12Haim Gerber, “Anthropology and Family History: the Ottoman and Turkish Families”, *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1989, pp. 409-421; Margaret L. Meriwether , *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840*, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999; Iris Agmon, *Family & Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman Palestine*, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2006; Margaret L. Meriwether, Judith E. Tucker (eds.), *Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East*, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1999; Beth Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics*, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005.

of childhood and family history there have been common themes. The study of family structures and of patterns underlying the organization and division of labor within the family raises numerous questions which might be studied from the perspective of history of childhood. Moreover, the nature and actual time period of childhood and adolescence has also been the subject of considerable research.

As an outcome of the development of these neighboring disciplines, it can be said that childhood studies started to appear for Ottoman and Turkish Republican history as an independent area of study in 1990s. Approaches which combined history and sociology, history and education, history and social anthropology proved extremely fertile for the history of childhood. Bekir Onur is one of the scholars, specialized on educational sciences, who contributed to the development of the history of childhood as a research field in Turkey. Both through compilation of edited volumes and researching, he published much of the tiny literature on the issue.¹³ Together with benefiting from a rich secondary literature from various disciplines, Onur's source material usually comes from the memoir genre. Although his article and book titles specifically give reference to "childhood in Turkey", Onur managed to compile remarkable information on the Ottoman children as well.

Mine Tan also works on the history of childhood in the Republican Era.¹⁴ Her

13Bekir Onur (ed.), *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk: Sempozyum, 23-24 Nisan 1993*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994; *Çocuk Kültürü*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Çocuk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yayınları, 1997; *Cumhuriyet ve Çocuk*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Çocuk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yayınları, 1999; *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Değişen Çocukluk*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Çocuk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yayınları, 2001; *Oyuncaklı Dünya: Toplumsal Tarih Üzerine Eğlenceli Bir Deneme*, Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 2002; *Anılardaki Aşklar: Çocukluğun ve Gençliğin Psikoseksüel Tarihi*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2005; *Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Tarihi*, Ankara : İmge, 2005; *Çocuk Tarih ve Toplum*, Ankara : İmge, 2007.

14Mine Göğüş Tan, "Çağlar Boyunca Çocukluk", *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 22, no. 1, 1990, pp. 71-88; "Cumhuriyet'te Çocuklar: Bir Sözlü Tarih Projesinden İki Çocuk/İki Kadın", in *Aydınlanmanın Kadınları*, Necla Arat (ed.), İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 1998, pp. 144-57; "Erken Cumhuriyet'in Çocuklarıyla Bir Sözlü Tarih Çalışması", in *Cumhuriyet ve Çocuk*, Bekir Onur (ed.), Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Çocuk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yayınları, 1999, pp. 25-33; "An Oral History Project with the Children of the Republic", in *Crossroads of History: Experience, Memory, Orality*, Proceedings of the XIth International Oral History Conference, İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2000,

studies are especially important in methodological terms, since in addition to published material, she relies on oral history. Tan argues, as many others in the field, that this method gives the opportunity to get into contact with “common people” and their versions of history. Although her primary concern is to write the history Early Republican children, and particularly their educational lives, the data collected gives important clues on children in the early twentieth century Ottoman period.

Cüneyd Okay, on the other hand, focuses on the history of childhood in nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman Empire, to a large extent on the Second Constitutional Period.¹⁵ The issues he has dealt with are the changes in the conception of childhood in the late Ottoman Empire and the instrumentalization of children for nationalistic aims. Though strongly underlining the significance of memoirs, Okay's works mostly rely on from children's magazines of the period, which give original information on the characterization of the “ideal children” by contemporary political cadres and elites. He managed to bring into light crucial primary material on the nineteenth century ideas on childhood. Especially the bibliography of children's periodicals with Arabic alphabet, that he compiled is an invaluable source for many researchers.

The approach and the objectives of these detailed childhood studies can be summarized roughly under two categories. First of all, they are most of the times written with a developmentalist attitude, taking the childhood as a period in the life-cycle of

pp. 346-355; “Bir Genç Kız Yetiştiriyor: Düriye Köprülü'nün Çocukluğu”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 207, March 2001, pp. 39-46; Mine Göğüş Tan, Özlem Şahin, Mustafa Sever, Aksu Bora, *Cumhuriyet'te Çocuklar*, İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 2007.

¹⁵Cüneyd Okay, “İki Çocuk Dergisinin Rekabeti ve Müslüman Boykotajı”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, no.44, Eylül 1997, pp. 42-45; *Osmanlı Çocuk Hayatında Yenileşmeler 1850-1900*, İstanbul: Kırkambar Yayınları 1998; *Eski Harfli Çocuk Dergileri*, İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınevi, 1999; *Belgelerle Himaye-i Etfal Cemiyeti 1917-1923*, İstanbul: Şule Yayınları 1999; *Meşrutiyet Çocukları*, İstanbul: Bordo Yayınları, 2000; *Meşrutiyet Dönemi Çocuk Edebiyatı*, İstanbul: Medyatek Yayınları, 2002; “Tedrisat-i İbtidaiyye Mecmuası”, *Müteferrika*, no.19, Yaz 2001, pp. 131-142; “Politics and Children's Literature in the Late Ottoman Empire 1908-1918 Using Children's Poetry to Create a Nationalistic/Patriotic Generation”, *Journal of Turkish Studies*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2004, pp. 177-190; “Türkiye'de Çocuk Tarihi: Tespitler – Öneriler”, *Kebikeç*, no.19, 2005; “War and Child in the Second Constitutional Period”, in *Childhood and Youth in the Muslim World*, François Geogon, Klaus Kreiser (eds.), Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2007, pp. 219-232.

every human being.¹⁶ In that sense, childhood was narrated as a duration with different phases, such as infancy, weaning, circumcision, going to school, and so on. Therefore, these studies contain descriptive data on the *growth* of Ottoman/Turkish children from birth to puberty. Although this sort of information can be very rich in detail, and thus very valuable, enclosing the history of childhood within the frame of a life period actually limits the possibilities and richness that can be attained by studying children.

The second characteristic of studies on the Turkish/Ottoman children and childhood is to lean predominantly upon the generation of literature created by and after Ariès and to stress essentially the transformation of the concept of childhood.¹⁷ All the above mentioned scholars, Onur, Tan, and Okay, emphasize their and the field's indebtedness to Ariès. In other words, the theory on the “discovery of childhood” was, to a large extent, repeated in the literature on children with reference to differences experienced in the practices of rearing children, parent-child relations, forms of affection, and disciplining. Although the time frame seems to be utterly different from both Ariès and from one another – Okay makes this comparison for the post-Tanzimat children, whereas Tan and Onur take the Republic as a crucial break – the conclusions reached were more or less the same. It was argued that the social meaning of childhood amongst Ottoman urban elites was undergoing a significant transformation. Childhood was sentimentalized and idealized. Middle classes from various backgrounds started to realize the existence of different food products for children, clothing, toys, books, and other goods. They assumed these were crucial to raise healthy and happy children. Publications, primarily targeting parents, emphasized “modern” child-rearing practices and through consumer advertising communicated new ideals of health and robustness in children.¹⁸

16Here it should be added that both Onur and Tan are professors of educational sciences.

17The study of Marianna Yerasimos, for example, is a replicas of Ariès study. She analyzed Ottoman children in paintings from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries underlined that children were depicted as small adults, both in terms of clothing and facial features, until well into the nineteenth century. Marianna Yerasimos, “16.-19. Yüzyılda Batı Kaynaklı Gravürlerde Osmanlı Çocuk Figürleri”, in *Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk : Sempozyum, 23-24 Nisan 1993*, Bekir Onur (ed.), İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1994, pp. 65-75.

18Okay 1998; Onur 2001, 2005; Duben, Behar, 1991.

Although these are important conclusions, there is still a weakness in these studies to neglect the relationship of *children* to various social, economic, and political processes, while concentrating the attention on the conception and cycle of *childhood*.

The experiences and viewpoints of children, however, has the potential to open new horizons on many widely researched subjects, such as urbanization, industrialization, nationalism, and state-formation. There are actually such trends amongst social scientists; certain fields and areas of research started to draw the attention to the history of childhood and youth from other perspectives, which in a way liberated children from their childhood.¹⁹ One of these areas was founded upon the intricate relationship between children, nationalism, sports, and boy scouting in the late Ottoman and Early Republican period.²⁰ A number of articles were written on the issue in the 1980s and 1990s,²¹ until the appearance of more extensive works in the 2000s.²²

19In addition to numerous publications of Onur, a humanities journal, *Kebikeç*, prepared a special issue on childhood studies in 2005. Various articles on poverty, delinquency, welfare, suggested development of new interests.

20In the first decade of the twentieth century, physical culture became increasingly militarized and para-military organizations were presented as a source of appeal for the youth. On the eve of the First World War, the field of sports was loaded with highly nationalistic symbols that coincided with the national strategies based on a “salvation ideology”. Boy scouting organizations (*İzciler Ocağı*), para-military organizations Ottoman Strength Societies of (*Osmanlı Güç Dernekleri*), Ottoman Youth Societies (*Osmanlı Genç Dernekleri*), and Ottoman Robust Boy Societies (*Osmanlı Gürbüz Dernekleri*) were formed.

21Zafer Toprak wrote the pioneering articles on the issue. Zafer Toprak, “Vay Em Si Ey (YMCA) Jimnastikhaneleri”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 2, February 1994, pp. 8-12; “Taksim Stadında Mini-Olimpiyat 1922”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 4, April 1994, pp. 15-18; “Meşrutiyet ve Mütareke Yıllarında İzcilik”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 52, April 1998, pp. 13-20; “İttihat ve Terakki'nin Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri”, *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi – Beşeri Bilimler*, no. 7, 1979, pp. 95-112; “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Paramiliter Gençlik Örgütleri”, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985, pp. 531-536. Others also studied the relationship between physical education and the “fitness of the nation”. Gül İnanç, “Bir Memleket Davası: Beden Terbiyesi” *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 14, February 1995, pp. 59-63; Feza Kürkçüoğlu, “Jimnastik Şenlikleri'nden 19 Mayıs'a Doğru...”, *Popüler Tarih*, no. 12, May 2001, pp. 72-73.

22Yiğit Akın's book is an important study on Republican youth, sports and militarist tendencies of the regime. *Gürbüz ve Yavuz Evlatlar: Erken Cumhuriyet'te Beden Terbiyesi ve Spor*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2004.

In parallel with this field, some scholars underlined the obsession of the founders of the Republic on the physical strength and health of the Turkish children and youth as the symbol of the new nation.²³

Another well-established, yet still growing area is on the education, indoctrination, and socialization of children, who came to be conceived as future citizen-subjects, and, thus, warranted special protection.²⁴ Modern educational reforms and opportunities, which resulted, to a large extent, from the emerging threat of nationalisms to the integrity of the Ottoman lands, together with the rapidly growing number of missionary-sponsored schools, are analyzed in a detailed manner.²⁵ Other studies, particularly on the Republican period, also underlined the role of the nationalist ideology, religious doctrine, gender roles and models, militaristic/paternalistic idealizations in the formation of childhood identity.²⁶

23The works Kathryn R. Libal are important in discerning the relationships between the *robustness* of the children and the strength of the nation. Focusing particularly on the child welfare policies and the role of the children in the construction of the national identity in Turkey, Libal contributes to the studies of both welfare and nationalism. “‘The Child Question’: The Politics of Child Welfare in Early Republican Turkey.” in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, Mine Ener, Michael Bonner, and Amy Singer (eds.), Binghamton: State University of New York Press, 2003, pp. 255-272. “Realizing Modernity Through the Robust Turkish Child, 1923-1938”, in *Symbolic Childhood*, Daniel Cook (ed.), New York: Peter Lang, 2002, pp. 109-130. “The Children’s Protection Society: Nationalizing Child Welfare in Early Republican Turkey”, *New Perspectives on Turkey*, vol. 23, Autumn 2000, pp. 53-78.

24It must be added that the nation was also conceived as a child, Duygu Köksal, “İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, İnkılap ve Terbiye: Ulusun ‘Çocukluğu’”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, vol. 7, no. 40, April 1997, pp. 7-12.

25Selçuk Aksin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline*, Leiden: Brill, 2001; Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. Fortna's work on late Ottoman kindergartens reveals that Ottoman officials were concerned with the proper socialization of even very young children. Benjamin Fortna, “Kindergartens in the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic”, in *Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea*, Roberta Wollons (ed.), New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 252-273.

26Tuba Kancı, Ayşe Gül Altınay, “Educating Little Soldiers and Little Ayşes: Militarised and Gendered Citizenship in Turkish Textbooks” and Fatma Gök, “The Girls’ Institutes in the Early Period of the Turkish Republic”, in *Education in ‘Multicultural’ Societies Turkish and Swedish Perspectives*, Marie Carlson, Annika Rabo, Fatma Gök (eds.), Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2007, pp.

Especially important for this dissertation is the growth of studies on philanthropy, charity, and welfare.²⁷ These studies managed to provide invaluable perspectives on the status of children for nineteenth century philanthropists – religious men, state officials, and missionaries. Imperial concern for portraying an image of benevolence and care for the population led the Ottoman authorities to create new ceremonies, institutions, and regulations to address child poverty, orphanhood, mortality, in addition to other educational opportunities for children. Therefore, children came to become more visible in the historical scene.

As apparent from the rough map that is drawn, numerous tenets of the social history of childhood in the Ottoman Empire is waiting to be written. More research is needed to uncover the lives of the children in rural areas, juvenile delinquency,²⁸ class variations in urban environments,²⁹ and continuities and differences between confessional and ethnic communities. The gendering of childhood in each of these realms also merits much greater attention.³⁰ Within this picture, marginalized children,

51-71 and 95-107. Mehmet İnanç Özekmekçi, *The Formation of Children in the Late Ottoman Empire: An Analysis Through the Periodicals for Children (1869-1914)*, M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2005.

27The studies of Nadir Özbek are of special importance. Nadir Özbek, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 'Sosyal Yardım' Uygulamaları, 1839-1918,” *Toplum ve Bilim*, Kış 1999/2000, pp. 111-132; “Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and The Hamidian Regime, 1876–1909”, *IJMES*, vol. 37, 2005, pp. 59-81; “The Politics of Poor Relief in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1876-1914,” *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 21, Fall 1999, pp. 1-33; *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet 1876-1914*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002. Mine Ener also achieved to compile significant data on the issue. Mine Ener, *Managing Egypt's Poor and the Politics of Benevolence, 1800-1952*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

28There is an M.A. thesis written on the issue. Özgür Sevgi Göral, *The Child Question and Juvenile Delinquency During the Early Republican Era*, M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2003.

29There is an M.A. thesis written on the differing representation of middle class and poor children. Özge Ertem, *The Republic's Children and Their Burdens in 1930s and 1940s Turkey: the Idealized Middle Class Children as the Future of the Nation and the Image of "Poor" Children in Children's Periodicals*, M.A. Thesis, Boğaziçi University Atatürk Institute for Modern Turkish History, 2005.

30A recent dissertation bears important clues on the subject. Tuba Kancı, *Imagining the Turkish Men and Women: Nationalism, Modernism and Militarism in Primary School Textbooks, 1928-2000*, PhD Dissertation, Sabancı University, 2008.

working class children,³¹ foundlings, orphans, and destitute children attracted even lesser attention.

As already touched upon, destitute children and orphans of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire were traditionally considered to be invisible, insignificant, and non-political figures, both for the Ottoman historians and for the contemporaries. Yet, it is necessary to reassess their role, especially due to the new meanings and identities they acquired in their relations with provincial and municipal authorities, foreign missionaries, religious and civil leaders of the communities, and the state. They were no longer outside the historical scene. On the contrary, they had a remarkably large part in the scenario, which was, on the other hand, being enforced, challenged and re-written each day.

It is true that historical and cultural studies have tended to discount childhood as significant site of analysis because children are primarily seen as passive receptors. They are rarely recognized as cultural presences. Since childhood is legally and biologically understood as a period of dependency, it is usually easy to dismiss children as historical actors. The very belief in children's specialness, their vulnerability, innocence, ignorance, also marks childhood as historically irrelevant. Inchoate, children are often presented as not yet fully human, so that the figure of the child demarcates the boundaries of personhood, a limiting case for agency, voice, or enfranchisement.³²

For most scholars changes in the status of children are of note for what they indicate about shifts in social priorities – that is, about changes in the desires and experiences of adults. Thus, much of the insightful work on children has seen childhood essentially as a discourse among adults. The study of childhood is inevitably enmeshed

³¹We have limited knowledge of the lives of working-class poor children and child labor in the Ottoman Empire. Quataert notes, for instance, that Zonguldak mines routinely employed young children. Donald Quataert, *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: The Zonguldak Coalfield*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2006, p. 91. Ginio's study of charity in early modern Salonika reveals that in daughters of poor families, as young as six years of age, worked in the houses of wealthier families as domestic servants. Eyal Ginio, "Living on the Margins of Charity", in *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts*, edited by Mine Ener, Amy Singer and Michael Bonner: State University of New York Press, New York, 2003, pp. 165-184.

³²Karen Sanchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

in this politics. All accounts of childhood are structured by the impossibility of ever fully separating children from adult desires and control.³³ Still, it is possible to observe the formation of children's studies as a field of inquiry, with separate work done in anthropology, education, history, literature, medicine, philosophy, popular culture, psychology, and sociology. Agency of “ordinary people”, children and youth in particular, laid the foundations for a “new” social history. There is a recent effort among scholars to understand how children have exercised historical agency in the past. Within this perspectives, children are viewed not merely as appendages to adult experiences but as individuals who participated in and helped to shape the history of their time.

This dissertation, in that respect, aims to offer an alternative vista of crucial aspects of Ottoman modernization, such as nation-state formation, industrialization, urbanization, economic development, welfare policies, educational centralization, and strengthening of nationalist ideologies, from within the view-point of orphans. While an important thrust in child philanthropy and child saving was embraced in nineteenth century, destitute children became a part of the political, economic, and social agenda of the modern state and communal and religious organizations. With the same token, children gained channels for being visible and loud, so much that more than a hundred years later, it is possible to write their history.

Each chapter of the dissertation takes a different group of destitute children to the front as its protagonist and discerns the subjectivity of orphans in the picture. The dissertation was divided into separate sections with reference to distinct, yet similar, groups of children, since it was recognized that the relationship of modernity with the “child question” in the nineteenth century can be resembled to a patchwork, in which each single piece had its own inner dynamics and differing actors, although these individual histories were consecutive *acts* of the same *play*. All those acts were necessary to conceive an alternative way of looking into major developments of Ottoman history, since each had distinct leading characters from among many groups of destitute children. In that respect, a generalized concept such as “children in need” would suppress the agency of multiple categories of children into a homogenized, ponderous, and dehumanized childhood. Thus, it was attempted to give voice to as much children as possible throughout the dissertation.

³³Philip L. Safford, Elizabeth J. Safford, *Children with Disabilities in America: A Historical Handbook and Guide*, Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006.

First chapter dwells upon the foundlings, in other words the issue of child abandonment and provisions for them, while addressing national identity, citizenship, and demographic politics with reference to exposed infants. The nineteenth century developments on the foundling care has important clues to help us recognize certain traits of the political agenda in general. It is true that in the late Ottoman Empire, multi-lingual and multi-religious urban centers shared certain aspects of a cosmopolitan lifestyle. However, there was also a rather politicized and sensitive concern for strengthening the solidarity and integrity of communities, which felt under threat of losing their members' identity, language and religion. The sentiment of dissolution was triggered by attempts of modernization and centralization of the state, which brought about many tendencies of a nation-state and threatened the relative autonomy of the communities. Under these circumstances, religion, nationality, and citizenship of abandoned children became a contested terrain, over which arduous efforts were spent by local authorities, missionaries, non-Muslim communities, and the central state. In an unexpected manner, these infants became protagonists in the late nineteenth-century demography, conversion and national rivalry.

The histrions of the second chapter are fostered daughters, taken into the households in the form of domestic servants. In this part of the dissertation, different facets of urbanization and child/female labor are elaborated from a class and gender perspective. Deprived of relatively protective environment of their own families, orphan, destitute, and poor girls were under three orders of subordinateness and disadvantage. First, they were materially exploited and sexually abused by their masters, who neither paid them a fair wage nor showed respect to their bodily integrity. Second, they were put into a disadvantaged position by the patriarchal laws of the society and the sexist rulings of the Islamic jurors. They were unfavored as *women*, and specifically as *working women*, in a patriarchal society. Third, they were left powerless in the court rooms as the judges routinely favored their masters, relying on the well-established status of these latter in the society as opposed to these usually rootless, destitute orphans. However, this is not to say that these young women were completely suppressed and silenced in this nightmare like environment, that they were surrounded with. The research points to the fact that they were able to find certain alternative ways of taking agency. The existence of escape stories, attempted suicides, and accusations in

the court records is a clear sign of the assumed agency on the part of these girls and young women, who took an active part in the writing of their own history.

Third chapter provides a detailed account of the emergence and expansion of a large network of industrial orphanages for orphans, street children, vagrants, children of the poor and/or refugee parents, and beggars in urban centers of the Empire throughout the second half of nineteenth century. This part underlines the role of orphans, as technicians and workers, in the realization of aspirations for economic development and industrialization. Therefore, the chapter may provide a different and nuanced understanding of the Ottoman *reform*. The birth of industrial orphanages is linked to a number of old and new phenomenon coupled under different circumstances. These include new definitions of vagabondage, vagrancy, and begging; new structures of provincial government, municipality and the police; creation of an orphans' fund to turn the inheritances of well-to-do orphans into borrowable money; emergence of a protective stance/discourse against the foreign imports; increasing importance attached to industrial productivity of the domestic producers, and an orientation towards vocational education. Certainly the immediate motivation of the state was two fold: on the sentimental and discursive level to save these unfortunate children from the various dangers and on the realistic level to protect society from the threat they posed, in the present and in the future, to the public, political, and economic order. In that picture, comforting, educating, or disciplining of the orphans was only secondary, compared to the larger goals of keeping the public order and security in urban areas, safeguarding the working of commercial activity, and rejuvenation of the urban industrial activity.

The last chapter treats the massacre stricken Armenian orphans of the nineteenth century as subjects of international power politics and centers upon Ottoman attempts to prevent foreign intervention. This part is on the intricate relations between spheres of influence, self-interested philanthropy, conversion, and international rivalry. It is emphasized that certain crises situations, namely wars, massacres, armed conflicts, necessitates only *certain* parties to take actual measures in order to tackle with the “problem” of only *certain* orphans, since charity is offered in response to a *giver's perception* of both the need and the deservedness of the recipient. The involvement of the foreign missionaries and the Ottoman state in the relief of the victims of Armenian massacres of 1894-96 can also be read from these lenses. The aftermath of the events

evolved into a major arena, where many actors fought for legitimacy, power, prestige, and hegemony over a seemingly philanthropic field of the opening of orphanages. Orphans, whose lives were under threat and who were torn apart from their families and their social environment, were considered to provide perfect *opportunities* for religious and nationalistic aims. Therefore, all sides – Ottoman state, foreign missionaries, and the Armenian Patriarchate – were disturbed by the effectiveness of their rivals and attempted to compete with, block or supersede each other. The fact that all actors had regarded the others as accomplices, despite their deeply felt animosities in general, also symbolizes the significance of diffidence, doubt, and rivalry reigning in a seemingly philanthropic realm.

Finally, in the Conclusion I suggest some topics of inquiry for further research and address horizons of working on the history of children in the Ottoman Empire.

As the following chapters will clarify, history of childhood brings the historian in contact with many different disciplines, theoretical backgrounds, approaches, sources, and methods. Each chapter, or even section of the dissertation can be placed under the *jurisdiction* of another major historical field, with significant studies of its own. The first chapter, for that matter, communicates with major fields of demographic studies, state welfare policies, increased attention toward health issues, such as hygiene, infant, and child mortality. The second part might have been written as a chapter of Ottoman feminist history, family/household studies, domestic labor, or sexuality. Third chapter, as well, can be read from the perspective of labor studies, economic history, reverberations of the Ottoman reform in the provinces, urbanization, development of police and other new forms of security and surveillance, or the development of vocational education in the Empire. Last chapter, in that respect, can be read as a part of nineteenth century diplomatic history, the extent and discontent of missionary presence in the Empire, construction of modern ethno-religious identities and/or states.

From another perspective, namely that of the private/public divide, the chapters flow from the most inner/intimate sphere to the most global/international: First chapter is on pregnancy, birth, and infants; the second is on family and household; the third is on domestic politics, provincial governments, municipalities, and state reform; the fourth is on diplomacy and international politics.

Admittedly, unearthing source material on children and youth in the past is problematic. Children themselves leave few records, and artifacts designed for them, such as books and toys, have a poor survival rate. Literary texts, polemics, biographies, diaries, letters, advice books, paintings and historical demography were the bedrock upon which the 'early founders' of childhood history developed the classical ideas which loom over the discipline.³⁴ With regards to the Ottoman Empire, autobiographical material proves to be elusive and rare. The examples of the genre, moreover, usually leave very small space to the childhood of the author. Furthermore, With regards to historical demography, our sources for the Ottoman Empire is extremely limited.³⁵ The resulting solutions of the researchers was to rely on children's periodicals or to conduct interviews.

Due to the range of topics and actors covered in the dissertation, the primary sources used for the dissertation were multiple within and between the chapters. The overall research of the dissertation were undertaken in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives (BOA), American Board Archives (ABA)³⁶, Archives of Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABC)³⁷, and French Foreign Ministry Archives (Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, AMAE).³⁸ In

34The references in footnote one can be repeated here.

35We have to underline the importance of the work of Behar and Duben, despite the geographical (Istanbul) and religious (Muslims) limits of the analysis. Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940*, Cambridge; New York; Melbourne : Cambridge University Press, 1991.

36American Board Archives are located in the American Board Library, in the Bible House in Istanbul. 50 Rızapaşa Yokuşu, Mercan, Eminönü, Istanbul. It holds the original documents of the Western Turkey Mission of the ABCFM, for Istanbul was the head office of the mission.

37The original archives of the ABCFM are held at the Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, in Harvard University, Cambridge. Yet, Research Publications Ltd. filmed a considerable part of the collection in the early 1980s, preparing in the end 858 rolls of film. The Near East section covers the reels from 502 to 720. Thanks to the ABCFM Project of Bilkent University, History Department, which helped the creation of detailed contents of each reel I was able to go over all reels that were within my temporal and spatial scope.

38The Archives of the French Foreign Ministry are divided into three, Paris, Nantes, and Colmar. My concentration was in the collections held in Paris, and to a certain extent in Nantes. 1, rue Robert Esnault Pelterie 75007 Paris; 17, rue de

addition, Capucin Archives (Archives des Capucins, AC)³⁹ and Lazarist Archives (Archives Historiques de la Congrégation de la Mission, AHCM)⁴⁰ were also benefited from.

Several missionary periodicals can also be considered among the primary sources of the dissertation, since these weekly or monthly publications comprised original letters and reports of the missionaries. For the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the monthly periodical *The Missionary Herald* was analyzed from 1850s onward.⁴¹ Another periodical of the ABCFM was a weekly, *The Orient*, which was published from 1910 to 1922 by the Bible House of Istanbul. In addition to that, Annual Reports of the society were also studied for recapitulation of the yearly activities.⁴² In opposition to relative monopoly of the ABCFM over the Protestant missionaries, the Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire were consisted of more than one more or less equally powerful groups. For that reason, three different periodicals were analyzed. Two-monthly periodical *Bulletin des Oeuvres des Écoles d'Orient* published a wide range of reports, from various missionary groups, dispersed into different areas of the *Orient*.⁴³ The weekly periodical *Les Missions Catholiques*,

Casterneau 44000 Nantes.

39Archives des Capucins, 16, rue Boissonnade, 75014 Paris. Registries of baptisms, marriages, burials and marriage contracts of the French citizens, who had resided in Anatolia in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are kept in the Capucin Archives.

40Archives Historiques de La Congrégation de la Mission (Lazaristes), 95, rue de Sèvres, 75006 Paris.

41Nearly half of the volumes of the *Missionary Herald* are held in the library of Center for Islamic Studies (İSAM). However, the complete collection can be reached at the American Board Library, Istanbul.

42*The Orient* and Annual Reports from 1839 to 1932 are held at the American Board Library, Istanbul.

43*Oeuvres des Écoles d'Orient* was created after the Crimean War, the Treaty of Paris, and *Hatt-ı Hümayun* of 1856. Its emergence was related to the Eastern Question and the growing concern for the Christians and especially for the Catholics in the Middle East. The Society was founded by a group of French intellectuals in order to raise funds and support the missionaries in the area. This initial group of secular figures were joined by other dignitaries, such as the members of military and ecclesiastical academies. The complete microfilm archive of the collection is held at Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 10, place du Panthéon - 75005 Paris.

was also very significant since it was closely related to the Papacy and the Jesuits.⁴⁴ Thirdly, the periodical of the Lazaristes, *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission*, was studied due to the significance of this missionary group especially in the port cities of the Empire.⁴⁵

As already underlined, different chapters of the dissertation enforced the usage of different source material, particularly based on the desire to be able to hear the voices of the children themselves, who had been customarily underrepresented in the records, archives, and documents. The first two chapters on the abandoned children and foster daughters in the households, thus, relies on both literary and legal data in addition to archival sources mentioned above. The third chapter benefits predominantly from the Ottoman archives, together with a number of yearbooks (*Sâlname*), code of laws (*Düstûr*), and memoirs. The fourth chapter is built upon archival material from all the indicated archives and periodical collections, in addition to a large body of missionary memoirs from the nineteenth century.

This dissertation, by giving voice to destitute and orphaned children and let them narrate their own versions of history, attempts to focus the searchlight on previously unnoticed, yet essential features of the late Ottoman era and modernization, since these children were also conceived as relevant actors of the period.

⁴⁴*Les Missions Catholiques* was published by l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi starting from 1868. The society was founded in 1822 in Lyon, to bring aid to the missions by its donations. The complete digitalized archive of the periodical is housed at Bibliothèque National de France, Quai François-Mauriac 75706 Paris.

⁴⁵Partial collections of *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission* exist in Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and Bibliothèque National de France. The complete collection can be found in Archives Historiques de La Congrégation de la Mission.

CHAPTER 1

A CONTESTED TERRAIN: ABANDONED CHILDREN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

1.1. Introduction

Child abandonment, exposing infants usually in public places where they could be noticed, is a widespread theme in religious and imaginative literature. Famous examples include Moses and gods and heroes of mythology, from Oedipus to the twins Romulus and Remus. Parallel to its literary representation, abandoned children have been thoroughly analyzed from many perspectives within European historiography, thanks to rich documentation of foundling asylums, hospitals, and parish registers.¹ Provided that

¹Élisabeth Sablayrolles, *L'Enfance abandonnée à Strasbourg au XVIIIe siècle et la fondation de la Maison des enfants-trouvés*, Strasbourg: Librairie ISTRAS, 1976; David Ransel, *Mothers of Misery: Child Abandonment in Russia*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988; Rachel G. Fuchs, *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth Century France*, Albany, 1984; David I. Kertzer, "Gender Ideology and Infant Abandonment in Nineteenth Century Italy", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 22, no. 1, summer 1991, pp. 1-25; Wladimir Berelowitch, « Les Hospices des Enfants Trouvés en Russie (1763-1914) », *Enfance abandonnée et société en Europe: XIVE-XXe siècle: actes du colloque international, Rome, 30 et 31 janvier 1987*, organisé par la Società italiana di demografia storica, la Société de démographie historique, l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, l'École française de Rome, Rome: École française de Rome; Paris: diff. De Boccard, 1991, pp. 167-217; Kertzer, David I.; Sigle, Wendy; White, Michael J. "Childhood Mortality and Quality of Care Among Abandoned Children in Nineteenth-century Italy", *Population Studies*, vol. 53, no. 3, November 1999, pp. 303-15; Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999; Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy, and Marriage in Early Modern England*, Manchester; New York: Manchester University

these topics have only been vaguely touched upon in Middle Eastern contexts², this chapter, based on Ottoman archival documents and contemporary nineteenth century literature, is an exploratory journey to the social history of abandoned children of late Ottoman society. Revolving around such concepts as adultery, abortion, infanticide, and illegitimacy; dealing with such figures as prostitutes, foundlings, wet nurses, bastards, and orphans; and taking into consideration such institutions as poorhouses, industrial schools, orphanages, and foundling asylums, this chapter touches upon each to shed light upon the main subject, abandoned children.

Hacı Osman bin Islam, after discovering a foundling girl (*lâkita*) in the European quarter (*Frenk mahallesi*) of Salonika, took her, named her as Kâmile and then wrote a petition to the municipality in 27 August 1904, for assignment of a salary for her suckling, from the budget of municipality as it was the custom (*alelusûl*). The municipality found the request relevant and passed the application to the governorship, which was later rejected, since in the records there was another wet-nursing salary

Press, 1996; Mark Jackson, *New-born Child Murder: Women, Illegitimacy and the Courts in Eighteenth-century England*, Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996; Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith (eds.), *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica, and Japan*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980; H  l  ne Trop  , *La formation des enfants orphelins    Valence, XVe-XVIIe si  cles: le cas du Coll  ge imp  rial Saint-Vincent-Ferrier*, Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne : Presses de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 1998.

²Cem Behar; Courbage, Youssef; G  rsoy, Akile. "Economic Growth or Survival? The Problematic Case of Child Mortality in Turkey" *European Journal of Population/Revue Europ  enne de D  mographie*, vol. 15, no. 3, September 1999, pp. 241-78; Avner Giladi, *Infants, Parents, and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breast-Feeding and Their Social Implications*, Leiden: Brill, 1999; Moutassem-Mimouni, Badra, *Naissances et abandons en Alg  rie*, Paris :   d. Karthala, 2001; M  ropi Anastassiadou, « La protection de l'enfance abandonn  e dans l'Empire ottoman au XIXe si  cle. Le cas de la communaut   grecque orthodoxe de Beyo  lu (Istanbul) », *S  dost-Forschungen*, 59-60, 2000-2001, pp. 272-322; Jamila Bargach, *Orphans of Islam: Family, Abandonment, and Secret Adoption in Morocco*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002; Amira al-Azhary Sonbol, "Adoption in Islamic Society: A Historical Survey," (pp.45-67) and Andrea B. Rugh, "Orphanages in Egypt: Contradiction or Affirmation in a Family-Oriented Society," in *Children in the Muslim Middle East*, ed. Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995, pp.124-41; Mine Ener, *Managing Egypt's Poor and the Politics of Benevolence, 1800-1952*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

grant, given as a result of a previous petition of the same person for a foundling with the same name, Kâmile. Municipality replied in 23 November 1904 that the previous salary had never been paid, since the foundling died in a short while after she was taken. Therefore, this was the second abandoned baby that Hacı Osman bin İslam had adopted and given the same name. With the settlement of the ambiguity, a monthly salary of 30 *guruş* was granted.³

It should have been very painful for Hacı Osman and his family to lose their first adopted girl, for whom they were probably longing. Yet, without really waiting much, they managed to take in a second foundling. How was that possible? Was Salonika of 1904 full of abandoned babies? We do not know in exact quantitative terms, yet, it is certain that foundlings had a presence, especially for someone looking for them. Hacı Osman was a night guard in the European quarter (*Frenk mahallesi*) of the city and he was continually strolling in the empty streets of Salonika throughout the night, witnessing different sorts of misdemeanors and crimes, and trying to keep law and order. Moreover, he was potentially the first to discover abandoned children in front of houses, religious places, or simply in the streets. Assuming that Hacı Osman desperately wanted to have a daughter named Kâmile, we can say that he really had a bountiful field of harvest.

This case has very important aspects to summarize certain points that will be discussed in this chapter. First of all, even if we are unable to provide the reader with detailed statistical information, it is possible to argue that child abandonment was common in the Ottoman society and its frequency was related to many demographic factors such as poverty, migration, plague, war, etc. Secondly, it was a rarity to have separate institutions for the foundlings in the Ottoman Empire and most of these babies were taken care of in private homes. Either taken care of in homes or in institutions, foundlings had an extremely high mortality rate. Thirdly, there were significant state provisions for abandoned babies, in the form of salaries, granted as a result of formal application by the finder or care-taker. These allowances were meticulously registered and controlled by the relevant authorities, which points to the relatively bureaucratized nature of the support. Fourthly, there was always ambiguity about the religious and/or ethnic identity of the abandoned children, which in turn caused many problems in a

³BOA, DH. MKT, 919/29, 24/L/1322 (31.12.1904).

multi-religious and multi-ethnic society due to continuous concerns of conversion and weakening of the community.

1.2. Reasons of Child Abandonment in the Ottoman Empire

The phenomenon of child abandonment, that is, exposing infants at the courtyards of places of worship, in the streets, outside houses, or at convents and hospitals, is explained in European historiography very largely by circumstances of extreme poverty or dishonor. Although the investigation of the phenomenon in the Ottoman context is still an unaccomplished task, there is evidence for a similar course. In Mouradgea d'Ohsson's famous *Tableau Général*, abandoned children (*lâkit*)⁴ are defined as “unfortunate fruits of crime or of misery”.⁵ The *crime* here means basically having an extra-marital relation, while misery underlines the importance of destitution and poverty.

Poverty, desertion, widowhood – all these contributed to abandonment and may have been of equal or greater importance. In fact, child abandonment was one of the primary means for regulating family size under conditions of poverty. Infants were frequently exposed in the hope that a wealthier coreligionist would raise the child as his

⁴In Arabic, *lakit* or *menbûz*, are the terms that signify a child abandoned by his mother or parents and found by others. *Menbûz* means an infant who has been abandoned right after her/his birth. Dictionaries also define it as a bastard, as a product of fornication. *Lakit*, on the other hand, describes any object including a 'human infant' found in a public place. In famous English-Turkish dictionaries of James W. Redhouse these two words were translated as 'foundling'. J. W. Redhouse, *A Lexicon: English and Turkish*, Constantinople: A. H. Boyajian, 1884, p. 346: foundling: Sokakta bulunub anası babası malum olmayan küçük çocuk: laqit. J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, Constantinople: H. Matteosian, 1921, p. 1638: laqit: a foundling; p. 1988: menbuz: 1. cast away, 2. fit only to cast away, 3. deserted; a foundling; a bastard; 4. isolated, distant. In the Ottoman Turkish language, though both words exist, this terminology is only rarely used neither in archival documents nor in literary works. These children were simply defined as “abandoned” (*metruk, terk edilmiş, bırakılmış, bulunmuş*).

⁵Mouradgea d'Ohsson, *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman: Divisé en Deux Parties, dont l'une Comprend la Législation Mahométane; l'Autre, l'Histoire de l'Empire Othoman*, vol. 5, Istanbul: Les Editions ISIS, 2001, pp. 119-20.

or her own. Parents wished s/he would be found and adopted by a wealthier person and that s/he would enjoy a better life.⁶ Méropi Anastassiadou, in her article on the Greek foundlings of Beyoğlu underlines the importance of financial difficulties in explaining the exposure of children, based on an analysis of little notes pinned to the swaddling clothes of the babies. In one such note, there is direct reference to the regulation of the family size: “My little mommy ... we are five brothers and sisters and we do not have the means for livelihood, so they have sent me to you...”⁷

While discussing the role of poverty, it is also necessary to refer to certain natural disasters, epidemics, wars, and so on. A report of a Catholic missionary of Salonika points to the duplicating volume of child abandonment in the city. Soeur Auclair, superior of the Soeurs de la Charité (Sisters of Charity) in Salonika, wrote in 1881 that all the calamities in the region contribute to increase the number of abandoned children. “Some of them are laid down in the countryside to our Sisters of Saint-Vincent (Zeytinlik); others are brought downtown and are laid down to our door during the night; a blow of bell informs us but on our arrival the carrier disappears.”⁸

Abandonment was also frequently used as a device for disposing of illegitimate children. In fact, there are occasions when the contemporary terminology became confused, and the terms 'foundling' and 'bastard' became interchangeable. Being exposed within a month or so of birth may point to unwed mothers' fear of dishonor and rejection, since if foundlings were abandoned because of poverty or widowhood, there should have been more diffuse patterns of the age of the foundlings.⁹ In nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, most of the abandoned infants were only a few days old, abandoned right after their birth (*ba'de-t tevelliüd sokaklara bırakılan*).¹⁰ In certain

⁶Avner Giladi, *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society*, London: Macmillan/St Antony's College Series, 1992, p. 71.

⁷Anastassiadou, 293.

⁸« Bulgarie, Lettre de Soeur Auclair, supérieure des Soeurs de la Charité, à Salonique », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient [OEO]*, no. 125, Juillet 1881, pp. 162-4.

⁹Adrian Wilson, “Illegitimacy and its Implications in mid-Eighteenth-Century London: The Evidence of the foundling Hospital”, *Continuity and Change*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1989, pp. 103-64.

¹⁰BOA, DH.MKT., 1573/83, 07/R /1306 (11.12.1888); BOA, C.BLD., 90/4467, 29/Za/1255 (03.02.1840); BOA, A.AMD., 48/37, 08/Za/1269 (13/08/1853); BOA,

documents, foundlings are defined openly as “illegitimates” (*gayr-ı meşru*).¹¹

Anastassiadou also underlines the role of illegitimacy, again with reference to mother's notes: “Dear Sir, the baby is not baptized. We ask you to accept it, because he is a bastard and we ask you to baptize him immediately, because he has pain”; “This child is the product of a fraudulent place; his mother died while giving birth.”¹² In another note, there was conscious effort to underline that the baby was not illegitimate: “Do not think that I am a child of the street; I am poor but not of the street.”¹³ The open rejection of illegitimacy in the note is worth noting, since it projects the common belief of the society about the abandoned children. According to the regulation of the Greek Orphanage of Izmir, founded in 1870, the orphanage would admit the abandoned children, who were generally the fruits of an illegitimate relationship and who thus in everyday language were called “bastards”. It was strictly banned, in the regulation written in 1874, for the personnel to call these children by this “barbarian word”, the author of the regulation did not dare to write the exact term (bastard), which was in use among the local community.¹⁴

Ahmed Midhat as well speaks of child abandonment as a practice unwed mothers resorted to in cases of having illegitimate children. All abandoned babies in his works are illegitimates. The novelist approached the problem of illegitimate children and abandonment with the dichotomous framework of Christianity versus Islam. He claims, in one of his novels, that the main reason for the existence of abandonment is the impact

DH.MKT., 1440/10, 26/Za/1304 (16.08.1887). Judith Tucker notes that the foundlings recovered alive in Cairo in the early 1900s were generally presumed to be illegitimate children born to prostitutes or women who had been raped or had illicit love affairs. Judith E. Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 156.

¹¹For instance, BOA, DH.MKT., 1007/53, 19/B/1323 (19.9.1905); BOA, DH.MKT., 2235/92, 12/R/1317, (19.8.1899); BOA, DH.MKT., 1553/12, 4/S/1306 (10.10.1888).

¹²Anastassiadou, 294.

¹³Anastassiadou, 293.

¹⁴*Règlement de l'orphelinat grec à Smyrne, fondé en février 1870*, Smyrne, 1874 (gr.), p. 7, In Hervé Georgelin, *La fin de Smyrne: Du Cosmopolitisme aux Nationalismes*, Paris : CNRS éd., 2005, p. 128.

of the European civilization on the social life of Péra.¹⁵ He regards abandonment as an obvious sign of increase in the illegitimate affairs of unmarried women, who become mothers even if they were still considered as girls (a growing problem of *filles mères*¹⁶).

For him, the absence of certain Islamic traditions and practices, such as concubinage, polygamy, and divorce among the Christians increases adultery, prostitution, illegitimacy, and apparently child abandonment in society. Ahmed Midhat claims that under the rules of a Christian polity, when an unmarried woman gets pregnant there is no way to solve the issue in a decent way. However, it was always possible for Muslim men to have concubines or to remarry. In the case of an extra-marital pregnancy, a Muslim could claim the child his and fix the problem. Thus, illegitimacy and child abandonment were interpreted as predominantly Christian phenomenon, which unfortunately find replicas in the Muslim quarters due to imitation and bad influences. This hypothesis is highly imbued with Christian antipathy and is based on speculation and prejudice. Yet, it probably reflects the contemporary public opinion.

1.3. Patterns of Child Abandonment

It is almost impossible to provide detailed statistics on birth and infant mortality rates in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, quantitative prevalence of child abandonment is a mystery. Yet, this problem can be overcome as meaningful trends are discovered. After a thorough research in various collections of the Ottoman Archives, a sample of more than 140 foundlings was gathered.¹⁷ Of these, 81 relate to Muslims and 63 to non-Muslims. Although it would be unrealistic to present exact statistical conclusions with a

¹⁵*Müşahadat*, 196.

¹⁶An expression to refer to unwed mothers. The English version is also the same, girl-mothers.

¹⁷In fact, based on documents of Darülaceze, we have access to more than 2000 foundlings between the years 1903-1920. Yet, these records, prepared to account for infant mortality, do not contain specific information on the foundlings, except for their age at the time of admittance. Check tables at the end.

small sample, it is possible to construct a table of 'general trends', patterns, and repetitious themes and discern certain aspects of the lives of the foundlings with the Ottoman archival documents and nineteenth-century literary sources.

As for the milieu of abandonment (Table 1.1.), for the Muslims, the mosques were the most relevant places for abandonment (48,15 %). The prominence of the mosques is explained by the intent of the those who were abandoning their babies to benefit from the duties expected from the believer by Islamic teachings. In principle, legal doctrine places the act of taking care of an abandoned child in the category of being recommended (*mendûb*).¹⁸ After the mosques comes the practice of exposing infants on the streets (25,93 %). The entrances of the public baths were also used for the purpose of abandoning babies (7,41 %). These locations were meaningful when it was intended that the baby was rescued and adopted. Yet, in cases of latent infanticide, the mothers abandoned their babies after birth, leaving them to their fate in a deserted building or lot where they might not be found by a passer-by. In fact, they were practically hidden (*suret-i hafiyede enzar-ı ammeden gizli bir yere*): they were exposed in invisible corners of streets, cemeteries, cellars or wrecks (*virâne*).¹⁹

For non-Muslims, the most relevant place of abandonment seems to be the doors of houses (49,21 %). In majority of the cases, this was the house of a relatively known and affluent person.²⁰ The second choice was to leave infants on the streets (20,63 %).

¹⁸M.S.Sujimon, "The Treatment of the Foundling (al-laqit) according to the Hanafis", *Islamic Law and Society*, vol. 9, no. 3, 2002, pp. 358-385.

¹⁹There are a couple of examples, where the infants were abandoned to cemeteries. In 1893, a baby girl was found in the cemetery of İshakpaşa mosque in Salonika: BOA, DH.MKT., 146/25, 27/Ra/1311 (7.10.1893). In another example, in 1907, a foundling was discovered in the muslim cemetery of Salonika and he was delivered to the municipal guard (*belediye çavuşu*): BOA, DH.MKT., 1146/88, 30/Z /1324 (13.2.1907). In 1911, a six-months-old baby was found in Karacaahmet Cemetery in İstanbul: BOA, DH.EUM.KADL., 7/3, 01/S /1329 (1.2.1911). In 1905, a baby was found in the cellar of the bastion (Toprak Tabya) in Okmeydanı: BOA, ZB., 372/111, 5/Ts/1321 (18.11.1905).

²⁰In 1906, a baby was abandoned in front of the house of grocer (bakkal), Panayot in Tarlabası: BOA, ZB., 373/34, 20/Ni/1322 (3.5.1906). In 1903, a girl was left at the door of a moneychanger, Kozma: BOA, DH.MKT., 783/6, 15/Ş /1321 (5.1.1903). In 1910, a boy was abandoned at the door of a candymaker, Arnapolis Endeban in Kumkapı: BOA, DH.MKT., 95/89, 29/Ra/1328 (10.4.1910). In colonial Spanish America, sometimes infants were privately "exposed" on the mother's, father's or relatives' doorstep and knowledgeable locals usually knew that the new born had not

Interestingly, only few of the children were abandoned to the churches (11,11 %).²¹ Most of the non-Muslim *millets* had their own communal mechanisms, and in some cases foundling asylums, and an infant left to a church may guarantee some form of care. In other words, while infants in the courtyards of the mosques had to wait an individual passer-by to take them, non-Muslim religious authorities would directly take in the babies. The care facility was usually in the form of entrusting the babies with wet-nurses who were, for the great part, poor immigrants, coming from provincial areas of the Empire, in search for a better life in the capital and who were living in quite poor districts of Istanbul like Hasköy, Balat, Fener, Tatavla, and Dolapdere, in unpleasant dwellings.²² In other words, abandoning children to churches would not render these children opportunities of life better than their parents. Therefore, abandonment to particular houses, despite the guarantee of care by the churches, may point to the preference of private fostering by abandoning mothers or fathers, so that their babies are raised in wealthier households.

Child abandonment in the Ottoman Empire had basically an urban character. In Ottoman archival documents relatively big cities and towns stick out (Table 1.3.). Expectedly, most of the documents pertain to Istanbul (59,72 %). Then, comes other cities, such as Salonika (11,11 %), Mosul (5,56 %), Rize (3,47 %), and Beirut (2,78 %), Bursa (2,08 %).²³ From the documentation at hand, it seems that foundlings were never a major problem in provincial cities in the way that they were in big cities, since informal but organized networks of child care existed at the parochial level.²⁴ It is

been actually abandoned. Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999, p. 133.

²¹Certain churches were known by the communities for their care facilities for the abandoned children. In Greek community, for example, the church to which unwanted babies were generally exposed was Panaghia of Péra (founded in 1804).

²²Anastassiadou, 307.

²³It is interesting that no Ottoman documentation relating to the province of Aydın, especially to the city of Izmir is found, although we know that both Catholic Sisters and Greek community had foundling facilities (as we will see in the coming pages).

²⁴The association of illegitimacy with urbanization in France has often been noted. Etienne van de Walle, “Illegitimacy in France during the Nineteenth Century”, in Peter

possible to refer to the reluctance of women to abandon their children in poorer provinces. Moreover, many unmarried mothers from the countryside come to the city to be delivered so that they can hide their condition.²⁵ However, this can always be a result that the documents lead us to, since rural areas are under-represented in the archives.²⁶

Both explanations of poverty and illegitimacy share a common element: the problem is the existence of a child, because of the social impact or the economic damage it will bring. Thus, regardless of gender, the child must be forsaken. Consequently, there should not be a discernible pattern of gender distinction in the overall gender distribution of foundlings. In France, Fuchs found that “the sex of the baby was *not* a significant factor in whether or not a mother chose to abandon her baby. From 1830 to 1869 roughly half of all babies abandoned were male.”²⁷ The same held true in Spain.²⁸ Contrary to his expectations, based on expressed cultural norms, Ransel also found that in Russia, as time passed, boys and girls were abandoned in equal numbers.²⁹

The data gathered from Ottoman archives points to an unbalanced distribution of gender. Girls made up 55 % of the abandoned children in the sample gathered from the archives. (Table 1.4.) Also among the Greek community of Beyoğlu, the girls were abandoned more frequently than boys.³⁰ The same pattern held true for the Greek foundlings of Izmir: the girls were more numerous than the boys. For instance, in 1899, Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith (eds.), *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica, and Japan*, Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1980, pp. 264-77.

²⁵An 18 year old young woman, Fadl Wasi, originally from Jirja in the south of Egypt, had an extramarital affair with a soldier, who then deserted her for joining his battalion. When her pregnancy started to show, she was forced to leave the village for Cairo with fear of dishonor and death. Khaled Fahmy, “Modernizing Cairo: A Revisionist Narrative”, in *Making Cairo Medieval*, Nasser O. Rabbat, Irene A. Bierman, Nezar Alsayyad (eds.), Lexington Books, 2005, pp. 173-200.

²⁶*Sicil* records, or instance, may have brought about more reliable information on rural areas.

²⁷Fuchs, *Abandoned Children...*, 65.

²⁸Joan Sherwood, *Poverty in Eighteenth-Century Spain: The Women and Children of the Inclusa*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988, pp. 138-9.

²⁹Ransel, 132-4.

7 boys and 24 girls were abandoned to the foundling asylum, and in 1901, together with a relative rapprochement, there were only 22 boys, as opposed to 34 girls.³¹ The gender ratio among the foundling population of the Greek island of Kephallenia³² was also different from the European pattern. On the island, 56 males as opposed to 95 females were given into the care of the state.³³

1.4. Survival of a Foundling

These little children, thrown into streets, as unwanted *dump*, usually died, in a very short while before or after they were discovered. Some others, however, managed to survive. The mechanisms created in the Ottoman context and that helped them stay alive will be discussed under this heading.

1.4.1. “Kindness of Strangers”: Private Efforts for Saving the Foundlings

John Boswell argues that at the absence of institutions for the foundlings, in order to survive, a child should have been rescued, by the “kindness of strangers”.³⁴ In other

³⁰Anastassiadou, 285.

³¹Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greek Community in İzmir, 1897-1914*, unpublished PhD thesis, Leiden Universtiy, 2005.

³²The Ionian Islands were caught in a curious and anomalous position. Technically, according to the Treaty of Paris (1815), they constituted “a single, free, and independent state,” but one “under the exclusive protection of His Britannic Majesty”. In his “State of the Islands” report in 1824, Sir Frederick Adam indicated which institutions he wanted to develop: schools, hospitals, prisons, insane asylums, and foundling homes, aimed at caring for society's most vulnerable members, abandoned children (letter to Douglass, 18 Jan. 1824, co 136122, PRO).

³³Thomas W. Gallant, “Agency, Structure, and Explanation in Social History: The Case of the Foundling Home on Kephallenia, Greece, during the 1830s”, *Social Science History*, Vol. 15, No. 4, Winter, 1991, pp. 479-508.

³⁴John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, University of Chicago Press,

words, such a society would need *virtuous people* who would take into their houses abandoned children.³⁵ Most of the examples from the Ottoman Empire fit into this category. Although in the coming pages I will discuss certain institutional solutions to the issue of abandonment, a much larger percentage of the foundlings were sheltered in private houses, mostly with a limited support from the state authorities, given that the foundling is a Muslim. It was common for the affluent families to take orphans and destitute children to the household, most usually in the form of domestic servants.³⁶ The adopted children, as they are called (*evlatlık*, *ahiret evladı* or *besleme*)³⁷, in linguistic terms refers to a form of adoption, though in reality these children were basically servants. The household head pledged to supply the child with his or her basic needs – food, shelter, and clothing – while the child, in return, was expected to serve in the house in the future, mostly in the form of performing household chores.³⁸ The hosting family was considered to perform a charity (taking custody of a destitute child and providing his or her basic needs) and for that reason the labor of these children was unpaid.³⁹ In that respect, the motivation behind welcoming foundlings into a household was much more concrete than a vague “kindness”, it was also a form of recruitment,

1998.

³⁵A number of scholars have taken issue with Boswell's interpretation, questioning whether it presents a misleadingly happy portrait of the prospects of abandoned children. These critics contend that foundlings were subject to higher rates of mortality than Boswell acknowledges and, more importantly, that the attitude of their rescuers was characterized less by kindness than by self-interest, since those who took in abandoned children routinely sought to enslave, prostitute, or exploit them. Louise A. Tilly et al., “Child Abandonment in European History: A Symposium”, *Journal of Family History*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1992, pp. 1-23.

³⁶This will be the topic of Chapter 2.

³⁷According to standard Turkish dictionary *ahiretlik* means “An orphan that is adopted.” In the expressions “Ahiret anne” (step mummy) and “ahiret evladı” (adopted child) there is no genealogy involved. Even if certain girls are called as “adopted daughter” there is no Islamic legal restriction for marrying them (neither by the father nor by the son of the family).

³⁸Eyal Ginio, “Living on the Margins of Charity”, in *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts*, edited by Mine Ener, Amy Singer and Michael Bonner: State University of New York Press, New York, 2003, pp. 165-184.

³⁹The *adoption* of orphan and abandoned children into the households deserves a separate study of its own, which is discussed in the Second Chapter.

through which cheap/free labor was secured.

According to the account of a British diplomat from 1853, many rich Turkish ladies carried on a practice of training orphans, foundlings, or the children of poor parents. They kept what may be called Nurseries of Wives and Mothers, where they train and educate young girls, their young protégés, who were collected from the streets by their agents. Bayle St. John concluded that “in the East there is no prejudice of birth, and the lady is distinguished from her servant only by education and wealth.”⁴⁰ His description witnesses to the fact that taking in foundlings (and orphans) from the street was not always related to mere *kindness* but that it may bring certain gains, when these women act as intermediaries for the employment or marriage of these prospective servants or wives.

In fact, the practice was very common among the elite classes. Men of status also adopted orphans and foundlings to develop their households and courts. Koca Hüsrev Paşa⁴¹, famous grand vizier of Abdülmecid (2 July 1839 - 8 June 1840), had no children of his own and was keen on taking in orphans and abandoned children into his household, together with slave children.⁴² There were teachers in residence, employed for the tutoring of this large number of children population.⁴³ Halil İnalçık argued that the number of these children was around 50, while Avigdor Levy suggested that there were almost 100 such children raised in Hüsrev's household.⁴⁴ Most of these children

⁴⁰Bayle St. John, *The Turks in Europe: A Sketch of Manners & Politics in the Ottoman Empire*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1853, p. 64.

⁴¹Of Abaza origins, Koca Mehmet Hüsrev Paşa was brought to Istanbul as a slave and entered into the household of Çavuşbaşı Sait Efendi. He was later placed in the palace service but began his rise to the top as the protégé of Küçük Hüseyin Paşa, commander of the navy. In the 1820s, he was assigned to the post of Governor of Trabzon. During the reign of Mahmud II, he played an important role in the abolishment of the Janissaries and the establishment of the regular army (Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye). Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, University of Washington Press, 1998, p. 26.

⁴²Some of these children were, expectedly, slaves, bought from various slave markets. Yet, some others were simply the destitute children collected from the street. Toledano, 26.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴Halil İnalçık, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, İstanbul, 1950, p. 613; Avigdor Levy, “The Officer Corps in Sultan Mahmud’s New Army 1826-1839,” *IJMES*, vol. 2 (1971),

succeeded in rising to important administrative and military positions.⁴⁵ A baby boy, who was brought by one of Hüsrev's agents when only one year old and taken to Hüsrev's mansion, was quite special, since he was to become a grand vizier, İbrahim Edhem Paşa (1818-1893).⁴⁶ Right after the arrival of this baby, Hüsrev's second wife adopted the boy as her *evlatlık* and raised him as her own child. Edhem did not know much about his origins, save for scanty and dubious information related to him in his childhood.⁴⁷ What is known is that he was completely destitute, under threat of perishing in the street, and that one day he was taken into a very rich household, which resulted in the transformation of his whole life.

In novels of Ahmet Midhat Efendi, “kind people”, who find a baby in their gardens or at their threshold, usually take him/her in without any hesitation, and assume the care for it. In *Dürdane Hanım* (1882), Dürdane, the precious girls of a well-known and rich family, falls in love with a womanizer, who deceives her with the promise of marriage. As an unexperienced girl, Dürdane falls into his trap and starts secretly accepting him into her room at nights. In the end, she finds out that she is pregnant and the father was indifferent to the problem. In the end, she gives birth to the baby in her room with secret arrangements of Ulviye Hanım, the mistress of the mansion next door, who learned about the whole affair by chance. When the baby was born very early in the morning, Ulviye's servants took the baby and take him with a boat to the quay of her own house so that her mother *finds* and adopts him. Pretending that this is a helpless boy anonymously abandoned, Ulviye accepts the boy as her “*ahiret evladı*”. Right at

pp: 21-39.

⁴⁵It was estimated that between seventy and eighty of his household slaves attained the highest ranks in the army and administration, including the position of the Grand Vizier. Husrev's slaves held the more prominent positions during the period of his ascendancy, particularly in the regiments of the Mansûre. The best known among them was Halil Rifat Paşa, who in November 1836, after holding some of the highest military positions, replaced Husrev as Ser Asker. In addition, at least three of the first four officers to rise to the rank of colonel (miralay) in the Mansûre army were Husrev's protégés. Toledano, 26-7.

⁴⁶Another grand vizier of the same household was Reşid Mehmed Paşa (1789-1839), who served from 1829 to 1833. Levy, 29.

⁴⁷According to his biographers, he was one of the orphans of the uprising of Chios in 1822. Mehmet Zeki Pakalın, *Son Sadrazamlar ve Başvekiller*, vol. 2, İstanbul: Ahmet Sait Matbaası, 1942, pp. 403-404.

his arrival, a wet-nurse was recruited and a female slave was given the duties of washing his clothes and doing other things necessary.⁴⁸

In *Müşahedat* (1891), the life story of Siranuş is also one of abandonment. Her widowed mother, having an extramarital affair with a Tunisian sailor, gets pregnant and gives birth to a girl. Since the poor woman was all alone (the sailor was back into duty) and afraid of the judgment of society for herself as an unwed mother and for her baby as a bastard, she abandons the girl before dawn at the front door of an Assyrian church in Kalyoncu Kulluğu, Beyoğlu.⁴⁹ The sexton of the church, walking to the building to wake the pastor, finds the swaddled baby in the door and decides to take her to the household of a merchant from Aleppo, whose wife has recently had a baby. The merchant's wife, Bayzar Dudu, welcomes the baby sincerely and calls for a Greek midwife, after realizing that this baby has been recently born and has her funicular uncut.⁵⁰

In both literary examples, it was almost a direct decision to keep the child and it was obvious from the compassionate characters in both novels that the foundlings will be saved in one way or another. Given the religiously positive connotations of saving an orphan in Islam⁵¹, it can be expected that the believers of the community had found it difficult to reject or ignore the abandoned children on their way. Yet, we have to take it into consideration that in reality it was not an easy decision to accept a new member to a household, especially for men of modest means. In order to facilitate the livelihood of the foundlings in such cases, the state assumed an active role and supported the babies with allowances, given the foundling was a Muslim.

⁴⁸Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Dürdane Hanım*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000, pp. 43, 47, 108.

⁴⁹This church should be Meryem Ana Süryani Kadim Kilisesi, in Tarlabası.

⁵⁰Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000, pp. 196-7.

⁵¹According to a hadith of Muhammed: “The one who sponsors an orphan, whether from his own wealth or from the orphan’s wealth, I and he will be like these two in Paradise.”

1.4.2. State Provisions for Abandoned Children

It was possible for the father or mother of a foundling to leave the child with some money to be used for the benefit of it. In religious terms, this money must be used by the finder only for the foundling's maintenance. However, if a foundling has no money or property, the Public Treasury (*beytülmal*) is responsible for his/her maintenance and upbringing (*nafaka*).⁵² In d'Ohsson's *Tableau Général* it is stated that "If nobody takes care of an abandoned child, it belongs to the state, and it is the state who has to nourish and upbringing him/her."⁵³ Parallel to the legal doctrines, in the Ottoman archives there are documents prepared to grant salary to the abandoned children.⁵⁴ The Ottoman authorities acknowledged that the state had a duty to provide for the abandoned children (*sokaklara bırakılan çocukların hıfz-ı sıhhatleri ile ırzâ ve infakı vazife-yi hükümet iktizasından olmasına*).⁵⁵ Thus, Muslim households of moderate means took responsibility of foundlings in order to benefit from the financial support that the state offered to the infant as the Islamic legal teachings tell. Within the period between 1811 and 1911, the salaries ranged between 10 and 55 guruş.⁵⁶ The parameters of this difference are unknown to us, though the date and the place have matter to a certain extent.

Although maintenance and upbringing of a foundling was specified as the duty of the Public Treasury in legal texts, the source of salary changed from case to case, based

⁵²M.S.Sujimon, "The Treatment of the Foundling ...", pp. 362-3. If the resources of the Public Treasury are insufficient, *kadı* may compel the finder or another person to provide maintenance for the foundling.

⁵³D'Ohsson, 120.

⁵⁴The archival documents (BOA) used a number of formulations for the name of the salary: maaş, ırza ve iaşelerine mahsus olmak üzere..., müddet-i ırzaiye [süresince] maaş, çocuğun ırzai için maaş, ırza ve iaşesi için maaş, nafaka ve kisve bahası olmak üzere, infak ve iksa, etc.

⁵⁵BOA, İ.MVL., 519/23345, 22/Ca/1281 (23.10.1864). The document is a decree of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances on the delivery of abandoned children to the volunteering women for suckling.

⁵⁶In 1811, an infant was found near Kovacılar (Fatih, Istanbul) and taken by a woman. Baby was granted a monthly allowance of 10 *kuruş* : BOA, C.BLD., 76/3746, 26/M /1226 (20.02.1811). In 1888, wet-nurse salaries was increased to 55 *kuruş* in Salonika: BOA, DH.MKT. 1573/83, 07/R /1306 (11.12.1888).

on spatial and chronological circumstances. Despite the preeminence of the central treasury,⁵⁷ the local administrative and municipal revenues were also used to provide for the foundlings. In one of the earliest examples, from 1811, salary of a foundling was assigned from Istanbul custom revenues (*gümrük*).⁵⁸ It was common that foundlings were to receive their payments from the public treasury (*beytülmal*).⁵⁹ This was directly parallel with the Hanefi regulation. In some other earlier examples, the foundlings were granted salary from the income of nearby police station (*canib-i zabtiyye*). In 1853, a little infant of 3 or 4 days was found in Silivrikapı and a wet-nurse was hired for her with a 25 *guruş* salary, paid from the log revenues (*tomruklar hasılatı*), collected by the police station (*zabtiyye*) of the district.⁶⁰ It is also noted that some of the pious endowments had provisions for the families who looked after foundlings and orphans in their households (*eytam için tahsis edilen akçeler*).⁶¹ Financial offices (*mal sandığı*) in the *vilâyets* also took charge of the orphans adopted into families.⁶²

Changes in the provincial administration of the Empire redefined rights and responsibilities of the local governments and affected the fates of foundlings as well. The municipalities were established from the 1870s onwards and their spread to the provinces was achieved after the 1880s. Municipalities, as local institutions serving the

⁵⁷BOA, İ.MVL., 409/1779, 01/Ca/1275 (08.12.1858); BOA, İ.MVL., 397/17286, 23/Za/1274 (05.07. 1858); BOA, İ.MVL., 233/8108, 02/C /1268 (24.03.1852). Apparently, in the earlier periods the whole responsibility was on the shoulders of the treasury. Erten, in his book on eighteenth century Konya mentions a case of a woman who found a 2,5 years-old boy in the street applied to the court for the assignment of an allowance from the *Beytülmal*. Her petition was accepted and she was granted a monthly stipend of 12 *guruş*. Hayri Erten, *Konya Şeriyeye Sicilleri Işığında Ailenin Sosyo-Ekonomik ve Kültürel Yapısı (XVIII. yy'in İlk Yarı)*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Kültür Eserleri, 2001, p. 123.

⁵⁸BOA, C.BLD., 76/3746, 26/M /1226 (20.02.1811).

⁵⁹BOA, İ.MVL. 409/17779, 01/Ca/1275 (08.12.1858); BOA, İ.MVL. 397/17286, 23/Za/1274 (05.07. 1858); BOA, İ.MVL. 233/8108, 02/C /1268 (24.03.1852).

⁶⁰BOA, İ.MVL., 290/11567, 18/S /1270 (20.11.1853).

⁶¹Kurt found such entries in endowment deeds of Bursa. Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi, 571 no'lu Vakfiye Defteri, 98-100 in Abdurrahman Kurt, *Bursa Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Ailesi (1839-1876)*, Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1998, p. 74-75.

⁶²*Ibid.*, 76. In 1838 Bursa *mal sandığı* paid 515.301 *kuruş* for various orphans.

local community, were delegated certain duties of the center, as the state was increasingly sharing authority with the provincial governments. Relief of the poor and the destitute was also part of municipalities' mandate. In the budgets of municipalities, there were items called “poor relief” with names of those who were entitled to monthly stipends from this budget.⁶³ Apparently, this handing over of authority was not a sign of decentralization. On the contrary, by the establishment of municipalities, the state was trying to secure more direct authority over the provinces, which were traditionally only remotely supervised.

In June 1886, a baby girl, Sabire, was found in a mosque in a little town, Kuvaroz, of the province of Trabzon. She was given to Çolakoğlu Osman Çavuş (a sergeant) and a salary was granted to her from the budget of the municipality.⁶⁴ There are numerous examples from other provinces, such as Mardin, Rize, Salonika, Beirut, from the late 1880s onwards.⁶⁵ In the 1890s, the foundlings who were not voluntarily adopted into families were taken care of with the assistance of the municipality by those who accepted the babies for material gain.⁶⁶

The duration of the support was variable. In most of the cases, the foundling was granted a “temporary” (*muvaakkaten*) salary, applicable only for the period of baby's breast-feeding.⁶⁷ For instance, a baby boy, found in the street in Üsküdar and granted a

⁶³Mahmoud Yazbak, “Muslim Orphans and the Sharia in Ottoman According to Palestine Sijil Records”, *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, vol. 44, no. 2, May 2001, pp. 123-140.

⁶⁴BOA, DH.MKT. 1353/36, 04/L /1303 (06.07.1886).

⁶⁵There are other examples from other provinces for years after the 1880s. For Trabzon: BOA, DH.MKT., 1351/45, 16/N /1303 (18.06.1886). For Mardin: BOA, DH.MKT., 1514/45, 10/L /1305 (20.06.1888). For Rize: BOA, DH.MKT., 1772/33, 02/Ra/1308 (16.10.1890); BOA, DH.MKT., 422/67, 14/Ra/1313 (04.09.1895); BOA, DH.MKT., 111/40, 01/S /1311 (13.08.1893). For Beirut: BOA, DH.MKT., 2480/113, 17/M /1319 (6.5.1901). For Salonika: BOA, DH.MKT., 1573/83, 07/R /1306 (11.12.1888); BOA, DH.MKT., 2224/40, 14/Ra/1317 (22.07.1899); BOA, DH.MKT., 784/43, 10/Ş/1321 (31.10.1903); BOA, DH.MKT., 119/14, 11/S /1311 (23.8.1893); BOA, DH.MKT., 154/6, 09/R /1311 (19.10.1893); BOA, DH.MKT., 146/25, 27/Ra/1311 (7.10.1893).

⁶⁶BOA, DH.MKT., 1986/123, 20/M/1310 (14.8.1892).

⁶⁷Suckling or wet-nursing was considered to be the primary and inalienable right of a newborn. When the biological mother was dead or incapable of feeding her own child or when the baby was abandoned, a wet-nurse was hired. Jamila Bargach,

“temporary” salary in 1858, was given to a certain Emine Hanım to take care of him.⁶⁸ In 1852, the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances ruled that granting allowance after the period of suckling was contrary to some precedents (*müddet-i arzâiyesi tekml olmuş olmasına nazaran maaş tahsisi bazı emsaline tevafuk etmez*).⁶⁹ Yet, even after the decision, it is possible to find examples of foundlings, who were supported for longer times. The girls might receive a salary until their marriage (*hin-i tezvîc, izdivacında kat' olunmak üzere*).⁷⁰ Also some boys were entitled to an allowance until they become self-sufficient and could live without needing anyone (*istiğna hasıl edinceye kadar*).⁷¹ Interestingly, in 1865, it was underlined that there were precedents of granting allowances for longer periods, especially to those foundlings who were abandoned to mosques (*cevami-i şerif*). Those boys would be given a monthly salary of 30 *kuruş* until they could earn their livelihood (*kâr u kesbe muktedir*), and girls until they got married.⁷² In that sense, duration of the support was a still unsettled issue and the authorities assumed changing positions in different contexts.

Orphans of Islam: Family, Abandonment, and Secret Adoption in Morocco, Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002, pp. 69, 139.

⁶⁸BOA., İ.MVL. 397/17286, 23/Za/1274 (05.07. 1858). Examples can be enumerated: BOA., İ.MVL. 397/17286, 23/Za/1274 (05.07. 1858). A girl infant, found in Sultan Bayezid Camii, was granted a temporary salary of 50 *guruş*. BOA, İ.MVL., 351/15313, 18/B/1272 (25.3.1856). A girl was found in Ankara, Hatuniye district. She was given to a wet-nurse and a temporary salary of 30 *guruş* was assigned to the foundling. BOA, İ.MVL. 342/14761, 04/S/1272 (16.10.1855).

⁶⁹BOA., İ.MVL., 233/8108, 02/C /1268 (24.03.1852).

⁷⁰Some examples may be: BOA, DH.MKT. 1573/83, 07/R /1306 (11.12.1888), BOA, İ.MVL. 290/11567, 18/S /1270 (20.11.1853), BOA, A.AMD., 48/37, 08/Za/1269 (13/08/1853). The state generally retained the guardianship of the child and it may act as the marriage guardian (*veli*) of a female foundling, represented by the person of the *kadı*.

⁷¹BOA, İ.MVL., 233/8108, 02/C /1268 (24.03.1852). There are other examples for relatively extensive support methods. In 1865, Mehmed was found in a mosque in Serez (Serres) and granted a monthly salary of 30 *kuruş* until he could take care of himself (*kendini idare edinceye kadar*): BOA, C.BLD., 90/4485, 24/Ş /1281 (22.01.1865). In 1865, a baby boy, İsmail Hakkı was found in Çürüklük (Topkapı, İstanbul) and granted a monthly salary of 50 *kuruş* until his puberty (*hadd-ı buluğ*): BOA, C.BLD., 18/854, 19/Za/1281 (15.04.1865).

⁷²BOA, C.BLD., 8/396, 18/S /1282 (11.07.1865).

In order to limit the duration of support, sometimes only wet-nurses of the foundlings were supplied with a salary. Given the financial burden of long-term allowances for the foundlings, it was hard to take care of these infants as single individuals. Alternatively directing the relationship to the wet-nurses helped the government economize on the issue.⁷³ The state usually played a direct role in entrusting abandoned children to volunteering wet-nurses (*hükümet marifetiyle istekli olan kadınlara teslim edilerek*).⁷⁴ In 1840, when a two-days old Mehmed Nuri was found in Kumkapı (Istanbul), at the Atik Nişancı Mehmed Paşa mosque, he was handed over to a woman to feed him with a monthly salary of 30 *guruş*.⁷⁵ In 1888, to secure the breast-feeding of a foundling left at the door of the Cami-i Kebir (Friday mosque) of Mardin, a wet nurse was recruited with a salary of 25 *guruş*.⁷⁶

Financial registers in the Ottoman archives provide evidence to the fact that wet-nurses of the foundlings were employed directly by the state and were paid for their service of taking care of foundlings. In the registers of Treasury, there are long lists of salary assignments to wet-nurses.⁷⁷ Evidently, state was in a position to determine the wages of wet-nurses in a centralized manner as their employer. In 1864, monthly salaries of the wet-nurses of Istanbul were increased, with a decision of the Council of

⁷³Moreover, we can also refer to the issue of distrust to the *vasis*. Even if orphans and foundlings were handed over to 'trustable' persons with the mediation of the *kadı*, there were numerous court cases in which the guardians were blamed for maltreating the children and their entitlements. It was possible, for example, to find cases in which the allowance of the foundling was spent to other expenditures and the suckling is neglected. As a solution to that, paying direct salaries to the wet-nurses may have seemed safer for the lives of the infants. We will see in another section that trusting the babies to wet-nurses was another source of problem for those who were working in the field of orphan relief.

⁷⁴BOA, İ..MVL, 519/23345, 22/Ca/1281 (23.10.1864).

⁷⁵BOA, C.BLD., 90/4467, 29/Za/1255 (03.02.1840).

⁷⁶BOA, DH.MKT. 1514/45, 10/L /1305 (20.06.1888). It is possible to give several examples. In 1851, an infant was found in a mosque in Mosul and he was entrusted to a wet-nurse with 30-40 *kuruş* monthly salary: BOA, C.ML., 690/28280, 29/Z /1267 (25.10.1851). In 1865, Mehmed was found in a mosque in Serez (Serres) and given to a woman for breast-feeding: BOA, C.BLD., 90/4485, 24/Ş /1281 (22.01.1865). A boy was found near the mosque in Halidüz neighborhood of Rize and was given to Hacula Hatun for suckling: BOA, DH.MKT., 1772/33, 02/Ra/1308 (16.10.1890).

⁷⁷BOA, MAD. d. 1/13894; BOA, MAD. d. 1/13578; BOA, MAD. d. 1/14192.

State, from 25 to 50 *guruş*, when many of these women returned foundlings entrusted to them (*canib hükümete redd olunmakta*), since their income was insufficient to support themselves and the infant.⁷⁸ It was acknowledged by the Council that women applying for the job were usually deprived and destitute (*bîkes ve bîvâye*), who gave birth recently, and they hoped that those salaries would serve as their own means of livelihood (*medâr-ı maişetleri*). The Council also approved in 1888 the decision of the Governorship of Salonika to increase the salaries of foundlings' wet-nurses from 25 to 55 *guruş*, since they were too little in comparison with increased costs of living (*galâ-yı es'âra nazaran dîn*).⁷⁹ In another document, the *mutasarrıf* of İzmit informs the Sublime Port in his telegraph of 4 August 1901, that he could not find a wet-nurse for a foundling throughout the town and that he would go to Maşukiye himself to solve the issue.⁸⁰ The level of involvement in this case testify for the responsibility of the government authorities.

The passage of salaries from the foundlings to wet-nurses may also be interpreted as the gradual transformation of these women into quasi-institutional solutions for the issue of child abandonment. Parallel to the emergence of different sorts of bureaucratic structures and intermediary mechanisms to deal with ever increasing concerns of a modernizing state, wet-nurses also have found themselves as state employees. In other words, state, instead of taking care of each foundling as a single individual, relied on intermediary mechanisms, which decreased its burden and expanded its access to wider areas. Therefore, it is apparent that wet-nurses, previously invisible and non-political figures acquired a new identity in their relations with the central state. Their political significance was elevated and they were now subjects of direct state interference and disciplining.

⁷⁸BOA, İ..MVL, 519/23345, 22/Ca/1281 (23.10.1864).

⁷⁹BOA, DH.MKT. 1573/83, 07/R /1306 (11.12.1888).

⁸⁰BOA. Y.PRK.UM. 54/126, 18/R/1319 (04.08.1901).

1.4.3. Religious Differentiation of the Support Policy

In a cold day from February, 1817, the door of the house of a Christian woman, Sûlti bint Dimitri was knocked. Opening it, she encountered an unknown woman with a baby, approximately 40 days old. The woman declared that the baby was the daughter of her son, Mehmed Nûri, a recent convert to Islam, and his Muslim wife, of whom Sûlti knew neither the name nor the residence. This unknown woman also told her that Mehmed Nûri was missing and that the mother of the baby was incapable of providing baby's subsistence and maintenance. Adding that the girl was her real granddaughter, she left her into Sûlti's arms and begged her to feed and clothe her. Then, she disappeared.

Deprived of necessary financial means, Sûlti applied to the Islamic court in order to benefit from state support, underlining that the baby was a Muslim (daughter of a Muslim man). After evaluating the case, the court argued that the testimony of Sûlti was not enough to determine the genealogical line of the baby. Moreover, since there was nobody else claiming paternity, the status of the baby was that of a foundling (*lâkit*), which means that she was free (*hür*) and a subject of Islam. As a result, it was found inappropriate to entrust her with a Christian woman and it was decided that she should be given to someone else from among Muslims. Only then, the assignment of an allowance for her maintenance (from Public Treasury) would be legitimate.⁸¹

This court case gives important clues on the extent of state support. Parallel with certain regulations of the millet system, provisions for the abandoned or destitute children also differed between Muslims and non-Muslims. The story of Sûlti makes it clear that it was only the Muslim children who were entitled to a number of provisions, such as salary grants and subsidized wet-nursing. That's why she tried hard to convince the court that the baby was a Muslim. Yet, interestingly the court ruled that it was impossible for a non-Muslim to adopt a Muslim foundling into her/his household. The case also signifies the fact that in the absence of claimants, the officials were more inclined to treat the abandoned children as Muslims and entrust them into Muslim households.

⁸¹*İstanbul Mahkemesi 121 Numaralı Şer'iyye Sicili*, İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2006, p. 35.

All the 140 cases that were analyzed for this chapter comply with the above mentioned religiously differentiated policy: in other words, only Muslim foundlings sheltered in Muslim households were offered state benefits for the welfare of the foundling. However, there is one very interesting case. In November 1890, a baby girl was found in front of an Armenian church in Muş and was given to Şahanik bint-i Karabet for breast-feeding. Later, she applied to the governorship of Bitlis in May 1892 to be paid an ex post facto salary for her duty. Her petition was responded positively and it was decided to pay her a monthly salary of 20 *kuruş* for the past 18 months.⁸² The existence of such an exceptional case is difficult to explain. Yet, we can refer to unusual agency and initiative of the wet-nurse, Şahanik. Though further information is necessary to reach to conclusions, it is possible that she took example of her Muslim neighbors when she was in dire need.

1.5. A Crucial Actress: The Wet-Nurse

Hiring of wet-nurses, apart from cases of abandonment, was very common in the Ottoman society and the legislation on the issue was detailed and voluminous.⁸³ The status of wet-nursing is based on the Koranic dictum, “and if you wish to engage a wet-nurse you may do so if you pay her an agreed amount as is customary”. What the

⁸²BOA., DH.MKT., 1957/82, 10/Za/1309 (5.6.1892).

⁸³A couple of examples from the “Hire” section of *Mecelle*: (443) When a person who previously hired a wet-nurse dies, the contract of hire is not canceled. But upon the death of the child or the wet-nurse, such contract is canceled. (452) In the case of a wet-nurse, the advantage to be derived from her is defined by stating the exact period of hiring. (556) When a wet nurse is recruited, it is customary, to make clothes for her. If the nature of the clothes has not been defined beforehand, then they are to be of medium quality. (581) If a wet nurse falls sick, she is entitled to cancel the contract of employment. The employer may cancel the contract of employment if she observes that the wet-nurse is sick or pregnant, or if the child refuses to take her milk, or if it brings up the milk. Moreover, the non-obligatory nature of lactation by the natural mother have established the link between breast feeding and wages in the written contracts for female's wages and an occupation category by itself in the Islamic legal sphere. It required a written contract because of its frequency and because of the prolonged nature of the transaction.

dictum meant is that a mother cannot be forced to breastfeed her own child. Therefore, a married couple will need to hire a wet-nurse, if the mother cannot or prefers not, to breastfeed her baby. If she is sick, has little milk in her breasts, or belongs to a social category where this is not done, and the husband can afford to hire a wet-nurse, he should do so. Therefore, the hiring of a wet-nurse is treated as the hiring of a servant, as a matter of social status.⁸⁴

In general, women applying to take in foundlings were generally either very poor and/or widowed, who needed the salary of breast-feeding basically for themselves and their families. Abdülaziz Bey (1850-1918), in his book on Ottoman customs, ceremonies, and expressions, as he observed them in Istanbul, provides information on the wet-nurses as well. He underlines that most of these women were very poor, either widowed, left alone with her child, or sometimes married, yet in a miserable condition. He underlined that some of them were immigrants, who came to the city to earn a living.⁸⁵ There are examples, in the Ottoman archives, of married women of precarious means, taking in foundlings to contribute to the household budget. In 1908, Fatma Hanım, İzzet Ağa's wife was granted a salary from the municipality's budget for breast-feeding a baby girl, Saniye.⁸⁶

The monthly salaries paid to wet nurses were not high, yet, taking in abandoned infants was an important form of female wage labor.⁸⁷ A wet-nurse could contribute to the family budget as much as approximately one quarter to one-third of the wage of her husband, given that he is an unskilled worker.⁸⁸ The opening of *Dâr'ül-aceze* would

⁸⁴Maya Shatzmiller, "Women and Wage Labour in the Medieval Islamic West: Legal Issues in an Economic Context", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 40, No. 2, 1997, pp. 174-206.

⁸⁵Abdülaziz Bey, *Osmanlı Adet, Merasim ve Tabirleri*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000, p. 25-26. "Sütinelerin hepsi fakir, kocası ölmüş ve çocuğuyla kimsesiz kalmış kimseler veya kocası bulunsa bile muhtaç urumda veya yine fakirlik yüzünden taşradan İstanbul'a gelip iş arayan kimselerden olurdu."

⁸⁶BOA, DH.MKT., 1227/77, 25/Z /1325 (29.01.1908).

⁸⁷These women made their "work agreements" with the municipality as single individuals, without inclining on a male figure. BOA, DH.MKT., 2235/92, 12/R/1317, (19.8.1899).

⁸⁸Gallant, 494. In the Ottoman Empire, day laborers received 60-150 *guruş* a month. Wet-nurse salary that ranged between 30-50 *guruş* was actually one-third of

change the employment terms of wet-nurses to a great extent, especially in terms of material gain. Based on concerns for infants' health and prestige of the institution, these women were offered much higher salaries than a regular female worker. In 1908 they were given a salary rise and in 1909, new wet-nurses were recruited with a monthly salary of 250 *guruş*.⁸⁹ This was actually 5 to 10 times more than traditional range within which they were paid.

There is also evidence on the existence of slave wet-nurses. Eremya Çelebi Kömürçüyan tells that in the seventeenth century slave-markets of Istanbul, breast-feeding women were separated to be sold as wet-nurses.⁹⁰ The practice was also common in the nineteenth century. In an advertisement published in the newspaper, *Ceride-i Havadis* from 1841, it was announced that a black slave, who had recently gave birth and had abundant milk in her breasts (*sütü gür*), was for sale for 3000 *guruş*.⁹¹ Hasan Âli Yücel, who was born in 1897, recounts in his memoirs that as a baby he had several wet-nurses and that one of them was black. His parents told him that he got used to “her dark-colored breasts” so much that when she left, he had difficulty in adapting to white wet-nurses. The solution they could come up with was to clothe her breasts with a black gauze.⁹² In another example from the Ottoman archives, in 1899, a baby was given to a black wet-nurse, (*Zenciyye Fatıma bint-i Abdullah*) and she was

their husbands'. Charles Issawi, *The Fertile Crescent, 1800-1914: A Documentary Economic History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 400. In Italy, the conditions and practices regarding both internal and external wet-nurses varied widely. Monthly salaries for the internal nurses ranged from 5 to 55 lire, but were usually between 15 and 25. Carl Ipsen, *Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal Era*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 35-36.

⁸⁹BOA, DH.MKT., 1249/74, 22/Ra/1326 (23.04.1908). BOA, DH.MKT., 816/40, 6/My/1325 (19.5.1909).

⁹⁰Eremya Çelebi Kömürçüyan, *İstanbul Tarihi: XVII. Asırda İstanbul*, İstanbul: Eren, 1988, p. 56.

⁹¹*Ceride-i Havadis*, no. 20, 9/Za/1256 (02.01.1841). “... yeni dahi doğurmuş sütü gür olarak dâyelik için satılık bir Arap cariye olmağla üçbin kuruşa doğru verileceği sahibi tarafından haber verildiğinden isteklisi olur ise yerini gelip Ceride-i Havadis gazetesinden öğrenmesi için derc olundu.”

⁹²Hasan Âli Yücel, *Geçtiğim Günlerden*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990, pp. 66-7. “Bir seferinde simsiyah bir sütninem varmış. Onun koyu renkli göğsüne alıştığım için sonra gelen beyazlara bir türlü ısınamamışım. Siyah gaz boyaması sarıp beni beyaz göğüslere alıştıncaya kadar çok sıkıntı çekmişler.”

offered a salary by the municipality, as one of its employees.⁹³

From these numerous examples, it is apparent that although wet-nursing was an intimate relationship between the infant and the nurse there was not a *race*-based concern on the part of the elite families or the state. In fact, black wet-nurses were even common in the Ottoman palace.⁹⁴ The same practice held true for the non-Muslims as well. Jewish and Greek wet-nurses were frequent in both archives and in literary sources. Yet, it is still possible to speak about a slowly reservations on the employment of wet-nurses, especially in early twentieth century, due to ever increasing nationalistic sentiments. The diary of Ahmed Nedim Servet Tör, which he started after the birth of his daughter in 1912 is interesting in that matter. After four Muslim-Turk wet-nurses, who left or were fired one after the other, the family was forced to hire a fifth. The woman that was found was a Greek and the parents, together with the rest of the family, was deeply concerned about hiring a non-Muslim for the baby. In the end, an older uncle (*enişte*) applied to the opinion of a “turbaned preacher” (*başı sarıklı hoca efendi*) and got his permission on the issue.⁹⁵

Apart from the initiative of the state in assigning wet-nurses to the foundlings, in some cases mothers or parents made such arrangements. In the case of an illegitimate pregnancy, women were usually forced to give their babies to wet-nurses in order to avoid the stigma of unchastity, since having a baby as an unwed mother was a heavy burden in many Mediterranean societies.⁹⁶ Infants were sometimes left anonymously at

⁹³BOA, DH.MKT., 2235/92, 12/R/1317, (19.8.1899).

⁹⁴Çağatay Uluçay, *Harem II*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992, p. 69; Leyla Saz, *Harem'in İçyüzü*, İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1974, p. 97.

⁹⁵Ahmed Nedim Servet Tör, *Nevhîz'in Günlüğü*, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000, p. 92. “Sütনের bir Hıristiyan olması bidayeten yalnız annenin değil hepimizin tereddüdünü mucib olmuştu. Müslüman dururken diyorduk bir Hıristiyan sütnine tutmak? ... Hıristiyan sütnine hakkında bir istiflada bulunan eniştem Recep Efendi, başı sarıklı bir hoca efendiden “Bu babda şeran hiçbir mahzur olmadığı” ... cevabını almış.”

⁹⁶Victoria Ana Goddard, “From the Mediterranean to Europe: Honour, Kinship and Gender”, in Victoria Ana Goddard, Bruce Kapferer (ed.) *The Anthropology of Europe: Identities and Boundaries in Conflict*, Berg Publishing, 1996; David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control*, Beacon Press, 1993; Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America*, Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999; Gallant, 479-508.

the door of a wet-nurse or openly handed over usually by the father. These women might receive an important sum for the child's support in the case of a wealthy family.⁹⁷ Unwed parents were considering trusting of their babies with these relatively professional women as a viable option as a half-way between complete abandonment and real parenthood. In various occasions, the mothers, or parents, used to take the infant to their own home, or go to the wet-nurse's house to spend some time with their child. Yet, in some cases, this seemingly temporary solution was easily converted to a permanent one. Avner Giladi argues that this age-old custom of putting infants out to wet-nursing frequently resulted in permanent abandonment. In other words, this seems to have been a widely prevalent form of institutionalized abandonment, providing better chances of survival to the foundlings.⁹⁸

There are numerous examples in the novels of Ahmed Midhat. Antuvan Kolariyo, a rich Levantine merchant, and his mistress, Maryam, an Armenian widow, have an illegitimate baby. Maryam first thinks of abortion and then suicide, but then her lover assures her that the baby will be taken care of elsewhere so as to protect both the mother and the child from public disgrace. After she gives birth, the infant handed over to a Greek wet-nurse around as a temporary solution in order to ensure the health of the infant during the initial years after birth and the name of the mother.⁹⁹

In another novel, *Jön Türk* (1910), When it is found out by her mother that Ceylân was pregnant from an extramarital affair, she takes her to a large Greek village of Üsküdar (of approximately 600 households), well-known for its wet-nurses and midwives, before a couple of weeks to deliverance. She is introduced to the village as a recently widowed young woman so as to cover up the shame about her pregnancy. When the baby is born, the mother gives the baby to a young couple, whose baby has just died, for wet-nursing.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷Andrea B. Rugh, "Orphanages in Egypt: Contradiction or Affirmation in a Family-Oriented Society", in *Children in the Muslim Middle East*, ed. Elizabeth Fernea, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995, pp. 124-141.

⁹⁸Avner Giladi, *Infants, Parents, and Wet Nurses: Medieval Islamic Views on Breast-Feeding and Their Social Implications*, Leiden: Brill, 1999, p. 5.

⁹⁹*Müşahadat*, 114.

¹⁰⁰Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Jön Türk*, İstanbul: Oğlak Yayıncılık, 1995, pp. 277-8.

1.5.1. Reservations Concerning Wet-Nurses

It is apparent that recruitment of wet-nurses was necessary for the survival of the foundlings. In addition to the provincial or central state, most of the non-Muslim communities,¹⁰¹ together with missionaries were dependent on these women for the life of their own foundlings, at least until the first decades of the twentieth century, during which the use of milk powder products started to be used. The authorities, who defined themselves responsible for the health of the foundlings were always suspicious of the wet-nurses. It was difficult both to secure enough number of such women and to have confidence in them so as to trust in the babies. Moreover, the authorities preferred complete attachment of these women in an institutional setting.

In 1854, Monsieur Boré, Catholic Apostolic prefect of Lazarist mission of Constantinople, wrote in his mission report that Soeurs de la Charité were involved in the relief work of foundlings, who were “abandoned by vice or misery” to the doors of the churches of Péra and Galata. These 15 little babies of the *crèche*, he continues, were entrusted with wet-nurses, who often had unreliable manners, and who lacked undoubtedly the capacity to educate the children.¹⁰²

The Soeurs de la Charité were also deeply suspicious of the quality of care outside the institutional setting. The wet-nurses were always a reason for discontent for them. The reluctance (or rather uneasiness) to place foundlings in the homes of the wet-nurses is testimony to the strength of their commitment to oversee every aspect of these children's upbringing. The responsible of Saint-Vincent Orphanage of Macedonia wrote in 1873 that they “hasten to withdraw the hands of the wet-nurses from these poor children, where generally they are very badly cared for”.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹Jewish community was generally an exception to that. Interestingly there were no references to wet-nurses in the Geniza records. This is explained by the existence of a very different legal situation prevailed in the Jewish communities across the Mediterranean: A husband could prevent his wife from nursing someone else's child, but also had the right to force her to nurse her own child if she refused to do so. Therefore, most of the studies underlined the relative rarity of wet-nursing among Jews.

¹⁰²« Rapport sur les Oeuvres des Missions de Constantinople, envoyé à M. Etienne, supérieur Général, par M. Boré, Préfet apostolique, (Constantinople, 25 Mars, 1854) », *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission [ACM]*, t. 19, 1854, pp.133-78.

¹⁰³« Extraits des Rapports des Missions de Notre Province de Constantinople », *ACM*, t. 39, 1874, pp. 134-45. From p. 144: ... aussitôt qu'il nous est possible,

The complaints against the wet-nurses were always frequent and the missionaries were always trying hard to take wet-nurses under control, either in an institutional setting or by arranging frequent and unannounced visits to the houses of the wet-nurses so as to see the living conditions of the infants. The report of Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition of Jerusalem underlines the employment conditions of the wet-nurses: “...the Sisters deal with these small creatures [abandoned children], who were exposed to the door of their house by their *denaturée*¹⁰⁴ mothers, and who were also the illegitimate children born in the maternity department of the hospital. These small creatures, right after their baptism, are entrusted to Catholic wet-nurses who, with the help of 15 francs per month and a small hope chest for the child, agree to keep them for 2 years. At the end of this time, they join the children of the orphanage. Towards the age of 7, the little boys are placed in special orphanages. A Sister is particularly charged to visit these little children at wet-nurses almost every day and to take care of them.”¹⁰⁵ After the age of two, the children were no longer regarded as infants and it was thought safe enough to look after them in a centralized institutional setting.

The in-charge of the *crèche* of Jerusalem wrote ten years later that she had to visit the wet-nurses frequently, since the missionaries were concerned about the deaths of these babies, choked by an indigestible food in the houses of these women.¹⁰⁶ Soeur Sion wrote in 1901 that it would be a better solution to house the babies and bring the wet-nurses to the residence: “It is necessary that the children are nursed before our eyes, and are not carried any more to the villages where it is more difficult to make visits. This would be the practical means to preserve the life of these small innocent beings, who sometimes seems to be born to only die.”¹⁰⁷

nous nous hâtons de retirer des mains des nourrices ces pauvres enfants, où le plus souvent ils sont très mal soignés.

¹⁰⁴The adjective “denaturée” describes the one who lacks natural feelings of affection and tenderness for those closest to him/her. The expression “mère denaturée” (denatured mother) is used for those women who let their children die of hunger.

¹⁰⁵“ Jérusalem, Oeuvres des Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition », *OEO*, no. 177, mars 1890, pp. 225-31.

¹⁰⁶Soeur Sion, “Les Filles de la Charité en Terre Saint (Suite)”, t. 33, 1901, p. 537.

¹⁰⁷*Ibid.*: L’installation des bébés amènera celle des nourrices à demeure. Il faut que les enfants soient allaités sous nos yeux, et ne soient plus emportés dans les villages

At the opening of the foundling unit of *Dâr'ül-aceze* in 1899, the home was designed to follow the lines of institutional care. At different times, several wet-nurses were recruited to stay in the establishment and care for the very young infants. For instance, in 1908 five wet-nurses and ten dry-nurses were employed. In regulations of the institution and in documents relating to the foundling unit, there is no mention fostering of infants outside the institution. Yet, in a document from 1922, there is reference to foundlings living with their wet-nurses in the countryside.¹⁰⁸ The specificities of this major change is unknown for the moment, though it is always plausible to think of the financial difficulties of the time and the shrinking of many institutional structures.

The traditional system of taking care of the abandoned children in Greek community was based on the mobilization of generally poor women who were offered some support by the community in order to adopt these infants (more crucially for wet-nursing).¹⁰⁹ Therefore, most of the Greek foundlings of the Empire were not taken care of in asylums but they were handed over to a wet nurse, who would raise the foundling with her own children. Méropi Anastassiadou, in her article on the abandoned children of the Greek community of Beyoğlu, suggests that abandonment of children was an ancient habit and thus it was quite common in the Greek community. Despite the frequency, the community did not have the resources for the construction of a separate institution for the foundlings.

The system of private care by the wet-nurses was always a problem within the Greek community, based on the concerns for infant mortality. Faced with a mortality rate of 60%, for the foundlings of Beyoğlu, contemporary Greek doctors and community leaders blamed the wet-nurses for neglect, since the foundlings raised in the houses of their wet-nurses were usually forgotten by the local clergy and no inquiry was

où les visites sont plus difficiles à faire. Ce sera le moyen pratique de conserver la vie à ces petits innocents, qui semblent parfois ne naître que pour mourir.

¹⁰⁸BOA. DH.UMVM. 166/70, 26/N/1340, (24.05.1922).

¹⁰⁹Méropi Anastassiadou, “Médecine hygiéniste et pédagogie sociale à Istanbul à la fin du XIXe siècle: Le cas du docteur Spyridon Zavitziano”, in *Médecins et ingénieurs ottomans à l’âge des nationalismes*, Méropi Anastassiadou (ed.), Paris-Istanbul : Maisonneuve & Larose et IFEA, 2003, pp. 63-99.

made after they were given to these women.¹¹⁰ In 1889, with the foundation of “The Department for the Foundlings” (*Service des enfants trouvés de Notre-Dame de Péra*), the Greek Orthodox community of Beyoğlu introduced a monitoring mechanism for the older system of wet-nursing. The society was providing medical examination to the infants in every two-weeks and was regularly controlling the wet nurses.¹¹¹ Moreover, the society started to hire only married wet-nurses, since it was thought that the presence of a mother and father together creates a privileged environment for the individuality of the child. In order to be eligible for the job, applying women had to present baptism certificates of their babies (or death certificates if they have lost them).

The morality and chastity of the wet-nurses created certain crises for the Ottoman authorities as well. Since they were inclined to perceive the wet-nurses as half-way mechanisms between the state and the infants, as a form of salaried personnel, they approached the issue of hiring of wet-nurses with more caution and with heightened political concerns. In an *iradé* from mid-1901, the main concern was the recruitment of Christian wet-nurses, as well as dry-nurses, into Muslim households.¹¹² The authorities were alarmed that these women, both Europeans and Ottomans, were both “debauchee and inappropriate” (*ahlaksız ve uygunsuz*) and the act of surrendering the care of Muslim children into the hands of these debauched women (*etfâl-i müselleme bu makûle sefihânın agûş-ı terbiyesine bırakılarak*) would harm their religious education and manners. It is argued that these Christian wet-nurses are dressed in an immodest and obscene way, which is completely against the holy manners of Islamic law (*adab-ı mukaddes-i islamiyet ve mahremiyete bi-l-küllîye mugayır şekil ve kıyafette açık saçık gezmekte*). Considering that some of these women were in charge of little girls, this sort of behavior was specifically condemned for its bad influences on the former. After discussing at length that this sort of dressing cannot be defended on the basis of liberty (*hürriyete tecavüz manasıyla*), it is clearly stated that official notification should be sent to relevant places so as to end the employment of these sort of women.

At the absence of centralized institutions for the foundlings, private homes and their generally poor mistresses were becoming parties in communal affairs and politics.

¹¹⁰Méropi Anastassiadou, “Médecine hygiéniste et pédagogie”, 76.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*, 82.

¹¹²BOA, İ.HUS. 89/1319.Ra.36, 22/Ra/1319 (9.7.1901).

The wet-nurses were functional even at the existence of foundling homes. Greek Foundling Asylum of Izmir was opened in 1898, as a result of conscious efforts of the committee set up for the purpose and thanks to the generosity of the members of the community.¹¹³ It was described as a necessary appendix to the Hospital and the Orphanage (1870).¹¹⁴ Yet, the older practice of putting infants out with the wet-nurses was still in use. The asylum was to serve only as a center for intensive care for the foundlings at the moment of their arrival and when medical care was necessary. These children were entrusted to poor families, especially in quarters of Agios Ioannis Theologos, Profitis Ilias and Lefkaia Pigi in Izmir. Members of the Committee paid unannounced visits to these families, in order to verify the kind of care that these babies received. Moreover, a doctor had regularly visited these babies.¹¹⁵

1.6. Ottoman Foundling Asylums

In the Ottoman Empire, the specific institutions came rather late, if we take into account the fact that they were widespread throughout Europe in the Early Modern period. In fact, in an interesting way, they started to appear in the Empire just at the time they were harshly criticized and closed down in Europe.¹¹⁶

¹¹³At the end of the nineteenth century, one of major issues of the Greek community of Izmir was the medical care and the support of the abandoned children within the community by the community itself. I will dwell into the issue to a greater extent in the section on the missionary efforts.

¹¹⁴Though there was reference to abandoned children in the regulation of 1870, probably there was not a well-established unit for the foundlings in the orphanage.

¹¹⁵Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greek Community in İzmir, 1897-1914*, unpublished PhD thesis, Leiden Universtiy, 2005.

¹¹⁶Ipsen tells in his book on the Italian children in late nineteenth century that the foundling asylums, one famous and prestigious institutions, were regarded, especially after the unification, as unpleasant symbols of the old regime. They were closed one after the other and the system became more foster-care oriented. The same trend can also be followed in France, where the last turning cradle had been closed in 1868 and in the United States. Ipsen, 28-9.

1.6.1. Biased View of Ottoman Intellectuals: “Bastard Homes”

As already underlined, in everyday vocabulary foundlings were frequently confused with bastards. For that reason, when the concept, foundling home, was employed by a number of nineteenth century Ottoman intellectuals, it was translated as *piçhane*, “bastard home”. Hayrullah Efendi¹¹⁷, in his *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi* [Travels in Europe], a collection of his travel notes from the years 1863-4, while giving information on a number of educational institutions of Paris, such as kindergartens, primary schools, or vocational schools, touches upon the *bastard homes* as well.¹¹⁸ It is interesting that some Catholic foundling asylums in the Empire were also labeled as such. In Izmir, the Nazareth de St. Roch was opened in 1870-71 and the institution housed a convent, a school, an infirmary, and a crèche for abandoned children. According to Charles John Murray, this was a proper Foundling Hospital “for all nationalities and religions”.¹¹⁹ In the contemporary language, the institution and the building was referred to as “*piçhane*”.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷Hayrullah Efendi, one of the prominent officials of the Reformation Period (Tanzimat 1839) was born in Istanbul in 1818 and died in Tahran in 1866, when he was the ambassador of the Ottoman Empire there. He started his education as a student of theology (Islamic studies), later studied medicine and entered the Military Medical school, “Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Adliye-i Şahane”, in 1839. Retiring from the military service, he served as a member of the Committee of Agriculture (Meclis-i Ziraat) in 1847, General Board of Education (Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye), Supreme Council of Justice (Meclis-i Vala-yi Ahkam-i Adliye), the vice president of the Council for Education and Sciences (Encümen-i Daniş), the dean of the Medical School (Mekteb-i Tıbbiye) and head of the Sixth Department of the Municipal Organization (Altıncı Daire-yi Belediye). Hayrullah Efendi, *Avrupa Seyahatnamesi*, ed. Belkıs Altuniş-Gürsoy, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002, pp. ix-xi.

¹¹⁸Hayrullah Efendi, 119-21.

¹¹⁹Charles John Murray (Firm), *Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, Etc.*, 1895, p. 75.

¹²⁰Today, the building serves as Izmir Ethnography Museum and the same term, “*piçhane*” is still in use. (Illustration 1.1. and 1.2. at the end of the Chapter). Doğan Kuban, *Izmir ve Ege'den Mimari İzlenimler: Kaybolan bir Geçmişten Görüntüler (Mimari Çizimler)*, Izmir: Çimentaş Vakfı Yayınları, 1994, p. 125. İnci Ersoy Kuyulu, “Orientalist Buildings in Izmir: The Case of the Kemeraltı, Keçeciler and Kemer Police Stations”, *EJOS*, vol. 29, no. 4, 2001, (*Proceedings of the 11th International Congress of Turkish Art, Utrecht, the Netherlands, August 23-28 1999*, M. Kiel, N. Landman, H. Theunissen (eds.), pp. 1-24. (Particular reference on page 8). Presentation of Raika

It is known that the Ottomans were eager to learn more of these sorts of institutions as subjects of curiosity. William Deans, in his book on the history of the Ottoman Empire, published in 1854, writes that “Nothing excites the horror of the *Osmanlis* so much as the details of the foundling hospitals, and fearful multitude of natural children in Vienna and Paris. They cannot conceive how society can exist under such an accumulation of evils.”¹²¹ It is necessary to be ware of the factors of exaggeration and Orientalism in the interpretation. The same short-sightedness can also be read from the memoirs of Hester Donaldson Jenkins (from 1910): “There is one thing to be said for polygamy in Turkey – it seems to result in fewer illicit unions than in Europe and there are no illegitimate children. All a man's children have the same legal rights. There are many happy marriages and contended households.”¹²² Edmondo de Amicis, who visited the Empire in the 1870s, even argued that there was “no fatherless baby among Turks”.¹²³ La Baronne Durand de Fontmagne also argued that customs and religious rules protested the rights of women in the Empire. Therefore, there were neither rape cases of powerless girls nor abandoned children in the streets.¹²⁴ Yet, these testimonies coincide with the position of a particularly conservative writing, including those of Ahmed Midhat, who interpreted illegitimacy and child abandonment as basically European problems and commented that these *problems* were peculiar to Christian communities.¹²⁵

Durusoy, “İzmir'de Temel Sağlık Hizmetlerinin Tarihi”, Ege Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi Anabilim Dalı, 23 November 2005, (http://halksagligi.med.ege.edu.tr/seminerler/2005-06/IzmirdeTSHTarihi_resimsiz_RD.pdf)

¹²¹William Deans, *History of the Ottoman Empire: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, Edinburgh: A. Fullarton & co., 1854, p. 322.

¹²²Hester Donaldson Jenkins, *Behind Turkish Lattices: The Story of a Turkish Woman's Life*, New Jersey: Gorgias Press Edition, 2004, p. 75.

¹²³ Edmondo de Amicis, *İstanbul 1874*, trans. Beynun Akyavaş, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993, p. 220.

¹²⁴La Baronne Durand De Fontmagne, *Un séjour à l'ambassade de France à Constantinople sous le second Empire*, Plon-Nourrit: Paris, 1902, p. 258.

¹²⁵There were also other stereotyped images from the other angle: At the beginning of the seventeenth century, an unknown English traveler described the Muslim inhabitants of Palestine as a barbarous crowd, fond of adultery, sodomy, rape, and other beastly deeds. “There is no evil deed on this earth not performed by the inhabitants of this Terra Sancta, or holy land, which hath the name and nothing else.”

In Ahmet Midhat's novel, *Acayib-i Alem* [Wonders of the World], from 1882, the foundling asylum of Moscow was defined as a bastard home (*piçhane*) for illegitimate children (*evlâd-ı zinâ*). There is evidence for enormous interest in the institution and incredibly high level of knowledge. It is possible to think that the novelist had based his description either to an official report of the institution or to the writings of a European visitor, since there is no evidence that he himself has been to Russia.¹²⁶

“...the establishment erected on the outskirts of the city of Moscow for the training and education of illegitimate children was exceedingly important from the viewpoints of humanity and civilization, and they [the protagonists of the novel] visited and examined the administrative procedure and internal matters. Each year thousands of illegitimate children [*evlâd-ı zinâ*] are admitted here and it is clear and evident that if this establishment did not exist, these children, which are the shame of their mothers, will immediately perish and even worse, be destroyed. The number of those who serve these children, that is to say, those who, from near or afar, benefit from their affiliation to this *bastard home* [*piçhane*], exceeds twenty five thousand.

A considerable income has been allocated for the administration of the aforementioned establishment. The admitted children are cared for at the establishment for a month and if they are sound in constitution they are distributed to poor women in the villages, of which are many to act as wet-nurses against remuneration, whereas those weak in constitution are cared for in the aforementioned establishment with medical treatment and kept for as long as necessary to relieve them from disease.

The statistical table kept up to now reveals that twenty five percent of the children accepted each year reach young adulthood, whereas seventy five percent of them have demised. Young girls are trained and educated at a hospital reserved for them in the department reserved for orphans. The majority of young men trained and educated in this orphanage are farmers and approximately fifty per cent of them are given to the Moscow industrial school to study a variety of trades. Each year, two hundred and fifty of them are given as apprentice to the hospital for the poor to become surgeons.

The allowance given by new European civilization to prostitution results in many young girls becoming mothers before wedlock and since they do not have the means to raise the children, they bear in secret and without revealing to anyone, and they are compelled to secretly strangle them and throw them away.,

Now, to redeem the members of the civilized world from such obligatory

For further information, see Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500-1900*, California: University of California Press, 2006, p. 10.

¹²⁶The court and much of high society that contributed money to the foundling homes of Russia thought them as models of care and encouraged visitors to the capital cities to pay a call at the institutions. The memoirs of diplomats and travelers make clear that a stop at one of the foundling homes figured on nearly everyone's sightseeing agenda. For further information, see Ransel, 53.

murder, institutions have been established almost all over Europe with the purpose of providing education for illegitimate children. Some women leave their children at these institutions with a special mark and it is known that they have returned when the children are grown up to find their own, thanks to these marks.”¹²⁷

One is obliged to stress that his is a perspective of a complete outsider, viewing the phenomenon as a peculiarity of Russia (or of Christianity) having no meaning in the Ottoman context. The author simply ignores the existence of various Catholic foundling homes within the borders of the Empire, especially in Istanbul and Izmir, together with a number of Armenian and Greek hospitals and orphanages taking care of foundlings under their roofs. Leaving the institutional care aside, he seems to imply that issues like illegitimacy, infanticide, and child abandonment were non-existent, or very rare in the Ottoman lands. As already mentioned, the novelist chose to approach such issues with the dichotomous framework of Christianity versus Islam.

¹²⁷Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Acayib-i Alem*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000 [first edition in 1882], pp. 155-7.

“...evlad-ı zinanın talim ve terbiyeleri için Moskova şehri kenarında mevcut olan daire insaniyet ve medeniyet nokta-i nazarlarınca pek mühim bir şey olmakla orasını hem ziyaret ve hem de usul-i idare ve ahval-i dahiliyyesini tetkik eylediler. Her sene buraya binlerce evlad-ı zina alınır ki eğer bu daire bulunmayacak olsa validelerinin yüz karası olan bu çocukların hemen kamilen helak olacakları ve daha feci bir surette bililtizam helak edilecekleri bedihi ve aşıkardır. Bu çocuklara hizmet edenlerin yani uzaktan yakından bu piçhaneye mensup olarak o sayede geçinenlerin miktarı yirmi beş bini tecavüz eyliyor.

Daire-i mezkureyi idare için pek külliyetli varidat tahsis olunmuştur. Alınan çocuklar bir ay kadar orada bakılıp eğer vücutça sağlam bir şeyler ise köylerde vücutları nadir olmayan fukara kadınlara ücretle süt validelik etmek üzere çocuklar taksim olunurlar ve vücutça zayıf olanlar ise daire-i mezkurede müdavat-ı tıbbiye ile bakılıp hastalıktan kurtarılmak için lüzumu kadar zaman alıkonulurlar.

Şimdiye kadar tutulmuş olan istatistik cetvelinden anlaşıldığına göre her sene kabul olunan çocuklardan yüzde yirmi beşi delikanlılık zamanlarına vasil olup yüzde yetmiş beş nispetinde vefat vukua gelmiştir. Genç kızlar onlara mahsus bir hastahane de dahi eytama mahsus olan dairesinde talim ve terbiye edilirler. İşbu piçhanede talim ve terbiye görmüş delikanlılar ekseriyet üzere çiftçi olup senevi yüzde elli kadarı Moskova mekteb-i sanayiine verilerek türlü türlü sanatlar tahsil ederler. Her sene iki yüz elli kadar dahi gureba hastahanesinde cerrahlık öğrenmek için çırak verilirler.

Avrupa medeniyet-i cedidesinin fuhuşa açmış olduğu meydan münasebetiyle pek çok genç kızlar henüz gelin olmaksızın valide olduklarından ve doğurdıkları çocukları bittabi hiçbir kimseye göstermeyerek gizlice büyötmeye dahi hal ve vakitleri müsait olmadığından gizlice boğup bir tarafa atmak mecburiyetindedirler.

İmdi alem-i medeniyet sekencesini böyle mecburi bir katillikten kurtarmak için Avrupa'nın hemen her tarafında evlad-ı zinayı terbiyeye mahsus daireler yapılmıştır ki bazı kadınlar çocuklarını birer alâmet-i mahsusa ile bu daireye bırakıp büyödükten sonra o alâmetler ile yavrularını buldukları dahi olur.”

1.6.2. First Maternity of Istanbul: the *Vilâdethane*

The term “bastard home” was used for another institution in Istanbul: the first birth clinic, the *Vilâdethane*, founded in 1892 by Besim Ömer Paşa.¹²⁸ This famous pediatrician of Ottoman Empire, educated in Paris, before succeeding in opening this maternity had to fight for a long time.¹²⁹ In the end, the result was far from what he planned previously: it was a quite small department, opened in a quasi-official way. Occupying a two-story building, with three rooms, located in an obscure corner, close to the Military Medicine School (*Askeri Tıbbiye*), the hospital was opened without any official recognition. The doctor was severely criticized and his house was attacked, since his institution was labeled as a *piçhane*.¹³⁰ According to Besim Ömer's own explanation, the reason for rejection by the Ottoman government to open such a hospital was the equation of it by the sultan himself, Abdülhamit II, with a “bastard home”. The issue was tangled, therefore, due to the very person of the sultan.¹³¹

Such an interpretation was understandable, when the social realities of the time are considered. Under normal circumstances pregnant women would give birth in their own beds, in their own homes. The ones who had to do it somewhere else were those who had to hide their pregnancies (namely unwed mothers, those who had illegitimate

¹²⁸Prof.Dr. Besim Ömer Dr.Akalin (1862-1940) was born in Istanbul in 1863. He graduated from the military school of medicine in Istanbul in 1885. He went to France to specialize in obstetrics. Dr.Akalin became later the director of obstetrics clinic and midwife school. After 1909, he hold the same position in Haydarpaşa medical school. He was forced to retire after 1933 'University reform'. Akalin, who was in fact the founder of modern obstetrics and pediatric in Turkey, wrote 61 books. Yeşim Işıl Ülman, “Besim Ömer Akalin (1862-1940): ange gardien des femmes et des enfants ; – L’acclimatation d’un savoir veni d’ailleurs”, in *Médecins et ingénieurs ottomans à l’âge des nationalismes*, Méropi Anastassiadou (ed.), Paris-Istanbul : Maisonneuve & Larose et IFEA, 2003, pp. 101-121.

¹²⁹Nuran Yıldırım, “Viladethane”, *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 7, 1994, pp. 388-389.

¹³⁰Nuran Yıldırım, “İstanbul’un İlk Doğumevi Viladethane”, *Hastane Hospital News*, no. 7, July-August 2000, pp. 26-27; Ayten Altınbaş, Oğuz Ceylan, “Vilâdethâne”, *Tombak*, no. 17, 1997, pp. 26-32.

¹³¹Ayten Altınbaş, Oğuz Ceylan, 28: “O zaman nezd-i Şahane'de Viladethane'nin bir 'piçhane' gibi telakki edilmiş olmasıdır. Hep bu telakki tesiri altında menfi cevap gelmekte idi. Her şey burada düğümlenip kalıyordu.”

affairs, etc.) and those who were working as prostitutes.¹³² Moreover, it was not rare to see maternities and foundling asylums next to one another as in the famous examples of Paris, Moscow, and St. Petersburg.¹³³ Therefore, it may actually be true that the babies born in the *Vilâdethane* were most of the times illegitimates.

In February 1908, a Jewish girl gave birth to a baby girl in the maternity (*Vilâdethane*). Arguing that the father of the baby died previously (*pederinin evvelce vefat ettiği*) and that she was very poor and did not have the resources to take care of the baby (*alil ve fakir ve çocuğunu ırzaa gayr-ı muktedir*), she abandoned her at the maternity, even not waiting long enough for the issue of her identity card. After the investigation of the records of the hospital, it turned out that her name was Fortüne binti Baruh, that she was a resident of Balat, and that she was from among the wealthy (*erbab-ı paradan bulunduğu*). The reason for her abandonment was because she was unmarried. The baby was the result of an illicit affair (*münasebet-i gayr-ı meşru neticesinde*) and it was impossible for Fortüne to raise her alone.¹³⁴

¹³²All over Europe, maternity hospitals of the nineteenth century, especially during their initial years, were serving for the illegitimate pregnancies. For instance, *l'Hospice de la Maternité* of Paris was founded in 1795 and was serving to women at the end of their pregnancies and to the abandoned children younger than 2 years old. In 1814, the establishment became an exclusive birth clinic and the abandoned children were transferred to *l'Hospice des Enfants Assités*, the neighboring state-run foundling home (it was conveniently located around the corner) for the abandoned children. Yet, the relation of two institutions remained always a close one, in the sense that most of the women who gave birth at *la Maternité* were actually abandoning their babies to the adjacent asylum. For further information, see Rachel G. Fuchs, *Poor and Pregnant in Paris: Strategies for Survival in the Nineteenth Century*, New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 1992, p. 220.

¹³³There were maternities attached also to the large foundling asylums of Moscow and St. Petersburg. Lying-In Hospital of Moscow, was established at the same time (1764) with foundling home. It was designed as a place, where needy unwed women could have their babies in safe conditions and in secret. It was assumed that the existence of this facility would reduce abortions and infanticide and so preserve more children for the state. For the Russian state of the eighteenth century, awareness of child abandonment was intricately related with with the creation of a standing army and importance of military recruitment in the problem. Children born in the facility became wards of the foundling home, and during the late eighteenth century babies from the Lying-In Hospital accounted approximately 15 percent of the foundling home admissions. A similar hospital was attached to the St. Petersburg Foundling Home when it was opened in 1771. Ransel, 37.

¹³⁴BOA, DH.MKT., 549/2, 4/Ca/1326 (04.06.1908).

In order to change the habit of giving birth with the help of the midwives at home and in order to change this infamous reputation of the institution, Besim Ömer wrote a number of articles and pamphlets, and he tried to appeal to poor women, who lived in miserable conditions, which were extremely dangerous for the lives of their newborn babies. Zavitziano, the father of the reformed regime of the abandoned children of the Greek community of Beyoğlu dreamed of creating a birth clinic as well, where desperate unwed pregnant women (*filles mères*) would give birth in safety. With the annual budget at the disposal of the community, even the purchase of a *couveuse* seemed to be a too ambitious, unrealistic objective.¹³⁵

The *Vilâdethane* of the Ottoman Empire, as other maternity institutions, was also an important institution for certain medical developments in pediatrics and obstetrics.¹³⁶ First of all, the maternity clinic was very important in the diffusion of knowledge on midwifery, although the first Midwife School (Ebe Mektebi) had already been opened in 1842. Moreover, Besim Ömer Paşa, organized final year medical students to be resident in the hospital in attendance, in groups of six for 24 hours. As a result, the maternity became an important school, which trained uncountable doctors in this field and the prestige of the institution started to be pronounced by many people. Later, demand to give birth in the maternity increased to a major degree and the buildings became too small to respond to it. Finally, in 1904, Abdülhamid II ordered for the construction of a new hospital.

¹³⁵Anastassiadou, 297.

¹³⁶The maternities with their adjacent foundling asylums became generally important medical centers, particularly in the fields of obstetrics and pediatrics. In 1870, the foundling home of Moscow, with all its divisions, its hospital, its “secret” and “legitimate” maternities and its obstetric institute, was equipped with a team of 21 doctors. The first hospital for children in Russia was also opened in St. Petersburg in 1834, it was the third of its kind in Europe. In 1797 they started to vaccinate all the foundlings and in 1810 they opened a vaccination unit, open to public at large. The foundling homes of Russia established the first schools for midwives. These schools opened in the first years of the nineteenth century and for 60 years remained the only significant training ground for professional midwives. The first institution outside the military to train paramedics was also opened under the roof of the hospices. In the case of both midwife and the paramedic schools, most of the students were foundlings. The hygiene of the children was taken care of with great attention, their daily toilet and their semi-weekly ablutions were under strict surveillance.

1.6.3. Foundling Institutions of the Non-Muslims

The appearance of foundling homes enlightens certain aspects of abandonment. As Boswell argues, prior to this, the history of abandonment was more complicated and varicolored. Foundling homes, for which the great majority of exposed children were destined in eighteenth century Europe, were not known in the ancient world or through most of the Middle Ages; they first became widespread in Europe in the fourteenth century.¹³⁷ Many foundling asylums of the Early Modern Europe had certain mechanisms for anonymously abandoning children. Such arrangements were made so that the carriers of a baby may leave him/her in such a way that s/he is not seen by the administrators of the asylum. These were usually in the form of turning doors. The baby was put into one cellar and subsequently the door was turned, which ensured the entrance of the baby into the asylum without the carrier being noticed. Anonymity was a central feature of the system, since it allowed unwed mother in particular to unburden themselves of the “fruits of their sin” in a way that best preserved both the honor of the woman and her family. In the Orthodox lands of the Balkans, foundling asylums with *tours* started to appear in the nineteenth century. A foundling home in Athens used a turning cradle equipped with a bell. The Romanian town of Jassy had a tour in the early years of the century. Bucharest supported a foundling home but apparently did not furnish it with a tour. However, in the other sizable Balkan country, Serbia, large central homes on the southern European model did not take root.¹³⁸

Among the non-Muslim communities of the Empire, it was a rarity to have independent, full-fledged foundling hospitals. Instead, the foundling homes were tied to larger institutions, like hospitals or orphanages. One such example was the foundling department of the Surp Pırgiç hospital in Istanbul.¹³⁹ From the reports of the institution, we know that there was an orphanage under the roof of Surp Pırgiç as early as 1848.

¹³⁷Boswell, 49.

¹³⁸Ransel, 63.

¹³⁹The first well-organized institution for the Armenian orphans and foundlings was the Surp Pırgiç hospital. It was decided to establish a hospital out of the city walls, in Yedikule, after a meeting of Armenian notables of the period headed by Harutyun *Amira* Bezciyan, in January 5th 1832. The *irade-yi seniyye* of Mahmut II in July 31, 1833 formally established the hospital and the opening ceremony took place in 31 May, 1834, in the Christian holiday of the ascent of the Jesus to the sky (*Hampartzum*).

According to the 1850 report of the Supreme Civil Council of Armenian Patriarchate on the conditions of Surp Pırgiç, there were around 40 children in the institution.¹⁴⁰ In the Armenian National Constitution (*Nizamname-i Millet-i Ermeniyan*) of 1863, article 51 specified that the hospital would be divided into four departments. Together with very poor patients, old and incapable people, a section was reserved for orphans and destitute children and the education of them.¹⁴¹ By 1870, the number of orphans had risen to 60 and due to ever increasing orphan population in the hospital, a new orphanage building was constructed in between 1878 and 1882, which housed a museum, a guest house, four classes, and a *crèche*. The number of the orphans in those four classes were 87, in addition to 96 small children in the *crèche*.¹⁴² This *crèche* with “small children” was apparently an institution for the abandoned children of the Armenian community. In a letter written by B. G. Hrimyan from the Armenian Patriarchate to the Board of Trustees of the hospital in October 1872, as a part of a discussion on the finances of the institution, one of the groups of inmates were defined as waifs (*sahipsiz*), next to the orphans. Since the former was differentiated from the category of 'orphan', it seems probable that these waifs were the foundlings.¹⁴³

It should also be underlined that the absence or rarity of specific institutions for the foundlings in the Empire may in itself have helped to contain the frequency of abandonment, since it is noted that the presence of such institutions tended to attract

¹⁴⁰The living conditions of them was rather miserable. “Until noon they stay in the same room, and sit on a *minder*. When they got tired of sitting, they start to run, shout, fight, etc. The doctor occasionally visits them and orders certain treatment to be put into practice. But the servants do not have enough qualification to realize the methods the doctor ordered. Because of this difficulty a lot of children could not be healed [died]. This is the biggest problem of the hospital.” Isdepan Aslanyan, *Ngarakir S. Pırgiç Azkayin Hivantanotsi* (The Report of Surp Pırgiç Hospital), unpublished report; cited in Köseyan, *Huşamadian 160-Amia Surp Pırgiç Hayots Hivantanotsi* (The 160th Year Album of Surp Pırgiç Armenian Hospital) , Istanbul: Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi, 1994, pp. 46-47.

¹⁴¹Azkayin Sahmanatruyun Hayots [Nizamname-yi Millet-i Ermeniyan], İstanbul: H. Mühendisyan, 1863, pp. 36-37.

¹⁴²Arsen Yarman, *Osmanlı Sağlık Hizmetlerinde Ermeniler ve Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı, 2001, p. 517.

¹⁴³Yarman, 502.

greater numbers of children than would probably have been left, had no official establishment be created.¹⁴⁴ It is argued that the number of foundlings increased with increasing provision for their maintenance.¹⁴⁵ The number of abandoned children among the Greek community of Izmir was almost doubled after the foundation of an asylum in 1898, from 31 to 54 in 1901.¹⁴⁶

1.6.4. Asylum for Muslim Foundlings: *Dar'ül-aceze Irzâhanesi*

The first Ottoman institution accepting Muslim foundlings was Haseki Hospital for Women (*Haseki Nisâ Hastanesi*), which was founded in 1869. In 1892, there were already forty orphans in the hospital¹⁴⁷ Apparently in the 1890s the municipality of Istanbul (*Şehr Emâneti*) started to send foundlings to this institution, when they were left in police departments and no one volunteered to adopt them. In 1893, a boy was found in the courtyard of Şehzadebaşı Mosque and preparing his identity card (*tezkire-yi Osmaniyye*), municipality officials sent him to the Haseki hospital.¹⁴⁸ Also in the same year, a boy was found in Pangaltı street and immediately after birth registration, he was delivered to the women's hospital.¹⁴⁹ This was not a pre-prepared facility for the foundlings. Yet, the authorities must have assumed the positive effects of a medical

¹⁴⁴Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy, and Marriage in Early Modern England*, Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996, p. 191.

¹⁴⁵Jean Meyer, "Illegitimates and Foundlings in Pre-Industrial France", in Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith (eds.), *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica, and Japan*, Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1980, pp. 249-63. Meyer also argues that difference created by the presence of the foundling hospital may point to the fact that institutional provisions facilitate the abandonment of legitimate children (since it seems unlikely that the number of illegitimate births change so dramatically).

¹⁴⁶Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greek Community in İzmir, 1897-1914*, unpublished PhD thesis, Leiden Universtiy, 2005.

¹⁴⁷Nuran Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Darülaceze Vakfı, 1997, p. 7.

¹⁴⁸BOA, DH.MKT., 2051/40, 24/B /1310 (11.02.1893).

¹⁴⁹BOA, DH.MKT., 2060/93, 20/Ş /1310 (09.03.1893).

staff and female patients.

Yet, the first genuine foundling home for the Muslim infants, the *Dar'ül-aceze Irzâhanesi*, was opened under the roof of the *Dar'ül-aceze*, famous poorhouse of the Ottoman Empire opened in 1896.¹⁵⁰ Considering that in the Ottoman Empire first such asylum for the Muslim infants was opened at the end of nineteenth century, one may assume that the fate of the abandoned children remained a mystery for quite longer times in the hands of an inconsistent kindness. Yet, as discussed in the previous section, archival documentation points to the fact that there were intricate mechanisms of institutionalization for the provisioning of abandoned children. In other words, Ottoman state had well-established forms of public intervention other than foundling homes.

In the regulation of the poorhouse, the article on admittance states that abandoned children (*lâkitler*) would also be admitted to the institution.¹⁵¹ The foundling department, or *crèche*¹⁵², as it was called in some documents, started to accept infants from 1899 onwards, although, the officially opening was in April 1903.¹⁵³ The name of the department was changed to “crèche for nurslings” (*Dâr'ül-aceze Süt Çocukları Yuvası*) after 1908. The department took care of infants younger than 4 years old, and as they grew up they were transferred to the orphanage of the poorhouse.¹⁵⁴ The institution was specific to the foundlings or orphaned infants who lost at least one parent. In that respect, infants whose both parents were alive were refused. In 1907, when a divorced man, Ramazan Ağa, applied to the *Dâr'ül-aceze* for the suckling of his son, Hakkı, he

¹⁵⁰“Dârülaceze Nizâm-nâme-i Dahilisi, 13/Ş/1313 (29.01.1896)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 7 (1895-1904), Ankara: Başvekalet Devlet Matbaası, 1941, pp. 43-47.

¹⁵¹“Dârülaceze Nizâm-nâmesi, 22/C/1334 (26.4.1916)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 2, vol. 8 (1915-1916), Istanbul: Evkaf Matbaası, 1928, pp. 901-906. In the 1916 Regulation of the institution, the Fourth Section specifying the conditions of entry, clarifies in Article 12 that one group of inmates were the abandoned children. “Darülaceze'ye ancak Dersaadet'te mütevellit veya mutavattın olup da alil veya amel-mânde ve temin-i maişete kâfi mala gayr-i malik olmakla beraber kesbten âciz bulunduğu halde Dersaadet'te veya taşrada şeran infakıyla mükellef ve zikudret kimsesi mevcut olmayanlar ve *lakitler* kabul olunurlar.” Nuran Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi ...*, 411.

¹⁵²The proper English translation of the word *ırzahane* would be “suckling house”.

¹⁵³Yıldırım notes that there were 17 foundlings in 1899. Yet, archival sources underline 1903 as the opening date. BOA, DH.UMVM., 114/44, 13/Ra/1340 (14.11.1921), “Darülaceze ırzâhanesi'nin tarih-i tesisi olan 9 Nisan 319...”.

¹⁵⁴Statistics of the institution indicate exact numbers (Table 1.5.).

was returned since both his parents were alive.¹⁵⁵

Although the regulation of the *Dâr'ül-aceze* prescribed that neither religion nor nationality would be taken into consideration at the *Dâr'ül-aceze* admittance [*Dâr'ül-aceze'ye alınacaklarda mezhep ve milliyet gözetilmemesi*], the foundlings in the institution were predominantly Muslims. There were a number of converts, especially converted for acceptance.¹⁵⁶ In March 1911, the foundling hospital housed 30 Muslims, as opposed to only 1 Greek, 1 Armenian Catholic, and 2 Jews. In the orphanage, all the inmates were Muslims (33).¹⁵⁷ In that respect, the state welfare towards foundlings was primarily targeting Muslims. However, this uneven distribution also resulted from the reluctance of non-Muslim communities to send their foundlings there.¹⁵⁸ Non-Muslim religious authorities were very critical of seeing their infants in this institution.¹⁵⁹ Even if entrance did not imply conversion, there was still the fear that the orphans would be converted through Islamic education in the institution.¹⁶⁰

The facility in general was quite small. In 1899, there were 17 foundlings (*süt çocuğu*).¹⁶¹ The number was more than doubled in 1905 with 38 infants, although the department was still minuscule compared to a total of 863 inmates in the institution as a whole.¹⁶² In 1907, the foundling population reached to 75 (*terk edilmiş çocuk*).¹⁶³ Yet, this exponential growth had to be tamed in some way, due to limited resources of the department and as a result, the number of the foundlings decreased to 34 in 1911. In the new regulation of *Dâr'ül-aceze* of 1914, it was clarified that the foundling unit would

¹⁵⁵BOA, DH.MKT., 1162/17, 08/Ra/1325 (21.04.1907).

¹⁵⁶BOA. ZB. 320/123, 18/Şu/1322 (3.3.1907); BOA. ZB. 377/25, 12/My/1325 (25.5.1909); BOA. ZB. 377/86, 15/H/1325, (28.6.1909).

¹⁵⁷Yarman, 364.

¹⁵⁸The concerns for conversion will be discussed in the next section.

¹⁵⁹I will go through many examples in the next section.

¹⁶⁰BOA. DH.MUI., 96/20, 10/Ca/1328 (19.6.1910).

¹⁶¹Nuran Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi...*, 145.

¹⁶²Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet 1876-1914*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p. 210.

¹⁶³Yarman, 364.

have a quota of 50 infants. Slightly challenging the new regulation, *ırzâhane* was sheltering 57 foundlings in 1916 (Table 1.11.). In fact, the foundling home usually admitted around 200 infants each year. Unfortunately, the number decreased enormously due to high mortality rate, as I will discuss in detail in the next section. For instance, in 1916 180 foundlings were admitted, of which 111 died. In 1917, 201 of 251 died.¹⁶⁴ Therefore, the first official foundling asylum of the Ottoman Empire, situated at its capital, was only a miniature in its ability to respond to the actual need, in a city of one million inhabitants.¹⁶⁵

The foundling home of *Dâr'ül-aceze* was designed to follow the lines of institutional care. Several wet-nurses were recruited to stay in the establishment and care for the infants. In 1904, the Ministry of the Interior ordered that the number of dry-nurses decreased and more wet-nurses employed so as to have a ratio of one wet-nurse to two foundlings.¹⁶⁶ However, some of the foundlings were fostered. The decision of farming-out was reached in the early 1920s, due to ever-increasing costs of the institution. Volunteering women were asked to apply to the institution, and those having no health problems were entrusted infants one after the other.¹⁶⁷ Yet, the system of foster care created problems, based on the concerns for infant's nutrition and health.¹⁶⁸ These women were usually living in remote districts of the city, with very poor conditions of hygiene and cleanliness and their economic resources were extremely limited.¹⁶⁹ As a result, a monitoring mechanism was introduced in the early 1920s, with which the doctors of *Dâr'ül-aceze* would provide medical examination to the infants and

¹⁶⁴See Table 1.8. Also Judith E. Tucker notes that the foundlings recovered alive in Cairo in the early 1900s were between 76 to 131 every year. Tucker, 156.

¹⁶⁵We have to think about relatively large populations of similar institutions in Europe and Russia which tend to house some hundreds of foundlings up to 1000.

¹⁶⁶BOA, DH.MKT., 816/40, 14/Za/1321 (1.2.1904).

¹⁶⁷BOA., DH.UMVM., 166/70, 27/B/1340 (26.3.1922).

¹⁶⁸BOA., DH.UMVM., 166/70, 26/N/1340, (24.05.1922).

¹⁶⁹The concern was born earlier. In the 1890s, the government realized that losing track of foundlings, who were entrusted into needy households (*tevdi edilenlerin arkası aranmamasıyla*) had unhealthy and dangerous results for these infants. In that respect, all the governorships, municipality of Istanbul, and the Ministry of Police were warned duly. BOA, DH.MKT., 1986/123, 20/M/1310 (14.8.1892).

control wet-nurses with regular visits to their houses.

Irzâhane was a part of the prestige institutions of the Hamidian era, next to children's hospital (Şişli Etfal) and *Dâr'ül-hâyr-ı Âlî* underlining the power and legitimacy of the sultan.¹⁷⁰ In the lobby of the *ırzâhane*, there was a poem praising the sultan for what he has done for the foundlings (*ırzâdâr*).¹⁷¹ This poem underlined the generosity and the benevolence of the sultan and presented the feelings of gratitude of the little children.

In 13 February 1899, daily newspaper *Sabah* published a striking story. A young and unmarried mother, unable to feed her newborn baby, eventually decided to hand the child over to the *Dâr'ül-aceze* foundling unit. Some time later, after finding a job as a domestic servant, she returned to the poorhouse to retrieve her child. Yet, when she saw how well the child was being cared for, she decided to leave the child there. The author of the article claimed that “the compassion of the sultan was even stronger than maternal instinct.”¹⁷² It is highly probable that this story was a fabrication, since according to many researches on the issue, domestic servants predominated among the mothers abandoning their children.¹⁷³ The bulk of the servant class were contributing the

¹⁷⁰For a coherent account on philanthropy and legitimacy: Nadir Özbek, “Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37, no. 1 (2005): 59-81.

¹⁷¹Hazret-i Sultan Hâmid'in eylesün Rabb-i vâhid
Ömr ü ikbal-i hümayûnun mezîd ender mezîd
Sâye-yi iclâl-i âlisinden dâyim olmada
Pertev-i ümrân ve feyz-i mesaded yer yer bedîd
Öyle bir ummân-ı ihsândır ki zât-ı akdesi
Cûşîş-i lutfi ile bî-vâyegân hep müstefid
Re'fet-i şâhânesi mebzûl iken her âcize
Şimdi de masûmlar oldu mazhar-ı lutf-ı cedîd
Lafz-ı kim itmâm eder târîh-i cevher-pâşını
Eyledi ihyâ şu ırzâdârını Sultân Hamîd
Nuran Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi ...*, 162.

¹⁷²*Sabah*, no. 3315, 13 February 1899, in Özbek, 210-212.

¹⁷³Ransel, 166. For further reference, John R. Gillis, “Servants, Sexual Relations, and the Risks of Illegitimacy in London, 1801-1900”, *Feminist Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Spring 1979, pp. 142-173; J. Boulton, “London Domestic Servants from Depositional Evidence, 1660-1750: Servant-Employer Sexuality in the Patriarchal Household” and T. Meldrum, “'Unlawfully Begotten on Her Body': Illegitimacy and the Parish Poor in St

largest share of the abandoned babies born in the cities, since they were forced to expose their babies not to lose their jobs in the households. Yet, this exaggerated and over-sentimental story, summarizing the readiness of the press to praise the institution, clarifies the symbolic importance of the *Irzahane* for the sultan.

1.6.5. Mortality Rates of the Foundlings in Asylums

During the course of nineteenth century, people started to be interested in the infant mortality and its causes, and in that respect the foundling population in general and asylums in particular were examples picked up for further analysis, due to enormous mortality rates. The main reason for higher mortality among the foundlings was related to malnourishment, due to scarcity of milk and of wet-nurses. In most of the cases, asylums were buying milk from outside, which was menacing the lives of the infants, since pasteurization facilities were primitive and the milk contained deadly bacterias for children. In order to increase the stock of milk, the foundling asylums established dairies. Yet, keeping the animal milk fresh and using it in a healthy way was also problematic: it required sterilization and pasteurization.¹⁷⁴

The foundling institutions opened in the Ottoman Empire, like their counterparts all over the world, had to face high mortality rates. The small foundling home of Trabzon, opened by the Capucins, was not an exception to this acute draining of babies. According to a letter, dated 3 December 1882, they had a nursery for the foundlings,

Luke's, Chelsea", in Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe (eds.), *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997; Frye, Susan and Karen Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*. NY and Oxford, 1999; Maza, Sarah C. *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: the Uses of Loyalty*, Princeton, NJ, 1983; Meldrum, Tim. *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household*, Harlow, 2000; Fairchilds, Cissie. *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France*, Baltimore, London, 1984; Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class*, New York: Routledge, 1995.

¹⁷⁴The same problem existed everywhere, until the situation changed dramatically in the late nineteenth century with the discovery by the Nestlé company of a formula that approximated the characteristics of mother's milk, which could also be packaged in dry form for long preservation. This resource eventually became an important supplement to other means of nourishment used by the foundling homes.

although no number was provided. According to the responsible of the mission "... [they are] gathered and raised as a Christian or sent to the sky before even having lost their innocence!"¹⁷⁵ From the last part of the sentence, we understood that mortality was always a real problem in the asylum. In another report on the missions of Istanbul for the year of 1893, the Sister feels obliged to use the expression "those who were saved from death" would enter the orphanage.¹⁷⁶

The letter of the missionary of Jerusalem, Soeur Sion, written in 1890, is giving clear information about the mortality rates. "Arriving in Jerusalem, we knew that many abandoned children were perishing with misery... We understood that a work of abandoned children was necessary here... In four years, we have received 40 infants... but we have to give 17 of them in our possession to the eternal happiness. 23 remained with us and they are in our house."¹⁷⁷ This leads us to a mortality rate of 42.5 percent. In another report of 1901, she mentions that in the last 15 years, during which the mission of Terre Sainte was occupied with the abandoned children, 486 infants were received, of which two thirds had died.¹⁷⁸ This figure implies a mortality rate of 66 percent, though higher than the Palestine station, was in fact lower than certain similar institutions all over Europe. The mortality rate in the foundling asylum of the church of the Franciscan missionaries, Sainte-Marie Draperis, was also quite low compared to its European counterparts. The Franciscans, within a period of 13 years between 1860 and 1873, gathered 133 children and 66 of them died (50 %).¹⁷⁹

For the period between 1840-1880, Anastassiadou calculates the number of Greek children abandoned annually to the Panaghia church in Beyoğlu range between 20 and 35, with a mortality rate of 60 percent.¹⁸⁰ The overall picture was much better for the

¹⁷⁵« Asie-Mineur, Capucins de Trébizonde, 3 décembre 1882 », *OEO*, no. 136, mai 1883, pp. 77-81.

¹⁷⁶« Rapport Sur les Missions », *ACM*, t. 59, 1894, pp. 162-8.

¹⁷⁷« Palestine, Lettre de soeur Sion, supérieure des Filles de la charité, à Jérusalem », *OEO*, no. 180, septembre 1890, pp. 341-7.

¹⁷⁸Soeur Sion, "Les Filles de la Charité en Terre Saint (Suite)", t. 33, 1901, pp. 537-8.

¹⁷⁹BOA, HR. TO. 458/1, 7.7. 1874.

¹⁸⁰European literature underlines that the mortality rate for the foundlings is higher compared to general infant mortality. Fuchs, *Abandoned Children...*, 196-99; Ransel,

foundling asylum of the Greek community of Izmir. Every year, one third of the babies brought to the institution, one could assume mostly among the newly arrived, passed away. For instance, in 1901, after the influx of 18 babies, the total number became 72, out of which however 14 would later pass away, while two were adopted. This was a really low mortality rate of less than 20 percent.¹⁸¹

The foundling unit of Darülaceze was sufficiently well-equipped with the modern technology and educated staff. The head of the foundling unit was a French woman, and there were Austrian nurses under her.¹⁸² Short after its opening, a breeder reactor, *couveuse*, was purchased for the foundling unit.¹⁸³ Moreover, it had a dairy of its own and established technical facility for sterilizing animal milk. In 1903, after the official opening of the department, some cows and donkeys were purchased for the institution.¹⁸⁴ In 1906, the Ministry of Interior also approved the purchase of a special device for sterilizing animal milk for the institution.¹⁸⁵ The next year, in 1907, Ahmet Rasim gave a detailed account of the equipments he saw in the foundling home.¹⁸⁶ In

259; Sherwood, 143; George D. Sussman, "Parisian Infants and Norman Wet Nurses in the Early Nineteenth Century: A Statistical Study," in *Marriage and Fertility: Studies in Interdisciplinary History*, R. I. Rotberg and T. K. Rabb (eds.), Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980, p. 255; James R. Lehning, "Family Life and Wet Nursing in a French Village", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 12, no. 4, Spring 1982, p. 650. Yet, in the Ottoman context, we lack general demographic data to discuss these.

¹⁸¹Vangelis Kechriotis, *The Greek Community in İzmir, 1897-1914*, unpublished PhD thesis, Leiden Universtiy, 2005.

¹⁸²Özbek, 2002, 210.

¹⁸³BOA., DH. MKT., 727/40, 26/Ra/1321, (22.06.1903).

¹⁸⁴For instance, in July 1903, four donkeys were purchased for the institution. BOA. DH. MKT. 745/32, 05/Ca/1321, (30.07.1903).

¹⁸⁵BOA, DH.MKT., 1079/59, 21/Ra/1324 (15.05.1906).

¹⁸⁶"İrza'hane, yeni doğmuş çocuklarla dört yaşına kadar olan küçük çocukların yetimhanesidir. Süt sterilize etmeye mahsus bir cihazı, tartı aleti, banyo dairesi, hasta tecrid odası, büyüklere mahsus yatak odası ve teneffüs oyun odası var. Türlü türlü oyuncakları, hattâ fotoğrafları da var. Bu dairenin başında çocuk bakımı mütehasısı bir ecnebi hemşire bulunuyor; madâm, hakikâten takdire şayan şekilde çalışmaktadır. Çocukların hepsi de güzel, tertemiz giydirilmişler."

<http://www.beyan.com.tr/arsiv/1999/sayi9/kulturmedeniyet.htm>

1906, it was also decided to provide classes by an obstetrician, Kolağası Burhaneddin Bey, to the nurses employed in the orphanage and foundling department of *Dâr'ül-aceze* so that children were properly taken care of under the rules of hygiene and sanitation (*hıfz-ı sıhhaya uygun olarak*).¹⁸⁷

All of these were propagated as signs of a capable, modernizing state. The press presented and advertised the institution as a solution to the problem of infant mortality, since it was abiding by the most modern rules of hygiene and sterility. Despite all these technical improvements, and despite positive propaganda foundlings in the *Dâr'ül-aceze* had to face high mortality rates. From 1903 to 1915, 932 children were accepted into the institution and 572 of them died (61 %), although the registers of these 12 years were not kept in a diligent manner and the figures for children were given as a total covering the whole period. In early 1915, the mortality rates of abandoned children in *Dâr'ül-aceze* was already a concern for the government and the administration of the institution was asked to give an explanation. The director complained that the procedure followed from the moment an infant was found to the time s/he was taken to the foundling asylum was too long and painful, since infants were kept in police departments, while their identities were investigated.¹⁸⁸ The accusations against the police departments were rather grave. The pediatrician of the *Dâr'ül-aceze* claimed that the infants were put into a basket (*zenbil*) and hung on the walls during night. Moreover, in order to stop their cry a piece of bread was put into a dirty cloth and stucked into their mouths.¹⁸⁹ As a result, infants were deprived of necessary care and nutrition and consequently they arrived at the institution in a half-dead condition (*nîm-mürde bir halde*), which rendered all efforts spent for their survival futile (*semere dâr olamadığı*). The police was ordered to deliver the foundlings directly and quickly (*doğrudan doğruya ve vesait-i seri ile*) to the most relevant places, based on first guesses on their identities, and to undertake the investigation afterwards, in order to save the lives of these abandoned children.¹⁹⁰

In the late 1910s, infant mortality rate of the foundling home was still

¹⁸⁷BOA, DH.MKT., 1061/6, 26/M /1324 (22.03.1906).

¹⁸⁸BOA. DH.EUM.MTK. 79/43, 3/Ra/1333 (19.1.1915).

¹⁸⁹BOA. DH.UMVM. 114/44, 23/Ra/1340 (24.11.1921).

¹⁹⁰BOA. DH.EUM.MTK. 79/43, 3/Ra/1333 (19.1.1915).

embarrassing. According to the detailed report of Ali Şükrü, the single pediatrician of the institution, it was 80 percent in 1917, 86 in 1918, 84 in 1919, and 73 in 1920.¹⁹¹ As apparent from the table, the institution admitted some hundreds of foundlings every year. The survivors, however, remained to be a very small minority (Table 1.8.).

In total, from 1903 to 1921, 2052 children were accepted into the institution and 1445 of them died (70 %). Most of these infants passed away when they were below six-months, (1236 of 1535: 80 %). The mortality rate in 1917 was 95 % ! The risk for those above 1 years-old was much smaller, (39 of 183: 21 %). The doctor argued that this wretched and miserable condition of the foundling home (*ırzâhanenin bugünkü acınacak hal-i perişaniyesi*) could be explained neither by the insufficiencies of its building nor by the negligence or weakness of its doctors. What these poor infants essentially lacked was a “mother-like compassion and affection” (*merhamet ve şefkat-i mâderâne*), which were not provided by their wet-nurses. These women, the doctor argued, were recruited without much scrutiny and it was obvious that their interest for the job had little to do with “love of raising children” (*çocuk büyüme zevki*), compared to their preoccupation to escape from starvation and gain their livelihood.

The report of the Ministry of Health, prepared in September 1921 noted that previous warning of the police gave its fruits and the infants were delivered much more quickly. Unfortunately, there was no improvement in mortality rate.¹⁹² The ministry argued, parallel to Ali Şükrü, that the problem resulted from poor conditions of hygiene and care, since these infants were left to the hands of ignorant, superstitious (*itikâdât ve âdât-ı batıleye merbut*), and lazy women. According to the male-gaze of the administrators, infants were victims of female negligence. In order to reinforce women's motivation for work, poorhouse administration asked for permission of the Ministry of Interior to give rewards to wet and dry-nurses.¹⁹³

During 1921, the poorhouse was under serious governmental investigation for eight months. In his report of January 1922, the civil inspector (*mülkiye müfettişi*), Hikmet Bey, argued that since wet-nurses were entrusted more than two infants, in addition to their own babies, the supply of milk for each was insufficient. He suggested

¹⁹¹BOA., DH.UMVM., 114/44, 9/Te/1336 (09.10.1920).

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, 1/M/1340 (04.09.1921).

¹⁹³BOA., DH.UMVM., 115/46, 11/Ca/1340 (10.1.1922).

to keep the ratio of wet-nurses to the infants as one to two. Therefore, the rehabilitation of the foundling asylum was possible only with the recruitment of a full-time pediatrician and five more wet-nurses.¹⁹⁴ The ratio was again one to three or four in 1925 and the mortality rate continued to be very high.¹⁹⁵

It is interesting that the Ministries, doctors, and the state failed to take into account the fatal results of the institutionalization itself. Independent of the conditions of feeding and nourishment, the foundlings taken care of at homes should have a much smaller mortality rate, simply due to the fact that the possibility of infection of a disease from another baby was much smaller in the households than it was in the institutions, sheltering around 50 infants. It is possible that the building as a whole get infected and the foundlings were never strong enough to defeat the disease. Thus, it is not rare that hospitals, nurseries, maternities, or foundling asylums were themselves “killing fields”. In other words, since the reformers of the late Ottoman Empire was obsessed with a particular interpretation of modernization and centralization, they ignored the harmful effects of the *modern* forms of care themselves: what they have presented as progress was from another perspective disaster.

1.7. Ethno-Religious Identity of a Foundling

In 1905, a woman had to abandon her illegitimate baby in the Greek neighborhood of Keşan, Edirne.¹⁹⁶ The local church admitted the baby, baptized him with the name Tadori, and entrusted him to a Greek household for suckling. The governorship later argued that the baby was taken with improper basis, since he was a Muslim. It was claimed that his swaddling clothes pointed to the fact that he was

¹⁹⁴BOA., DH.UMVM., 119/23, 12/Ca/1340 (11.1.1922). The Administrative Council (*Meclis-i İdare*) approved the recruitment of only two wet-nurses: BOA., DH.UMVM., 115/53, 06/C /1340 (4.2.1922).

¹⁹⁵Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi ...*, 165.

¹⁹⁶BOA, DH.MKT., 1007/53, 19/B/1323 (19.9.1905).

coming from the Muslim immigrant [*muhacir*] neighborhood, which was very close to the Greek one. As a result, the government started an investigation of conversion, accusing the Greek clerics for proselyting. Moreover, after a thorough research in the refugee district, the mother of the baby, a Muslim refugee, was found and she confessed “her crime”, that she actually exposed her baby in the Greek neighborhood. The government then asked the local Greek religious authorities to return this Muslim baby. Arguing that there was no obvious religious or national sign on him, the church authorities refused to do so, which deepened the crisis, such that the Ministry of Justice and Sects, Greek Patriarchate, and the Ministry of Interior got involved. The crisis tragically came to an end when the poor baby died before completing his three months, unable to resist the huge infant mortality rates of the nineteenth century.

According to Islamic law, the legitimacy of the children is only conveyed through *neseb* (genealogy), and *neseb* is conferred through legitimate marriage or by an admission of paternity in a court of law.¹⁹⁷ Thus, almost all of the abandoned babies are considered illegitimate and without genealogy. These children were unfortunate beings, because to be without attachment to a lineage's or a genealogy, to be without *neseb*, means virtually not to exist, and it is one of the worst conditions in Islamic societies. The uncertainty of the child's genealogical identity leads to many legal problems in the areas of paternity (*neseb*), inheritance, leadership of prayers, maintenance and care, bloodwit and giving testimony.¹⁹⁸ As a result of this lack of ancestry, the determination of the religious status of the foundlings has always been an issue of controversy. According to the traditional Hanefi regulation, all foundlings are Muslim and free (*hür*), since all the orphans belong to the state.¹⁹⁹ However, if the foundling found in a quarter specifically inhabited by non-Muslims (Jews or Christians) or in the courtyard of a church or a synagogue, he or she is presumed to belong to one of the non-Muslim communities.²⁰⁰

In Muslim neighborhoods, those who found an infant, were expected to take

¹⁹⁷Carolyn Flueh-Lobban, *Islamic Society in Practice*, University Press of Florida, 1994, p. 74.

¹⁹⁸For instance, the legal inheritor of a foundling can only be the state, due to ambiguity of genealogy.

¹⁹⁹D'Ohsson, 119.

him/her into their houses and provide him/her with all the necessities of charity and benevolence. The finder, then, should bring the foundling to *kadı* so that the position of the foundling can be regularized in terms of its maintenance and upbringing. The public authority then assigns these duties to a member of the community, usually the finder. In the case of non-Muslim foundlings, the customary function of the state was to transfer them to relevant religious authorities of communities – Catholic, Armenian, Greek, Jewish.

Based on the archival documents investigated for this study, it can be said that all infants abandoned to mosques (37 cases) and public baths (6 cases) were registered as Muslims. With the same token, foundlings abandoned to churches (7 cases) were considered Christians. Yet, problems occurred in cases, where the infant was abandoned in front of a door, or a street, or other places. Non-Muslim authorities had serious concerns on that matter, since Ottoman authorities had a tendency to overlook the registry of non-Muslim babies as Muslims, despite contrary evidence. There was a general atmosphere of disturbance regarding the foundlings. The case of Hacı Osman bin Islam, that was discussed in the beginning of the chapter, is an example to this inclination.²⁰¹ In this case, two babies from the non-Muslim quarter of Salonika were denied their ethno-religious identity and were easily given to a Muslim, overruling the Islamic regulations on the matter.²⁰²

That was in this context that the non-Muslim communities got nervously involved in the protection of their own orphans and destitute children. This fear of conversion characterized non-Muslim groups who dreaded assimilation into the society of the majority.²⁰³ Notwithstanding the fact that, in keeping with the Islamic tradition, the

²⁰⁰M.S.Sujimon, “The Treatment of the Foundling (al-laqit) according to the Hanafis”, *Islamic Law and Society*, 9: 3, 200, pp. 361-2.

²⁰¹BOA, DH. MKT, 919/29, 24/L/1322 (31.12.1904).

²⁰²Many more examples will be enumerated in this section.

²⁰³A list of the main types of aid that the big urban community of Izmir, in the first half of the nineteenth century, points to the important place the orphans and the destitute children occupy in the general field of charity. Out of ten benevolent deeds and charitable acts, three relate to orphans: clothing the naked and the orphans as well as young children studying Torah; providing for the marriage of orphan girls; distribution of funds to orphans every week. R. Haim Palachi, *Massa Haim*, Izmir, 5634 (1874), p. 17, cited in Yaron Ben-Naeh, “Poverty, Paupers and Poor Relief in Ottoman Jewish

reaya enjoyed under Ottoman rule a considerable degree of religious freedom, they were nonetheless subject to a number of disabilities which emphasized their inferior status in the Ottoman order of things. The various forms of discrimination to which non-Muslims were subject, when coupled with particularly harsh treatment by local Ottoman authorities, could lead to conversion, individual or mass, to Islam.²⁰⁴ There was always a concern that the unprotected members may find themselves forced to convert to Islam. Anton Minkov argues that it would plausible to think that most of the conversions came from socially weak groups such as the orphans, elderly, disabled, and widows.²⁰⁵

Highest non-Muslim religious authorities applied to the government numerous times with the grievance that despite the traditional arrangements on the identity of the foundlings, babies discovered by the police officers were being registered as Muslims and brought up accordingly. The policemen were inattentive in determining the religious affiliation of the infants they found in the streets (thus, considering them Muslim) and they were taking them directly to the foundling unit of *Dâr'ül-aceze*. In other cases, they disregarded the indicators of the religious affiliation of these infants. Babies, carrying Christian tags (*yafta*) on them or were abandoned in front of churches and non-Muslim households, were taken either into Muslim households or to the foundling unit of *Dâr'ül-aceze* and enrolled as Muslims.²⁰⁶ On May 19, 1903, Kalinikos, the vicar-general, warned the Superior of the Greek parish of Beyoğlu, that “babies born

Society”, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, tome 163, Janvier-Juin 2004, fascicule 1-2, pp. 151-192. There is bountiful evidence for distribution of clothes to the Jewish orphans in the newspapers as well. In 1897, in Kuzguncuk, “full sets of clothes were distributed to poor and orphan children”. *El Tiyempo*, no. 59, 12 April 1897, p. 3.

²⁰⁴Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 14.

²⁰⁵Mikov argues that most of the female petitioners for *kisve bahası* fell into the category of widows. That the phenomenon of widows' conversion to Islam was widespread in Ottoman society at the time may be attested by the high number of widows registered as “daughters of Abdullah” in villages with mixed population in the *avarız* registers. For further information, Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670-1730*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.

²⁰⁶BOA, DH.MKT., 549/2, 20/R /1320 (26.07.1902). This document is a huge dossier, comprising numerous complaints and correspondences regarding the dispute over the identity of the foundlings.

out of orthodox Greek parents were taken by the police and were placed in non-Greek homes for education.²⁰⁷

In fact, religious authorities legitimately complained that Christian and Jewish babies were being registered as Muslims. The director of the *Dâr'ül-aceze* prepared a report in 1902 and admitted that since the opening of the institution, exposed babies, discovered in the streets or in front of houses were brought there by the police and municipality officers. Furthermore, he added, although until recently these were only Muslim foundlings, they were now entrusted also a number of non-Muslim children.²⁰⁸

In response to the petition of the Greek Patriarchate that many Greek babies were taken to *Dâr'ül-aceze*, the Municipality of Istanbul (*Şehremaneti*) argued that there was a change in the traditional policy for the determination of the identity of the foundlings, initiated after the opening of *Dâr'ül-aceze* foundling asylum.²⁰⁹ He claimed that in the past abandoned children were a rarity, yet, the number of them was duplicated recently so as to draw the attention of the authorities (*nazar-ı dikkat ve ehemmiyet celb edecek derecede teksir etmiş*). Moreover, abandoning mothers, or fathers, due to concerns for concealment and urgency (*mecburiyet-i ihtifa ve istical*) had to inattentively leave these babies to any place they came across on the way (*rast geldikleri yerde bırakıvermekte*). Therefore, the municipality claimed, a baby left in front of a church or a synagogue did not have to be a member of that community. As a logical outcome of the annulment of Islamic regulations on the foundlings, the municipality found it necessary to investigate the nationalities of the foundlings (*tahkik-i milletleri*) with the help of the police department.²¹⁰ During the completion of the inquiry, babies had to be held in *Dâr'ül-*

²⁰⁷Anastassiadou, 302.

²⁰⁸BOA, DH.MKT., 549/2, 29/R/1320 (05.08.1902).

²⁰⁹BOA, DH.MKT., 549/2, 23/Ş/1320 (24.11.1902).

²¹⁰In the Greek (British) island of Kephallenia, the same structure was in use in the 1830s (until 1856). Abandoned children were taken under the care of the state, in the form of the Police Department, and sent out to wet nurses and foster parents in the countryside. The decision regarding the disposition of the child rested solely in the hands of the chief of police. The children became wards of the state if the identity of the parents was unknown or if the parents and their kin were able to demonstrate that they were so indigent as to be unable to care for the child.

When a child was found abandoned, either at the hospital or at some other public location, it was immediately taken into care. If the police had any inkling as to the identity of the parents, then it was their duty to seek them out. If the identity of the natal

aceze.²¹¹

The municipality claimed that the method was necessary for two reasons: first, to prevent future controversy between different communities of the Empire, and second, to register the babies to the Ottoman census (*sicill-i nüfus*) properly and issue their identity cards.²¹² The proper registration of the new-born babies was one of the new preoccupations of the modernizing state (*devletçe mültezim olan tahrir-i nüfus*) and during this time an article on the foundlings was added to the Regulation on Population Registration of 1882 (*Sicill-i Nüfûs Nizamnamesi*).²¹³ According to the regulation, all abandoned children were registered as Muslim, unless they had other religious indicators on them. More importantly, when a foundling was discovered, the finder was obliged to report where, how and when the foundling was discovered to the Council of Elders in the villages and to the police department in towns and cities. It was also a necessity to bring original clothes and belongings of the infant to the authorities. The responsible body, in return, would prepare a record, comprising baby's possible age, sex, assigned name, and the relevant place that s/he would be delivered to. This record would be used for the registration of the baby to the census and for the preparation of his identity card. In that respect, even the church authorities were not allowed take in the babies, left to their door; they had to inform the municipality and the police.

parents was unknown, then the infant was automatically enrolled on the foundling register, and the state assumed responsibility for it.

In some other islands, on the other hand, new foundling institutions were opened, taking British ones as their examples. At Kerkyra and Zakyntos, for example, foundling hospitals were constructed with a tower. At Argostoli, there was only a basket with a bell suspended above it, so that the person could alert an attendant inside the building that a child had been left in the basket. Women from the countryside came to these hospitals and were hired as wet nurses for the abandoned infants.

Gallant, 488-89.

²¹¹In addition to the above mentioned report of November 1902, same arguments were repeated in other reports of the Municipality of Istanbul in January 1904, November 1904, and June 1905.

²¹²BOA, DH.MKT., 549/2, 17/R/1320 (22.07.1902).

²¹³“Sicill-i Nüfûs Nizamnamesi, 8/L/1298 (23.8.1882)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, Zeyl 2, Istanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1299 (1882), pp. 15-23. The same specification was repeated in the Law of Population Registration (*Sicill-i Nüfus Kanunu*) of 27 August, 1914 (Art. 20-21): “Nüfûs Kanunu, 5/L/1332 (27.8.1914)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 2, vol. 6 (1913-1914), Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1334 (1916), pp. 1244-1254.

Actually, this policy change inflamed a serious crisis between the non-Muslim authorities, Municipality of Istanbul and the government, since numerous complaints were made that police officers were taking away obviously Christian babies. In 1903, a girl was abandoned to the door of a Greek household. There was a note in Greek (*Rûmî ilmühaber*) explaining that she was not baptized and she had a tin cross (*sarı tenekeden bir istavroz*) in her swaddling clothes. Even in the presence of such evidence she was sent to *Dâr'ül-aceze* and registered as a Muslim.²¹⁴ In May 1902, a foundling was found in front of the door of a Greek resident, Konstantin veled-i Foti, in Langa (Aksaray, Istanbul). Although a little note was found on the baby telling that he was a Greek, named Todori, the municipal officers took him to *Dâr'ül-aceze*. Only after the complaint of the Patriarchate, he was returned to Greek authorities.²¹⁵ In July 1904, the Patriarchate complained again that two Greek boys were taken to the institution for the *investigation* of their identities. Yet, when they died, they were buried as Muslims.²¹⁶ An incident that has taken place in August 1904 is exemplary in understanding the worries of the communities from the “danger of Islam”. A new-born baby was left in front of a Jewish house in Beyoğlu, with a paper attached to his diapers saying in Greek “not-baptized”.²¹⁷ This child was found by a police officer and brought to the Church of Hristos in Galata. The priest immediately baptized the baby “so that he was not sent to the Ottoman *brefokomeio* (hospice for foundlings)”.²¹⁸ Here the concern seems to be redundant, yet, it points to a well-established fear.

By the same token, the Municipality was complaining from the the religious authorities, since they resisted to bring the babies to the headmen of their districts (*mahalle muhtarı*). In October 1903, a boy was found at the door of a house in

²¹⁴BOA, DH.MKT., 783/6, 15/Ş/1321 (5.11.1903).

²¹⁵BOA, DH.MKT., 549/2, 3/S/1320 (12.05.1902).

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 20/R/1322 (04.07.1904).

²¹⁷It is interesting that a Greek foundling was left at the door of a Jewish household. Here, we can refer to poverty and the the belief in the wealth (only as a stereotype) of the Jews. In the second half of the 17th century, there were occurrences of non-Jewish foundlings being deposited at the synagogue doors in London. Albert M. Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England: A History of Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Community 1492-1951*, London: Menthuen & co., 1951, p. 36.

²¹⁸Anastassiadou, 302.

Boğazkesen, Galata. The piece of paper, attached to his swaddle indicated that he was 7-days-old, unbaptized, and born of Orthodox parents. The Greek patriarchate resisted to deliver the baby to the governmental authorities, arguing that the boy was definitely Greek.²¹⁹ In another example from November 1904, a girl was abandoned at the door of the house of Kostaki, an employee of the Consulate of Greece. The *mutasarrıf* of Beyoğlu demanded the surrender of the baby to the state authority, while the Patriarchate refused claiming that according to traditional regulations, a foundling discovered in a Greek neighborhood belongs to the Greek community.²²⁰ In other words, this was a realm of continuous rivalry between the Greek patriarchate and the Municipality of Istanbul. The patriarchate resisted to change (*usul-ı kadimesinin muhafazası talebi*), while municipality underlined the new needs of the administration. As I will further discuss in the following pages, the controversy can be seen as a microcosm of the emergence of the modern state, birth of the idea of modern citizenship, and the problems it created with the non-Muslim communities, whose interaction with the state was to take a different form than it had traditionally been .

After unceasing petitions of the patriarchate, the Council of State ruled in February 1905 that abandoned children found in front of non-Muslim religious institutions and quarters would be delivered to the authorities of that community, without being sent to the *Dâr'ül-aceze*, while children found in front of mosques and in Muslim quarters were to be registered as Muslims.²²¹ The Municipality objected with its report of June 1905,²²² where it was argued that the traditional procedure was insufficient in responding to changing realities of the social life of the city, since there were no longer strictly segregated quarters in the city and that almost all neighborhoods were being inhabited by members of various communities. In the end, the Council of Ministers discussed the issue in June 1906 and concluded that no matter where the baby was exposed, it was necessary to undertake a police investigation on the identity of the baby. Yet, they would not be brought to the *Dâr'ül-aceze*.²²³

It was ordered, with the intermediation of the *muhtars*, that people who found an

²¹⁹*Ibid.*, 5/Ş/1321 (27.10.1903).

²²⁰*Ibid.*, 27/Ş/1322 (05.11.1904).

²²¹*Ibid.*, 30/Z/1322 (05.02.1905).

²²²*Ibid.*, 23/R/1323 (27.06.1905).

abandoned baby were expected to report the foundling, without opening or touching their swaddling clothes, immediately and directly to the police departments. When a baby was brought in, the officials of the police department recorded particulars of each case, noting the name of the person bringing the child, and in instances of children found in the streets, alleys, and markets – or on the steps of mosques, church, or synagogues – the officials were sure to note where exactly the child had been found.²²⁴ Then, in the presence of a committee made up of local police, municipality officers, and the *muhtar*, the swaddling clothes were opened. The first thing to search for was a piece of paper (*varaka*) that could bear knowledge on baby's identity. Secondly, the officers would look for certain symbols by observing the nature of cloth and the swaddle. With reference to existing marks and signs, this investigation would clarify the identity of the baby and the foundlings could be sent to relevant religious authorities.²²⁵ Although non-Muslim ecclesiastics demanded to be present during the investigation, their request was rejected with the excuse that it would lengthen the process and endanger the lives of the infants.

Even after the passage of the decision, complaints continued though in lesser quantity. In 1907, a boy was found in a cellar in Yedikule, with a note on him, indicating that he is a Greek, named Petro. He was first taken to *Dâr'ül-aceze*, and after

²²³BOA, MV., 113/119, 20/R/1324 (13.6.1906).

²²⁴A similar form of charity for the abandoned children was also provided by the Egyptian rulers. Cairenes brought abandoned children to the Dabtiyya of Cairo to have him admitted to the Madrasat-al-Wilada, midwifery training school located in the Civilian Hospital of Azbakiyya, which contained a foundling home and orphanage. Mine Ener, "Charity of the Khedive", in *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts*, edited by Mine Ener, Amy Singer and Michael Bonner, New York: State University of New York Press, 2003, pp. 185-201.

²²⁵For example, the documents relating to Greek foundlings in the collections of Police Department inform us that the foundlings were usually sent to the church of Panaghia of Péra. BOA. ZB 372/171, 25/Şu/1321; BOA. ZB 372/172, 25/Şu/1321; BOA. ZB 373/33, 20/Ni/1321; BOA. ZB 373/34, 20/Ni/1321; BOA. ZB 373/84, 27/My/1321; BOA. ZB 374/95, 2/E/1322; BOA. ZB 374/96, 2/E/1322; BOA. ZB 374/102, 8/E/1322. Other Greek churches, to which the police department entrusted infants, included Hristos (Galata), Hagia Dimitri (Tatavla), Tozaran Penan, Hagia Nikola, Hagia.

application of the Patriarchate, he was returned to Greek authorities.²²⁶ Although the procedural change created a degree of comfort for the religious authorities, its effects on foundlings' were not as positive, since their precarious lives were now under more serious threat, as the investigations became more meticulous, taking longer times than they used to. As already touched upon, in early 1915, the length of the procedure from the moment an infant was found to the time s/he was handed over to relevant authorities was criticized.²²⁷ These infants were held in the police departments during investigation on their identities, where they were deprived of necessary care and nutrition. After serious suffering and depredation, they were delivered to *Dâr'ül-aceze* in a half-dead condition, which made all efforts spent for their survival futile. Therefore, the police department was ordered to deliver the foundlings directly and quickly (*doğrudan doğruya ve vesait-i seri ile*) to *Dâr'ül-aceze*, or to other relevant places, if they were non-Muslims, and to undertake the investigation afterwards.²²⁸

In that respect, charity organizations, communal authorities, and the modernizing state, did not make life easier for the poor and the needy, including orphans and foundlings. As a result of highly bureaucratized form of relief, correspondence between the police, municipality officials, religious authorities and the poorhouse increased to a great extent. Stricter police involvement in determining the foundlings' identities and involvement of different sorts of bureaus in the process, required voluminous paper work and lengthen the procedure. Insistence of the communal authorities on going over the matter with a fine tooth-comb so that non-Muslim foundlings were not registered as Muslims and the insistence of the state to immediately register these infants to the census, actually increased the mortality rates of these infants. Threat of conversion could only be avoided by jeopardizing the lives of *precious* foundlings. Therefore, it would be naïve to talk about an increased concern for the well-being of children or a new consciousness of childhood, while discussing expansion of facilities for foundlings.

²²⁶BOA, DH.MKT., 549/2, 21/C/1325 (01.08.1907).

²²⁷BOA, DH.EUM.MTK., 79/43, 3/Ra/1333 (19.1.1915).

²²⁸*Ibid.*

1.7.1. Maternity Searches and Criminality of Child Abandonment

Throughout most of the Early Modern Period, anonymous nature of abandonment was acknowledged and promoted, especially in Catholic countries, where honor codes were severely outlawing illegitimacy and unwed births. The same held true for the most of Mediterranean world, including the Ottoman Empire. In that respect, the lineage of the foundlings were out of question and the political authority considered it sufficient to assign these children a religious affiliation and a guardian. However, modernized state and its bureaucratic departments enforced the process to include open declarations. In many European countries, in the course of the nineteenth century, anonymous abandonment was replaced by receiving rooms where the infant was presented and had to be accompanied by certificates attesting to the residence and unmarried status of the mother.²²⁹ In France, for example, the state prohibited the *toure* – a basic tool for anonymous abandonment – in the late 1860s and called the abandoning mothers to apply individually. The anonymity of the mothers was challenged by the late nineteenth century reformers who sought to encourage these mothers to recognize and keep their illegitimate children. In Italy, after unification and Risorgimento, the state took decisive attempts to decrease the phenomenon of child abandonment and they assumed it would help to offer the mothers some financial subsidies to keep their children. In Russia, for instance, subsidies for unwed mothers were introduced in early nineteenth century to allow them to keep their children.²³⁰

In cases of “criminal abandonment”, in other words when these children were just left by the roadside, or in front of a door, maternity searches were undertaken. These investigations were a part of the process that signified the decline of large-scale foundling asylums. The intent of these searches was to detect hereditary diseases and the abandonment of legitimate children. The women sought out and examined were also encouraged to legally recognize and take back their children and so receive the filiation subsidy. Maternity searches, thus, went hand in hand with filiation subsidy in most of the countries.²³¹

²²⁹Ipsen, 28-9.

²³⁰Ransel, 72.

²³¹Ipsen, 36-7.

In 1888, the local police in Marseille discovered a foundling in the street. After the investigation, it was found out that the baby, born out of an illicit relationship, was abandoned by an Ottoman subject, a Greek girl from the island of Chios, Mari. The French authorities assumed that it was Ottoman government's duty to handle the issue, and, thus, applied to the Embassy to take responsibility. The Sublime Porte responded that there was not a single institution in the capital to accept the infant and left the issue to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be settled.²³² Although the rest of the affair is unknown, the case clarifies the stance of the French authorities.

With the development of better organized police departments, the practice of maternity searches probably arrived at Egypt in the 1870s. A dramatic example from 1878 Cairo sheds light upon the issue.²³³ An 18 year old young woman, Fadl Wasi, originally from Jirja in the south of Egypt, had an extramarital affair with a soldier, who then deserted her for joining his battalion in Cairo.²³⁴ When her pregnancy started to show, she was forced to leave the village with fear of dishonor and death. In Cairo, a man helped her by pretending to be her husband, but when the baby was born they hesitated to register her because of the fees involved and because Fadl could not declare the name of the father. When the infant died in a couple of days, Fadl and her “husband” could not report the death of someone, who never existed for the authorities. Accordingly, they decided to bury the body without any rituals and without informing the authorities. Yet, when some children found the dead body under a bridge, the police department got involved and subsequently found the young woman. Even if the case was quite complicated and the testimony was open to questioning in many respects, the

²³²BOA., DH.MKT., 1553/12, 04/S/1306 (10.10.1888).

²³³In the 1880s Egypt, the crimes against children in particular became a daily event. These included child stealing, abandoning children, and odd accidents involving violence against children by parents or strangers. Most serious was infanticide with weekly and often daily report of discarded bodies of newly-born children who had clearly been left to die – umbilical cords left untied or the newborn asphyxiated. The police often caught them carrying bodies of newborns to dispose of them. There was also a great proliferation in the number of foundlings. For further information, see Madeline C. Zilfi, *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, p. 224.

²³⁴Khaled Fahmy, “Modernizing Cairo: A Revisionist Narrative”, in *Making Cairo Medieval*, Nasser O. Rabbat, Irene A. Bierman, Nezar Alsayyad (eds.), Lexington Books, 2005, pp. 173-200.

police decided not to press infanticide (murder) or abandonment charges on Fadl.

The prejudices underlining the importance of family honor and categoric denial of illegitimacy should have been effective in this decision. Here, it is important to note that even if the state introduced some form of maternity search, there is also evidence for the fact that the role of illegitimacy had made an interesting impact on the perceptions of both police officers and religious legal authorities on the issue of abandonment. The concerns about family honor were deemed so important that they were frequently shown to be a mitigating condition in the abandonment of a child.²³⁵ Apparently, a baby born out of wedlock was quite disposable for the authorities.

The Ottoman government also supported the initiation of maternity searches in all the provinces of the Empire. In the 1890s, the government realized that losing track of foundlings, who were entrusted into needy households (*tevdi edilenlerin arkası aranmamastıyla*) had unhealthy and dangerous results for these infants. Legal and moral concerns, such as the approval of inappropriate marriages, led the government to ask provincial governments and municipalities to have as much information as they can on the identities of the foster children, when they were being registered. Most importantly, it was ordered that the police undertake meticulous investigations so as to find the abandoning mothers of these babies, in order to keep a register of them, with special respect to secrecy.²³⁶ In that respect, all the governorships, the municipality of Istanbul, and the Ministry of Police were warned duly. The case that is discussed at the beginning of this section – that of a refugee woman, who abandoned her illegitimate child in the Greek neighborhood of Keşan – also exemplifies the state's engagement on discovering

²³⁵Even in present Criminal Code of Turkey, according to Article 475, if members of a “dishonored” family abandon an illegitimate child, the punishment is reduced to somewhere between one-sixth and one-third of the regular punishment for child abandonment. Such reductions are often combined with age reductions, leading to cases in which the family of the victimized woman designates a younger member to commit the crime so as to benefit from all possible legal mechanisms that can lessen the sentence. “Infanticide for family honor” the legal term for a crime differentiated from manslaughter, draws a sentence of only four to eight years instead of the twenty-four to thirty years for “regular” manslaughter (Article 453). For further information, see Dicle Koğacıoğlu, “The Tradition Effect: Framing Honor Crimes in Turkey”, *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, Vol. 15, Issue 2, Summer 2004, pp. 118-151.

²³⁶BOA, DH.MKT., 1986/123, 20/M/1310 (13.08.1892).

abandoning mothers.²³⁷ Here, the particular difference from the European context is the lack of filiation subsidies and insistence on the mothers to keep their babies. The data on the foundling's identity was searched only for practical state purposes of marriage and inheritance.

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the police involvement was at each stage of child abandonment. As previously indicated, foundlings had to be registered through the offices of the local police. This was, first, because of the preoccupation of the central state with the census data and the entitlement of this children with an Ottoman identity (*tezkire-yi Osmaniyye*). Another legal aspect of child abandonment was its criminal character, which also required police involvement and formal investigation. The involvement of the police was necessary in the event, because child desertion of this type was a criminal offense, requiring formal investigation. According to the Hanefi regulation the abandonment of a child, for whatever reason, is sinful. The sultanic authority, therefore, should apply a discretionary punishment (*ta'zîr*) on those who abandon children, if they are apprehended.²³⁸ For example, in August 1906, the parents of an infant, named Mehmed, abandoned him at the door of Public Bath of Hıdır Ağa (close to Selimiye mosque, Edirne). When the case was discovered, they were committed for trial and a judicial inquiry was launched against them.²³⁹

Therefore, when abandonment was discovered, the mother faced charges or criminal prosecution. In that sense, the act of abandonment reflected a real desperation arising from the total absence of material support and the heavy social opprobrium leveled at any unwed mother.

²³⁷BOA, DH.MKT., 1007/53, 19/B/1323 (19.9.1905).

²³⁸M.S.Sujimon, "The Treatment of the Foundling (al-laqit) according to the Hanafis", *Islamic Law and Society*, 9: 3, 200, pp. 358-385.

²³⁹BOA. ZB. 19/70, 24/T/1322 (6.8.1906).

1.8. “Infant Abduction”: Threat of Catholic Missionary Philanthropy

« Si l'enfant de deux sexes apprend la loi de Dieu, les règles de sa langue et les éléments des sciences, c'est la charité qui lui ouvre une école et lui envoie un maître ou une maîtresse. Si le nouveau-né, abandonné par des parents barbares, est arraché à la gueule du chien et du loup affamés ou à l'abîme du fleuve, du torrent ou des flots, c'est la charité de l'enfance Catholiques et Française qui court courageusement à son secours, le sauve du danger, le réchauffe, le couvre, le dépose dans les bras d'une tendre mère et lui met dans la bouche le lait de la nourrice ou le morceau de pain. »²⁴⁰

« Les pauvres petits enfants trouvés occupent tout naturellement la première place. Je suis souvent émue de compassion à la vue du triste état dans lequel on dépose à notre porte ces petites créatures. Nombre d'entre elles se ressentent longtemps de la négligence et du délaissement dont elles ont été victimes; aussi, malgré les soins, j'ose presque dire plus que maternels, de la bonne soeur chargée de cet office, un certain nombre d'entre elles partent pour le ciel avant même d'être sorties des bras de leurs nourrices, et quoique celles-ci soient largement rétribuées, elles nous rendent souvent ces enfants dans l'état le plus déplorable. »²⁴¹

Catholic missionaries²⁴² always underlined that they were first and foremost

²⁴⁰« Rapport de M. Lepavec, Supérieur de la maison de Monastir, à M. Soubiranne, Directeur de l'Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient, (9 janvier 1867) », *ACM*, t. 33, 1868, pp. 29-65.

“If a child of either sex learn the law of God, the rules of its language, and the elements of sciences, it is the charity which opens a school for him/her and send a master or a mistress to him/her. If the new-born baby, abandoned by cruel parents, is torn off from the mouth of dog and from starving wolf or from the abyss of the river, the torrent or the floods, it is the Catholic and French charity of childhood who runs courageously to help him, saves him from danger, heats him, covers him, deposits him to the arms of a tender mother and put in his mouth the milk of the wet-nurse or a piece of bread.”

²⁴¹« Lettre de Soeur Gignoux à M. Etienne, Supérieur Général, Smyrne, 21 janvier 1873 », *ACM*, t. 38, 1873, pp. 177-219.

“The poor little abandoned children occupy quite naturally the first place [among our works]. I am often moved by compassion with the sight of the sad state in which they deposit to our door these small creatures. Some of them suffer a long period of negligence and renunciation of which they were victims; in spite of the care provided by the good sister charged with this office, which is - I almost dare to say - more than maternal, a certain number of them leave for the sky before even leaving the arms of their wet-nurses, and although they are largely remunerated, they often bring these children to us in the most deplorable state.”

²⁴²There were several groups of Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire: the Jesuits, the Lazaristes, the Assumptionists, the Brothers of the Christian Schools (Frères

concentrated on foundlings. Relief for foundlings were by far the most precious work of the Soeurs. In the report of Saint-Vincent Orphanage of Macedonia, for the year 1873, it is defined as “the seedbed of the principal work [conversion] of the house”.²⁴³ The charitable work for foundlings had always been resembled to rescuing efforts. The above quoted words from the 1868 report of Monastir mission make use of metaphors of physical/natural disasters, while the real threat comes from the social dangers. Almost in all the mission station reports of the Catholic missionaries, as in the quote, it was underlined that they were first and foremost concentrated on foundling relief work, which was coming to their door. Yet, while the Catholics were describing themselves as the saviors of the foundlings which were brought to them under miserable conditions, the native communities of the Ottoman Empire were seeing them as greedy abductors, as immoral thieves, who avariciously strolled in the streets to collect the foundlings of non-Catholic communities. This section, therefore, will discuss the concerns of conversion, possession disputes over abandoned children, and the role of the missionary effectiveness in the expansion of foundling relief by various communities.

There were several groups of Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire: the Jesuits, the Lazaristes, the Assumptionists, the Brothers of the Christian Schools (Frères des écoles Chrésiennes), the Capucins, the Carmelites, Filles de la Charit  (Soeurs de St. Vincent de Paul), the Sisters of Notre Dame of Sion, the Dominicans, and so on. Most of these missions were officially placed under the protectorate of France and for the most part the missionaries were French, but there were also a number of Italians.

The orphan care was, in almost all the mission centers, left to female Catholic missionaries. Most important female missionary group in the Ottoman Empire was Filles de la Charit , or Soeurs de St. Vincent de Paul.²⁴⁴ Together with their male

des  coles Chr siennes), the Capucins, the Carmelites, Filles de la Charit  (Soeurs de St. Vincent de Paul), the Sisters of Notre Dame of Sion, the Dominicans.

²⁴³« Extraits des Rapports des Missions de Notre Province de Constantinople », *ACM*, t. 39, 1874, pp. 134-45. From p. 144: L'oeuvre de la cr che est comme la p pini re de l'oeuvre principale de notre maison...

²⁴⁴The society was founded by Saint Vincent de Paul (1581-1660), whose pledge to God was to serve the poor. This meant food, shelter and nursing the sick. In 1617, he founded Dames de la Charit , from a group of ladies within his parish. He organized these wealthy women of Paris to collect funds for missionary projects, found hospitals,

counterparts, Lazaristes, Sisters had a quite large network of foundling homes in the Ottoman Empire, incomparable with any other resident community or missionary group: they had around thirty asylums for abandoned children scattered from the Western (Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Aydın, Salonika, Trabzon) to Arab (Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Terre-Sainte, Beirut, Mosul) provinces of the Empire. Dominicans, Franciscans and Capucins had approximately a dozen of these in the Eastern parts of the Empire (Urfa, Malatya, Mardin, Van, Erzurum, Cilicia). The foundling homes of the Catholic missionaries were the first of their kind and they were to remain so until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, during which non-Muslim communities opened equivalent institutions. The Catholics themselves were also aware of this “We can say, to our glory, one would seek in vain here another foreign establishment of charity of this kind.”²⁴⁵

Expectedly, these foundling homes were largely concentrated in Istanbul and Izmir (Table 1.12.). In the capital city, there were ten different homes for the foundlings, while in Izmir there were nine of them. Therefore, almost half of the above mentioned foundling homes were concentrated only in two cities. Moreover, the asylums in Izmir and Istanbul were much larger and well-organized compared to quite small-scale organizations in other cities.

and gather relief funds for the victims of war and to ransom 1,200 galley slaves from North Africa. One of the Dames de la Charité, Louise de Marillac, took 12 peasant girls in 1633 to work among the poor. She called them Filles de la Charité (Soeurs de St. Vincent de Paul). They were the first uncloistered community of religious women. The Soeurs went on to become involved in hospitals, prisons and the care for abandoned children.

The society started its work of “Abandoned Children” in 1638, when Saint Vincent de Paul created an establishment for the foundlings of Paris. The fate of these children remained for a long time uncertain, in spite of his efforts. At last, in 1648, he convened an assembly and he reminded the audience that the work had already saved six hundred babies, but that the resources were inadequate to continue. The very same day the foundling hospital had secured the capital to continue its task. The care of abandoned children was considered to be a predilection of St. Vincent de Paul and Filles de la Charité, in all the missionary fields they worked, took charge of abandoned children. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XV. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912: (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html>)

²⁴⁵ « Les soeurs de la Charité à Constantinople », *OEO*, no. 153, mars 1886, pp. 244-8.

Istanbul mission station was founded by two members of the Filles de la Charité in December 1839. Miss Tournier and Miss Oppermann arrived at Istanbul in 8 December 1839 to found a mission station, and they were followed by three others in 1840. In only one year, they were able to instruct 200 pupils and take care of 24 orphan girls.²⁴⁶ The work of abandoned children in Istanbul began in 1845. Soeur Caroline, in her letter of 14 December 1845, writes: “Another very interesting work, which filled us with joy, and which must have delighted the heart of Saint Vincent, is the abandoned children: for one month, we have nine of them, and ... the number will increase as the Home permits, because such work is more necessary here than everywhere else...”²⁴⁷ Beginning with nine children, the population of the *crèche* increased to 25, as followed from the letter of M. Descamps, written in 1851.²⁴⁸

In 1854, Monsieur Boré, in his report on the mission of Constantinople, writes that they have a *crèche* of 15 abandoned children close to the Saint Benoit College. This project was brought to life thanks to a 'contract' they reached with the parish churches (local Catholic churches).²⁴⁹ He argues, “while handing in these foundlings to the Filles de la Charité, they created an invaluable work both in social and religious terms”. All of the institutions in Istanbul mission (Maison de Notre Dame de Providence in Galata, Orphelinat de St. Joseph in Çukurbostan, Maison de St. Joseph in Bebek, Saint-Benoît, La Maison de l'Artigiana, Hôpital de la Paix in Şişli, etc.) had their departments taking care of the abandoned children. The number of foundlings under the care of the Sisters

²⁴⁶*Congrégation de la Mission [lazaristes] ; répertoire historique... et table générale des Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission depuis leur origine jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1899*, Paris: à la procure de la congrégation de la mission, 1900, pp. 208-217.

²⁴⁷« Extrait d'une lettre de la soeur Caroline, Fille de la Charité à Constantinople, à ses parents, (Constantinople, 14 décembre 1845) », *ACM*, t. 11, 1846, pp. 184-92. From p. 188: Une autre oeuvre non moins intéressante, qui nous a comblées de joie, et qui doit réjouir le coeur de saint Vincent, ce sont les enfants trouvés: depuis un mois nous en avons déjà neuf, et vous comprenez qu'à mesure que la Maison sera connue le nombre augmentera, car une pareille oeuvre est plus nécessaire ici que partout ailleurs...

²⁴⁸« Lettre de M. Descamps, missionnaire apostolique, à M. Etienne, supérieur-général, à Paris, (Constantinople, le 15 janvier 1851) », *ACM*, t. 16, 1851, pp. 89-95.

²⁴⁹These could be église Sainte-Marie Draperis (1769), Eglise Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul (1535), Eglise catholique Latine Saint-Benoît (14th century), Eglise Catholique Latine Saint Louis des Français (1788), Eglise Catholique Saint Georges (1731), Eglise Catholique Latine Saint Antoine de Padoue (1831).

was always around 70-80. From the report of Mission de la Providence (Istanbul), we learn that there were 70 foundlings in the institution in 1894. The annual expenditure of this work was 20,000 francs.²⁵⁰

In the 1860s, Dames de la Charité de Péra²⁵¹ showed interest for child abandonment and their activity became important, especially due to the fact that during these years the number of abandoned children increased remarkably due to a number of crises (refugees of the Crimean War, cholera epidemic of 1865, great fire of 1870 in Péra, etc.).

These newly received abandoned children were entrusted with a wet-nurse and they would later enter either the orphanage of Galata or the agricultural colony of Saint-Vincent of Asia (opened in 1844), based on their gender.²⁵² There was a plan to open a new independent Foundling Hospital, to specialize specifically on the infant care. It is underlined in 1878 report of Istanbul mission that a member of one of the most honorable families of Péra, Mr. Cartelli had left, before his death, a vast terrain in Feriköy [“un vaste terrain situé sur la colline qui domine Tattavla”], for the establishment of an asylum for the abandoned children. Some other people had also offered private donations for the prospective institution. The missionaries declared that these were very important sums, yet insufficient to cover the expenses of constructing a building intended to house 60-80 foundlings.²⁵³ A committee was organized to collect subscriptions and voluntary gifts to succeed in securing every year the necessary sum for the adoption and annual maintenance of the children.²⁵⁴ Based on the research so far, it seems that this project could not be realized.

²⁵⁰ « Rapport Sur les Missions », *ACM*, t. 59, 1894, pp. 162-8.

²⁵¹ The society was founded in 1861. Within twenty years, the association managed to establish a general aid department, a tailoring workshop for 200 women, a laundry with 250 employees, a school for nurses (15 graduates per year), a medical department offering free examinations, medication, meat and milk for the very poor, a committee charged with the work of abandoned children.

²⁵² « Rapport sur les Oeuvres des Missions de Constantinople, envoyé à M. Etienne, supérieur Général, par M. Boré, Préfet apostolique, (Constantinople, 25 Mars, 1854) », *ACM*, t. 19, 1854, pp.133-78.

²⁵³ « Note sur la Mission de Constantinople (suite) », *ACM*, t. 43, 1878, pp. 112-8.

²⁵⁴ « Note sur la Mission de Constantinople (suite) », *ACM*, t. 43, 1878, pp. 230-9.

Yet, a centralized and much larger foundling unit was opened under the auspices of Hôpital de la Paix, in Şişli.²⁵⁵ Starting from its establishment in 1856, the hospital was traditionally housing an orphanage. While the number of orphans in la Paix was 80-90 in 1878 and 1883, it increased to 130 in 1886, probably as a result of opening of a new department: that of the *crèche*, or the foundling unit. The abandoned children, who were primarily taken care of in the French establishments of Saint-Benoît in Galata and Orphanage of St. Joseph in Çukurbostan, were now brought to the hospital and the department of foundlings was financed by the allowances provided by the embassy, by l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi²⁵⁶ and by the Écoles d'Orient²⁵⁷.

The establishment of Filles de la Charité followed a similar root in Izmir as well. In 1838, Dames de la Charité called for two Smyrniotes to come to Paris to receive a training. The next year, when the training was over, these two women, together with five others, settled in Izmir (14 December 1839). They were called *Sept-Filles*, or in Turkish *Yedi Kızlar*. Within two years they had their own orphanage, foundling unit (*crèche*), and dispensary. They were forced to enlarge their orphanage in 1844 due to increasing demands.²⁵⁸ As a result, the foundations of Maison Saint Joseph, which

²⁵⁵During the Crimean War, more than 300 French Sisters answered the call of the Turkish and French governments to go to look after the wounded soldiers and the victims of the war. After the war, Sultan Abdülmecit gave a terrain to the Sisters in Şişli, to build there a hospital for the victims of the war (handicapped people, people having psychological problems, victims of the epidemics, etc). Orphans were also accommodated in the hospital. Consequently, the Sisters stayed in Turkey and took charge of the hospital, which was opened in 1856. « Note sur la Mission de Constantinople (suite) », *ACM*, t. 43, 1878, pp. 502-9.

²⁵⁶The society, l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, was founded in 1822 in Lyon, to bring aid to the missions by its donations. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XII. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12461a.htm>)

²⁵⁷*Oeuvres des Écoles d'Orient* was created after the Crimean War, the Treaty of Paris, and Hatt-ı Hümayun of 1856. Its emergence was related to the Eastern Question and the growing concern for the Christians and especially for the Catholics in the Middle East. The Society was founded by a group of French intellectuals in order to raise funds and support the missionaries in the area. This initial group of secular figures were joined by other dignitaries, such as the members of military and ecclesiastical academies. (http://peres-blancs.cef.fr/oeuvre_d_orient.htm)

²⁵⁸*Congrégation de la Mission [lazaristes] ; répertoire historique... et table*

would become an important foundling home of Izmir were laid in 1846. In 21 January 1873, Superior of the institution underlined that the abandoned children were the most important branch in the station.²⁵⁹

The Orphanage of Saint-Joseph of Kula was another very important foundling asylum. A country house (*maison de campagne*) was bought in Kula in 1846, and in 1859 the work of the abandoned children, scattered in other parts of Izmir station, was transferred to this institution (Établissements des Orphelins, Orphelines et Enfants Trouvés, de Saint-Joseph au Kula) with reference to fresh air and closeness to the nature, that would help develop the delicate health of these foundlings.²⁶⁰ Moreover, an orphanage in the countryside would be free from the dangers of epidemics and other inconveniences of a big city.²⁶¹ The ground was considerably expanded by the acquisition of new land in 1875. In 1900, the institution contained an orphanage of girls and a vocational school of 70 boys, in which the boys learned the trades of the carpenter, blacksmith, tailor, shoe-maker, gardener, and baker.²⁶²

générale des Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission depuis leur origine jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1899, Paris: à la procure de la congrégation de la mission, 1900, pp. 231-236.

²⁵⁹« Lettre de Soeur Gignoux à M. Etienne, Supérieur Général, (Smyrne, 21 janvier 1873) », *ACM*, t. 38, 1873, pp. 177-219.

²⁶⁰« Lettre de Soeur Gignoux à M. Etienne, Supérieur Général, (Smyrne, 21 janvier 1873) », *ACM*, t. 38, 1873, pp. 177-219. From p. 180: ... j'avais transporté les enfants trouvés à notre orphelinat de Saint-Joseph [Kula]: le bon air qu'on y respire m'avait semblé plus favorable que celui de la ville à la santé de ces petits êtres faibles et délicats.

There was a general movement in Europe of carrying such institutions to the countryside. In France, agricultural colony of Le Mettray, founded in 1839, became very successful and influential. The Mettray system became the standard form of child incarceration in France as a result of legislation passed in 1850. The law reflected the view that children had to be removed from the corrupting city to more wholesome rural surroundings. Ipsen, 131.

²⁶¹« Rapport sur les établissements de Filles de la Charité à Smyrne et aux environs », *ACM*, t. 41, 1876, pp. 532-43. From p. 536: ... cette oeuvre hors de la ville dans une maison qui fût à l'abri des épidémies ou autres inconvénients des grandes villes.

²⁶²Père J. B. Piolet, *La France au Dehors Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIXe Siècle, Tome Premier, Missions d'Orient*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1900, p. 146.

Maison de Burnabat [Bornova], founded in 1853, served like an agricultural colony for the abandoned children (as well as orphans). Also in Buca station, established in 1867, there was an orphanage, with a section for the foundlings (Orphelinat des Soeurs de la Charité). Maison de Saint-Vincent of Aydın, opened in 1868 and rebuilt in 1875, had an asylum for the abandoned children.²⁶³

1.8.1. Fears of Conversion

While the Catholics were describing themselves as the saviors of babies who were brought to them in deplorable conditions, the various communities of the Empire saw them as kidnappers, as child thieves, who were undertaking expeditions of gathering non-Catholic infants. The missionary movements, which were brought about by the religious revivalism of the millenarian movements of late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, created serious reactions in the local communities of the Empire and political and diplomatic crisis with the central authority.²⁶⁴ In the context of nineteenth century, the social assistance was not only about saving the individuals from misery. It also aimed at reducing the risks of appropriation of the needy by other communities. If those in need were not provided with the charity of their own community, they could go elsewhere and give up their identity, language and religion. The concerns relating to the abandoned children in the last quarter of the nineteenth century can also be read from these lenses. This section, therefore, will discuss fears of conversion to Catholicism, disputes over guardianship of abandoned children, and the role of the missionary effectiveness in the expansion of foundling relief by various

²⁶³« Lettre de M. Cartel, prêtre de la Mission, à soeur N..., Fille de la Charité, à maison-mère à Paris, (Smyrne, maison du Sacré-Coeur, 15 janvier 1884) », *ACM*, t. 49, 1884, pp. 449-56.

²⁶⁴In fact, Catholic missionary activity was much older. The Western, Roman Catholic Church became interested in the Middle Eastern region after the period of the Crusades (eleventh to fourteenth centuries). European economic and political penetration of the Ottoman Empire began in the sixteenth century with the issuance of capitulations to France; missionary work was initiated, as were attempts to reconcile the Eastern churches with Rome. Yet, nineteenth century points to a rejuvenation in Catholic missionary activities as well. For more information, Kenneth Cragg, *The Arab Christian: A History in the Middle East*, Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1991, pp. 114-140.

communities.

Thanks to their successful educational and medical establishments, the target groups of the Catholic missionaries were non-Catholics, and largely non-Muslims, in line with their general aim of proselytizing. The situation was different in the realm of orphan care: The missionaries had difficulty in collecting orphans of other communities, since as opposed to non-Catholic pupils in the schools or older people receiving medical care, in the eyes of the ecclesiastics, the orphans were much more open to the religious influences of the missionaries. That is why, they were too precious for all the sides, and a matter of hot debates.

In order to avoid tension with these authorities, Catholic missionaries directed their attention to foundlings, who were theoretically of unknown origins. Even if their religious identity of these abandoned children was guessed by referring certain marks and symbols, they were still the most destitute. They had no family, no relatives, no religious or national bounds, that would resist to Catholic education and indoctrination. Therefore, a foundling, if s/he survives, had the best potential to become staunch Catholic believers. Moreover, since the communal-religious identity of the foundlings was for the most part unknown, the Catholic missionaries were trying to escape from the blame of “kidnapping others' orphans” by inclining on the benefit of doubt.

However, the fact that Catholic missionaries collected foundlings of other religious communities became could not remain as a secret for long and, therefore, became a matter of quite serious problems for the non-Muslims of the Empire. The culmination of the services for the Greek foundlings, for instance, was directly related to the activities of the Catholic missionaries in the field, as a defensive reaction.²⁶⁵ The remarkable development of the educational system of the Greek community of the capital during the second half of the nineteenth century was to a large extent a defensive reaction vis-a-vis the spiritual imperialism coming from the West.

Receipt of Orthodox babies by the ecclesiastics of other communities was worrisome for the Greek authorities, since the community wanted to protect its descendants from the 'Western' danger. Especially the competition of the Catholic

²⁶⁵We can also add the role of the German female missionaries in Izmir. Yet, their field of influence was much smaller compared to the Catholics.

missionaries in Istanbul was a significant factor. Dr. Leonidas Limarakis²⁶⁶ wrote a treatise on the issue and argued that some of the exposed children, born out of Greek parents, are brought to the doors of non-Orthodox communities, who admit them after conversion (baptize). For him, the ground for abandoned children of Istanbul in nineteenth century, was not occupied only by the Orthodox priests, but there were other “savors of the souls”, belonging to different rites. Catholic missionaries and little groups of Protestant women could manage to convert a number of young people of the Orthodox faith, in particular through the schools they have.²⁶⁷

The concern of the Greek ecclesiastics was, in fact, well-founded. The Catholic missionaries were not hesitant to receive the infants of various communities into their institutions. In 1860, the church of the Franciscans, Sainte-Marie Draperis²⁶⁸ of Péra started to serve as an asylum for “abandoned Christian children” [*les enfants chrétiens abandonnés*] of the 6th Circle, as the municipality was called.²⁶⁹ Admitting each year 7 to 15 babies, by 1873, they reached to a figure of 133 children (boys and girls), only 67 of whom survived and were cared under their authority (Table 1.12.).²⁷⁰ When they requested from the sultan a donation of a terrain so that they can build a separate orphanage for these children, they were replied positively by Abdülaziz. Yet, no official order was sent to the municipality in the year that passed after their visit, as a result of which they felt obliged to get into contact with the ministry, with a letter summarizing the issue, and a list of the children admitted to the institution.

Although there is not much clue on the actual perception of the political authority,

²⁶⁶Greek scholar, who was the president of the “Ellenikos Philologicos Syllogos” for many years. He died in 2 September 1912 in Constantinople.

²⁶⁷Méropi Anastassiadou, 301.

²⁶⁸The first church of Sainte-Marie Draperis of the Franciscan Brothers (Frères Franciscains) was situated in Tophane and it was moved upwards in 1584. In 1660, the church was almost completely ruined after a fire. In 1678, Franciscan Brothers started the construction of another church in the heights of Péra . The building was damaged by fires and an earthquake several times. The date of the actual building is 1769, but it went under a restoration under the direction of famous architect Fossati, in 1831.

²⁶⁹BOA, HR.TO., 458/1, 7.7. 1874.

²⁷⁰In the official list that they have presented to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there is detailed information on the children (exact date of exposition, names, etc.) (Table 1. 12.).

the translation of the document into Ottoman bears questions, since without distorting the content of the application, the subject matter was captioned as “on the construction of an orphanage for abandoned Greek children” (*Metruk Rum çocuklar için bir eytamhane inşası hakkında*). Why the expression “abandoned Christian children” was translated as “Greeks”? Did the interpreter of the ministry add some sort of detail, Christian was more of a general category and the scribe was providing additional information, based on knowledge that this quarter of the city was primarily inhabited by the Greeks or that exposing infants was a widespread practice in the community? More speculatively, the information may have been inserted by a Greek translator in the office.

If we assume that the information was indeed correct, the uneasiness of the Greek community becomes quite founded. Comparing with the figure provided by Anastassiadou, that each year 20-35 infant were abandoned to the Greek church, one may reach to the conclusion that one third of all the Greek foundlings of Beyoğlu were educated by the Catholic religious authorities, since the church of Sainte-Marie Draperis admitted 7 to 15 babies each year. This was a large percentage, when the sensibilities of the non-Muslim communities of the Empire in late nineteenth century is taken into consideration.

There was also contention on the issue of abandoned children between Greeks and Catholic missionaries in Izmir, after the opening of the Catholic foundling hospital, in the mid-1870s. In their internal correspondence, missionaries were not shy to confess their success at conversion. In the 1873 Yearly Report of the Bornova [Burnabat] station, which was founded in 1853, it was stated that an orphanage was opened and that the 33 inmates of it were generally the abandoned children brought from the neighboring islands. “These poor abandoned children do not find any resource for their subsistence and are in danger to lose their faith by professing the Greek religion, but shortly after (*entering our institution*) they made their abjuration and now they follow the good way.”²⁷¹ The report is an open confession that the Sisters received Greek

²⁷¹« Extraits des Rapports des Missions de Notre Province de Constantinople », *ACM*, t. 39, 1874, pp. 134-45. From p. 139 [Mission de Bournabat (Turqui d'Asie) Année 1873]: ... un orphelinat fut fondé; il compte en ce moment 33 orphelines, la plupart venues des îles voisines où ces pauvres enfants abandonnées ne trouvent aucune ressource pour leur subsistance (140) et se trouvent en danger de perdre la foi au professant la religion grecque, mais peu après elles ont fait leur abjuration et

children and made them give up their belief to convert them to Catholicism.

In some cases, they exaggerated their conversion activity with an extremely euphemistic language. In a letter from Izmir station, the sister, Soeur Mairet tells how they received a Greek girl into their orphanage, as a result of her 'insistence': "In this year, a poor small girl arrived at the dispensary, hardly dressed and covered with vermin. She told us that her mother had just died, leaving her alone, without food and shelter. The child begged to us to keep her, she said she doesn't want to go to the Greek orphanage, where they tried to lead her with force. Yielding to her wish, we admitted her... She is happy here, and we are hopeful that she will benefit from the good principles that we try to inculcate to her. She will be another soul saved by the blessed work, since from the information received, we understood that her mother was Greek."²⁷² Even if the religious identity of the child was known, the missionaries were eager to receive her/him.²⁷³

Asylums for the foundlings were crucial for the missionaries, since these infants, "should be received, in order to be saved from what is worse than even abandonment: schism and infidelity."²⁷⁴ In other words, these institutions had the duty of detaching the infants from "les mains des schismatiques".²⁷⁵ This, undoubtedly, created serious problems on the part of the ecclesiastics of the Greek community. They argued that, as a result of their aggressive gathering policy and effectiveness of their establishments, the Catholic missionaries were able to receive a very large number of babies, disproportionate to the Catholic population.

Soeur Gignoux of Izmir station reports that their work was closely observed by

préservèrent maintenant dans la bonne voie.

²⁷²« Lettre de Soeur Mairet, à M. Le Directeur des écoles d'Orient, (Smyrne, 13 décembre 1884) », *ACM*, t. 50, 1885, pp. 375-8.

²⁷³In 1851, İzmir station admitted a number of foundlings, who were known to be belonging to a Protestant group (appartenant à une colonie protestante). « Smyrne, Lettre de la Soeur Gignoux, Fille de la Charité, à Madame la Comtesse de la Chastre, à Paris, 17 septembre 1851 », *ACM*, t. 16, 1851, pp. 277-80.

²⁷⁴« Lettre de M. Cartel, prêtre de la Mission, à soeur N..., Fille de la Charité, à maison-mère à Paris, (Smyrne, maison du Sacré-Coeur, 15 janvier 1884) », *ACM*, t. 49, 1884, pp. 449-56.

²⁷⁵« Extraits des Rapports des Missions de Notre Province de Constantinople », *ACM*, t. 39, 1874, pp. 134-45.

the Greek ladies of the city, from whom the foundling home received a remarkable number of visits. She also argues that Greek ladies were thinking of imitating the French institution in their future establishment. She narrates how she heard a lady proposing to her counterparts to take the French institution as an example: “Let's see the *crèche* of the French sisters and we will then be able to organize ours on this model.”²⁷⁶ Although the nature of the contact is narrated by the Catholics from the perspective of appreciation and desire of imitation, one is forced to consider the role of uneasiness and disturbance, which was pushing the Greek ladies to take action on the matter. Only after two months, Soeur Sauvage, working in Maison de Marie of Izmir, wrote that Greek community had opened a foundling home of their own and that it generates a problem on the part of the Soeurs to find wet-nurses for the foundlings in their own institution.²⁷⁷ In other words, the competitive environment and the fears of the Greek community not only brought about the opening of an equivalent institution, but also the exertion of pressure on Greek wet-nurses not to work for the Catholics.

After this small enterprise of the Greek ladies, the large Greek foundling asylum of Izmir was opened in 1898 to *save* the Greek children. Yet, this *rescue work* was not triggered by an increase in the number of abandoned children under threat of perishing on the streets. It was not their physical health, that was being threatened. This was, alternatively, a *rescue work* of spirits and faiths that were in danger when captured in non-Greek institutions. By inculcation of values and principles of another community, they could have been lost to Orthodoxy forever.²⁷⁸ With the opening of Izmir foundling home, therefore, the real objective was to win back and control a part of the population, which was otherwise under influence of 'foreigners'. Vangelis Kechriotis argues, the charitable network was employed in order to reinforce the solidarity, actually in order to create the dynamics of a ‘community’.

²⁷⁶« Lettre de Soeur Gignoux à M. Etienne, Supérieur Général, (Smyrne, 21 janvier 1873) », *ACM*, t. 38, 1873, p. 180: Les dames grecques s'intéressent vivement à cette entreprise. L'une d'elles disait à ce propos: « Allons voir la crèche des soeurs françaises et nous pourrons ensuite organiser la nôtre sur ce modèle. » C'est peut-être à cette cause qu'il faut attribuer les visites que reçoit notre maison de Saint-Joseph de la part des riches familles grecques.

²⁷⁷« Lettre de ma soeur Sauvage, à M. N. à Paris, (Smyrne, Maison de Marie, 14 mars 1873) », *ACM*, t. 38, 1873, pp. 404-6.

²⁷⁸Vangelis Kechriotis, *Ibid.*

The nineteenth century urban context of the Ottoman Empire prepared such circumstances that previously invisible, insignificant, and non-political figures, such as foundlings, acquired new meanings and identities on their relations with local authorities, foreign missionaries, religious and civil leaders of the communities, and the central state. Political significance of abandoned children was definitely elevated and they became, in some cases, key actors of late nineteenth century politics of demography, conversion and national rivalry. While child abandonment was an ancient phenomenon, re-definition of abandoned children within a realm of competition was a recent tendency. Together with general trends of modernization and development of aspirations for a tighter community life, disputes over foundlings were intrinsically linked to nineteenth and early twentieth century Eastern Mediterranean urbanity, which brought about a new Ottoman public sphere, no longer segregated into religious communities, but founded upon interaction and permeation of individual and collective subjectivities.

1.9. Civil Status and Nationality of the Abandoned Children

Although, the Ottoman Nationality Regulation recognized the principle of *jus sanguinis*, “right of blood” as the principle form of obtaining nationality, it also included the principle of *jus soli*, “right of the soil” or “right of the territory”, under certain circumstances as a way of obtaining nationality.²⁷⁹ The civil status of foundlings were determined under the concept of *jus soli*, in other words they were entitled to Ottoman nationality due to being born on the territory of the state. This was a standard procedure, applied to the foundlings in many different historical periods and across countries.

Despite the system of placement of the abandoned children with the wet-nurses or foster families, for all communities of the Ottoman Empire, foundlings were considered as beings apart. Having no familial descent, they belonged to nobody, but were

²⁷⁹Engin Nomer, *Vatandaşlık Hukuku*, Istanbul: Filiz Kitabevi, 1989, p. 44.

attached primarily to the state or the church. The Ottoman identity cards (*tezkire-i osmaniye*) of the foundlings can be regarded as important piece of information in order to clarify how they were perceived by the Ottoman state. In fact, they verify their lineage to religious authority. The Greek foundlings, for instance, were registered as born of unknown parents (*nâmâlum, meçhul*), belonging to Christian religion (*Hristiyan*), and their abode (*mesken*) was invariably the church (*Beyoğlu'nda Rum Panayia Kilisesi*). In fact, none of those infants were living within the church, yet, since they belonged to the *family* of abandoned children, the church was the only address that the Ottoman authorities recognized.²⁸⁰

There was a similarity among the abandoned children of the Armenian community as well. The foundlings left to the doors of the Armenian churches were immediately baptized, before being accepted into the church. According to medieval Armenian legislation, children “of unknown parentage or resulting from fornication” left “at the doors or churches or elsewhere” can be reared by those who give the child milk, since feeding a foundling gives the right to rear him/her as the child is left at the taker's discretion.²⁸¹ These infants, whose mothers and fathers were unknown were registered in the Armenian baptize records as “the child of the church” (*Yegeğetsvo zavag*). The children were usually named Asdvadzadur or Asadur, meaning “given by God” in Armenian.

The same procedure was done for illegitimate children as well. When fathers refused to accept their children as their own offspring, mothers were forced to apply to churches alone and in the absence of a legitimate father, the infant was baptized as the child of the church. In a short story of Krikor Zohrab, “The Deceased” (*Rahmetli*) written in 1901, Sofik, beautiful daughter of a widowed woman, gets pregnant as a result of her relation with Nigoğos Ağa, a married merchant keen on protecting his reputation. Although Nigoğos loved Sofik and was warmly taking care of her and their child, he could not dare to declare the baby his in public. When it was baptism time of

²⁸⁰Anastassiadou, 310.

²⁸¹According to medieval Armenian legislation, children “of unknown parentage or resulting from fornication” left “at the doors or churches or elsewhere” can be reared by those who give the child milk, since feeding a foundling gives the right to rear him or her [both sexes are specified] as child or slave at the taker's discretion. John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, University of Chicago Press, 1998, p. 174.

little Aram, Sofik took his son to the church and registered him as “the child of the church”.²⁸² There is no centralized information on the numbers of these children or to which churches they were generally left. Yet, individual Armenian churches have conserved records of such entries in their registers.²⁸³

The Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire had also have their own regulations on the matter, though it is always possible to see the lines of similarity. As touched upon previously, the regulations on the illegitimate children were again confounded with those who were abandoned. One of the most sensitive issues of the Jewish family code was the prevention of adultery. There were, for example “secret spies” among the Jewish community of Ottoman Tripolis (Libya) to supervise the behavior of its members. Whenever a case of improper behavior was discovered, the woman was severely punished. Despite all precautions and punishments, extramarital sex did occur. In order to fulfill the legal need, there were specific regulations regarding illegitimate children. It was customary that when the name of the father of a boy was unknown (either because he was a foundling or only the mother was around), he was named “Israel” during his circumcision and was afterward considered a full-fledged Jew.²⁸⁴

Citizenship status of the foundlings created a serious dispute between the Catholic Sisters of Izmir, who were in-charge of the Hôpital Français and the foundling asylum and French diplomatic corps – Izmir Consulate, the Embassy, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.²⁸⁵ Soeur de Grancey wrote to the consulate in 18 March 1901, asking for a major alteration in their policy regarding the nationality of the abandoned children they received. She suggested the registration of these foundlings as French citizens. In

²⁸²Krikor Zohrab, “Rahmetli”, *Öyküler*, İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2001, pp. 46-57.

²⁸³I thank Vağarşak Seropyan for the information. With his help, I learned that among the registers of Surp Krikor Lusavoriç church of Kınalıada, there were such entries.

²⁸⁴Rachel Simon, *Change Within Tradition Among Jewish Women in Libya*, University of Washington Press, 1992, p. 70.

²⁸⁵Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (AMAE), Quai d'Orsay, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale, Nouvelle Série, 1897-1918, Turquie, no. 459.

her interpretation of the phenomenon, these children could not belong to the Turkish (Muslim) community, who did not have the custom to expose their children and who had “des moyens plus expéditifs de s'en débarrasser lorsqu'ils n'en veulent plus”.²⁸⁶ Thus, she concludes, the foundlings that they take into their orphanage were offsprings of either the Ottoman Christian communities (*reayas*) of Izmir or of one of the many European dwellers of the city. Thus, there would be no harm to register them as French citizens. Since these infants were of an unknown descent, it would not be taking away their original Ottoman nationality and replacing it with an alien one. It would simply be assigning a nationality to an infant.

Moreover, assigning the foundlings the French nationality seemed natural to the Sisters, who received them when they were only a few days old and educated them by French morals, were true Catholics and francophones. Thus, they should also be given access to French citizenship. De Grancey accused the diplomatic officials for abandoning these children, who were under Catholic wings throughout their lives, and she questioned how this could be the “Protectorat Français des Catholiques d'Orient.”²⁸⁷ For the missionaries, these children were very precious, since they were educated as arduous believers of the Catholic faith and as fluent speakers of French. They were, for the Sisters, perfect candidates for being loyal servants of the religion and of France. Granting them the French citizenship would guarantee the permanence of these positive gains, while they would always be open to 're-conversion' without such a safety mechanism. Here it is obvious that the missionary was worried about the future of the to-be-graduated foundlings who were the inmates of the institution throughout their lives.

For the French officials, the pupils of the missionaries were definitely important: they were instrumental in the penetration and expansion of French influence in the Empire. The authorities also supported their baptism as Catholics and their good

²⁸⁶“De qui viennent les enfants trouvés? - Des turcs? - Non! Car les turcs n'ont point coutume d'exposer leurs enfants; ils ont des moyens plus expéditifs de s'en débarrasser lorsqu'ils n'en veulent plus. » (Her underlining)

²⁸⁷Tous ces enfants, filles et garçons, sont Catholiques: que devient pour eux « ce protectorat français des catholiques d'orient » si nos consuls refusent de les reconnaître et ne veulent pas seulement demander pour eux, un simple permis de voyage de Smyrne à Constantinople??? Cessent-ils d'avoir droit à la Protection Française, bien que Catholiques, par le seul fait qu'ils sont de parents inconnus?

knowledge of the French language. Yet, giving citizenship rights to them would increase the burden of the French diplomatic corps considerably, in both economical and political terms. The Consulate stressed that the practical, financial consequences of granting citizenship or protégé status to the foundlings would be deplorable. Once, it would mean the expansion of the principle of the protection to include the abandoned children, which would inevitably cover their future wives and their children. Therefore, in a short passage of time, the colony of *protégés* would become even larger than the real French colony.²⁸⁸ Moreover, these people would be in a most needy situation and they would burden the French charitable organizations. In short, that would be a source of embarrassment for the consulate and create conflicts with the local authority.

Actually, De Grancey was remarkably ignorant of the citizenship legislation and the practice of her institution. Her protest against the assignment of “Turkish identity” to their foundlings (Trouvés en faire invariablement des sujets turcs?) was, in fact groundless.²⁸⁹ The Embassy of France in Istanbul conducted a small survey by correspondence with French Consulates in the Empire, and reported that abandoned children were baptized according to the Latin rite and thus entered into the community of Latin *reayas*. In that sense, they had a proper regular civil status, different from that of the Muslims. In Istanbul and Izmir, they were registered through a civil administration mechanism, recognized by the Consulate; in other cities of the Empire, on the other hand, where their small number did not justify the existence of a similar administration, they were registered with the intermediation of the *kadis*. The Ambassador stated that foundlings born on the soil of any country are considered proper subjects of that particular country and to deviate from this universal rule in the Ottoman Empire was impossible, unless they want to risk their relations with the local authority and Ottoman state.

²⁸⁸The Consulate elaborated on the special category of *protégé*, which could be assigned to only two groups of people: the Ottoman subjects who work in a consulate as a dragoman or in a missionary station as an assistant, and certain foreign peoples who do not have consular representation in Turkey.

²⁸⁹« De quel droit alors, une fois admis le principe des nationalités indépendantes en Turquie, assigner à priori aux Turcs ces malheureux enfants. Trouvés en faire invariablement ses sujets turcs? De connais tel est telles sont les pères sont bien français; les enfants seront-ils sujets turcs, parce que les pères les ont abandonnés? » (Her underlining).

“Les turcs ne sont plus assez ignorants pour ne pas connaître notre propre législation sur cette matière et ils ne manqueraient pas de l'invoquer si nous nous avisions de vouloir soustraire à leur juridiction les enfants trouvés qui sortent de chez nos soeurs.”²⁹⁰

The response of French diplomatic authorities reflected their consciousness of the tense relations between the missionaries, the Ottoman state, and the non-Muslim communities of the Empire. Though recognizing the importance of these children for the expansion of French influence in the Empire, as believers of the Catholic faith, the French authorities refrained from weakening their relations with the Ottoman and with the local non-Muslim authorities. Moreover, the embassy's concerns for disturbing their relations with the Ottoman government are definitely understandable, given the new obsession of the political authorities to register the foundlings to the Ottoman census records, based on the Regulation on Population Registration of 1882 (*Sicill-i Nüfus Nizamnamesi*). As we have previously seen, starting especially from the last decade of the nineteenth century, modernizing state apparatus became highly involved with citizenship and identity issues. The principle duty of the police department and municipality seemed to be the preparation of proper reports on the foundlings (*zabitname*) so that they are registered accordingly.

Moreover, the Ottoman authorities were also well aware of the principle of *jus soli*. They insisted the foundlings would be recorded as Ottoman citizens, though their religious status may differ. In a controversy from 1905, the position of the state on issue can be clearly discerned. It was underlined by the Ministry of Interior that an abandoned child, found on the street and whose mother is unknown, is considered to be a citizen of this country (*bir memlekette sokak ortasında metruk olduğu halde bulunan validesi meçhul bir çocuğun o memlekete ve hükümete mensub ve tabi ad edilmesi*).²⁹¹ The problem was raised due to the abandonment of a baby at the door of Teologos, a Greek subject/citizen (*Yunan tebaasından*). The little note that was found on him indicated that nine-days-old Kozma was also a Greek citizen. Being either weakly informed or convinced by Teologos, the *mutasarrıf* of Beyoğlu prepared a report, saying that the baby was Greek and therefore, there was no need to register him to *sicill-i nüfus* and he

²⁹⁰*Ibid.* “The Turks are no longer so ignorant not to know our own legislation on this matter and they would not fail to call upon it if we attempt to withdraw these abandoned children, who depart from the home of the Sisters, from their jurisdiction.”

²⁹¹BOA, DH.MKT, 549/2, 22/Ş/1323 (21.10.1905).

was directly sent to the church of Aya Yani. As already quoted, the Ministry gravely objected and gave a memo on the proper course to be followed in such cases.

The disputes on the citizenship of foundlings prove the problem potential of the civil status of the foundlings. In the down of issuing of standard birth certificates or preparation of detailed census records, the status of abandoned children in the Ottoman Empire was open to political and religious rivalry, since in early twentieth century, the communities regarded their foundlings as inalienable members of their *imagined community*.

1.9.1. Ottoman Efforts for Regularization of the Status of Foundlings

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, the political disputes resulting from the identity or the civil status of the abandoned children were numerous enough to push the government to prepare a specific legislation for the foundlings. As we have already seen, the first piece of legal document, taking the abandoned children into account was the Regulation on Population Registration of 1882 (*Sicill-i Nüfûs Nizamnamesi*), in which the specifics of registering the foundlings into census records were indicated. When the Law of Population Registration (*Sicill-i Nüfûs Kanunu*) was issued on 27 August, 1914, the same regulation was repeated in articles 20 and 21.²⁹²

However, these regulations must have been found insufficient, since there is evidence that the government was interested in preparing a new secular piece of law for the determination of identity and for the care and upbringing of the abandoned children. Traditionally the abandoned children had a meaning in the Islamic law and they were

²⁹²“Sicill-i Nüfûs Nizamnâmesi, 8/L/1298 (23.8.1882)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, Zeyl 2, İstanbul: Mahmut Bey Matbaası, 1299 (1882), pp. 15-23.

Madde 20- Öteye beriye bırakılan çocukların üzerlerinde mensup oldukları cemaate dair işaret olduğu halde o suretle ve olmadığı takdirde müslim sıfatile kaydolunacaktır.

Madde 21- Henüz tevellüt etmiş bir çocuk bulanlar nerede nasıl ve ne vakit bulduğunu beyan ile beraber çocuğu ve yanında bulduđu elbiseyi ve üzerindeki işareti kariyelerde heyeti ihtiyariyeye ve kasaba ve şehirlerde zabıtaya ita edecek ve bunun için bir zabıtname tanzim olunarak çocuğun sinni zahiri ve erkek veya kız olduđu ve tesmiye olunacak ismi ile teslim edileceđi mahal tasrih ve bu zabıtname sicilli nüfusa kaydolunacaktır.

entitled to certain rights and allowances. Yet, the opening of the *Dâr'ül-aceze* foundling unit and the development of other aspects of the modern state, such as population registration, required more detailed and multifaceted regulations, responding to new levels of institutionalization and bureaucratization. By the end of 1915, the Ministry of the Interior was searching for regulations and statutes relating to the abandoned children in order to be translated and adapted into Ottoman usage. An official request was directed to the Embassy (*Baş Şehbenderlik*) of the government in Geneva to acquire such regulations and statutes used by the cantons of Geneva and Neuchâtel. In the reply of the embassy, it is stated that Neuchâtel had no specific institution for abandoned children and that they only have a number of orphanages for the orphans and the destitute. The laws on the Protection of Children (*Himaye-yi Sıbyan Kanunu*) were sent by the two cantons.²⁹³

Despite the intent and the initiative, at that time no such regulation was adopted by the Ottoman state, most probably due to the negative impact of the the First World War. Yet, the choice of Switzerland, as the source of the law is very interesting, especially when it is considered that Turkey's Civil Code of 1926 was also adapted from the Swiss code of 1907, which was curiously also based on the code of the canton of Neuchâtel.²⁹⁴ In 1926 Turkish civil code, the article on foundling children stresses that anyone who finds a child whose parents are unknown must immediately hand him over to the authorities (*teslim eder*); simple reporting his existence, as in 1907 Swiss code, would not suffice.²⁹⁵ Abandoned children, thus, are taken care of by the state authorities, who determine their status as well. According to Miller, adaptation of the article changed the complete sense of it, since according to Turkish legislation both the identity and well being of a foundling – the only definition of which is that his family is unknown – is in the hands of the state, whereas in Switzerland, the state is responsible only for discovering the child's identity. So the Turkish state acts more paternalistic: a foundling child belongs to and relies on not the individual but the state/society.

The parallels between the new law code and the previous Islamic practice are, in

²⁹³BOA. DH.EUM.ECB. 2/23, 2/Z/1333 (12.10.1915).

²⁹⁴Choice of Switzerland is interesting since at the time, this was one of the most conservative and patriarchal countries of central Europe.

²⁹⁵Ruth A. Miller, “The Ottoman and Islamic Substratum of Turkey's Swiss Civil Code”, *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 11:3, 2000, pp. 335-361.

fact, striking. As discussed previously, according to Islamic jurisprudence, the state treasury would, under certain circumstances, pay for all the expenses of raising the foundling. The status of a foundling in the new Turkish Republic, therefore, is very similar to the Islamic regulations. It seems, a slight alteration of a few words and concepts in the Turkish version of the Swiss Code could not have been an accident. Indeed, it created, without question, a hybrid Islamic/Ottoman/Swiss legal framework.²⁹⁶

1.10. Conclusion

There are two obvious problems of working on abandoned children in the Ottoman Empire. First, it is almost impossible to provide detailed statistics, and therefore, discuss with accuracy the prevalence of the phenomenon of child abandonment in nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. This problem can be overcome as long as meaningful trends are discovered without inclining to detailed and specific documentation. In this chapter, certain patterns of nineteenth century Ottoman child abandonment were discerned. The religious affiliation of the infants, the milieu of abandonment, distribution according to cities, and gender differences were discussed. Moreover, survival mechanisms of the foundlings were put forward, with reference to the role of informal adoption by affluent families, state subsidies, and wet-nurses.

Second problem, which seems to be more serious, is that the researcher is almost clueless on the life prospects of these children, the data at hand is insufficient to reflect on the life course of the formerly abandoned infants. Related to that, it is nearly impossible to hear, from what is written so far, the voices of the foundlings, seemingly *protagonists* of this chapter. It is known that the children raised in *Dâr'ül-aceze* foundling home and orphanage were sent after “graduation”, either to artillery school (*Tophane Sanayii Alayları*), or industrial schools (*mekteb-i sanayi*), or *Dariüşşafaka* (high school for orphans), or were given to households as domestic servants.²⁹⁷ In a

²⁹⁶Miller, 342-4.

²⁹⁷BOA. ŞD. 2554/19, 8/Z/1303, (7.9.1886). “.... ebeveyni, velisi, ve evi olmayıp

similar manner, the Greek foundlings, who manage to survive and grow up, were destined to be adopted either by their initial wet-nurses. This was most probably *de facto* rather than voluntary. They were also given as adoptive children to other applicants.²⁹⁸ In the regulations and in many of the yearly reports of the asylums, there are many examples of girls placed with families as their servants or boys admitted into certain regiments of the army.²⁹⁹

In other words, most of them must have had moderate living conditions. On the other side of the coin, as Boswell argues, there is fairly copious source of information on abandonment in the imaginative literature, in which foundlings are almost always promised happiness. However, it is possible that authors introduced abandonment as a convenient plot device something that fascinated precisely because of its improbability.³⁰⁰

Chapter 2, however, has a potential to give certain clues about the lives of at least some of the foundlings, particularly girls, who were taken into private homes for fostering. In the pages to come, the reader will have the chance to read more on the Ottoman version of “kindness of strangers” and the intricate relations between adoption and domestic child labor.

The nineteenth century developments on the foundling care has important clues to help us recognize certain traits of the political agenda in general. It is true that in late

meydanda kalmış kız ve erkek çocukların bakımı hükümete ait olmalıdır. Hükümet bunların bakımı ve idareleri için umumi bir darülaceze kurmalıdır. Darülaceze’de kadın ve erkek yoksullar ile kimsesiz çocuklara ayrı ayrı koğuşlar ve çalışacakları sanayihaneler tesis edilerek dini inanışlar ve bazı basit bilgiler öğretilmesi ... Toplanacak çocuklardan bir kısmı tersane ile tophane-i amire ile Darüşşafaka'ya, kız çocuklardan yaşı tutanlar sanayi mekteplerine, uymayanlar terbiye edildikten sonra hizmetçiliklere verilmelidir.”

²⁹⁸Anastassiadou, 282.

²⁹⁹ The previously mentioned controversy between the French Sisters in Izmir and the French diplomatic corps gives clues about the lives of the Catholic foundlings, as adults. Mme de Grancey underlined that these children who were taken as abandoned children usually stayed with them 15, 18, or 20. In other words, these boys and girls were dependent on the Sisters even as grown-ups. AMAE, Quai d'Orsay, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale, Nouvelle Série, 1897-1918, Turquie, no. 459.

³⁰⁰Boswell, 6-7.

Ottoman Empire, multi-lingual and multi-religious urban centers shared certain aspects of a cosmopolitan lifestyle. However, there was also a rather politicized and sensitive concern for strengthening the solidarity and integrity of communities, which felt under threat of losing their members' identity, language and religion. The sentiment of dissolution was triggered by modernization and centralization of the state, which brought about many tendencies of a nation-state and threatened the relative autonomy of the communities. Under these circumstances, religion, nationality, and citizenship of abandoned children became a contested terrain, over which arduous efforts were spent by local authorities, foreign missionaries, religious and civil leaders of the communities, and the central state. In an unexpected manner, these infants became actors in late nineteenth-century politics of demography, conversion, and national rivalry.

As the tendency of Ottoman authorities to register foundlings as Muslims became obvious from the viewpoint of non-Muslim communal leadership, they resisted both by official applications to the government and by opening or strengthening their own foundling facilities. As a result, the role of certain governmental bureaus, such as the police department, municipality, or *Dâr'ül-aceze*, as powerful actors having control over certain aspects of abandonment grew. Furthermore, aggressive child gathering campaigns of Catholic missionaries created a permanent atmosphere of *self-defense*. In that sense, full-hearted involvement of these actors had the potential of generating tension, from scarce supply of the wet-nurses to disputes over the civil status and ethno-religious identity of foundlings.

TABLES FOR CHAPTER 1

Table 1.1 – Frequency of Child Abandonment in Different Milieus¹

<i>Milieu</i>	<i>Muslims</i>		<i>Non-Muslims</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Brothel			1	1,59	1	0,71
Cellar	1	1,23	1	1,59	2	1,42
Coffee house			2	3,17	2	1,42
Cemetery	4	4,94			3	2,13
Church			7	11,11	7	4,96
Doors	1	1,23	31	49,21	32	22,70
Mosque	39	48,15			37	26,24
Public Bath	6	7,41			6	4,26
Street	21	25,93	13	20,63	34	24,11
Maternity			1	1,59	1	0,71
Empty Plot			1	1,59	1	0,71
Unspecified	9	11,11	6	9,52	15	10,64
<i>Total</i>	81	100	63	100	144	100

Table 1.2 – Religious Affiliation of the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Foundlings²

<i>Religious Affiliation</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Muslim	81	56,25
Non-Muslim	63	43,75
<i>Total</i>	141	100

¹This data is deduced from 141 documents gathered from the Ottoman archives, the dates ranging from 1811 to 1911. Such a small data set may not really have a real representative character. Yet, it is still possible to detect certain trends.

²*Ibid.*

Table 1.3 – Frequency of Child Abandonment in Different Cities of the Ottoman Empire³

<i>City</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Istanbul	86	59,72
Salonika	16	11,11
Mosul	8	5,56
Rize	5	3,47
Beirut	4	2,78
Bursa	3	2,08
Ankara	2	1,39
Trabzon	2	1,39
Edirne	2	1,39
Bosna	1	0,69
Çanakkale	1	0,69
Diyarbakir	1	0,69
Eski Zağra	1	0,69
Heraklion	1	0,69
Kastamonu	1	0,69
Malatya	1	0,69
Monastir	1	0,69
Muş	1	0,69
Plovdiv	1	0,69
Mardin	1	0,69
Sana	1	0,69
Serres	1	0,69
Tekirdağ	1	0,69
Yozgat	1	0,69
Unknown	1	0,69
Total	144	100

3Ibid.

Table 1.4 – Gender Distribution of the Foundlings⁴

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Boys	41	28,47
Girls	49	34,03
Unspecified	54	37,50
Total	144	100

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Frequency</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Boys	41	45,56
Girls	49	54,44
Total	90	100

Table 1.5 – Yearly Distribution of Foundlings in *Dâr-ül'aceze* Foundling Asylum⁵

<i>Years</i>	<i>Admitted</i>	<i>Left</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Transferred to the Orphanage</i>	<i>Resulting Population</i>
1903-1915	932	300	572	18	42
1916	180	42	111	12	57
1917	251	48	201	22	37
1918	250	29	216	9	33
1919	218	32	184	3	32
1920	175	37	146	0	39
Total (1903-1920)	2016	488	1426	64	

Albid.

5BOA, DH.UMVM., 113/58, 01/Ra/1339 (12.11.1920).

Table 1.6 – Number of Foundlings Admitted into the *Dâr-ül'aceze* Foundling Asylum (1903 – 1920)⁶

	<i>1903-1915</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1917</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1903-1920</i>
1 month – 6 months	672	153	180	221	166	143	1535
6 months – 1 years-old	171	17	34	21	42	49	334
1 – 3 years old	89	11	37	8	10	28	183
Total	932	181	251	250	218	220	2052

Table 1.7 – Number of Foundlings Died in the *Dâr-ül'aceze* Foundling Asylum (1903 – 1920)⁷

	<i>1903-1915</i>	<i>1916</i>	<i>1917</i>	<i>1918</i>	<i>1919</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1903-1920</i>
1 month – 6 months	500	100	171	200	155	110	1236
6 months – 1 years-old	62	10	20	14	27	37	170
1 – 3 years old	10	1	10	2	2	14	39
Total	572	111	201	216	184	161	1445

Table 1.8 – Mortality Rates of all the Children in the *Dâr-ül'aceze* Foundling Asylum (1903 – 1920)⁸

<i>Years</i>	<i>Admitted</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Mortality Rate (Percentage)</i>
<i>1903-1915</i>	932	572	61
<i>1916</i>	181	111	61
<i>1917</i>	251	201	80
<i>1918</i>	250	216	86
<i>1919</i>	218	184	84
<i>1920</i>	220	161	73
Total (1903-1920)	2052	1445	70

⁶BOA, DH.UMVM., 114/44, 13/Ra/1340 (14.11.1921). Tables 6 and 7 contain similar information with Table 5, except for the year 1920.

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸*Ibid.*

Table 1.9 – Mortality Rates of Infants between 1 – 6 Months in the *Dâr-ül'aceze* Foundling Asylum (1903 – 1920) ⁹

<i>Years</i>	<i>Admitted</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Mortality Rate (Percentage)</i>
1903-1915	672	500	74
1916	153	100	65
1917	180	171	95
1918	220	200	90
1919	166	155	93
1920	143	110	77
Total (1903-1920)	1535	1236	80

Table 1.10 – Mortality Rates of 1 to 3 Year-Olds in the *Dâr-ül'aceze* Foundling Asylum (1903 – 1920) ¹⁰

<i>Years</i>	<i>Admitted</i>	<i>Died</i>	<i>Mortality Rate (Percentage)</i>
1903-1915	89	10	11
1916	11	1	9
1917	37	10	27
1918	8	2	25
1919	10	2	20
1920	28	14	50
Total (1903-1920)	183	39	21

9Ibid.

10Ibid.

Table 1.11 – Number of Children under the care of the *Dâr-ül'aceze* Foundling Asylum (1903 – 1920)¹¹

<i>Year</i>	<i>Infant Population</i>
<i>1903</i>	17
<i>1905</i>	38
<i>1907</i>	75
<i>1911</i>	34
<i>1914</i>	50
<i>1916</i>	57
<i>1917</i>	37
<i>1918</i>	33
<i>1919</i>	32
<i>1920</i>	39

¹¹*Ibid.*; BOA, DH.UMVM., 113/58, 01/Ra/1339 (12.11.1920); Nuran Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Darülaceze Vakfı, 1997, p. 145; Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet 1876-1914*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p. 210; Arsen Yarman, *Osmanlı Sağlık Hizmetlerinde Ermeniler ve Surp Pırgiç Ermeni Hastanesi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Ermeni Hastanesi Vakfı, 2001, p. 364.

Table 1.12 – Number of Foundlings exposed to the care of the Church of the Franciscans, Sainte-Marie Draperis (1860-1873)¹²

<i>Year</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>1860</i>	5	3	8
<i>1861</i>	3	6	9
<i>1862</i>	7	5	12
<i>1863</i>	4	12	16
<i>1864</i>	6	6	12
<i>1865</i>	5	4	9
<i>1866</i>	8	6	14
<i>1867</i>	4	11	15
<i>1868</i>	2	2	4
<i>1869</i>	6	1	7
<i>1870</i>	4	1	5
<i>1871</i>	5	2	7
<i>1872</i>	2	4	6
<i>1873</i>	5	4	9
<i>Total</i>	66	67	133

¹²Table prepared with the information provided by BOA, HR.TO., 458/1, 7.7. 1874.

Table 1.13 – Foundling Asylums of the Catholic missionaries¹³

	Where	When	Nature of Work	Number of Children
1.	Constantinople – Galata <i>Couvent de La Providence</i> (Maison Centrale des filles de la Charité) (Maison de Notre Dame de Providence)	1839	There was a crèche and an asylum for infants in the neighborhood of the college under the supervision of Saint Joseph. The institution was specialized in the care of the abandoned children Those who survived later entered the orphanages.	(1839) 9 girls (1854) 15 in the asylum, 25 with wet-nurse (1880) 60 (1894) 70 (1900) 150 in the asylum
2.	Constantinople <i>La Maison de l'Artigiana</i> (Hospice des Artisans)	1871	Founded in 1838 by an Austrian, it was transferred to Lazarists in 1871.	A foundling asylum for 150 infants.
3.	Hôpital Saint Georges	1853		(1897) Among the children, there were wet-nursed babies.
4.	Constantinople Hôpital de la Paix crèche de Şişli	1856	Asylum and an orphanage with abandoned children. They are raised with very particular care, and, when they arrive at a certain age, they are taught a trade (iron-making, carpentry, tailoring, shoe-making, weaving). Girls above 15 were assisted in marriage.	(1870) First girls were accepted, 40-50 girls. (1878) 80-90 (also orphans) (1883) 90 (also orphans) (1886) 130 (1900) 200 (1915) 50 foundlings
5.	Constantinople - Galata Saint-Benoît	1783	Center of the Lazaristes. It was close to La Providence of Soeurs. It housed a crèche for the foundlings.	(1851) 25 abandoned children (1915) 120 orphan girls
6.	Constantinople – Bebek Maison de St. Joseph	1841	The terrain was bought in 1836, when the country house in San-Staphano was sold. Crèche de Bebek. This was an orphanage with abandoned children as well.	(1894) 270 orphan girls (1920) 55 abandoned children
7.	Orphelinat de St. Joseph (Çukurbostan, Péra)	1865	There was a section for abandoned children until 1886. Then they were transferred to la Paix.	Around 200
8.	Association des Demoiselles Patronesses de la Crèche	1872	This was an organization for the abandoned children. They collected children from the streets and then entrusted them to wet-nurses.	(1874) 560 infants were collected.
9.	Izmir Maison de Marie	1840	Crèche for abandoned babies.	(1894) 45 orphans. Foundlings were generally placed with wet-nurses.
10.	Izmir Orphelinat de la providence des Soeurs de Charité	1860		(1867) 200 orphans (1916) 43 orphan girls, 26 abandoned children

¹³This table is deduced from Catholic missionary journals (*Les Missions catholiques: bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi, Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission, Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*); some official annuals and summaries (Père J. B. Piolet, *La France au Dehors Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIXe Siècle, Tome Premier, Missions d'Orient*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1900); and French diplomatic document (MAE Quai d'Orsay, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale, Nouvelle Série, 1897-1918, Turquie).

	Where	When	Nature of Work	Number of Children
11.	Izmir Nazareth de St. Roch (Mortzkia)	1870-71	The institution housed a convent, a school, an infirmary, and a crèche for abandoned children. ¹⁴	
12.	Kula (Izmir) <i>Établissements des Orphelins, Orphelines et Enfants Trouvés, de Saint-Joseph au Kula</i>	1859	<i>Orphelinat de Saint-Joseph de Koulah</i> This is an institution outside the city, so as to save the children from diseases and other inconveniences of urban centers. It housed a vocational school of boys, where they learned carpentry, blacksmithing, tailoring, shoe-making, gardening, and baking	(1876) 18 (1916) 72 orphan girls, 42 boys
13.	Bornova (Bournabat) Orphelinat de Soeurs de Charité	1873	An orphanage with abandoned children.	(1873) 33 (1916) 64 orphan girls
14.	Aydın Maison de Charité des Soeurs de Charité	1868	Maison de Saint-Vincent (rebuilt in 1875) An asylum and an orphanage for abandoned children.	
15.	Buca Orphelinat des Soeurs de Charité	1867		
16.	Urfa	1885	Asylum for infants.	
17.	Mosul	1888	Asylum for infants. Dominican school for abandoned children.	275
18.	Malatya	1896-97	An orphanage for abandoned children (SS. Franciscaines).	
19.	Mardin	1879	Orphanage of Capucins; School and asylum of SS. Franciscaines	Orphan girls
20.	Bethlehem	1879	For very young orphan boys or abandoned children.	(1881) 70 orphan boys
21.	Beyrouth	1861	Work of abandoned children.	(1861) 20 (1900) 120
22.	Terre Sainte (Jerusalem)	1886	A crèche for abandoned children. In 15 years, 486 infants were received and two thirds of them died.	(1886) 36 (1890) 23 (1900) 116
23.	Jerusalem (by Mlle Colomb)	1875	French Foundling Asylum in Jerusalem Realizing the enormous number of abandoned babies in the streets, they thought an asylum would be most valuable work. After its opening in 1875, the institution grew considerably.	(1881) 50-60
24.	Khosrova	1880	Infant asylum	(1880) 130-150 baby boys
25.	Salonika	1873	(1873) An orphanage with abandoned children. (1881) Almost every night, the missionaries found a new foundling on their door.	(1873) 30 (1881) (1916) 30 orphan girls

¹⁴Even in contemporary everyday language, the building is referred to as “Piçhane” since during the late Ottoman Early Republican times, the building was used as a center for abandoned infants. In present day, it is the Izmir Ethnography Museum.

	Where	When	Nature of Work	Number of Children
26.	Zeytinlik (Salonika) Orphelinat de Saint-Vincent de Macédonie (two kilometers to Salonika, in the countryside)	1861	Work of abandoned children. Away from the noise and dangers of the city, also other mortalities of urban centers.	(1873) 28-30 boys (1883) foundlings (1894) 25 foundlings (1900) 40 orphan boys and foundlings (1916) 20 orphan boys, 15 foundlings
27.	Trabzon	1882	Capucins de Trébizonde They had a nursery for the foundlings.	(1882)
28.	Erzurum	1897	150 students, almost all of them were orphans. There were also abandoned children, having neither parents nor relatives.	(1897) 150 girls
29.	Cilicia (Adana)	1895	Asylum for foundlings	(1895) 4 orphan girls (1900) 30 (1901) 60
30.	Van (Orphelinat de garçons)	1898	Dominican Mission	(1904) 26 (orphans, some of them abandoned children)

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER 1

Illustration 1.1 – Nazareth de St. Roch (Piçhane), Izmir Ethnography Museum



Illustration 1.2 – Nazareth de St. Roch (Piçhane), Izmir Ethnography Museum



Illustration 1.3 – Infants and Children in the *Dar'ül-aceze Irzâhanesi*¹⁵



Illustration 1.4 – A group of orphans in the *Dar'ül-aceze*¹⁶



¹⁵Nadir Özbek, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet 1876-1914*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p. 239.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 145.

Illustration 1.5 – A group of orphans in the *Dar'ül-aceze*¹⁷



Illustration 1.6 – Infants taking bath in the *Dar'ül-aceze Irzâhanesi* (1903)¹⁸



¹⁷*Ibid.*, 141.

¹⁸Nuran Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Darülaceze Vakfı, 1997, p. 211.

Illustration 1.7 – A ward in the *Dar'ül-aceze Irzâhanesi* (1903)¹⁹

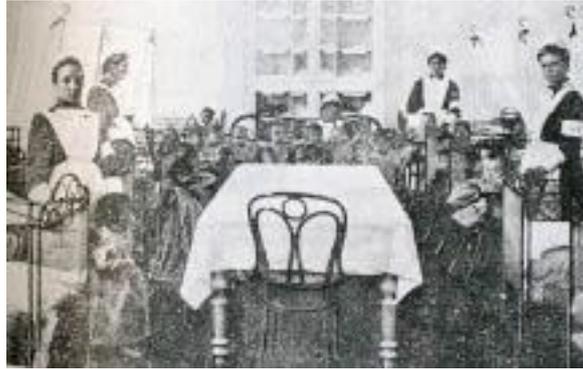


Illustration 1.8 – Infants, being weighed in the *Dar'ül-aceze Irzâhanesi* (1903)²⁰



¹⁹*Ibid.*, 211.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 212.

CHAPTER 2

FOSTER CHILD OR SERVANT, CHARITY OR ABUSE: *BESLEMES* IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

2.1. Introduction

Besleme is a foster girl adopted, not in legal terms, into a relatively rich household at a very young age and brought up as a servant. The practice can be considered as one of the forms of “child circulation”, which encompassed a diverse constellation of practices involving minors who were “sent out to be reared”, by unrelated caretakers. Often these girls were the illegitimate, orphaned, and abandoned children, but above all, this was a practice involving the children of the poor. Poor children were often nursed, reared, apprenticed, and “rented” for service in the households of others. These girls were offered employment in the form of a charity: they had to perform the household chores, and the employers, in return, pledged to supply the child's basic needs – shelter, food, and clothing. The employers used to pay no wage relying on the assumption that taking custody of a child was no less than a charity, a benevolent act that did not result in an employer-employee relationship. Thus, fostering a girl was a profitable charity by which a servant could be secured at little or no expense. On the other side of the coin, the labor of poor and orphaned girls were exploited throughout the years they worked on an unpaid basis.

In the late nineteenth century *beslemes* were also marginalized by Ottoman society as unchaste and indecent, since their 'job description' included a *de facto* form of unregulated concubinage. Due to their dependent and vulnerable position, they were frequently molested by their masters. Although abuse of domestic servants by the house lords is an exhausted theme in European historiography, its counterpart in the Ottoman context is still worth discussing, due to interesting nuances involved.¹ First, these servant girls were foster children taken into the houses as a form of charity. Second, abuse by the employers was almost embedded in the employment.² Thus, sexual relation with them, though not literally, was a both 'social' case of incest and sexual harassment.

¹John R. Gillis, "Servants, Sexual Relations, and the Risks of Illegitimacy in London, 1801-1900", *Feminist Studies*, vol. 5, no. 1, Spring 1979, pp. 142-173; J.Boulton, "London Domestic Servants from Depositional Evidence, 1660-1750: Servant-Employer Sexuality in the Patriarchal Household" and T.Meldrum, "'Unlawfully Begotten on Her Body': Illegitimacy and the Parish Poor in St Luke's, Chelsea", in Tim Hitchcock, Peter King and Pamela Sharpe (eds.), *Chronicling Poverty: The Voices and Strategies of the English Poor, 1640-1840*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997; Laura Gowing, "The Haunting of Susan Lay: Servants and Mistresses in Seventeenth-Century England", *Gender & History*, August 2002, vol. 14, no. 2, pp.183-201; Frye, Susan and Karen Robertson (eds), *Maids and Mistresses, Cousins and Queens: Women's Alliances in Early Modern England*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999; Humfrey, Paula. "What the Servants Knew", in Valerie Frith (ed), *Women and History: Voices of Early Modern England*. Concord, ON, 1995; Maza, Sarah C. *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: the Uses of Loyalty*, Princeton, NJ, 1983; Meldrum, Tim. *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household*, Harlow, 2000; Fairchilds, Cissie. *Domestic Enemies: Servants and Their Masters in Old Regime France*, Baltimore, London, 1984; Hay, Douglas and Paul Craven (eds). *Masters, Servants, and Magistrates in Britain and the Empire, 1562-1955*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004; Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experience in England, 1560-1640*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1996; Leonore Davidoff, *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class*, New York: Routledge, 1995; Tim Hitchcock, *English Sexualities, 1700-1800*, London: Macmillan, 1997; Walker, Garthine, "Rereading Rape and Sexual Violence in Early Modern England", *Gender & History*, vol. 10, no. 1, April 1998, pp. 1-25.

²It seems that a very similar practice still survives in Nairobi, Kenya. Many housemaids in genteel middle class Nairobi are never paid a wage; it is their parents, or 'auntie' who receives the pittance that they are owed every month and it is not uncommon to have ten-year olds doing the washing, cleaning and cooking for an entire family while enduring slaps and kicks. High frequency of maid rape and abuse in many households is also underlined. The maid is usually at the center of a domestic sexual web that runs through the sons and their father. (<http://www.thenewblackmagazine.com/view.aspx?index=317>)

In some cases, affairs were arranged or overlooked by the mistresses, who search for beautiful girls to save their sons or husbands from prostitution. More importantly, material exploitation and sexual abuse were legitimized by the court by settling all the claims of the servants through compromise (*sulh*).

Yet, it has to be emphasized that *beslemes* were not essentially silenced, obedient, or muted characters. It is obvious that they played an active role in refusing abuse and in determining their fate. They took initiative and made their voices heard. They left evidence about themselves, either in the court records, or in official complaint petitions such that it is possible to write the history of nineteenth and early twentieth century foster daughters.

Domestic service and adoption are exceptionally elusive areas of study as so much of their activity took place in private homes. Surviving evidence is overwhelmingly from the super-ordinate's side and from the more articulate and powerful individuals within even that substratum. The case of Ottoman Empire poses further problems. Unlike researches undertaken by European historians, which usually benefited from baptize, birth, and declaration of pregnancy records, or detailed censuses, family history of Ottoman empire lacks a number of widely used sources. Before 1885 no centralized birth, death or marriage records existed, except for cases of litigation brought to court – assuredly not a very representative sample. Moreover, information on women were collected for the first time only in the census of 1885 and 1907 census after that. There are, thus, also no detailed statistics about Ottoman households.³ Therefore, this study is unable, for instance, to offer exact and reliable ratios of *beslemes* to overall servants, or to speculate on their increase or decrease over time.

Yet, Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives (BOA) contains voluminous documents on adopted children. Furthermore, *sicil* records are incredibly rich for documenting the lives of *beslemes*. Perhaps the richest source of all are the narratives of everyday

³For example, census inventories of household composition record the presence of unrelated children and they were used by many researchers in the field. Nara Milanich, “The *Casa de Huerfanos* and Child Circulation in Late-Nineteenth-Century Chile”, *Journal of Social History* vol., 38, no. 2, Winter 2004, pp. 311-340; Philippe Fargues, “Family and the Household in Mid-Nineteenth Century Cairo”, in *Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property and Gender*, Beshara Doumani (ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003, pp. 23-50.

domestic life recounted in the courtrooms. Courts encountered *beslemes* in a number of different contexts. They mediated disputes over the custody of these minors and were called upon to evaluate the costs of a child's rearing, against the value of his or her labor to the foster household. In a variety of circumstances, as when fostered children ran away, judicial authorities also considered the nature of rights enjoyed by individuals over minors whom they reared, pondering whether caretakers exercised paternal authority over their wards. Courts also heard criminal cases involving the abuse and neglect of youngsters in non-natal households. Still, to explore and reconstruct different aspects of raising adoptive children at households as maids in the late Ottoman society, it seems fruitful to appeal to literary sources.

In late nineteenth century Ottoman empire, fostering girls as domestic servants was blurring the line between servants and concubines, between incest and taboo, and between charity and abuse. This chapter, based on literary sources, French and American missionary and Ottoman archives, and court records, is one of the first attempts to delineate these intricacies.⁴

⁴This chapter is indebted to a large extent to the studies of Ferhunde Özbay on the adopted children (*evlatlıks*) of early twentieth century Turkey. Despite the disciplinary and to a certain methodological differences, together with the fact that this chapter focuses on a slightly earlier period, this research may not have been undertaken without the inspiration of path breaking works of hers, that I refer to throughout the chapter. Ferhunde Özbay, *Turkish Female Child Domestic Workers*, Project Report submitted to ILO/IPEC. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 1999; “Türkiye’de Kadın ve Çocuk Emegi”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no.53, 1991, pp. 41-54; “Türkiye’de Evlatlık Kurumu: Köle mi Evlat mı?” in *International Conference on History of Turkish Republic: A Reassessment, Volume II, Economy, Society and Environment*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998, pp. 277-288; *Türkiye’de Evlatlık Kurumu: Köle mi Evlat mı?*, İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi, 1999; “Evlerde Elkızları: Cariyeler, Evlatlıklar, Gelinler”, in *Feminist Tarih yazımında Sınıf ve Cinsiyet*, Leonore Davidoff, Ayşe Durakbaşa (ed.), İstanbul: İletişim, 2002; “1911-1912 Yıllarında Kimsesiz Kız Çocukları”, in *Savaş Çocukları: Öksüzler ve Yetimler*, Emine Gürsoy Naskalı, Aylin Koç (eds.), İstanbul, 2003, pp. 111-122.

2.2. Candidates for a *Besleme*

In basic etymological terms, *besleme* means 'feeding', the word being derived from the verb *beslemek*, to feed. According to the Turkish-English dictionary of James William Redhouse, published in 1880, *besleme* is “a maid or woman servant, a child fed in the house for charity”.⁵ The definition of this dictionary is especially important in the sense that it represents the perceptions of the time, designations of the contemporaries, and thus, social understanding of certain concepts. The point made in the dictionary was actually correct, since the same confusion of foster daughter with maidservant can also be found in Ottoman documents. In 1910, the police department referred to Hadice both as a *besleme* and as a servant (*Ahmed Muhtar Bey'in beslemesi Adanalı hizmetçi*).⁶

In fact, these girls can also be defined with other terms, having quite closer meanings, if not being synonyms. *Evlâtlık* was one of the mostly used terms for foster children. It differs, however, from the term *besleme* in the sense that it encompasses the boys as well. Other such gender-blind formulations of a fostered child can be *ahiretlik*, *ahiret evlâdı*, *manevi evlâd*, or *evlâd-ı maneviyye*. The appellation “child”, as it applied to fostered children, was deeply ambiguous. For being the *daughter* of one's adoptive family could imply not incorporation as a valued daughter, and heir, of the household. It actually implied a servant's filial subordination to a father-master or mother-mistress – a rhetoric of kinship that naturalized relations of dependence.

2.2.1. Orphans

First of all, *beslemes* were recruited from among orphans. When both the mother and father of a girl died, she was usually adopted and taken as a servant into the house under the name of *besleme*. These households might be distant relatives, neighbors, or completely unrelated foreigners. Archival evidence supports this point. Maruşa Anastasi

⁵Redhouse, James William, *Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary, in two parts, English and Turkish, and Turkish and English*, London: B. Quaritch, 1880.

⁶BOA, DH.EUM.THR., 29/1, 14/Ra/1328 (26.03.1910).

Apostol was a complete orphan (*ebeveyninden yetim kalan*), entrusted by her uncle, in 1903, to the household of Süleyman Efendi, head of the Court of Appeals in Janina.⁷ Vesile, an 8-year-old girl from Kayseri, who had neither parents nor siblings alive (*peder ve mader ve ümm ve birader gibi hiçbir kimsesi bulunmadığından*) was received as a foster daughter (*veled-i maneviyye*) in 1903 by the *mutasarrıf* of Yozgad, İsmail Hakkı Efendi.⁸ Petra Theodorova, an inhabitant of Sofia, lost her parents (*ebeveyni vefat etmiş*) when she was 10 and in ways that are unknown to us, she ended up in Ortaköy, Istanbul, in 1891, since she was taken into the house of Nicola Lazaroff's as a foster daughter.⁹ In 1846, Emine's parents passed away in Söğüt, a short while after they moved from Haymana. Arguing that she was in danger of falling into the hands of slave-dealers, an affluent lady took her as a *besleme*.¹⁰

It is possible to follow the same pattern in literary sources as well. In Ahmed Midhat's novel *Müşahedat* (1891), Nivart gives birth to two illegitimate children as a result of her illicit affairs. When she dies, she leaves a boy of 13 and a girl of 11 behind, with no relatives or financial support. The girl was taken as a *besleme* by a family, and the head of the family arranged the apprenticeship (*yanaşma*) of the boy in the shop of a known merchant.¹¹ Adopting girls as servants had a number of commonalities with taking boys as apprentices to artisan shops. In both cases child labor was intertwined with raising the child.

The practice gained ascendancy especially in times of serious orphan crisis. The influx of refugees from the Caucasus and later the Balkans, or the aftermath of the 1894-96 Armenian massacres, or the end of the First World War created such circumstances of emergency. Monseigneur Azarian, patriarch of the Catholic Armenians, wrote in 1898 that due to the limits of the newly founded Sainte-Anne Orphanage of Istanbul, some of the orphan girls could not be admitted to that institution. Thus, he called the *believers* and supporters to the rescue of these poor girls by taking

7BOA, DH.MKT., 948/93, 17/S /1323 (22.04.1905).

8BOA, DH.MKT., 1018/43, 17/N/1323 (14.12.1905).

9BOA, DH.MKT., 221/34, 28/N /1311 (05.04.1894).

10Abdurrahman Kurt, *Bursa Sicillerine Göre Osmanlı Ailesi (1839-1876)*, Bursa: Uludağ Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1998, p. 77.

11Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Müşahedat*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000, p. 137.

some of them to their homes. The patriarch happily declared later that a considerable number of Catholic Armenian families answered their call to take part in this “charitable work”.¹² Around the same time, the Gregorian Armenian patriarchate resorted to the same solution as well.¹³ The patriarch Mağakya Ormanian¹⁴, elected right after the massacres, was under serious pressure of public opinion, especially regarding the orphans. In the end, he launched an adoption campaign for the orphans. It is noted in the contemporary press that the Patriarch had invited financially well-off Armenian families to adopt an orphan from the community and take care of the child until the day that s/he would be able to earn his/her own living.¹⁵

The orphanages in general also played a part in this picture, since most of the graduates of girls' orphanages were entrusted to reliable families to become their *daughters* and to serve as their *servants*. Female education, especially for orphans, underlines similar principles and virtues throughout Europe.¹⁶ An orphan girl's economic security was best guaranteed by “sturdy, honest, and structured employment as a maidservant”.¹⁷ Without exception, the aim of all these institutions was to prepare the girl for domestic service. Orphanages and British charity schools regarded training of girls in industrial jobs uncertain even with the nominal guarantee; they considered that domestic service offered better prospects for an orphan girl. Such orphanages refused to put their girls into manufacture because the vagaries of trade could land them

12« Patriarcats Arménien Catholique, Lettre de S. B. Mgr Azarian, patriarche des Arméniens catholiques, à M. le directeur général de l'Oeuvre d'Orient, Constantinople, le 21 juin 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 227, juillet 1898, pp. 411-22.

13I will discuss this issue in detail, in Chapter 4.

14Maghakia Ormanian (11 February 1841 – 19 November 1918). Archbishop and Patriarch of Istanbul of the Armenian Apostolic church. After the forced resignation of Matheos III. İzmirlian, Ormanian was selected on 6 November 1896 to the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate of Istanbul and remained in office until 10 July 1908.

15*El Tiyempo*, Istanbul, 1 April 1897, no. 56, p. 2.

16Olwen Hufton, “Women, Work, and Family”, in Georges Duby [et al.], *A History of Women: Renaissance and Enlightenment Paradoxes*, vol. 3, Belknap Harvard, 1994, p. 26-45

17*Ibid.*, p. 26.

resourceless on the streets.¹⁸ Girls' Lodging House of New York, founded in 1862, was supposed to teach the girls “to work, to be clean and to understand the virtues of order and punctuality; to lay the foundations of a housekeeper or servant.”¹⁹ Between May 1770 – May 1800, among the graduates of the Amsterdam Municipal Orphanage, or the Burgerweeshuis, 33.7% were girls leaving for domestic service.²⁰ By the same token, when young people left the Augsburg orphanage, boys were placed in a guild after having completed their apprenticeship, and girls received placement as domestic servants. %15-35 of Augsburg orphans took employment in household service.²¹

The prospects in front of Ottoman orphans, irrespective of their ethnic-religious identity, and the approach of the society towards them was not considerably different from their European counterparts. When girls' orphanages were opened first by non-Muslim communities and Catholic and then Protestant missionaries, and afterwards also by the central state, the curriculum of these institutions were such that, the girls were destined to serve in the households as graduates of orphanages. They were trained to become proficient in cooking, cleaning, washing, and this was ensured through using them as actual helpers/servants of the orphanages.²²

In the accounts of various missionaries, there is evidence pointing to this practice. The girls in the orphanage of Alliance Israélite in Izmir were placed as daughters-maids in the households of the Jews.²³ S. D. Goitein argues that orphan Jewish girls were the

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹Joseph M. Hawes, *Children in Urban Society: Juvenile Delinquency in Nineteenth Century America*, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 97.

²⁰Anne C. McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age: Orphan Care in Early Modern Amsterdam*, Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997, p. 47.

²¹Thomas Max Safley, *Charity and Economy in the Orphanages of Early Modern Augsburg*, Boston (Ma.): Humanities press, 1996, p. 137, 236.

²²Chapter 4 gives more detailed information on missionary orphanages and girls' education. Chapter 3 also concentrates on the “state orphanages”, in other words those opened by the central state.

²³Archives de l'A.I.U., Turquie, LXXXVI, *L'Oeuvre d'Apprentissage à Smyrne, 1887*. Smyrne, lettre reçue le 20 février 1887. in Rodrigue, A. *De l'Instruction à l'Emancipation: les Enseignants de l'Alliance Israélite Universelle et les Juifs d'Orient*, Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1989, p. 90. « Les filles travaillent à la journée dans des dépôts de vallonée et de figes ou se placent comme domestiques chez les israélites. »

“poorest of the poor”. The Jewish community insisted that orphan girls be married as soon as possible. Yet, generally the people would refuse their son's to take so foolhardy a step as marrying a penniless orphan.²⁴ Since the position of a wife depended largely on the strength of her family and the means she brought into the marriage (dowry), the female orphans' prospects in life were dark. Their natural refuge was a position as a domestic in a friendly household. It was probable that many orphan girls remained to be unmarried servants throughout their lives.

Monsieur Galland, the superior of the “Dominican mission in Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Armenia”, writes in 1904 that a great number of girls in the orphanage of the Sisters were sent to become servants in good families of the city.²⁵ Some Catholic orphanages also adopted a different system of educating the orphans, which was linking the features of institutional care with fosterage. From a report, written in September 1897, we learn that the Catholic missionaries of the city of Kayseri collected twenty orphan girls and dispersed them to Catholic families of the city. The girls were attending the school of the Sisters during the day and staying in their respective families at night and during the vacations.²⁶

American missionaries had also considered to apply a similar method (“putting children in Christian families”) in Mardin but failed to succeed. As the missionary in the field explains “the relatives of the children would give them to us to train, but would not entrust them with native families”.²⁷ In this case, it becomes clear that in the minds of the local contemporary people being an orphan in an institution was much more preferable to becoming a foster child in a non-kin's house. Speculatively, this is due to the fact that the resident people of Mardin were possibly aware of the suffering of

24S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. 3: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza, The Family*, Berkeley : University of California, 1978, p. 306.

25« Mission Dominicaine de Mésopotamie, Kurdistan et Arménie, Rapport adressé par le R.P. Galland, supérieur de la Mission, à Mgr Charmetant, Directeur général des Oeuvres d'Orient », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 265, novembre 1904, pp. 373.

26« La Situation en Asie Mineure », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 222, septembre 1897, pp. 182-7.

27“Report of Mardin Orphan Department for 1897”, *ABC 16.5*, reel 512, no. 202-30.

orphan girls as servants in the households and the difficulty of leading such a life.

While there was the choice of retaining the orphans in the orphanages when they were younger, relatively larger girls did not have the same privilege. It was necessary to find either a husband or a job for them, when the time of 'graduation' comes. In the yearly report of West Bursa Orphanage, written in 1902, the director of the orphanage tells that they had found employment in good families in the city for four of the larger girls of the orphanage.²⁸ Yet, the same doubt is evident also in this report, since even if these recruitments had led to a number of applications from other parties, the missionaries were not willing to send anymore: “we decided that the best interest of the other girls demand their remaining with us ... We can be more discriminating in selecting positions for them.”²⁹ The reason for this ex-post-facto reluctance is not elaborated. Were previously sent girls unhappy with their positions? Were they complaining about hard work or abuse? We do not know. Yet, the negative stance of the missionaries can be considered as evidence for their awareness of the complications an orphan girl might face while working as a domestic servant.

The intent of the girls' orphanages to educate the girl's to become domestic servants can also be followed from Ottoman archival documents. In a session of the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) in 1886, the establishment of a poorhouse (*Dâr'ül-aceze*) was discussed, in order to house the elderly, the infirm, and the orphans. The prospects in front of the grown-up orphan girls were described in the following manner: “ ... from among the girls, those whose age is appropriate, will be sent to industrial schools, others will be given to households as domestic servants after they are trained”.³⁰

²⁸The 'employment', of course, can be nothing but the position of a domestic servant.

²⁹“Report and the Financial Statement of the West Broussa Orphanage [1902]”, *ABC 16.9.3*, reel 617, no. 512-14.

³⁰BOA, İ. ŞD., 2554/19, 8/Z/1303, (7.9.1886). “.... ebeveyni, velisi, ve evi olmayıp meydanda kalmış kız ve erkek çocukların bakımı hükümete ait olmalıdır. Hükümet bunların bakımı ve idareleri için umumi bir *dâr'ül-aceze* kurmalıdır. *Dâr'ül-aceze*'de kadın ve erkek yoksullar ile kimsesiz çocuklara ayrı ayrı koğuşlar ve çalışacakları sanayihaneler tesis edilerek dini inanışlar ve bazı basit bilgiler öğretilmesi ... Toplanacak çocuklardan bir kısmı tersane ile tophane-i amire ile Darüşşafaka'ya, kız çocuklardan yaşlı tutanlar sanayi mekteplerine, uymayanlar terbiye edildikten sonra

The orphanage of *Dâr'ül-aceze*, the institution that resulted from these discussions, actually followed the method of entrusting girls as foster children. Article 45 of the 1912 Regulation of the institution (*Dâr'ül-aceze Memurin-i İdare ve Sıhhiyesinin Vezâifini Mübeyyin Talimatname*), specified that older girls would be either given to the applying parties as foster daughters (*evlatlık*) or would be married to suitors. Regulation of 14 January 1914 also contains a similar article (65): “little and grown-up orphan girls will be given as foster children to those who asked for, in return for a deed (*senet*).” Also in the Regulation of 26 April 1916, article 17 clarifies that the orphans can be adopted as foster children.³¹ In 1921, the requirements were heightened: applicants were asked to provide a deed and a guarantor; they had to have sufficient financial resources; and an investigation was undertaken on their judicial history.³² Yet, literary sources provide contrary data, underlining the neglect of the authorities in making the necessary investigation before approving the adoption and in paying regular visits to the families, which adopted the girls. Vicdan in Ethem İzzet Benice's novel, *Yakılacak Kitap* [A Book to be Burned], was adopted from the Poorhouse as a *besleme* at the age of 11, and had to suffer unbearable misery.³³

2.2.2. Abandoned Children

Abandoned children was another large category, from which foster children were recruited. John Boswell argues that at the absence of institutions for the foundlings, in order to survive, a child should have been rescued, by the “kindness of strangers”.³⁴ In other words, such a society would need virtuous people who would take into their houses abandoned children. Sarah Maza emphasized that the most unlucky and
_____ hizmetçiliklere verilmelidir.”

31Nuran Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Darülaceze Vakfı Yayını, 1997, p. 142.

32BOA., DH.UMVM, 119/19, 18/R/1340 (18.12.1921).

33Ethem İzzet Benice, *Yakılacak Kitap*, İstanbul: Tan Basımevi, 1942.

34John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, University of Chicago Press, 1998, p. 49.

wretched of the female servants were without doubt the abandoned children, since for them service was an unavoidable fate. She argues that throughout the eighteenth century, an estimated 4 per cent of all servants in Aix and Marseille were recruited among the girls whose mothers had left them on the steps of the famous foundling house of the city, Hôtel-Dieu.³⁵ The girls in the foundling asylum of Strasbourg, could not hope a better life than that of a servant. As it is declared in the regulation of the institution, the establishment can offer an education only to raise up future domestic servants (for girls) and artisans (for boys).³⁶ The abandoned children in Russia were also destined to become soldiers or maidservants, according to their gender.³⁷

In the Ottoman Empire most of the abandoned and destitute children were adopted in the homes of the affluent, in the form of domestic servants.³⁸ Leslie Peirce notes that the foundlings taken into houses were most probably destined to become *beslemes*, servant girls brought up in the household.³⁹ Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont, in her article on the child abandonment in the Greek community of Beyoğlu, notes that, until 1867, the period during which the church of the neighborhood, Hagia Panaghia, was in charge of the abandoned children, it was only the girls who were taken as adoptive children. According to the report (1888) of a committee of doctors, which was researching the issue, the adoption of the girls was defined as “nothing but a disguised

35Sarah C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, p. 132.

36Élisabeth Sablayrolles, *L'Enfance abandonnée à Strasbourg au XVIIIe siècle et la fondation de la Maison des enfants-trouvés*, Strasbourg : Librairie ISTRAS, 1976, p. 86: « ...cet établissement ne peut être envisagé que comme une éducation d'ouvriers et de domestiques qui ne demandent point que les recherches des mieux sont portées au delà de ce qu'il faut pour les rendre propres à leur destination. »

37Wladimir Berelowitch, « Les Hospices des Enfants Trouvés en Russie (1763-1914) », *Enfance abandonnée et société en Europe: XIVe-XXe siècle: actes du colloque international, Rome, 30 et 31 janvier 1987*, organisé par la Società italiana di demografia storica, la Société de démographie historique, l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, l'École française de Rome, Rome: École française de Rome; Paris: diff. De Boccard, 1991, pp. 167-217.

38E. W. Lane, *The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London: E. P. Dutton, 1860, p. 130.

39Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab*, Berkeley (Calif.): University of California Press, 2003, p. 150-1.

form of domestic employment”. The adopted ones were not playing the role of a legitimate daughter, they were maidservants, who were doing the chores in the house.⁴⁰ The Greek authorities of Beyoğlu assumed rightly that the adoption of the girls, at least in part, should be a form of recruitment of servants.

In January 1901, L.S. and his wife E. adopted a girl of 16,5 years-old. Looking at her age, one doubts the existence of others factors rather than having a child.⁴¹ Policy makers and intellectuals in the Greek community noticed that most such examples were definitely fictitious adoptions, whose real objective was to use the girl as a maid. Moreover, these *adoptions* did not correspond to a stable and final situation; they could be broken without any particular sanction for the adoptive part.⁴²

Ottoman archives offer rich documentation as well. As touched upon in the first chapter, most of the foundlings were adopted into volunteering families and it is possible to enumerate such examples. In 1811, an abandoned infant was found in front of a public bath near Kovacılar (Fatih, İstanbul) by a woman. Her application to the court to take her as her foster daughter was accepted and the baby was assigned a salary from Istanbul custom revenues (*gümrük*).⁴³ In the late 1890s, Hasan Efendi, crier in the court of first instance (*mahkeme-yi bidâyet*) in Salonika, took a foundling girl, Fatma, as his foster daughter (*veled-i maneviyye*). When Hasan died in 1903, his widowed wife, Perver Seniyye Hatun, had to apply to the municipality to obtain some allowance for the sustenance of the girl.⁴⁴ In Halit Ziya's novel, *Ferdi ve Şürekası*, Seniha was found on the street and was taken into a household as a foster daughter. She actually was to become the maid in the house.⁴⁵

40Méropi Anastassiadou, “La protection de l'enfance abandonnée dans l'Empire ottoman au XIXe siècle. Le cas de la communauté grecque orthodoxe de Beyoğlu (Istanbul)”, *Südost-Forschungen*, 59/60, 2000/2001, pp. 272-312.

41*Ibid.*, 313.

42*Ibid.*,

43BOA, C.BLD., 76/3746, 26/M /1226 (20.02.1811).

44BOA, DH.MKT., 733/45, 10/R/1321 (06.07.1903).

45Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, *Ferdi ve Şürekası*, Dersaadet: Nişan Berberyan Matbaası, 1312.

2.2.3. Daughters of Poor Parents

A third group of girls were coming from the ranks of poor families and despairing parents, who were unable to support their children, or likewise themselves, and were forced to give them away at a very young age to be sheltered in the houses of the relatively rich, to bring some relief to their precarious condition. In return for meals and boarding, these girls were working in the household without a payment as a servant.

It is probable that this third category was quite significant, since in the vocabulary of the nineteenth century authorities and intellectuals, *besleme* had a specific meaning, referring to daughters of the lower classes. Nimet Cemil, in her article in *Kadınlar Dünyası* [World of Women], an important women's magazine of the Second Constitutional Period, dated 22 May 1914, discusses the issue of *beslemes*. She underlines that these were the daughters of the poor, who were entrusted to wealthier families.⁴⁶

There are a number of examples in the court records, showing the transfer of daughters by the parents. For instance, the parents of Maruda binti Yorgaki delivered her as a child to a Christian couple to be raised; in return she was expected to serve in their house. Her parents entrusted some old household objects to the fostering couple for the use of their daughter after reaching puberty.⁴⁷ In another case, a father handed over his daughter, Havva, while she was still a minor to serve at Ümmetullah's house. In return, he assumed his daughter would receive food and clothes in lieu of a fair wage. She worked there for 15 years, until her sudden and unexplained death.⁴⁸ In 1865, Şerife Zeynep entrusted her 5-year-old daughter to Hatice for her “moral and educational improvement and training” (*tehzîb ve taallüm-i âdâb ve maarif*). In the contract that was made in front of the *kadi*, it was particularly underlined that she was only lent (*iare*) and she was to be returned to her mother.⁴⁹ Although educational purposes were stressed in

46Nimet Cemil, “Meclis-i Mebusan'ın Nazar-ı Dikkatine, Çocuklarımızı Hırpalamayalım”, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 144, 22 May 1330 (04.06.1914), pp. 4-5.

47Selanik Sicil 18/243, 5 Muharrem 1122 (6.3.1710). [All references to the sicil of Salonika are from Ginio.]

48Selanik Sicil 71/32, 6 Muharrem 1161 (7.1.1748).

49Kurt, 78. This is actually a very interesting case, since it underlines the

many court records (*liecli't-tebennî ve't-terbiye* or *li't-tebennî ve't-terbiye ve'l-iyale*), the contracts were of economic nature for both sides, since the parents or mother of the girl was given some money in return for her non-paid service in the household.⁵⁰ In an example from early twentieth century, Hasan Ağa was a rather poor man, who was working as a carrier (*hamal*) in Ereğli. When her daughter, Emine, turned twelve, in other words, got old enough to be entrusted to a family as a foster/servant girl, he took her to Istanbul and left her to İshak Cevdet Paşa Konağı.⁵¹ In 1902, Cumali Mehmed bin Kazım, resident of Salonika gave the custody (*bilvelâye*) of her daughter, Şükriye, to the wife of Muzhir Kamil Efendi, chemist of the hospital and customs of Salonika, since he was unable to take care of (*infaka gayr-i kâdir*) his daughter and the little girl was in dire need (*nafaka ve kisveye eşedd-i ihtiyaç ile muhtace*).⁵²

Poor girls from towns or villages within the vicinity of Istanbul appear in literature as well. In *Müşahedat*, Ahmed Midhat argues that there was a frequently observed practice in the Marmara Island to send young Greek girls to Istanbul to work as a *besleme* and earn some money.⁵³ He also tells that his first wife, whose parents were very poor, was given to a retired officer as a “soul child” (*can evlatlığı*).⁵⁴ In a short story, “Postal” (1901), Krikor Zohrab recounts the tragedy of a poor girl from a village of İzmit taken into a rich household in Kadıköy as a *besleme*. A village girl was preferred with reference to innocence, chastity, and absence of wily, since the mistress was afraid that such a girl may seduce her husband.⁵⁵

existence of a practice of temporarily entrusting of the daughters.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, 78.

⁵¹BOA, DH.EUM.THR., 28/65, 12/Ra/1328 (24.03.1910).

⁵²Kurt, 172-73.

⁵³*Müşahedat*, p. 139.

⁵⁴Ahmed Midhat, *Peder Olmak Sanatı*, İstanbul, 1312, pp. 177-79.

⁵⁵Krikor Zohrab, *Öyküler*, İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2001, pp. 30-45. The story was originally published in the literary magazine, *Masis* in 6 January 1901.

2.3. Legal Basis of Adoption

Adoption in the legal sense was unknown in the Ottoman society. There was actually no legal regulation for the procedure. Yet, as it will be discussed in this chapter, it was a quite common practice to have *adoptive* children. According to legal experts, adoption was impossible in Islamic law, since it was not in accordance with Islamic understanding of lineage. The jurists assumed that it would cause the confusion of lineage (*neseb*) and lead to approval of various forbidden acts and injustices. First of all, there were concerns for legal inheritors. If a man adopts a foster child, this would decrease, or even annul, his legal children's share in the inheritance. Secondly, the practice had a potential to surpass the borders of intimacy (*mahrem*). Adopted daughter would definitely live with the family and the rules of veiling (*tesettür*) and intimacy are usually disregarded or loosened, although persons, whose marriage is religiously permissible should always abide by these laws.⁵⁶

The reluctance of the jurists to determine a legal status for such a common practice was interesting, since the negative results that they feared were not prevented. On the contrary, they became more common and open to abuse, due to unregulated nature of the contract. It was common knowledge that adopted children were used as servants, sick nurses, and even as slaves, and therefore, treated in an insulting and degrading way.⁵⁷

Despite the *legitimate absence* of adoption, we have records signifying the existence of literal adoption. In most of the times, this agreement seems to have been an oral one, but occasionally it would be entered in the *kadı's* register.⁵⁸ Some scholars argue that such transfers of children required the approval of the court and was, otherwise, impossible.⁵⁹ La Baronne Durand De Fontmagne, who lived in Istanbul

⁵⁶Mustafa Yıldırım, *İslam Hukuku Açısından Evlat Edinme*, İzmir: İzmir İlahiyat Vakfı, 2005, pp. 43-46.

⁵⁷Aytekin Atalay, *Medeni Hukukta Evlat Edinme*, İstanbul, 1957, p. 14.

⁵⁸Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsman of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 279-80.

⁵⁹Kurt, 73.

during and after the Crimean War wrote that “Turks adore children and when they do not have their own, they willingly adopt”. According to her account, interested parties are expected to go to the court of *kadı* and sign a document in the presence of witnesses. In other words, for an outsider this was a pretty legal and legitimate way of adopting children, although they were called “enfants de l’âme” (*manevi evlat*).⁶⁰

In some cases, adopting families demanded to get a judicial certificate, so as to be able to clarify the girls' duties in the house and their authority over them. Thanks to such a document (*hüccet-i şeriyeye*), İsmail Hakkı Efendi, the *mutasarrıf* of Yozgad, could avoid third parties to take away his foster daughter (*veled-i maneviyye*).⁶¹ Kurt, who worked on the court records of Bursa in Tanzimat period, mentions many cases of quasi-adoption (*tebennî* or *icâr-ı sâgir*), in which daughters of the poor parents were handed over to wealthier families.⁶² In 1863, Zeynep Hanım made an agreement with Musa bin Halil to adopt (*liceli't-tebennî*) his daughter, Emine, so that she is fed and looked after, since Musa claimed that after his wife passed away, he had neither the income nor the abode to take care of this girl.⁶³

It is interesting that the term, *tebennî*, continued to describe these cases, since it was the name of formal adoption in pre-Islamic Arabic societies. After embracing Islam, it was used for a while, but then was prohibited with the sura of Ahzab, verse 4.⁶⁴

60La Baronne Durand De Fontmagne, *Un Séjour à l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople sous le Second Empire*, Plon-Nourrit: Paris, 1902, p. 285.

61BOA, DH.MKT., 1018/43, 17/N/1323 (14.12.1905). I will later discuss this case in detail.

62Kurt, p. 73, 80. There were 14 *tebennî* and 47 *icâr-ı sâgir* cases.

63Kurt, 170-71.

64Interpretation of Department of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet*), <http://www.kuranikerim.com/mdiyanet/ahzab.htm>:

“4. Allah, bir adamın içinde iki kalp yaratmadığı gibi, “zihâr” yaptığınız eşlerinizi de analarınız yerinde tutmadı ve *evlâtlıklarınızı da öz oğullarınız olarak tanımadı*. Bunlar sizin ağızlarınıza geliveren sözlerden ibarettir. Allah ise gerçeği söyler ve doğru yola O eriştirir.

5. *Onları (evlât edindiklerinizi) babalarına nisbet ederek çağırın*. Allah yanında en doğrusu budur. Eğer babalarının kim olduğunu bilmiyorsanız, bu takdirde onları din kardeşleriniz ve görüp gözettiğiniz kimseler olarak kabul edin. Yanılarak yaptıklarınızda size vebal yok; fakat kalplerinizin bile bile yöneldiğinde günah vardır. Allah bağışlayandır, esirgeyendir.” (italics mine)

Although the legal consequences of proper adoption, such as development of a lineage, inheritance rights and sexual taboos, were disregarded, apparently *tebennî* as a contract survived in the Ottoman Empire, and it appears in many court records. Adopters were called *mütebennâ*, while adopted children were named *mütebennî*.⁶⁵ Such a contract was prepared in the court to regularize the monthly alimony (*nafaka*) spent for the child. When the parents demanded daughters back, they were asked to pay the total expenses, accumulated *nafakas*, made for her in the master's household.⁶⁶ In other words, receiving households wanted to make sure that their foster daughters would stay with them as long as they could get the return of their *investments*.⁶⁷

In the 1890s, the Ottoman authorities openly voiced concern about adoption of especially abandoned children, who were left in the streets and in the courtyards of mosques. The authorities assumed that these were either children of single mothers, born out of wedlock, or of widowed women, or poor parents, who were unable to support for the child when they lost their spouses or means of livelihood. Adoption of these foundlings as foster children (*evladlığa kabul*) by volunteering parties caused a number of problems for the authorities, based on legal and moral concerns. Most of these problems were related to the failure to have a lineage. It was possible that inappropriate marriages were approved by the court, or that law of inheritance was applied improperly, due to lack of necessary knowledge on descent. For that reason, the government asked the provincial authorities and municipalities to have as much information as they can on the identities of the foster children, when they were being

65Ülker Gürkan, “Evlat Edinme ve Beslemelerin Hukuki Durumu”, in *Türk Hukuku ve Toplumuna Üzerine İncelemeler*, Peter Benedict, Adnan Güriz (eds.), Ankara: Türk Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları, 1974, pp. 163-226.

66Hayreddin Karaman, Ali Bardakoğlu, Yunus Apaydın, *İlmihal II: İslam ve Toplum*, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2004, p. 243.

67The discussion on the issue of alimony survived well into the Republican period. A very interesting case of Supreme Court of Appeals from 1944 clarifies the thin line between charity and employment. In late 1930s, someone took a 9-year-old girl from her parents and look after her for 3 years and 9 months, during which she went to school for a while and worked in the house as a servant. When she became 13, she left the house and went to live with her parents, as a result of which her master sued the parents and asked them to pay for the expenses he made during this time. Supreme Court rejected his demand, underlining that taking in a poor girl was a moral duty and would not result in any debt. In later decisions, Supreme Court also ruled that *beslemes* were entitled to demand a certain wage for their labor. Gürkan, 200.

registered. It was even ordered that the police undertake meticulous investigations so as to find the abandoning mothers of these babies, in order to keep a register of them, though in secret terms.⁶⁸

2.4. Adopting a Girl, Recruiting an Unpaid Maidservant

Henry Otis Dwight, in his book, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, tells the story of a *besleme*, which perfectly summarizes the intricate relationship between fostering a child and recruiting a servant. It is difficult to understand how come she was 'like a daughter', while she was asked to carry wood and water as a six-year-old.

“A candle-maker [Ahmed Ağa] ... found a woman who was a widow with a chance of remarriage. The obstacle to her new venture in this matrimony was her daughter, a pretty little child of six or seven years. The candle-maker Ahmed Ağa *bought* the little girl of her mother for fifty pounds...

He took little Sabiye home to his poor little house in Sarı Güzel and handed over to his wife. ... she was treated like a daughter. The child helped the woman in the kitchen, she brought the wood and carried water, she ran errands...”⁶⁹

In everyday language, the terms *evlatlık* or *besleme* was synonymous with a servant girl. In Ulunay's novel, *Eski İstanbul Yosmaları*, Rânâ complains to her father, who insists that she marry their neighbor's son, that this family does not have enough helpers in their household and “they are actually looking for a servant, not a bride.” The father gets angry at her daughter, “Look what this bastard says! 'Feyzullah Ağa [her prospective father-in-law] doesn't have servants, doesn't have a cook, she will become a *besleme* over there'... Of course, she will...”⁷⁰ In Aka Gündüz's novel, *Yayla Kızı*, Petek was adopted by a family of modest means in Ankara. Despite the fact that she was treated in a really kind way, the genuine reason behind her adoption was to secure a

⁶⁸BOA, DH.MKT., 1986/123, 20/M/1310 (13.08.1892).

⁶⁹Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1901, p. 97-8.

⁷⁰Refi Cevat Ulunay, *Eski İstanbul Yosmaları*, Istanbul: Arba, 1995, pp. 57-8.

helper for the housework, when this little girl grows up.⁷¹

Therefore, foster daughters can be analyzed under the category of unpaid maidservants, since they had to serve their benefactor – employers for an unspecified length of time.⁷² The employers pledged to supply the child with his or her basic needs – shelter, food, and clothing, while the child, in turn, had to perform household chores. Employment was usually based on oral agreement and these girls had no formal contract with their employers – a practice at odds with the sharia, which requires the proposal and acceptance of a fair wage (*ecr-i misil*) in any work contract. In the case of child labor, these legal requirements were set aside. No hiring period or wage was stipulated.⁷³

The foster parents, or in fact employers, avoided payment, relying on the assumption that taking custody of children was a charity, a benevolent act that did not result in an employer-employee relationship.⁷⁴ They depicted themselves as foster family providing the pauper child with his or her basic necessities. In the Ottoman documents, the relationship was portrayed by the parents of the girls as working without payment, and only for basic necessities (*hiçbir ücret vermeyerek ancak bir boğaz tokluğuna*).⁷⁵ Families gave these girls only perquisites, such as old clothes, used items, a

71Aka Gündüz, *Yayla Kızı*, İstanbul: İnkılap, 1940.

72Milanich notes the same practice for late nineteenth century Chile, 317-318: “... children reared in such arrangements were generally not paid ... it was understood that their labor served merely to compensate their guardians for the expense of their upbringing. ... According to prevailing cultural discourses, households who took in the orphaned and abandoned exercised a laudable act of benevolence. Caretakers routinely characterized the presence of unrelated children in their homes as 'an act of charity' or explained that they had been moved to receive such minors 'out of a feeling of charity'.”

73Eyal Ginio, “Living on the Margins of Charity”, in *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts*, edited by Mine Ener, Amy Singer and Michael Bonner: State University of New York Press, New York, 2003, pp. 165-184.

74The same perception survived into the Republican Turkey. It was argued by Republican legal scholars that a foster child helps to the household chores as a moral duty for the benevolence that is done for her. In that sense, the relationship between the two parties cannot be regarded as a work contract, this was a relationship based on mutual love and respect. Mustafa Reşit Belgesay, “Evişleri Yapanların Ücret İddiaları”, *İleri Hukuk Dergisi*, no. 13, 1946, p. 29.

75BOA, DH.EUM.VRK., 21/50, 07/Ca/1329 (06.05.1911).

pair of tattered boots. For instance, in *Yakılacak Kitap*, Vicdan was an orphan in the orphanage of *Dâr'ül-aceze*, who was taken into a house as a *besleme* at the age of 11. Her life was a real misery, she got up with the morning prayer and worked incredibly hard in the house; she was not even given proper food, she ate nothing but the remains of the plates of others; she did not have a bed and was made to sleep on the bare floor.⁷⁶

Due to serious hardships throughout the employment period, it was expectable that maidservants search for justice of the religion and the state. The court referred to these minor servants as “those who were employed without any salary contract” (*ücret-i kavlınsiz makulesinden*) and displayed no objections to this kind of employment. Thus, it was implicitly accepted by the legal authorities that such an agreement can legitimately exist. Hadice bint Hüseyin asked the court to force her former employer to pay her a fair wage for the ten years she had served in his house. She admitted to declaring previously in court that she had exonerated him from any responsibility to her, but she now argued that she had done so because of his threats and against her will. She told the court that she was beaten and forced to relinquish her rights.⁷⁷ Maslina, an inhabitant of Manastır (Bitola), was accepted as a foster daughter to the household of a non-Muslim, Tevahir bin Malko from Kastoria, and served as maid-servant for thirteen years. After all those years, in 1783, she submitted a petition to the court claiming the equivalent of wages.⁷⁸

⁷⁶Ethem İzzet Benice, *Yakılacak Kitap*, İstanbul: Tan Basımevi, 1942.

⁷⁷*Salonika Sicil* 74/7, 20 Ramazan 1162 (3 September 1749). Such demands of an exoneration existed in the Republican period as well. *Beslemes* were asked to sign a document (*ibrâ*), in which they testify that their masters owe them nothing. As late as 1970s, there were examples of such documents. Example from 6th Notary of Ankara:

“.... seneden beri yanlarında bulunduğum ailesinin bugüne kadar bütün ihtiyaçlarım kendileri tarafından temin edilmiş ve bakılıp büyütülmüş bulunmaktayım.

Bu müddet içersinde ailesinden şefkat, samimiyet ve yakın ilgi gördüm.

Ev içersinde ailenin bir ferdi gibi yaşamamın yanında harçlıklarımı ve yaptığım hizmetlerin karşılığını da fazlası ile almış bulunuyorum.

..... ailesi, benim de bu ailenin ferdi olduğumu düşünerek (evlenme) hazırlıklarımı yapmış ve cihazımı da hazırlamıştır.

Yanlarından ayrılmam sebebiyle ailesinden bütün hak ve alacaklarımı almış bulunduğumu, kendilerinde hiç bir hakkımın kalmadığını aile reisi ile bayan zimmetlerini umumî surette ibra ettiğimi beyan ederim.” Gürkan, 220.

⁷⁸Michael Ursinus, *Grievance Administration (Şikayet) in an Ottoman Province: The Kaymakam Of Rumelia's 'Record Book of Complaints' of 1781-1783*, New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005, p. 163.

In some cases, a symbolic wage was determined in the contract and it was promised that a total sum would be paid when the girl reaches to puberty, after the deduction of her expenses (*nafaka*). In a contract from 1844 in Bursa, a very poor father handed over his daughter to a family. The employer committed to pay her a monthly salary of 12 *kuruş*, 10 of which would be spent for her needs and the rest, 2 *kuruş*, would be retained with him, until she becomes of age (*hin-i büluğ-i rüşd*).⁷⁹ It seems that these salaries were added to the contracts made in Bursa, and not in Salonika for instance, to surpass the objection of the court that in work contracts the wage should be mentioned.

A small and insignificant amount of money was given when the masters decided to dismiss their servants after long years of domestic service. Such a dismissal would occur following girl's marriage, or if employers were Christians, as a consequence of the servant's conversion to Islam. There are also a number of payment cases, which were filed almost always after the death of the master. These girls, who served in the houses practically as servants, asked for a compensation of the years they worked when their adoptive parent died. Nazife was taken as a foster child to the household of Mesud Efendi, to serve particularly for his wife, Ayşe Hatun.⁸⁰ When she died after 5 years, the girl went to court so as to get the money she deserved (*ecr-i mislimi*) even if she was an unpaid servant. Mesud argued that she was given 100 *guruş*, together with some clothing and bedding, which can be proved from another court record.⁸¹ Nazife denies that she received any of them, yet, the court trusts the master.

When the employers were confronted with the demand to pay their servants a fair wage, they reacted with what seems to be sheer astonishment. Bakiye bint Mustafa argued that Rabia's claim of payment must be rejected as she, Bakiye, had taken Rabia into her house when the latter was only 7 years old. She provided the young girl with all her needs while the plaintiff was too young to perform any work. After 4 years, during

79Kurt, 82.

80Although her age was not mentioned, she was probably quite young, since it was her mother who filed the petition for her.

81*İstanbul Mahkemesi 121 Numaralı Şer'iyeye Sicili*, İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2006, p. 70-1. "... 2 entari, 1 şali cübbe, 1 hırka ve 1 çuka ferace ve 2 yorgan ve çarşaf ve bir döşek ve bir baş yastığı ve 3 minder ve 8 beledi yastık ve 3 çaput makad ve bir sepet sandık ..."

which the plaintiff dwelt in the defendant's house where all her needs were furnished, it was obvious that she should take upon herself some of the household tasks. The court found the mistress' position correct.⁸²

The servants' vulnerable position is clear from their failure to receive favorable verdicts. The former servants relinquished their claims to receive a fair wage in return for an insignificant sum of money. These reconciliations point to the fact that unpaid child labor, in return for raising the child, was acceptable and common in the Ottoman society. The *kadı* also usually pushed for reconciliation and never positioned himself next to these servants to defend their rights. On the contrary, he easily issued *hüccets* to legitimize reconciliation.⁸³

The vulnerability of female servants is demonstrated likewise in their late application to the court for unpaid wages. In all cases, the claims were submitted only after the servant's dismissal. Sometimes it took them years to sue their employers. As the benefactor enjoyed a much higher social and economic position, the servant was totally dependent on his employer's goodwill and was forced to accept his so-called benefactor's conditions. In many cases, this unequal relationship resulted in the marginalization of pauper girls to such an extent that they became veritable slaves, the authorities tacitly approved of this mode of employment.

2.5. The Households Recruiting *Beslemes*

There are in fact no detailed statistics about the servants in Ottoman households although fiction writers and contemporaries discussed their abundance. Abdolonyme Ubicini claimed that there were one and a half million servants in the country in 1851. According to him, in Istanbul alone there were 52,000 domestic slaves, and the number of females among them was 47,000.⁸⁴ Though it is very difficult to quantify the number of servants who resided in households or assess the spread of domestic service among

⁸²Salonika Sicil 36/12, 22 Şaban 1137 (5 May 1725).

⁸³Ginio, 2001, 200.

the poor, the records clearly demonstrate that this phenomenon included different groups of destitute people: Muslims as well as Christians, poor city dwellers as well as impoverished villagers.⁸⁵

In the better-off families live-in servants were a common part of the domestic scene. No house of any means could do without this mark of comfort and status. The combination of slaves, wage servants and *beslemes* would be found in households, each having a different function, not only in terms of service but also as indicators of the household's social rank. Living-in waged servants had a higher status than *beslemes* since the former often had an urban background. European servants, and to some extent, native non-Muslims as servants were genuine status symbols in elite households.⁸⁶ Candidates for cheaper household service were immigrants and the local poor, and their daughters. They were ready to enter domestic employment in return for their keep.

Alan Duben and Cem Behar, in their book *Istanbul Households*, based on a detailed analysis of the first empire-wide censuses of 1885 and 1907, argue that servants in the Muslim households of Istanbul were predominantly young and female.⁸⁷ In 1885, 85 percent and in 1907, 80 percent of those discernible as servants were females. According to both censuses, almost 24 percent of these women were under the age of fifteen.⁸⁸ Thus, it can be roughly assumed that a quarter of the female servants were *beslemes*. Özbay argues that in the census of 1885, the frequency of the entry 'foster child' (*evlatlık*) was much smaller compared to entries like 'slave' or 'servant'. However, in the census of 1907, the number of *evlatlıks* were tripled (Table 2.2.).⁸⁹

According to the study of Philippe Fargues on the population census of 1848 of

84M. Abdolonyme Ubcini, *Osmanlı'da Modernleşme Sancısı*, trans. Cemal Aydın, İstanbul: Timaş, 1998, p. 360.

85Ginio, 2003, p. 173.

86Ferhunde Özbay, "Gendered Space: A New Look at Turkish Modernization", *Gender & History*, vol. 11, no. 3, November 1999, pp. 555-568.

87Their analysis was limited to Muslim quarters of Istanbul.

88Alan Duben and Cem Behar, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940*, Cambridge; New York; Melbourne : Cambridge University Press, 1991, p. 67.

89Ferhunde Özbay, *Türkiye'de Evlatlık Kurumu: Köle mi Evlat mı?*, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi: İstanbul, 1999, p. 16.

Egypt, the first stage of life, which the child spends with parents, did not last very long. It was only before 10 years that living with at least one parent was the norm. Most children separated from their mother and father when they were very young, either because of the death of both parents, or by the child's departure from home. Starting from very early age, children could be found residing out of their family of birth, either as orphans or as children placed by their parents with a foreigner. 58 percent of those were housed by non-relatives. There were actually more girls than boys resided with persons not related to them and they were often employed as servants. It is only expectable compared most frequent occupation for women in the census in general. Only 3616 females are recorded with a profession, against 70.832 men. For 2989 of these women, the profession was servant.⁹⁰

In the Ottoman Empire, the practice of raising little girls as daughter-servants was both very old and very wide-spread in geographical terms. From Peirce's study on Aintab court records, we learn that *beslemes* were taken into households as early as 1541. Fatma bint Cuma registered at court that Kamer bint Ali was her *besleme*.⁹¹ Faroqhi also underlines that the custom of poor families sending their daughter to become a servant in a wealthy household when she was still a young girl, so that she would be brought up and supported while carrying out duties, can be traced back as far as the sixteenth century in central Anatolia.⁹²

Raising foster daughters was a practice, not only very old, but also very common all around the Empire and among various religious-ethnic communities. As Marcus argues, in the eighteenth century Aleppo, among the resident maids were young girls whose parents placed them in the service of others.⁹³ It is possible to enumerate many examples from the Ottoman archives as well: a village priest in Resmo (Rethimnon), Crete had a *besleme* in 1800⁹⁴; the daughter of voivode of Boğdan had a number of

⁹⁰Fargues, 23.

⁹¹Antep Sicil 2: 444a. [References to the sicil of Antep are from Peirce.]

⁹²Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire*, New York: I.B.Tauris, 2005, p. 113.

⁹³Abraham Marcus, "Privacy in Eighteenth-Century Aleppo: The Limits of Cultural Ideals", *IJMES*, Vol. 18, 1986, pp. 165-183.

⁹⁴BOA, C.ZB., 5/236, 22/B /1215 (09.12.1800).

beslemes, whom she eventually took with her to Istanbul in 1826⁹⁵; Zehariye Hatun had a *besleme* in Varna In 1877.⁹⁶

For some well-to-do and childless families, it was a common practice to take in many orphans as adoptive children. Kurt found, in Bursa court records from 1839 to 1876, 47 cases of child transfer contracts (*icâr-ı sâgir*), 35 of them related to girls. In these contracts, recruiting persons were of high status, such as government officials, well-to do artisans or merchants of the city, or wives of these men.⁹⁷ In 31 of the 47 cases, contracting *employers* were women. As in the case of Koca Hüsrev Paşa, touched upon in chapter 1, famous grand vizier of Abdülmecid (2 July 1839 - 8 June 1840), he had no children of his own and was keen on taking in orphans and abandoned children into his household. Halil İncalcık thought that the number of these children was around 50, while Avigdor Levy suggested that there were almost 100 such children raised in Hüsrev's household.⁹⁸ There were even teachers and tutors in residence.⁹⁹

From the account of a British diplomat (1853), it is possible to learn that rich *Turkish* ladies carried on “Nurseries of Wives and Mothers”, where they train young protégés for the duties of married life and find both pleasure and profit in it. Their agents collected orphans, foundlings, or the children of poor parents and educate them; for “in the East there is no prejudice of birth, and the lady is distinguished from her servant only by education and wealth.”¹⁰⁰ His description underlines the fact that taking in foster children was not always related to charity and benevolence but that it may turn into a profitable business. These women, acting as intermediaries for the employment or

95BOA, C.ADL., 2/109, 15/Ş /1241 (25.03.1826).

96BOA, C.ADL., 53/3230, 10/S /1294 (24.02.1877).

97There were such titles: evkaf kalemi katibi, müdderris, ders-i amm, zahire tüccarı, berber, saraç, kaymakam, kadı, yüzbaşı. Kurt, 80.

98Halil İncalcık, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 5, İstanbul, 1950, p. 613; Avigdor Levy, “The Officer Corps in Sultan Mahmud’s New Army 1826-1839,” *IJMES*, vol. 2 (1971), pp: 21-39.

99Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998, p. 26.

100Bayle St. John, *The Turks in Europe: A Sketch of Manners & Politics in the Ottoman Empire*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1853, p. 64.

marriage of these prospective servants or wives, were gaining both money and prestige in return.

In addition to bureaucratic and elite families of Istanbul, it seems to be a widespread custom for army officials to take away little girls with them when they are leaving their posts, especially in provincial districts. Corps Commander (*Ferik*) of Sivas Reserve Army Commandership (*Redif Kumandanlığı*), Münir Pasha had adopted three children from the city in a short while after assignment to his post in April 1908.¹⁰¹ These were two 7-year-old girls and a 10-year-old boy. When he was retired in September 1908¹⁰² and wanted to leave Sivas for Istanbul, locals and relatives did not want to send the children away from the province. As a result of which, commander had to leave without them, but later applied to the police department for the delivery of his foster children with a police sergeant.¹⁰³ He argued that not letting him feed and educate these children would mean ruining their futures (*istikballerini mahv etmek demek*). Although we do not have sufficient information on Münir Pasha, it is certain that he wanted to have several foster children.

A similar example is that of Ferik Emin Paşa, who served in Diyarbakir. When he was coming back to Istanbul, he took a little girl. Yet, her parents were relatively worried about her fate and they asked the commander to sign a contract indicating that he would return the girl, if the parents demanded so.¹⁰⁴ In 1910, Captain Hüseyin Bey took a 10-years-old orphan girl with him, Zehra, when he was going back to Istanbul from his recent post in Değirmendere.¹⁰⁵

Ahmed Midhat consistently presented *beslemes* and the households that they were working for, as of Christian origin. The households in his novels were either those of Levantines or non-Muslims of Istanbul, located specifically in the European quarters of the city, like Beyoğlu, Péra, or Galata. He argued that this was an evil practice imported

101BOA, Y.PRK.ASK, 255/69, 17/Ra/1326 (18.04.1908).

102BOA, İ.AS., 74/1326-Ş-68, 26/Ş /1326 (22.09.1908).

103BOA, ZB., 455/21, 20/My/1325 (02.06.1909).

104BOA, DH.MUİ., 91-1/22, 23/R /1328 (4.4.1910).

105BOA, DH.EUM.KADL., 13/3, 03/R /1329 (03.04.1911).

from Europe. Although Europeans, and Europeanized non-Muslim families, dared to criticize the Ottomans for concubinage, polygamy and related issues, what they practiced by employing *beslemes* was nothing but pushing these poor girls into prostitution. Employment as such was killing the chances of marriage of these girls and to have a family of their own, since they were leading a low and unchaste life in these households.¹⁰⁶ His argument is simply speculative and seems to have no real historical truth. In many examples that are enumerated and will be touched upon throughout the chapter, it will become clear that the practice was employed both by the Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

However, it is necessary to clarify certain limitations for the non-Muslims to raise Muslim children. First of all, it was impossible to sell young war captives to the non-Muslims, since children who had not yet reached puberty were regarded as Muslims. Those children who happened to be in the possession of *zimmi*s had to be sold to Muslims.¹⁰⁷ According to the opinion of Şeyhülislam Mehmed Efendi, in 1713, if a child who had no parents was sold to a certain Jew as a slave, then, the Jew would be compelled to sell the child to a Muslim. Consequently, the sultan ordered the compulsory sale of lone child slaves to the Muslims. The non-Muslims could only own childless, grown up, non-Muslim slaves.¹⁰⁸ With the same line of reasoning, non-Muslim households could only adopt/recruit non-Muslim *beslemes*, while Muslims were free to take both subjects of Islam and *zimmi*s into their households.¹⁰⁹

It was consistently controlled and prohibited for non-Muslim households to take in Muslim children below the age of puberty. In one such example from 1895, the Ministry of Interior prohibited the delivery of a Muslim boy, who became an orphan after the death of his mother, as a foster child to a non-Muslim, Vanço Kostantin from Kraçova, who was a farm bailiff in a village in Egypt.¹¹⁰ In an earlier example from 1847, Fatma, as a baby of two years old, was converted to Islam and entrusted as an

106*Müşahadat*, 138.

107Hakan Y. Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800-1909*, Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1996, p. 27.

108Ibid., p. 28.

109As it was touched upon in the first chapter, the same regulation held true for non-Muslim families and families. Muslim foundlings could only be raised by subjects of Islam.

evlatlık to another recent convert to Islam, Mustafa, who was formerly a Gregorian Armenian with the name Artin.¹¹¹ After twelve years, it turned out that Artin never left Christianity and raised the girl accordingly. Fatma applied to the court as a 14-year-old and declared that she had no intention of leaving Christianity as her genuine faith. The government ordered that she be taken away from this man and given to a good Muslim.

In a similar case, in 1842, a Christian woman, Erhundi, left her 8-year-old daughter to her brother's house, who was a recent convert to Islam, with the name Şakir. After six months of stay, she was also converted to Islam “with her free will” (*kendi rızasıyla*) and was named Hatice. When Erhundi learned about the conversion, she asked her daughter back. Yet, her petition was rejected since it was against the sharia (*mugayir-i şer'-i şerif idüğünden*) for a Muslim minor to live with a non-Muslim.¹¹² Interestingly, the court also decided that she was taken from her uncle (*dayı*) and given to a wealthier Muslim family, since the economic position of Şakir was not suitable (*mağdûru'l-hal olub da kendi idaresinden aciz makulesinden*). Although financial reasons were put forward as an explanation, it is possible that a minor convert was thought to be safer in a Muslim household.

The reverse, on the other hand, was a practice that was frequently encountered. Muslim households could easily adopt non-Muslim orphans into their families. A letter of an Armenian orphan of Maraş, who was left destitute after the massacres of 1894-6, is telling about the practice. Although this was an agitative letter to arouse the sympathies of a Christian audience, it seems to be a routine practice to adopt non-Muslim children into Muslim households. The letter argues that they were used as servants and raised as Muslims.¹¹³

“...Many of us were left among the Muslims who had killed our dear friends before our eyes. Sitting on the snow we prayed ... After passing many days without food, we must either starve or beg of our enemies. Many of us were obliged to work for them as servants. It was hard to hear them tell we must be Muslims. What could we do?”¹¹⁴

110BOA, DH.MKT., 392/7, 09/M/1313 (02.07.1895).

111BOA, A.MKT.UM, 382/33, 5/Ca/1276 (01.12.1859).

112Kurt, 174.

113The “devşirme” system is of course the well known precedent of such a practice.

There were definitely foster children in the houses of the non-Muslims as well. We know from many sources – Ottoman archives, court records, and the reports of the Christian missionaries – that it was a common practice among the non-Muslims to take in orphan or poor girls into families to be employed as servants.¹¹⁵ Numerous examples, discussed in different contexts throughout the chapter, shed light on the issue.

As we have seen in the previous section, it is possible to learn from Salonica court registers that Maruda binti Yorgaki, a Greek girl, was entrusted by her parents to a Christian couple to be raised and to work as a servant in their household.¹¹⁶ Anastassiadou's work on the child abandonment in Beyoğlu also underlines that exposed children, especially girls, after taken care of by the wet-nurses employed by the ecclesiastic authorities of the church, were adopted by families. The predominance of the girls was probably the direct consequence of the practice of taking in *beslemes*.¹¹⁷ According to the regulation of the Greek Orphanage of Izmir, founded in 1870, the orphanage would admit the abandoned children, which were generally the fruits of an illegitimate relationship and who thus in everyday language were called “bastards”. According to the same document, the orphans of the institution could be adopted only up to the age of two years and a half. Under which circumstances, this provision was added into the regulation?¹¹⁸ Since the practice of adoption was generally difficult and open to abuses, the rule-makers tried to take a step for the full accession of the adoptive child into the family. In the long term, the parents may even choose to conceal the adoption. This regulation seems to be a direct intervention by the Greek ecclesiastical authorities for the prevention of the use of adoptive girls as domestics in the households.

Goitein, in his work on the Cairo Geniza records, underlines that although

114“Orphan Work in Maraş, January 28th, 1898”, *ABC 16.5*, reel 504, no. 253-4.

115For bibliographical information, check footnotes from 1 to 6.

116Sicil 18/243, 5 Muharrem 1122 (6 March 1710).

117Anastassiadou, p. 288. “Le comité des médecins qui se chargera d'étudier la situation des enfants en 1888 osera formuler une supposition douloureuse: les adoptions des filles ne sont souvent qu'une domesticité déguisée. Celles-ci sont adoptées non pas pour occuper, dans leur nouveau foyer, la place qui serait accordée à un enfant légitime, mais pour être employées comme servantes à tout faire et à bon compte. »

118Hervé Georgelin, *La Fin de Smyrne: Du Cosmopolitisme aux Nationalismes*, Paris: CNRS éd., 2005, p. 128.

adoption in the strictest sense is unknown to Jewish laws, persons called foster children of a man or woman are mentioned frequently in Geniza. There are many examples where persons reared children with whom they had no family connection whatever. For instance, in time of great calamity, probably at the beginning of the Crusaders period (1095-1291), when many female prisoners had to be ransomed and cared for, a woman, the mother of three girls and two boys, took a little girl into her house and brought her up “in order to acquire a religious merit”. In another document, the father of baby girl, widowed by the death of his wife 16 days after giving birth, delivers his child to a prominent lady, who agreed to bring her up.¹¹⁹ It is interesting that the Jews were significantly underrepresented in the Ottoman court records. Ginio underlines that this was not because they did not embrace the practice of fostering servant-daughters, but because they were reluctant to handle their affairs in front of the *kadi*. They preferred to settle their arguments elsewhere.¹²⁰

In sum, the data at hand seems to suffice to believe that fostered girls existed in the households of Muslims and non-Muslims alike, with a very similar job description – that of a servant, living in the house, in return for the provision of her basic needs. Yet, there is always the probability that these girls were treated differently in the households of different communities. We can stress certain similarities as well. There was a specific word for the adopted girls in Greek, *psychokores*, which actually meant the “child of soul”.¹²¹ In fact, the equivalent of the term existed in Turkish language as well: *manevi evlat*, or *evlad-ı maneviyye*. Although such a formulation subtly indicates an elevated situation of these girls, we have to take into account the extent of euphemism. The other Turkish term, *besleme*, simply means “feeding” and carries serious negative connotations. Therefore, it is apparent that the field lacks ethnographic, historical, and anthropological studies to better grasp the similarities and differences of families and households of these diverse communities and their practices of adopting servant girls.

119S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. 3: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza, The Family*, Berkeley : University of California, 1978, p. 248-9.

120Eyal Ginio, “18. Yüzyıl Selanikinde Yoksul Kadınlar”, *Toplum ve Bilim*, no. 89, Summer 2001, pp. 190-204.

121I thank Mérope Anastassiadou for the information.

2.6. Intermediaries of Adoption: Fathers, Relatives, *Dellals*

While the emergencies of the orphans and abandoned children required quick and reflexive responses on the part of the society, i.e. children were taken into houses even if there were no previous plans of taking in a foster child, there were other instances in which the initiative to adopt a child came from households. Equally, poor parents or guardians, who needed financial assistance were willing to entrust a daughter in a wealthier family. In those cases, we come across intermediaries between the girls and the households. These were in some cases poor fathers or mothers unable to provide for their children, in others relatives, in some others professionals were involved, named *dellals* (crier/auctioneer/broker).¹²²

The institution of *dellallık* was common for arranging the employment of *beslemes*, and servants in general. Relatively richer women would apply to these *dellals* in order to find the kind of girl they were looking for. The necessary skills for becoming a *dellal* were being witty and well-spoken, being ready to make compliments to the masters all the time, and communicating the latest gossips.¹²³ Volunteering girls, especially orphans, needed these intermediaries as well, since as unprotected minors, they had no credentials to apply for a job by themselves. Ahmed Midhat tells in *Müşahadat* that when a *besleme* was fired from a house, she needed to go to a *dellal* in order to find a new position, if she was interested in a *decent* job: “Where do girls like these go? The most well-behaved would go to such old women who work as *dellals* to find jobs for *beslemes*, wouldn't they?”¹²⁴

122It is interesting to note that the same term was used for those working in the slave markets.

123This is the description provided by Krikor Zohrab. “Hacı Durik, avdetinde hizmetkârlığı terk ile kendi başına işe başladı, maruf haneler için hizmetçi kadınlar aramaya el verdi. Dellal kadın oldu. Bu işte pek çabuk muvaffak oldu; hazırcevap ve dilbaz bir kadın idi; efendilerine,üstü açık latifeler eder, hanımlarına günlük dedikoduları naklederdi. Herkes kendisinden memnun idi, her şeye yarar olan hizmetçiyi ancak kendisi tedarik edebilir idi. Yerleştirdiği hizmetkârlar buldukları yerlerde senelerce kalırlar idi. Büyük haneler, zengin evleri kendisine müracaat ederlerdi. Müşterileri, kendisinin adıyla iftihar ederler idi.” (Postal, p. 31).

124“Bu misillü kızlar nereye giderler? En uslusu en akıllısı, şuraya buraya, besleme kapılandırmağa dellallık eden kocakarılar, değil mi?” (Müşahadat, p. 137).

Dellals could be both neighborhood-based women, focusing on small-scale world of supply and demand, as well as those engaged in the business on a larger scale, traveling from remote places to urban centers. They were, it seems, going out to villages to collect girls from the poor families, bringing them generally to large cities, especially Istanbul, to become *beslemes* in wealthier households. In the Ottoman archives there is evidence that there were actually intermediary women (*dellals*), who arrange employment/adoption of little girls into households. In 1890, Fatma Hatun went to Safranbolu to collect some orphaned and poor girls so as to take them to Istanbul as *beslemes*. When she achieved to convince the guardians of three virgin little girls (*bakir kız çocuğu*), she traveled with them to Bartın in order to take a ship to Istanbul. Since none of the girls had a travel permit, Fatma arranged that they secretly got into a British boat.¹²⁵ In another example, in 1910, Cemile bint-i Abdullah came from Bandırma to Istanbul with the intermediation of a *dellal*, a man called Mehmed, who told her that there was a good household, where she can serve as a *besleme*. He took her to the city and left her at the the mansion. Yet, only after a month the master told her that they no longer need a *daughter*. Having no family or relative in the city, she applied to the police department to receive help to go back to Bandırma.¹²⁶

Literary sources support that practice as well. In a short story of Füzuzan, named “Haraç”, the mother of a little *besleme* fights not to let her child go from a village of Erzincan to Istanbul. She shouts to her husband: “... I will not give away my girl. Even if she is hungry and naked. It is better she dies here than she heals in a foreign house. What is this practice of taking girls to Istanbul? Blow the money and all.”¹²⁷ The life story of Aziz Nesin's mother, Hanife (later to become İkbâl) is also similar. In the early 1900s, she was living with her family in Annaç, a village of Ordu. One of the elders of the village, hearing that the harbor master of Ordu was looking for a *besleme*, told Hanife's father to take her there. When the harbor master, Salim Bey, and her wife saw Hanife, they immediately liked her and she was adopted into the family.¹²⁸

125BOA, DH.MKT., 1785/68, 14/R /1308 (27.11.1890).

126BOA, DH.EUM.KADL., 21/18, 10/Ş /1328 (17.08.1910).

127“... ben kızımı vermem. Aç çıplak olsa da. El kapısında onacağına burada ölsün. Nereden çıktı İstanbul'a kız taşımak? Parası da batsın bunun.” Füzuzan. “Haraç”, *Parasız Yatılı*. Can Yayınları, 1993, s. 122-163.

In late nineteenth century, practice of carrying girls away from their hometowns created concern for political and religious authorities, who came across many examples of maltreatment and abuse. This aspect of child saving, intertwined with the general European concern about the kidnapping of girls for prostitution, reveals a raising of consciousness, relative to the sexual abuse of girls, especially of those who had left the relative protection of family to seek employment.¹²⁹ In 1887, the Ministry of Interior underlined that there were certain men, who deceived destitute girls or certain poor and weak parents, so that they could bring the girls to Istanbul or to other places to be placed as foster daughters in better-off households. However, the result was that girls were continuously *sold* from one master to the other such that they were drowned into enormous misery and tragedy.¹³⁰ Council of State sent circular orders to all *vilayets* so as to prevent these corrupt men (*hamiyetsiz eşhas*) from practicing their mischief (*men-i mefsedetleri*).

Understandably, it was not so easy to stop the practice with circulars and the same theme reappeared in the late 1890s. In 1899, the government started another investigation in Bahçecik, İzmid, on the issue of *sale* of little girls by their parents as *beslemes*. With the inquiry, both selling the vendors and the purchasing household were discerned.¹³¹ In 1900, there was a scandal in Bulgaria on the same subject. It was realized by the authorities that poor girls were deceived to become foster daughters and sold into prostitution.¹³²

In March 1904, the Ottoman authorities voiced similar unease for the girls sent from the islands of Lemnos and Imbros to become maid servants. The government

128Aziz Nesin, *Böyle Gelmiş Böyle Gitmez 1: Yol*, İstanbul: Adam, 1996, pp. 54-6.

129Carl Ipsen, *Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal Era*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 188.

130BOA, DH.MKT., 1417/14, 9/Ş/1304 (03.05.1887): “...Bazı bikes kız çocuklarını iğfal veya zayıf olan ebeveyn ve velilerini birer suretle ikna ile Dersaadete ve mahal-i saireye nakl ederek bilahare ya elden ele geçirerek satılmalarını veya tard ile envai sefalet ve felakete uğramalarını intaç edegelen ve şerian ve nizamen ve insaniyeten caiz olmayan halatı itiyad etmiş...”

131BOA, Y.PRK.ASK., 154/70, 28/R/1317 (05.09.1899).

132BOA, Y.PRK.MYD., 23/2, 09/L/1317 (10.02.1900).

realized that some persons, calling themselves as consignee (*emanetçi*) were going to the islands and, acting as intermediaries of middle class families, they were taking very young Greek girls away from their parents, with the promise of adoption into wealthy households. Later the girls were transferred to Alexandria, from which they would be embarked to ships going to Europe or America, where they would fall into prostitution (*fuhuşata süluk*).¹³³ In order to stop this, the government asked the metropolitan bishop to prohibit girls from leaving the islands. Yet, the religious man argued that this practice was inevitably resorted to due to extreme poverty (*fakr u zaruret-i muktezi*) and that he could do nothing about it. After accepting that it was not in government's power to hinder the movement of the girls, it was ordered that the metropolitan bishop gave an official document to the provincial government, attesting to the fact that these girls “would gain their livelihood via legitimate jobs” (*gittikleri mahalde suret-i meşruda istihsal-i maişet eyleyecekleri*).¹³⁴

In August of the same year, a similar problem was noticed. Upper-middle class families, coming to these islands to spend their summer vacation were taking in little girls as *beslemes* into their households in the beginning of the season, and were eager to take the girls with them while they were leaving the island.¹³⁵ As is seen in other examples, to distance the girls from their families or relatives had always been a problematic area. The authorities were afraid that their masters may succeed in detaching the vulnerable girls from any lineage they had and may abuse them as they wished. In order to prevent such cases, the Ministry of the Interior asked the above mentioned families departing the islands to sign a covenant promising that they would not “lead these girls into naughty paths” (*fena yollara bırakmayacaklarına*). Concern about unaccompanied young girls going away, or abroad, found its origin in worry over

133BOA, DH.MKT., 831/45, 01/M /1322 (18.03.1904).

134Coincident with rising European migration in the second half of the nineteenth century, the existence of an international market in women for the purpose of prostitution was denounced as early as the 1860s. This issue became sensational in the 1880s as a result of revelations that dozens of English girls and women, several of them virgins, had been sent to brothels in Belgium. On the continent, organizations like the Union Internationale des Amies de la Jeune Fille turned their attention to saving girls from “white slavery”, which meant, in its most restrictive sense, the inducement by force or subterfuge of women and girls to migrate for purpose of prostitution. Ipsen, 70.

135BOA, DH.MKT., 884/47, 17/C /1322 (29.08.1904).

the sexual dangers she faced.¹³⁶

In Ahmed Midhat's novel, *Müşahedat*, a very similar story was reproduced in an identical historical setting. He tells that there was a frequently observed practice in the Marmara Island to send young Greek girls to Istanbul to work as a *besleme* and earn some money. However, Ahmed Midhat argues, it was then realized that the life prospects in front of these girls was nothing but misery and prostitution. The morality of them was ruined, such that they lost their capabilities of being a wife to their husband, of being a mother to their child. As a result, the whole Greek community of the island took an oath in the church not to send any more girls to the city.¹³⁷

The practice survived well into the twentieth century. Ferhunde Özbay, in her study on the *evlatlıks*, found that there were intermediaries who were bringing girls from Thrace (Rumeli) or arranging the handing over of poor girls to richer families. This was in a way similar to slave trade. During an interview, Özbay found out that in the 1940s there were certain men in Istanbul, who were knocking the doors and asking whether the household needed a *besleme* or not.¹³⁸

2.6.1. Brokerage Fees (*Dellaliye*)

Although as a principle the girls were not furnished with a wage, it seems that a certain payment was made to the person who brings the girl to the house, in the form of a brokerage fee (*dellaliye*). Usually the fostering family pays a sum to original parents or relatives of the girl at the instance of receipt of the child. For that reason, with good

¹³⁶In this regard, the image of girls alone abroad bore a close resemblance to the girl alone in the city (Chapter 3).

¹³⁷“İstanbul'a [besleme olmak için taşradan] gelenlerin yüzde on beşi vatana avdet ediyor. Seksen beşi İstanbul'da kalarak felaket ve sefalet-i guna-gun ile mahvolup gidiyor. Memlekete dönenlerin de *ahlakı etvarı bozulmuş. Zevce olup da kocasına valide olup da evladına hayrı olabilmek istidadlarından tecerrüt eylemiş. ... nihayet teknil ada ahalisi [Marmara adası] ittifak ettik. Kiliselerde yeminlerle ahd ü peyda ederek bir daha beslemelik etmek için İstanbul'a kız gönderilmesine umum ahalide cevaz verilmemesini karar-ı kati altına aldık. (Müşahedat, p. 139).*

¹³⁸Ferhunde Özbay, *Türkiye'de Evlatlık Kurumu: Köle mi Evlat mı?*, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi: İstanbul, 1999, p. 24.

or bad intentions, and most probably to gain some money, fathers handed over their daughters to affluent families. Since a single sum was never enough, or usually unsatisfactory, fathers paid other visits to the house so as to get some more money. Emine's father, Hasan Ağa used to visit İshak Cevdet Paşa Konağı, where she was entrusted as a 12-year-old *besleme*, every once in a while and ask for some payment for her labor.¹³⁹

From another perspective, the initial amount, that was paid to the fathers or relatives, at the instance of delivery, was in a way used to prevent future demands to take the girl back. In 1907, Hatiboğlu Ali entrusted her 6 year-old-daughter, Cemile, to the household of Ali Osman Bey, secretary general (*mektubcu*) of the vilâyet of Kastamonu. At the instance of receipt, he was given 2 silver *mecidiye* (40 *guruş*). Later, Ali Osman became the *mutasarrıf* of Bolu and, thus moved from Kastamonu. Three years later, in 1910, her father decided to take Cemile back from domestic service and he went to Bolu to see Ali Osman. The master refused his wish arguing that he initially paid 2 *mecidiye* for the girl and that she did not serve enough to pay this sum.¹⁴⁰

In another example, Azime was entrusted to the household of Hakkı Bey, former accountant of the Ministry of Pious Foundations (*Evkâf-ı Hümayun Nezareti*) as a foster daughter in 1905, when she was 11 years old. The girl was brought from Erzurum (Çıkrıklı, Ovacık) by her mother after a painfully long journey to Istanbul, Heybeliada. As a compensation for travel expenses and the receipt of the girl, the master paid to the mother 300 *kuruş*, a comparatively significant sum. After two years, in 1907, the mother came to visit Azime and she got another 100 *kuruş* from Hakkı Bey. In the third time, in 1911, she claimed that she only came because she was unable to resist her “motherly affection” (*şefkat-i maderanem*). Yet, the master had no intention of paying her more, and thus refused to let her see her daughter.¹⁴¹

Fathers sometimes demanded their daughters back so that they may *re-sell* them to others. In early 1908, Abdullah bin Mehmed from Birecik demanded the return of his

139BOA, DH.EUM.THR., 28/65, 12/Ra/1328 (Hicrî). In Ülker Köksal's more recent play, *Besleme*, mistress gets angry with *besleme*'s father, who keeps coming to the house, since he was not content with the money given to him in the first place and he was trying to get more. Ülker A. Köksal, *Besleme*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1990.

140BOA, DH.MUİ., 41-2/20, 21/Ra/1328 (02.04.1910).

141BOA, DH.EUM.VRK., 21/50, 07/Ca/1329 (06.05.1911).

two daughters, Zeyneb and Kaziye, entrusted to the household of Fuad Bey, son of Adilzade Ahmed Bey, a court member in Aleppo. Since their master refused to do so, the court applied to the testimony of the girls. The daughters claimed that they had no problems in Fuad's household and that their father's original desire was to *sell* them to another master so as to gain money (*babalarının maksadı kendilerini alarak ahire satmak idüğü*).¹⁴²

2.7. Slavery and Foster Daughters

As vividly described in Fatma Âliye's four-part novel *Muhadarat*, there were three major types of female slaves: the menial domestic (*cihaz halayıđı*), the concubine (*odalık*), and the girl brought up in the household and later married off and set up in life (*çırak* and *besleme*).¹⁴³ Although *beslemes*, or foster children, were free persons (*hür*) in legal terms, it is obvious that their existence was frequently confused with young girl slaves in the harem, who were trained for patronage and prestige of the lady. Taking into their positions and duties within a household, the difference between slaves and foster children, especially between female slaves and *beslemes* could actually be marginal. It was not rare that *beslemes* were used as if they were slaves.

First of all, their position and existence in the house, namely their *job description*, was very close to that of other female slaves, both to the ones who work as servants and to the ones who marry or lead a husband-wife relationship with their masters. The first group of slave girls, who were responsible for housework or other similar services, had the status of a servant. In that respect, *beslemes* were a form of cheaper slaves. Employing domestic servants was much less expensive than acquiring slaves in nineteenth century Ottoman empire. Purchasing a slave required quite a sum, whereas daughter-servants were not provided wages.¹⁴⁴ Secondly, they were most of the time

142BOA, DH.MKT., 1306/7, 14/Ra/1327 (05.04.1909).

143Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition...*, 130.

144As will become clear in the next section, their parents demands could cost as little as a few *guruş* annually. Ginio, 2003, 173.

sexually abused as if they were concubines, comparable to those slaves taken specifically for the *harems* of masters. Moreover, *beslemes* gradually took the place of slaves, and shared many legal and social features with them. These similarities demonstrate the blurred boundaries between free persons and slaves in Ottoman society – a boundary which was ostensibly rigid and evident. The fact that adopted children had no rights of inheritance and that they were left out of the limits of incest leveled down their position closer to that of slaves.¹⁴⁵

The similarities of *beslemes* with slaves in terms of legal status was also admitted during the Republican period in various legal settlements. Especially after the approval of “ Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery” in 1964, *besleme* status came to be regarded as against the law. In the first article of the Convention, it was specified that any custom, concerning the transfer of children younger than 18 years of age, by their parents or their guardians to third parties, with or without payment, were considered as a “practice similar to slavery” and therefore condemned.¹⁴⁶

However, this is not to suggest that slavery was replaced by the *invention* of using foster children as domestic servants.¹⁴⁷ In other words, the data at hand emphasizes the fact that adoption of girls as servants was not a substitute arrangement evolved for the transitory period after the weakening of slavery.¹⁴⁸ The practice of fostering girls was as

145Some jurists argued that the compassionate approach of the Islamic law towards the slaves also existed for the foster (previously destitute, or orphan) children. It is advised that they were taken care of in a decent way, married when the time comes, and furnished with the means of establishing a household of their own. Imad-ad-Dean Ahmad, “Islamic View of Adoption”, in *Adoption Factbook III*, Connaught Marshner, William L. Pierce (eds.), Washington: National Council For Adoption, 1999, pp. 245-246.

146Gürkan, 202.

147Slave trade was gradually limited with increasing demands of Britain, but was never officially abolished. For further information, Hakan Y. Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800-1909*, Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1996.

148Ehud Toledano argues that the shift to a society without slaves was difficult especially for elite households, since for them domestic slavery was a deeply acquired habit. Thus, he argues, “substitute arrangements evolved for the transitory period, and as late as the first decades of the twentieth century such households used to adopt unofficially girls from poor families and raise and educate them in the house while also using them as domestic servants.” Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of*

old as slavery in the Ottoman lands and the two existed for long periods side by side. Thus, this was not a novelty, a new form of charity-minded employment, as some writers previously suggested.¹⁴⁹

Furthermore, it is argued that the adoption of *beslemes* as domestic servants was abetted by the central authorities as a conscious state policy to abolish slavery formally. In fact, this can partially be the case for emancipated slaves. At the beginning of 1890, the Ottoman government decided to establish “guest-houses” (*misafirhane*) for freed slaves in Benghazi, Tripoli, Jidda, Hodayda, and Istanbul. After a temporary stay in these shelters, they would be transferred to a much bigger one in Izmir. While they lodged in the Izmir guest house, the male freed slaves would be enrolled in vocational schools, artisan battalions, and military music bands, and the females would be placed in Muslim households as salaried servants.¹⁵⁰ Yet, the authorities were aware that this was not the best option, since there was always the possibility that ex-slaves would be treated in an unjust way.¹⁵¹ Therefore, most of the emancipated slaves were to be married to each other and then to be settled on the empty state lands suitable for agriculture in the interior of Aydın vilayet.

However, in the case of other destitute children and orphans, including the refugees, it would be wrong to argue that state was actively supporting and shaping the adoption of girls into houses. In fact, there is evidence for the opposite direction. In a document dated 1864,¹⁵² it is reported by the authorities in Trabzon that the orphans and

Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East, New Haven, CT : Yale University Press, 2007, p. 73.

149Ömer Şen, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki Köle Ticaretinde Kafkasya Göçmenlerinin Rolü”, *Dünü ve Bugünüyle Toplum ve Ekonomi*, no. 6, Bağlam Yayınları: İstanbul, 1994, pp. 171-192.

150Erdem, 179-80. BOA, DH.MKT., 1797/138, 25/Ca/1308 (06.01.1891).

151Eve M. Troutt Powel, in her article on the emancipation of the slaves in Egypt, underlines the difficulty of working as a domestic for former slaves. They thought that it was “confusing and difficult to parcel themselves out to different households, to work for one household one month and another the next”. The hardest to tolerate was the “uncertainty of independent living”. Eve M. Troutt Powel, “Slaves or Siblings? Abdallah al-Nadim's Dialogues About the Family”, in *Histories of the Modern Middle East: New Directions*, Israel Gershoni, Hakan Erdem, and Ursula Woköck (eds.), London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002, pp. 155-165.

152BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 300/9, 5/Z/1280 (11.05.1864).

destitute children of the refugees (*muhacir*)¹⁵³ were to a large extent collected and were taken care of by appointed workers, in a rented building.¹⁵⁴ Then, the report mentions, with an apologetic tone, that some of the children were adopted into families as *evlatlıks* and, therefore, could not be collected. Two excuses were presented to justify the inability to retrieve these children: 1- that they were taken into the houses of the notables (*vücuḥ*) and some members of the dynastic family (*Trabzon hanedanı*) and 2- that their number was really insignificant (*cüzi*) compared to those who are institutionally gathered.¹⁵⁵ It is obvious from the tone of the report that institutional solutions for the care of these children were preferred by the central state and the provincial authorities were trying to do their best.

The concern was most probably related to the sale of free children. In mid-1864, the government issued an instruction to its officials which laid down ground rules for dealing with the problems of slavery and slave trade among the Circassian refugees.¹⁵⁶ The free but poor refugees, the government said, were compelled out of sheer want, to sell their children. The authorities argued “some shameless and base people”, in collusion with slave dealers, were taking advantage of the situation, gathering and enslaving a large number of freeborn boys and girls. “Free refugees were being traded regularly and without impediment like sacrificial lambs” (*ahrar-ı muhacirin adeta bimuhaba koyun gibi satılıp alınmakta*), the instruction stated. It was under this pretext that the government attempted to develop institutional care mechanisms for refugee orphans. The British ambassador reported in August 1865 that the Commission of

153After the Crimean War, the Russians increased their efforts to repress the Caucasus, utilizing greater resources and changing their strategy. A systematic military advance aimed at clearing populated areas and resettling them with reliable elements. The success of this strategy in the eastern Caucasus was followed by its application in the Western Caucasus in 1860. Circassians in the conquered territories were given the choice of emigrating either to the interior of Russia or to the Ottoman Empire. Military operations ended in May 1864, but the flow of refugees continued into 1866. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition...*, 83.

154BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 300/9, 5/Z/1280 (11.05.1864): “... o makule muhacir eytam ve sübyanı bi-l-tefrik toplanub münasib bir hane istikrasıyla akad ve emr-i terbiye ve idareleri hakkında hizmetçiler tayin olarak baktırlımakta...”

155Ibid. “... Trabzon hanedanı ve vücuḥu tarafından bunlardan bazıları evladlık suretiyle alınmış olanlar cüziyatdan olub ekserisi mevcut bulunduğu ...”

156BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 309/25, 14/Ra/1281 (17.08.1864).

Refugees (*Muhacirin Komisyonu*) was preparing a new program of relief, under which an asylum would be established for children whose parents were in great destitution, so as to prevent their being sold into slavery. In the asylum, boys would be taught a trade, and girls would be trained for domestic service.¹⁵⁷

In times of crisis and state's weakness to deal with children crisis, adoption had to be supported and allowed so as to put an end to the misery. In another example, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, the orphanages of the Danubian province (in Sofia, Ruse, and Niş) had to be dissolved. Since these cities had big and important orphanages, with some hundreds of orphans, the officials wanted to rescue these children. The girls, numbering more than 300, were first taken to Varna with great difficulty, and then they were put into a ship and were directly brought to Istanbul. In the capital city, most of these children were taken as adoptive children by the ministers and other notables of the city.¹⁵⁸

The state had to really push for the practice of taking in foster children also after the First World War. During the war, many orphaned children were sheltered in various state orphanages (*Dar'ül-eytâm*), that were opened from 1915 onwards in a rather ad hoc manner, mostly in the occupied buildings of missionary schools and orphanages. By 1920, the government found it impossible to provide for the enormous expenses of these institutions. In September 1920, Council of Ministers ruled that the limited revenues of the Treasury forced the government to abolish the institution (*Hazine-yi Maliye'ye mühim bir mesarif teşkil eyleyen darüleytâmın ilgası*). The girls in the institution would be given as foster children to trustworthy families, while the boys would be apprenticed to craftsmen.¹⁵⁹ In other words, under circumstances of economic and political difficulty, the state had to go back to more traditional and less centralized ways of orphan welfare.

157Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition...*, 88.

158İhsan Şerif. "Midhat Paşa, Sanayi Mektepleri", *Tedrisat Mecmuası: Nazariyat ve Malumat Kısmı*, Istanbul, vol. 5, no. 30, 1915, pp. 65-68: "...İstanbul'da gerek vükeladan ve gerekse ağniyadan pek çok kimselere bu kimsesiz kızları kendilerine bir manevi evlat olmak üzere hanelerine almışlardır."

159BOA, MV., 220/85, 28/Z /1338 (13.9.1920).

Definitely, there was a remarkable novelty in the picture: some of the statesmen, or in general households of the elite, were now preferring the recruitment of *beslemes* and waged servants as opposed to the use of slaves. This was a European minded positioning arguing within the paradigms of equality and liberty, which was expectedly decreasing the demand for slaves. Ehud Toledano argues that in the second half of the nineteenth century Ottoman elite culture was adopting a negative stance toward slavery and gradually disengaging from it on moral grounds. Throughout the century and throughout the empire, slavery was gradually being transformed into free forms of service and patronage, such as raising freeborn, young girls in the household.¹⁶⁰ Although the practice was older, it gained momentum with the shrinking of the market for slaves. Households would take in girls from poor households within their patronage orbit, bring them up within the household, use their labor in return for food and shelter, socialize them into lower- or upper-class roles, according to need and talent, and later marry them off and set them up in life (*çırak* and *besleme*).¹⁶¹ Although this was in no way a state policy, it can fairly be argued that in the second half of the century servants became more visible. Thus, increase of the recruitment of servants/*beslemes* was a direct outcome of the weakening of slavery in the Empire and not the cause of the latter.

2.8. Exploitation and Abuse

It was acknowledged by the Ottoman authorities and intellectuals that adoption can be used with malevolence. Foster daughters' labor power in the household can be exploited without payment, masters may gain material benefits and enrich themselves at the expense of their foster children, and girls can be abused in sexual terms. Therefore, despite more optimistic instances, the practice unfortunately resulted in the exploitation of their labor and bodies.

¹⁶⁰Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition...*, 10.

¹⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 164.

2.8.1. “Control over the Lifespan of Subordinate”

Working conditions of the foster daughters in the household were usually very hard, with unceasing demands, almost no private space for themselves, and no days off. They were completely dependent on the decision of household heads or mistresses about their lives. In fact, the same dependence was true also for the biological children, yet, with the significant difference that as they became adults, they started to gain independence from their family, at least they got married, whereas foster daughters, in most of the cases, were to remain attached even as old ladies.¹⁶²

A *besleme's* leave from the house frequently created serious problems between the master and the girl. The household heads were quite unwilling to let these girls go, based on the assumption that “their investment”, in other words their upbringing expenditures, spent when the child was very little, only returns when they grow up and become really able domestic servants, around the age of 15-16. Thus, if they leave the house, the 'investment' becomes 'unprofitable'. This is what Davidoff calls “the extent of control over the lifespan of subordinate”. The maid-servants were attached to the master for an unspecified time and often the master wished to believe that the attachment was permanent.¹⁶³

In 1911, a women's magazine, *Kadın*, discussed the issue of treatment and education of *beslemes* so as to prevent their early leave from the house.¹⁶⁴ It was underlined that these girls were maltreated, the mistresses were not properly educating and disciplining them. They were subject to serious beating (*sille, şamar, tokat altında*)

162In exceptional cases, in which certain state cadres were involved, these old ladies were assigned a retreat salary, or what we may call a compensation for many years they served. In 1857, Ottoman ambassador in London, Kostaki Bey, applied to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with the petition that *beslemes* of the embassy assigned such an income. He argued that these were quite old ladies who worked for him for more than twenty years, and who were now incapable and too old (*vücutca ve since âlile ve ihtiyare*) to serve or gain their livelihood elsewhere. BOA, İ.HR., 145/7624, 19/Za/1273 (11.07.1857).

163Davidoff, p. 20.

164Mehmed Nureddin, “Hizmetçiler”, *Kadın*, no. 8, 20 Haziran 1327, 3.7.1911, pp.1-2. “...Hizmetçilerimize hüsn-i muamelede bulunmuyoruz. Bu kabil-i inkar değildir. Hele besleme olarak aldığımız kızları terbiye edemiyoruz, sille şamar tokat altında arsız, şımarık yapıyoruz. Kız tam büyüyüp işe yarayacağı vakit uşaklarla muaşakaya başlıyor. Evden kaçıp gidiyor. Beş on senelik emek heba oluyor...”

and due to frequent physical violence, foster daughters got impertinent and pert (*arsız, şımarık*). As a result, the moment they grew up and started to become useful in the house, they got involved with the male servants and/or ran away, which made 5-10 years of investment futile. Although the author was critical of the mistresses, he was even more negative towards *beslemes*. Interestingly, better treatment was only offered so as to ensure longer periods of employment.

A more feminist-oriented women's magazine of the Second Constitutional Period, the *Kadınlar Dünyası* [World of Women] had a more critical approach toward the issue. Nimet Cemil, in her article dated 6 June, 1914 underlined that *beslemes* were experiencing maltreatment. Moreover, there were no institution for them to apply, and no law to protect their rights. Giving the example of France as a state with effective legislation on the protection of the rights of the children, she states that Ottoman state also had to promulgate such laws.¹⁶⁵

Despite the masters' insistence to hold on to the girls as much as they can, there were continuous demands by foster daughters or their families to leave. Fathers or relatives called the girls back arguing that her family would go live elsewhere, or that they were too old to stay in a foreign house, or that it was the time to marry them. From many examples, it becomes clear that the return of the girls to their parents or relatives was at most of the times enormously difficult. Apart from the above mentioned theoretical assumptions, there were practical difficulties, specific to the patterns of adoption in the Ottoman society. First of all, since many of the girls were entrusted with government officials or military class, they moved from one place to the other many times, to such an extent that the girl's family lost trace of the adoptive family. In 1916, 7-years-old Şükriye's brother take her from Sapanca to Istanbul to be adopted into an affluent household. After three years, Mustafa lost track of her and applied to the General Police Department for the investigation of his sister's life.¹⁶⁶

Secondly, although the masters promised to return the girls to their families in case of assignment to another post, they always took away their adoptive daughters with

¹⁶⁵Nimet Cemil, “Meclis-i Mebusan'ın Nazar-ı Dikkatine, Çocuklarımızı Hırpalamayalım”, *Kadınlar Dünyası*, no. 144, 22 May 1330 (04.06.1914), pp. 4-5.

¹⁶⁶BOA, DH.EUM.AYŞ., 13/27, 23/N/1337 (22.06.1919).

them. In that respect, desperate fathers were sometimes compelled to make long trips and depressing applications from one department to the other with the hope of taking back their daughters. In 1910, Cemile's master, *mutasarrıf* of Bolu, promised her father that he would send her back to her house if he was assigned to another duty far away from the province. After two months, the father realized that he already left for Istanbul, to go to his new post in Debre. Poor man had to sell whatever he had, a black buffalo cow (*kara siğır ineği*), to go to Istanbul in 28 days by boat.¹⁶⁷

Third, and probably most crucial, once entrusted, the adoptive/incoming household assumed that she would stay as long as they wanted. In other words, the household assumed that they almost *bought* these *daughters* and it was in their potential to keep them as they wished. The families had to come up with various reasons to take their daughters back. In 1911, Azime's mother had to apply to religious and moral concerns for the return of her daughter. She argued that now that the girl became 17 years old, it would be improper for her to act as a servant in a foreign house. It is obvious that she used the argument only as an excuse, since the age of puberty for the girls was around 12 and in the society even 13-year-olds were not considered as *children*.¹⁶⁸

The issue becomes clearer in the discussion on the marriage of *beslemes*. As Goitein argues, in Geniza people were not eager to employ orphans as domestic servants, since it was not considered practicable by the households to employ a domestic who would ask to get married and leave precisely when she would become fully capable of doing the chores.¹⁶⁹ The concern of the masters was indeed founded, since fathers usually used the excuse that they would marry their daughters, as it was almost impossible to convince the masters to release the girls. Vesile, an 8-year-old girl from Kayseri, was received as a foster daughter (*veled-i maneviyye*) in 1903 by the *mutasarrıf* of Yozgad, İsmail Hakkı Efendi, since she had neither parents nor siblings alive. Two years later, in 1905, a certain Talaslıoğlu Hasan requested that the girls be sent, since she would get married to him. Arguing that the girl was an orphan, with no

167BOA, DH.MUİ., 41-2/20, 21/Ra/1328 (02.04.1910).

168BOA, DH.EUM.VRK., 21/50, 07/Ca/1329 (06.05.1911).

169S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. 3: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza, The Family*, Berkeley : University of California, 1978, p. 306.

legal guardian and that she was only 10, in other words too young to get married (*sini izdivaca gayr-ı müsaid olduğu*), the *mutasarrıf* refused to send her.¹⁷⁰ However, Hasan kept on insisting and in June 1908, he managed to convince the authorities since she reached to the age of puberty (*sin-i büluğa vasıl olmasına*).¹⁷¹

In order to avoid such demands from guardians, sometimes the masters made stricter agreements to keep the girls under their complete control.¹⁷² Faroqhi found that in sixteenth century Anatolia, there were agreements made in *kadı* courts regarding the marriage of foster daughters. At the beginning of the service of a *besleme* it would have been agreed whether her parents or the family for which she worked were to select her husband. In most cases, adoptive family insisted that they had full authority on the decision of marriage.¹⁷³

The reaction on the side of the master's to resist to the demands of marriage appears in many literary works. In Memduh Şevket Esendal's story, "Bizim Nesibe", the *besleme* of the house wants to get married but the mistress of the house is reluctant to let her go. When her son attempts to convince her, she gets angry and speaks in a really telling way: "take a poor naked girl, clean her louses, and the moment she starts to become useful, she leaves the hell out of here... Who told you that I am a 'soup kitchen'." ¹⁷⁴ In fact, this reaction makes it clear that taking an orphan girl into a house was a charity only in name, the household heads were interested in the 'return of their investments'.¹⁷⁵

170BOA, DH.MKT., 1018/43, 17/N/1323 (14.12.1905).

171*ibid.*, 10/C/1326 (09.06.1908).

172In a document from Geniza, the father of a baby girl, widowed by the death of his wife 16 days after giving birth, delivers his child to a prominent lady, who agreed to bring her up. The father promised to allow the foster mother complete freedom in the education of the girl, he would never demand the return of the girl, nor even come near the place where she lived. Goitein, 248-9.

173Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsman of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts and Food Production in an Urban Setting*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 279-80.

174"...al elin çıplağını, temizle kelini, bitini, tam eli iş tutup biraz faydası dokunacağı gün cehennem olup gitsin... Beni 'hayrat' diye sana kim söyledi!" Memduh Şevket Esendal, *Bizim Nesibe*, Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1985.

175In Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil's story, "Ferhunde Kalfa", Ferhunde is taken into the

2.8.2. Sexual Abuse: Daughters or Concubines?

Domestic service was tainted with ambiguities in status and a particular kind of vulnerability. Tucker argues that in the early part of the nineteenth century, Egyptian women who worked in the wealthier Turkish, Egyptian, or European households were subject to the importunate demands of their employers as well as a measure of social opprobrium.¹⁷⁶ Despite the air of disrepute attached to domestic service, as craft and industrial opportunities shrank, women might find no other way of earning a living; domestic service was one of the few clearly female occupations.

As already stressed, *beslemes* were taken into the household as foster children, yet their status was quite different from a genuine daughter: they were servants.¹⁷⁷ In many literary sources, the expression 'like a real daughter' was used to underline the fact that this was an extraordinary privilege that a *besleme* may experience. In Uşaklıgil's story, "Ferhunde Kalfa", Ferhunde at first thinks that she is also 'a daughter' of the household. But, during the story the reader sees how her life dramatically differs from that of the 'real daughter'.¹⁷⁸ In Reşat Nuri Güntekin's novel, *Kızılıcık Dalları*, Gülsüm is taken as a *besleme*, when she is only 7. Even if she is promised in the beginning that she is one of the 'daughters' of this house, she is never treated in a decent way and she is forced to work incredibly hard. After being clapped by the 'mother', she realizes that she is not a daughter and this woman is not her mother.¹⁷⁹

house when she is quite little. Even if she is a domestic servant she is treated in a good way. Yet, her dream of getting married is never accomplished. She first waits the daughter of the household to get married, then the birth of her baby, then becomes baby's nanny, and after all she finds herself too old to marry. Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, "Ferhunde Kalfa", in Yaşar Nabi, Mustafa Baydar, M. Sunullah Arısoy (eds.), *Başlangıcından Bugüne Türk Hikâye Antolojisi*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1975, pp. 21-30.

176Judith E. Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 92

177It is possible to find a small number of exceptions to this rule, in which the girls were given larger opportunities, sent to school, etc. But they seem to be really rare.

178Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, "Ferhunde Kalfa", in Yaşar Nabi, Mustafa Baydar, M. Sunullah Arısoy (eds.), *Başlangıcından Bugüne Türk Hikâye Antolojisi*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1975, pp. 21-30.

179Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Kızılıcık Dalları*, İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1932.

There was also another peculiarity of their 'daughter' position: they had to endure sexual harassment and rape of their masters. Even if the name '*evlat*' (children) implied a direct lineage, in terms of kin relations, foster children were regarded as 'outsiders', 'others' of the household, like slaves and servants. It is evident that foster children in the houses were not regarded by the male members of the household as daughters, or sisters. Moreover, according to Islamic jurisprudence, adopted girls were not considered within the taboo of incest, they were seen as 'other' women. It was religiously possible to have sexual relations with them, or to marry them.¹⁸⁰ Archival and literary evidence points to the fact that they were exploited as if they were concubines.

Ottoman archives contain many such instances where foster girls were sexually abused by their masters. In early 1895, former Telegram Inspector (*Telgraf Müfettiş-i sabıkı*) of Biga, Hilmi Bey raped his foster daughter and deflowered (*izâle-yi bîkr*) her. Interestingly, the office of public interrogation (*daire-yi istintak*) decided to debar his trial.¹⁸¹ Mahmud and İbrahim, Circassian refugees, handed over their sister Fatma, to the *mutasarrıf* of Latakia, Reşad Bey, as a foster daughter. In 1895, since these brothers found out that Reşad raped their virgin sister, they asked for the release of the girl. When the *mutasarrıf* rejected to do so, they applied to the governorship of Beirut with the complaint that their sister was forcefully held at the household of Reşad.¹⁸² Maruşa Anastasi Apostol was an orphan, entrusted by her uncle to the household of Süleyman Efendi, head of the Court of Appeals in Janina.¹⁸³ In 1903, Süleyman raped and deflowered the girl (*ırzına tasallut ve bîkrini izale*), as a result of which she got pregnant. She gave birth in a village and was forced leave her baby there. Later Maruşa was expelled from the house and she applied to the court with the above mentioned accusations.

These foster-servant girls were targets for men outside the household as well. All the visitors to the household, outsider men, were also threat to these girls, who saw them

¹⁸⁰It is interesting that in a quite recent religious ruling, Director of Religious Affairs in Turkey declared that step-fathers can marry their foster children. *Hürriyet*, 8 March 1996.

¹⁸¹BOA, DH.MKT., 361/29, 14/L /1312 (10.4.1895).

¹⁸²BOA, DH.MKT., 386/20, 24/Z/1312 (18.06.1895).

¹⁸³BOA, DH.MKT., 948/93, 17/S /1323 (22.04.1905).

as fair game. Fourteen-year-old *besleme* of Ayşe Fitnat Hanım, Sadiye, was raped by one of the neighboring tradesmen, Kazım the coppersmith.¹⁸⁴ This was also the case with the *besleme* of Major Agah Bey. A private soldier, serving as the commissioner of the Major, Mustafa oğlu Hasan, visited his mansion in Kadıköy. Finding the young servant-daughter alone and unprotected in the house, he raped the virgin girl.¹⁸⁵

The sexual abuse and rape of adopted girls is a fairly common theme in literary works. In Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's story, "Nimetsinas" (1901), the mistress of the house, recruits a servant, Neriman. Then, seeing that she is really beautiful, she becomes worried and declares that she takes her as a foster child (*evlatlık*), hoping that this way her husband would not dare to get closer to the girl. Yet, she cannot avoid her husband's inclination towards her.¹⁸⁶ In Ömer Seyfettin's short story, "Tos", the mistress of the house has a foster child of seventeen, Makbule, who is a "plump, white, and flirtatious" girl. Being aware of her husband's improper intentions towards her, she tries hard to keep the girl permanently under surveillance. Yet, one day she learns from her old cook that the master of the house was "squeezing Makbule like a lemon".¹⁸⁷ In Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's story, "Melek Sanmıştım Şeytanı", the master of the house rapes the *besleme* by entering at night into her room.¹⁸⁸ In Reşat Nuri Güntekin's novel, *Değirmen*, Naciye, who was taken as a foster child to the household, was raped when she was not yet fourteen.¹⁸⁹

It can be argued that adopted girls in the houses were regarded as 'other women' throughout their lives and always lived under difficulty of protecting their bodily integrity against the male members of the households. In addition to sexual violence, the foster daughters were also subjects of other crude forms of physical violence. The

184BOA, İ.HB., 175/1333-Za-083, 28/Za/1333 (09.10.1915).

185BOA, DH.EUM.KADL., 3/13, 26/Z /1328 (29.12.1910).

186Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, "Nimetsinas", *Nimetsinas*, İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 1995, pp. 21-162.

187Ömer Seyfettin, "Tos", in Yaşar Nabi, Mustafa Baydar, M. Sunullah Arısoy (eds.), *Başlangıcından Bugüne Türk Hikâye Antolojisi*, İstanbul: Varlık, 1975, pp. 46-54.

188Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, "Melek Sanmıştım Şeytanı", *Gülyabani*, İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları, 1995.

189Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Değirmen*, İstanbul: Semih Lütfi Kitabevi, 1944.

kaymakam of Eğin had four *beslemes* in his house, all below 10 years old and taken from poor peasant families. One night in 1894, he got really drunk and started to beat the girls severely, as a result of which a 7-year-old girl was killed.¹⁹⁰

Another form of sexual abuse was to sell these girls as concubines, even if they were initially adopted as foster daughters. In 1892, Hüsna Hanım, a well-to-do woman went to Kütahya for a matter of inheritance, where she stayed for a couple of days and decided to take a wet-nurse and a foster daughter back to her house in Istanbul. In 1893, mother and aunt of the little girl, Şefika, heard that Hüsna gave a warrant to the wet-nurse so that she could sell the girl as a concubine.¹⁹¹ In 1895, a little girl was given to the head official (*kaymakam*) of Ereğli, Emin Bey. Then, it was realized by her prospective husband, a refugee from Daghestan, that she was taken to Merzifon to be sold as a concubine.¹⁹²

In 1908, Ahmed bin Ali Fari' entrusted his 9-years-old sister, Verde, to the head official (*kaymakam*) of Haraz,¹⁹³ Hafız Süleyman Efendi as a *besleme*. In 1910, he learned that for health reasons Süleyman had to return to Istanbul, where he brought Verde as well and sold her to someone else as a concubine. Applying to the General Police Department, Ahmed demanded the return of her sister and the payment of 100 *kuruş* as her accumulated salary. In order to justify his demands, he claimed that she was engaged to get married to her uncle's son.¹⁹⁴

It may be necessary to explain why quite a number of servant girls fated to be the victims of this sort of treatment. First of all, many of these girls had entered service upon the death of their father – thus, many were orphans – and a vast majority had left their community of origin. They were, in short, separated from the men who would normally look out for their honor, and those who harassed them were well aware of this.

190BOA, DH.MKT., 224/79, 09/L /1311 (16.04.1894).

191BOA, DH.MKT., 54/2, 04/C/1311 (13.12.1893).

192BOA, DH.MKT., 390/66, 06/M /1313 (29.06.1895).

193Cebel-i Haraz Kaymakamlığı, in the central mountain region between the Tihama and San'a.

194BOA, DH.EUM.THR., 42/57, 12/B/1328 (19.07.1910).

Moreover, masters find it easy to coerce servants. They enjoyed both economic power and psychological ascendancy over their employees, and could easily get their way by means of extravagant promises, small gifts, or threats of dismissal, or brute force. This prerogative sometimes extended to related members of the master class – to sons, brothers, relatives, and friends.

Undoubtedly, many such liaisons were never recorded, for men of high social standing could conceal a pregnant woman, buy her silence, or terrorize her into lying to the officials. Such measures were not always necessary because masters were often granted certain *de facto* rights by the juridical authorities. As it will be clear towards the end of the chapter, the judges were prone to believe that even if the masters had no rights of concubinage over their servants, it was still possible to consider such acts within the limits of 'lawful'.

2.9. Moral Prejudices against *Beslemes*: “From Households into Brothels”

Both the institution and the *beslemes* themselves were harshly criticized in the literature of the late nineteenth century by referring to unchastity and indecency involved. Sexuality of female servants provoked uneasiness and suspicion, for they were unmarried, unprotected, yet 'possessed' by their masters. It is frequent that the girls were blamed for being immoral and prone to unchaste sexual behavior. Since they were known to be economically and sexually vulnerable, even the most chaste and respectable maid servant was exposed to suspicions: if a defenseless woman sold her work in someone's household, might she not sell her body as well?

In the 1890s, there was a growing concern on the part of the state authorities, as to which occupations would be appropriate for young girls and women. Employment as a servant was definitely one of the improper ones, that the state wanted to hinder, at least for Muslim women. In 1898, being informed by the governorship of Konya that in Isparta, many Muslim girls were employed in non-Muslim houses as *beslemes*, the government ruled that the practice was against the religious teachings (*işar-ı islamiyeye gayr-ı layık; islamiyete münafi olan şu adet*). After an investigation in the city, it was

found out that most of the lower class Christian girls and women were employed in rug-making in home-based workshops. The authorities decided that this was a much chaste form of employment and the governorship took the necessary steps to establish such workshops and teach the women the trade of weaving.¹⁹⁵

The measure seems to have a precedent in Muhammed Ali's Egypt. Although many European households employed local women, there was a certain uneasiness in the arrangement. Galvanized by the need to assuage opposition to the foreign presence which was often cloaked in religious sentiments, Muhammed Ali moved to limit the employment of Muslim domestics. He had issued out an ordinance through the new chief of police, that “no Muslim woman or girl is in future to enter the service of any family of Coptic, Greek, Syrian, Armenian and European Christians in Cairo under pain of being seized by police agents, hurried to Nile, sacked and thrown in the river to be drowned.”¹⁹⁶

Leaving aside the general concern of the authorities on the nature of the work, the public/elite opinion usually blamed the girls for improper behavior. As Özbay pointed out, most of the adoptive girls are defined with their sexual insaturation.¹⁹⁷ They are usually described as coquettes, who were sitting by the window with the hope of finding a lover, flirting with all the men they come across, even taking men into the house. Their difference in moral terms and low chastity was taken to be an absolute, as if these were their inborn characteristics. At no point the authors and intellectuals tried to account for this actual situation, and avoid touching upon the issues of permanent abuse and learned helplessness of these little girls.

As it becomes clear in the contemporary literature and through articles written in women's magazines, the foster daughters were always under suspicion in the households. Mistresses always underlined the worry that the girls may “seduce their husbands”. In an article published in *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* in 1893, it was suggested that the maids in the household should always be kept busy, since spare times

195BOA, DH.MKT., 2107/141, 03/Ca/1316 (19.09.1898).

196Hekekyan Papers, British Museum 37450, vol. 3, fo. 335, cited in Tucker, 92.

197Ferhunde Özbay, *Türkiye’de Evlatlık Kurumu: Köle mi Evlat mı?*, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınevi: İstanbul, 1999, p. 25.

lead these girls into issues that were none of their business. In that respect, the mistress should always burden them with more work.¹⁹⁸ Apparently, the author was referring to the possibility that the girl might get closer to the household head. In 1911, another magazine, *Kadın*, discussed the same concern regarding the sexual degeneration of *beslemes*. The author thought that these girls were not coming to the houses to perform their proper duty. Their only purpose was to seduce the master or his son: they used all their charm and tricks so as to become equal to the mistress and destroy the happiness of the family.¹⁹⁹ That was why, for instance, in Krikor Zohrab's story, it was difficult for *Dellal* Hacı Durik, to find the girl the mistress was looking for, since she was cautious not to hire an experienced servant, who could be 'crafty' enough to seduce her husband (*baştan çıkaracak kadar şeytan*). Instead she was looking for a credulous and naïve girl, which can no longer be found in Istanbul.²⁰⁰

Anastassiadou writes that many foster girls, taken by Greek households of the district of Pera, were returned to the churches that they were adopted from, since they were accused with having a “bad character”, which became apparent in their inclination to prostitution.²⁰¹ Ahmed Midhat also repeatedly presents *beslemes* as flirtatious creatures and never takes into consideration the subject position of domestic servants in front of their masters. According to him, the next place they would go, when they were expelled from a house, or from several houses, was a brothel. In his novel, *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında* (1882), he claims that when a Christian family takes in a servant girl – he consciously exempts Muslim households – the girl usually seduces a boy and has a secret love affair in the household. When such girls are dismissed from the house, they usually end up in a brothel due to their increased standards of consumption.

“And those girls who work as *beslemes* in Christian households? Well, they

198“Hanım İle Hizmetçinin Münasebeti”, *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*, no. 19, 23 Teşrinievvel 1311 (04.11.1895), pp. 1-2.

199Mehmed Nureddin, “Hizmetçiler”, *Kadın*, no. 8, 20 Haziran 1327, 3.7.1911, pp.1-2. “... hizmetçiler evlerimize bir vazife deruhte etmek fikriyle gelmiyorlar. Bey efendinin, küçük beyin gözlerine şirin gözükmek, onların celb-i kulbuna muvaffak olmak arzusunu taşıyorlar. Kahve getirdikleri vakit boyun kırarak, göz süzerek bey efendilerinin önlerinde arz-ı endam ediyorlar. Evlerimize getirdiğimiz hizmetçiler adeta ev sahibelerine ortak olmak, saadet-i aileyi yıkmak hevesiyle geliyorlar...”

200Postal, 32.

201Anastassiadou, p. 313.

are absolutely and entirely prospects for brothels. A poor girl enters into a household as a *besleme*. She finds a number of boys there. She starts having sex with them. Then, the affair is sensed. The girl is fired. Since she has a bad reputation now, other households do not accept the poor thing. And her parents are poor! Yet, she has seen nice clothes and jewelries. Her desire is awakened. Therefore, after all she can only go to a brothel.”²⁰²

In another novel, *Müşahedat*, Ahmed Midhat summarizes his perception of a *besleme*. They are orphan girls, who start working* in Beyoğlu around eleven or twelve years of age. When they grow up a little and become young women, their mistresses start to become jealous of them and when they find the evidence for their suspicions, unwilling or unable to take action against their husbands, they immediately fire these girls as a revenge.²⁰³ In this novel, when discussing the story of Takuhi, Ahmed Midhat underlines the fact that she was actually a hussy (*aşüfte*), who got pregnant several times, as if it was a result of her flirtatious character.

“Takuhi ... could not manage to stay long in no place, she was being fired from each of those with the conviction of either being a “pincher” or a “hussy”. In fact, it is more appropriate to blame Takuhi with the second conviction...”²⁰⁴

202“Bir de şu Hıristiyan hanelerinde beslemelik eder kızlar yok mu? İşte onlar dahi kaffeten ve kamilen kerhanelere namzet demektirler. Bir fakir kız bir haneye besleme gider. Orada bir kaç genç bulunur. Kız bunlarla mercimeği fırına verir. Derken iş duyulur. Kız kovulur. Bir kere ismi fenaya çıkınca başka familyalar biçareyi kabul etmezler. Anası babasıysa fakir! Halbuki kız güzel güzel rubaları süsleri filan görmüştür. Hevesi uyanmıştır. Binaenaleyh ondan sonra gideceği yer kerhanedir.” Ahmed Midhat Efendi, *Henüz Onyediyi Yaşında*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 2000, pp. 122-3.

*In fact, he uses a very significant verb 'going out to work' [beslemeliğe çıkan], which reminds the reader of prostitutes. Moreover, it is also significant that he limits the recruitment of *beslemes* to Beyoğlu, the most European neighborhood of the city of Istanbul. In that way, he implies that this is a form of employment practiced by Christians only.

203“Takuhi'ye gelince: On bir, on iki yaşından bed ile Beyoğlu'nda beslemeliğe çıkan öksüz kızların ahvali ne olursa, Takuhi'nin hali de öyle olmuş. Yani, büyüüp meydan aldığı zaman madaması, kendisini kocasından kıskanmağa başlayıp, bir aralık, hasedini haklı gösterecek müşahedatın da tekerrürü üzerine kocasına bir şey yapmayan madam, intikamını beslemeden almak için kapıdan dışarıya uğratmış.” (Müşahedat, p. 137).

204“Takuhi ... hiçbir kapıda uzun uzadıya dikiş tutturamayarak, bazısından “eli uzun”, bazısından “pek aşüfte” gibi mahkumiyetler tard olunmağa başlanmış. Filvaki ikinci suret-i mahkumiyet Takuhi için daha doğru olup ...” (Müşahedat, p. 137)

In Reşat Nuri Güntekin's novel, *Kızılıcık Dalları*, there is a similar discussion on the mistakes of the girls in falling into a life of indecency and of misery. He gives three different examples of *beslemes*. Hüniye, ending up in a brothel, was deceived by a *dellal* with the promise of working in a better place. Another, Makbule, started flirting at a very young age and become one of the loose women of Paris Quarter, a neighborhood of prostitution in Kadıköy. Yet a third, Zehra shares the same destiny with the previous two in ending up as a prostitute.²⁰⁵

2.10. Agency and Strategies of the Girls

Leaving the prejudices against the servant-daughters aside for a while, it may be necessary to take into account their very agency on the actual situation. The extent to which women also played a role in these events serves as a powerful reflection of their own vulnerability to state repression as well as the level of their access to the public sphere. It is important to note that women's individual defiance of law or custom, including such crimes as robbery, escape, unapproved marriage, and even prostitution can be interpreted as a form of resistance in some cases and a badge of deprivation and despair in others. Some women's "crimes" were committed against the state power and others, perhaps, the majority, were aimed at a source of oppression much closer to home, the family with its specific rules for women.²⁰⁶

As pointed out by historians, few of the working women who were engaged in premarital sex did so because they were promiscuous, romantically inclined, or on the

²⁰⁵Reşat Nuri Güntekin, *Kızılıcık Dalları*, İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1932, p. 76.

"İşte Hüniye... Bir bohçacı karının iğfaline kapıldı, daha iyi bir kapiya gidiyorum diye umumhaneye düştü, şimdi kimbilir ne halde? .. Makbule'yi tanımayan yok. O da küçük yaşta fingirdedi. Paris mahallesinin en meşhur kokotlarından biri oldu. Yine onun gibi fena yola düşen Zehra'yı İzmir'de tabanca ile öldürmüşler diye bir rivayet var... Evin erkeklerinden başlayıp kudurmuş bütün mahalle delikanlılarına saldırmazaydı bu genç yaşta mezarda çürüyecek yerde iyi, namuslu bir adama karı olamaz mıydı?"

²⁰⁶Tucker, 134

lookout for physical fulfillment. Most of them yielded to the men who harassed them because they sincerely believed that this was a first step toward securing a marriage partner. Servants were more likely to give in to seduction, persuasion or even sheer brutality when it was accompanied by the promise of an engagement that would begin to legitimize the situation.²⁰⁷

Tim Meldrum argues that to subsume servant sexuality under categories of experience defined by vulnerability and oppression alone is to distort the historical record and to circumscribe too tightly the variation, opportunity and pleasure possible in these lives.²⁰⁸ Although historians will probably never be able to ascertain how many, it is expectable that female domestic servants traveled hopefully to cities with the dream of an upwardly mobile marriage to the master's son in the back of their minds.

It is difficult to discuss the agency of these girls in their initial decision to become a foster daughter in a better-off household. Yet, it has to be stressed that *beslemes* were not completely passive and silent actors. We can fairly talk about their active role in refusing abuse and in determining their fate. In other words, they were not simply suppressed, compliant, muted characters; they took initiative and made their voices heard. This is why it is possible to write on nineteenth century foster daughters after more than a hundred years: they left evidence about themselves, either in the court records, or in official complaint petitions.

The strategies used by young foster girls were similar to those resorted by youngly married brides, since their position in the household was similar to one imbued with forced labor and concubinage. In her study on twentieth century Iran, Erika Friedl found that girls were often married off before menarche, and to much older men. In their in-law's houses these bride children worked under guidance of their overworked mothers-in-law, as "servants". Older women described their early marriages as hardship marked by much work, little food, forced sex, and many pregnancies. Some girls ran away, few others attempted to or committed suicide.²⁰⁹ These two options seem to be the most

207Sarah C. Maza, *Servants and Masters in Eighteenth-Century France: The Uses of Loyalty*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983, p. 70.

208Tim Meldrum, *Domestic Service and Gender, 1660-1750: Life and Work in the London Household*, Harlow: Pearson Education, 2000, p. 104.

209Erika Friedl, "Tribal enterprises and Marriage Issues in Twentieth Century Iran", in *Family History in the Middle East: Household, Property and Gender*, Beshara

common solutions that foster girls can come up with.

2.10.1. Escape

One of the viable options for these girls to avoid their suffering was to escape from the house. Although it was very difficult for a young and destitute girl to survive alone, they tried to create opportunities for themselves among strangers. They applied to their theoretically nice neighbors for employment or to other people they encounter while they were running errands in the district. In other cases, they managed to marry with a person they met while working. There was no guarantee that they would be luckier with their new masters, or husbands. Yet, they probably assumed that it could not be worse.

In 1910, when Emine's father came from Ereğli to Istanbul, to the house, where he entrusted her daughter, to see Emine and to get some payment from the master. Yet, instead he learned that Emine escaped. Actually this was the third time that she wanted away! Although no specific information was given to the police, the reasons for her escape might be related to above mentioned difficulties that servant girls endured.²¹⁰ In another example, on 26 March 1911, Captain Hüseyin Bey realized that his 10-years-old *besleme*, Zehra was lost (*gaybubet eylediği*). Immediately applying to the police, he demanded that she was found. In a short while, it became clear that she escaped to her hometown, Değirmendere, and was staying in the house of her uncle (*dayı*) with her brother, Bilal.²¹¹ In that respect, it has to be underlined that for such young girls, being so far away from home was even doubling the difficulties that are experienced by a fosterling.

In 1904, an Austrian resident of Karasu Mines (İzmid), Bolyan Bleški, applied to his Embassy with the complaint that his *sister*, Nikolina, was kidnapped by one of the miners, Luka Yanoviç from Montenegro. After the investigation of the governorship, it turned out that the girl was Bleški's foster daughter, and definitely not his sister. She

Doumani (ed.), Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003, pp. 151-170.

210BOA, DH.EUM.THR., 28/65, 12/Ra/1328 (24.03.1910).

211BOA, DH.EUM.KADL., 13/3, 03/R /1329 (03.04.1911).

told to the authorities that she escaped from the household with Luka with her own free will (*hüsn-ü rızasıyla*).²¹²

A similar case took place in 1894, in Ortaköy, Istanbul. The High Commissary of Bulgaria (*Kapıkethüdalığı*) applied to the government with the complaint that a minor Bulgarian foster girl, Petra Theodorova, was carried off from his master's house in Ortaköy by an Armenian Catholic, Petri, and that the Patriarchate easily married them without considering neither her age (14 years old) nor the consent of her parents. The agency demanded that the Armenian be punished and that the patriarchate pay compensation for the losses of the master, Nicola Lazaroff.²¹³ After the investigation of the police, in contact with the Ministry of Justice and Sects, a very different account was put forward: the case was not a kidnap, but an escape. First of all, Petra had no parents to consult to: she was an orphan, who was taken into Lazaroff's house three years ago as a foster daughter. Her life was full of hardship as a servant, since she had to deal both with the necessities of the housework and with her master's five kids all alone, with no payment at all. That's why she was willing to run away with Petri, who owned a haberdasher store across the house. The two declared in their testimonies that they were in acquaintance for a while and that they planned the escape and marriage as a couple, with the motive of love and affection (*saika-yı aşk ve muhabbetle*).²¹⁴

In May 1911, Hıfzı Pasha, former governor general of Monastir, informed the police department that his foster daughter, Kâmuran, was lost. Blue-eyed, 14-year-old girl, wearing a purple *çarşaf*, was sent in the afternoon to a doctor's office in Şehzadebaşı. After leaving the office, she did not return that night to the house in Beşiktaş and the pasha applied to the police department.²¹⁵ Her master gave no information to the police on her medical situation and why she went to a doctor so far from their domicile.²¹⁶ Yet, considering the long trip and the fact that she was by herself,

212BOA, DH.MKT., 835/53, 12/M /1322 (29.03.1904).

213BOA, DH.MKT., 221/34, 26.02.1894.

214*Ibid.*, 221/34, 28/N /1311 (05.04.1894).

215BOA, DH.EUM.KADL., 18/8, 23/Ca/1329 (27.05.1911).

216Even with modern day transportation, trip from Şehzadebaşı to Beşiktaş is rather difficult one, which would take more than an hour. In early century, this should have been even more difficult, especially for a 14-year-old girl.

she could not have been seriously sick. Whatever she experienced in doctor's office, she found it difficult to go back home and was lost for a couple of days. In fact, it seems probable that she had an abortion, although we lack sufficient evidence.

In 1910, the *besleme* of Ahmed Muhtar Bey, assistant of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, escaped from his house and found shelter in a neighboring household, that of Abdullah. When his original master demanded Hadice's return, Abdullah asked her to go back. She not only firmly rejected this offer, but also declared that she would commit suicide when further demands were made. As a result, Abdullah wrote a petition saying that he accepted Hadice into his household.²¹⁷ It is possible to say that escape would be naturally the first option for servant girls. Although it would not always guarantee the desired results, it was easier to apply. However, as in the example above, girls threatened their masters to use more severe methods, if their wishes were not met. The threat was usually in the form of suicide.

It has to be underlined that escape might have pushed these young girls to similar threats in the outside world. It was not rare that an escaped maid was found a couple of days later, being raped and 'deflowered'. The half-dozen stories from the 1860s and 1870s described by Khaled Fahmy follow a general pattern: a girl who escapes from her home or place of work is reported missing and upon being found by a male relative or state official is taken to the police station or urban health clinic for an examination. The girls were frequently found raped. In one story, a maid who fled the house of her employer was found to be 'deflowered'; she claimed she was raped.²¹⁸

2.10.2. Suicide

Among the strategies that these young girls and women were to commit, or at least to attempt, was suicide. Although this is one of the human acts that is most difficult to explain and account for, it still signifies the harsh conditions that they suffered and the unbearable sexual abuse that they were targets of. They either wanted

217BOA, DH.EUM.THR., 29/1, 14/Ra/1328 (26.03.1910).

218Khaled Fahmy, "Women, Medicine, and Power in Nineteenth-Century Egypt", in Lila Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 35–72.

to die or to scare their masters so as to create a free space for themselves.

In September 1891, the foster daughter of an attorney was found dead in his house in Büyükada (Princess Island). Although the police could not find any outside harm on the body, they were told that she probably took pills. Since the actual cause of death was unclear, the civil authorities in the island asked Istanbul municipality to send forensic doctors from the Medical School to clarify the case.²¹⁹

In January 1909, the foster daughter of Ali Galip Bey, lieutenant colonel of the Navy (*Bahriye kaymakamlarından*) and a resident of Heybeliada, cut her throat, her stomach, and her wrists with scissors in an attempt to commit suicide. Her master argued that she was in a state of lunacy (*düçar olduğu cinnet*).²²⁰ A similar case took place in the household of Namık Bey, a member of board of health (*Meclis-i Sıhhiye*). In 1910, the servant-daughter was found cut up from her stomach. Although the act was explained by the master as an attempt to commit suicide, the police started an investigation in order to account for the genuine reason for the wounds.²²¹

In fact, it became never clear whether these were real incidents of suicide or of murder. All the cases that are touched upon above carries the same doubt. According to Dror Ze'evi, the records of seventeenth century Palestine show a series of accidental deaths of young women who fell into wells, slid off roofs, or were buried by stone avalanches. In one case recorded in April 1689, a father from Bayt Iksa reported to the court that his daughter Banwa had been standing on the roof of his house in the village and she suddenly fell. While falling, she toppled a large boulder that dropped on her head and killed her. That numerous accidents of this sort about women appear in the *sicil* records led Ze'evi to conclude that "these incidents represent attempts to avoid murder charges where questions of family honor were concerned".²²² For nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, we can still talk about the validity of the same argument, only with the exception that in a relatively more secular environment and when non-kin members were concerned, it was easier to refer to suicide, a serious religious crime.

219BOA, Y.PRK.ŞH., 3/98, 14/S /1309 (19.9.1891).

220BOA, DH.EUM.KADL., 4/1, 05/M /1329 (6.1.1911).

221BOA, DH.EUM.THR., 48/3, 24/Ş /1328 (29.08.1910).

222Dror Ze'evi, "Women in 17th-Century Jerusalem: Western and Indigenous Perspectives", *IJMES*, Vol.27, 1995, pp. 161–62.

2.10.3. Applying to the Justice of the Court

Poor female servants in the households applied to the court for two main reasons: 1- to receive some money from their masters for the time they worked, 2- to sue their masters or other related or unrelated men with charges of sexual abuse. Expectedly, the presentations of the employers and servants changed to a large extent in the court. According to masters, what they did was philanthropy for needy children who were abandoned by their parents. The girls, on the other hand, underlined the exploitative nature of their work. The cases concerning the first topic (*ecr-i misl*) are already discussed in the section on unpaid labor. Here, the intent is to focus on cases regarding sex crimes.

Servants were usually exposed to sexual abuse, made possible by their total subservience to and dependence on their employers. A servant in a home was legally under the protection of its male head, who was held responsible for her safety. Apparently masters abused their protective role over these girls, since most of the allegations were made against these household heads. As apparent from European historiography, illicit affairs between masters and servants was very common throughout Early Modern and Modern Europe periods. Lawrence Stone states that elite opinion on the whole was tolerant of adultery by the male, especially with women of inferior social status such as maidservants, kept mistresses or prostitutes.²²³

In previous sections of the chapter, we have seen many examples of sex crimes against the *beslemes*. In this section, we will see how they were handled, when the girls or their guardians managed to come to the court. Without doubt, records point to a number of illegitimate relations and even pregnancies, which occurred as a result of liaisons of this sort. Yet, the real incidence was probably higher since wealthy masters could buy the silence of their servants or of the officials. In addition, both the legal system and the courts were on the side of the powerful, namely masters.

It might be helpful to have a look at how rape, or fornication (*zina*) in general, was handled in Ottoman legal system. In Islamic law, adulterers are supposed to be punished with the Koranic penalty of stoning or lashes. However, the rules of Islamic jurisprudence on bringing accusation of *zina* were so strict that some scholars of these

²²³Lawrence Stone, *Broken Lives: Separation and Divorce in England, 1660-1857*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993, p. 242.

texts have assumed that the court would never see instances of adultery, fornication or rape. According to the standard manuals of the law, for a case of *zina* to be prosecuted, either the guilty had to confess in four separate sittings of the court or four witnesses of the actual act of penetration had to provide testimony; if the testimony of any one of those witnesses was flawed, all were punished for the crime of false accusation of *zina*. It is therefore a paradox of Islamic jurisprudence that it set up obstacles to the enforcement of the sexual probity it mandated.²²⁴

In line with the mentioned difficulties to prove a rape case in front of the *kadı*, the punishment for the crime was usually in the form of material compensation. In one case from eighteenth century Salonica, Rabia binti Musa sued her employer, Ahmet Beşe, for raping her. Her claim describes a case of illicit sexual relations between a master and a female servant and an attempt by the servant to negotiate recompense from her employer.²²⁵ The servant's claim to receive a certain type of compensation (*ukr*) clearly signals the socially inferior position of servants in general: she requested compensation that was due only in cases in which the rapist could reasonably assume that his sexual intercourse with his victim was legally acceptable. A similar case was seen Istanbul court. In 1817, Emine Hanım sent her young maid-servant, Mehpare, from her house in Bebek for shopping in the neighborhood. The virgin girl was deceived by Mustafa bin Hasan and was consequently deflowered (*bekaretini izale ve ihbal*). Her mistress asked for a compensation, with the argument that she was devalued. Mustafa admitted that he raped her and agreed to pay 500 *guruş*.²²⁶ It is interesting that the crime of rape was completely disregarded and the case was treated as compensation matter.

Stricter penalties were not applicable in these cases, due to existence of a legal doubt (*şüph*e). Such doubt exists if the man mistakenly, but still reasonably, assumes that the woman is bound to him in marriage or owned by him as a slave.²²⁷ Servant's demand to receive *ukr* demonstrates that sexual intercourse with the female servant could raise a

²²⁴Peirce, 353.

²²⁵Sicil 58/22, 29 Rebiülevvel 1153 (24 July 1740).

²²⁶*İstanbul Mahkemesi 121 Numaralı Şer'iyye Sicili*, İstanbul: Sabancı Üniversitesi, 2006, p. 29.

²²⁷Joseph Schacht, *Introduction au Droit Musulman*, Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1999, p. 149.

similar legal doubt. It shows that the employer could plausibly consider intercourse with his female servant as lawful, as if she were his slave.

Ginio reports that all the claims of the domestic servants against their masters were settled through compromise (*sulh*).²²⁸ Peirce also found out in her study, on the sixteenth century court records of Aintab, that none of the alleged rapists were prosecuted. It is always the case that a person with a reputation for moral probity is freed from suspicion of illicit sex if he denies the accusation. Even in nineteenth century, the testimony of the status-holder was always preferred against that of a poor, or orphaned, minor girl.²²⁹ In 1880s Egypt (Assiut), a minor servant claimed that one night her master attacked and raped her. Now knowing what else to do, she remained with the family for some time without divulging her secret. When she realized that she was pregnant she complained to the authorities. The man, however, completely denied her allegations and defended himself, saying he was “an honorable man, whose house was located near a mosque where he prayed regularly, and that he would never do such a thing”. Since the girl could not present evidence to her allegations, the court decided that she had no cause against the man and asked her to keep away from him.²³⁰

In fact, working girls were in a highly vulnerable position, since they were by definition 'unchaste' in the eyes of the judge. Women whose labor was public not only faced sexual assault, but they were less able than wealthier women to guard their reputation and honor. More visible, they were easier targets of social suspicion and censure, guilty or not. Accordingly, they were denied the honor that automatically accrued to women of greater wealth and status merely by virtue of their seclusion, which was in turn predicated on the ability to retain slaves and servants to do their public business. Such women were known as *muhaddere*, a term that linked honor to

228Ginio, 2003, 173.

229Although it was very probable that their suit would fail, they still took their accusations to the court, at least to make their story known to the public. From this moment onwards, their masters were men to whom a crime was imputed. In other words, they were no longer 'stainless', a second accusation by a future servant may result in different action by the court, if not by the society. Peirce, 386.

230Assiut 1298/1881, 19:49-98, cited in Amira Sonbol, “Rape and Law in Ottoman and Modern Egypt” , in *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era*, Madeline C. Zilfi (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 214-231.

elevated social status by simultaneously denoting “chaste” and “veiled/secluded”. In the several fetwas of Ebussuud issued in order to clarify for *muhaddere* status, one ruling was that women who fetch water at the springs cannot be considered *muhaddere*.²³¹ In that respect, domestic servants and maids, who were forced to work amongst a male environment and who were deprived of the seclusion of higher class women, were by definition denied chastity, which was defined as the segregation of male and female domains and which required women to avoid participation in the former.

Even in cases where the victim managed to prove her case, the precedents set by the Koran, hadith, and fiqh were followed only to a certain extent by sharia courts under Ottoman rule. Court records in Ottoman Egypt from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries reviewed by Amira Sonbol frame rape as cases of property rights in which the female victims or their guardians usually sued under Islamic law for payment of compensation. Sonbol argues that in all proven rape cases the court weighed the issue of *diya* (blood price, financial compensation). It was really rare that the rapist was physically punished. Following prophetic traditions, the rapist was expected to confess to having committed the rape for the *hudud*²³² to be applied, but the courts also accepted proof presented by reliable witnesses even if the accused did not confess. As for the *hudud*, the punishment was usually not in the form of stoning.²³³ However, in order to circumvent *hudud* punishment, if a rapist married his victim, the courts asked the victim to withdraw her petition against him, so that punishment would no longer be a subject of contention.

Although the extent of change is difficult to trace, it is still necessary to refer to the new Criminal Code and the novelties it brought regarding sex crimes.²³⁴ A first collection of regulations, entitled *Ceza Kanunname-i Hümayunu*, or Royal Criminal Code, was published in 1840, and copies of it were sent to all provincial governors and

²³¹Peirce, 354.

²³²In the realm of judicial process the sharia stresses the Koranic differentiation between ‘regular’ crimes (*cinayat*) and those transgressing limits specifically set by God (*hudud*). These latter include such crimes and misdemeanors as fornication (*zina*), false accusation of fornication, theft, and drunkenness.

²³³Sonbol, 223.

²³⁴Dror Ze'evi, “Changes in Legal-Sexual Discourses: Sex Crimes in the Ottoman Empire”, *Continuity and Change*, 16 (2), 2001, pp. 219–242.

courts. In 17 February 1851, the second Ottoman criminal code (*Kanun-ı Cedid*) was promulgated. It differed from the first in the sense that it dealt with additional crimes and offenses, such as kidnapping of girls.²³⁵

A few years later, in 1858, a more detailed code of criminal law was promulgated. Laws concerning sex and sexuality were mostly subsumed under the heading ‘About crimes concerning violation of honour’ (*‘hetk ırz edenlerin mecazâtı beyanında’*). Many of the articles involved sexual relations with a minor, by force or consent. Anyone who commits a sexual act (*fi'l-i şeni*) with a minor, will be imprisoned for at least six months (Art. 197). If a parent or legal guardian forces a minor to commit such an act, they are liable to be sentenced to at least five years of hard labor (*kürek*) (Art. 199). If such an act is committed with a girl who is not yet married, the perpetrator will be forced to pay damages in addition to a sentence of hard labor (Art. 200). Differences occur depending on the victim’s side, when women or young girls are abducted, raped, or lose their virginity.

After the passage of law, relatively severer punishments were given by the courts. In one such case from from 1915, where Kazım the coppersmith was punished with three years of hard labor (*kürek*), as it was prescribed in the Art. 197 of the Criminal Code, for raping fourteen-year-old Sadiye, *besleme* of Ayşe Fitnat Hanım.²³⁶ In a similar case from 1861, seven-year-old Fatma, daughter of Topaloğlu Mehmed, one of the inhabitants of a village in Konya, was raped by a certain Ali. The court decided that he should be punished both under the regulation of Art. 197, which meant that he was given imprisonment for a year; and under the regulation of Art. 200, which meant he had to pay a certain sum to cover losses of the virgin girl.²³⁷ In cases of illegal defloration, women or their guardians usually sued men for compensation equal to their bride-wealth, often negotiating the sum in court.²³⁸ In Fatma's case, as well, her father demanded the payment of her *mehr-i muaccel*.

235Gabriel Baer, “The Transition from Traditional to Western Criminal Law in Turkey and Egypt”, *Studia Islamica*, vol.45, 1977, pp. 139–58.

236BOA, İ.HB., 175/1333-Za-083, 28/Za/1333 (09.10.1915).

237BOA, A.MKT.MVL., 127/30, 26/L /1277 (07.05.1861).

238Rudolph Peters, “Islamic and Secular Criminal Law in Nineteenth Century Egypt: The Role and Function of the Qadi”, *Islamic Law and Society*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1997, p. 82.

The seduction, rape, beating, and forced marriage of maids by male employees, illustrates their vulnerability and powerlessness experienced by women in service. The reputation of domestic service, ambiguous at best, undoubtedly encouraged such abuse, but recourse to the court also reflected the absence of voluntary organizations among the servants which could provide a refuge for maltreated maids or impose informal sanctions on abusive employers.²³⁹

2.11. Conclusion

Domestic work was a different kind of occupation. Domestic servants were usually young and single girls, who were employed in the private households of their masters. Although these girls left their houses to earn a living, they were still considered within the boundaries of private sphere. In that respect, they could not become parts of an institutional or functional support or solidarity network, as their male counterparts working in the markets, artisan shops, or docks. They were, thus all alone when faced with difficulties with their masters. Domestic servants suffered greatly from the dearth of regulation and organization of the occupation. Like many of the overwhelmingly female trades, domestic service was poorly served by the guild corporations; the emergence of cooperative associations among the maids was required to protect and support women in an occupation which, by definition, tended to isolate employees.

Deprived of relatively protective environment of their own families, orphan, destitute and poor girls were under three orders of subordinateness and disadvantage. First, they were materially exploited and sexually abused by their masters, who were considered to be making a charity by taking them into their households. Second, they were put into a disadvantaged position by the patriarchal laws of the sultans and the sexist rulings of the Islamic jurors. Third, they were left powerless in the court rooms as the judges routinely favored their masters, relying on the well-established status of these latter in the society as opposed to these usually rootless, destitute orphans. To put it

²³⁹Tucker, 93.

differently, in the first level, they were abused as *workers* and as *step daughters* by their employers, by their 'fathers' or 'brothers'. Therefore, the inequality was not only between the master and the apprentice, but also between the adult and the child. In the second level, they were unfavored as *women*, and specifically as *working women*, in a patriarchal society; in the third, they were left unprotected as *orphans* in a world of family, kin, and lineage relations.

However, this is not to say that these young women were complete 'subjects', silenced and helpless in this nightmare like environment, that they were surrounded with. The research points to the fact that they were able to find certain alternative ways of taking agency. The existence of escape stories, attempted suicides, and accusations in the court records, although many of them were filed after the employee-employer relation was over between the two sides, is a clear sign of the assumed agency on the part of these girls and young women. Even if they most probably knew that they were clearly going to fail in their suit, through lack of supporting testimony and even if they were aware that they would be forced to pay a fine for slander, they still come up with accusations of sexual harassments or rape to the court. Apparently, this was a specific strategy used by them to at least make the affair known by the larger society. Even if their masters usually denied the imputation, they were able to create an air of suspicion, by making their stories listened by the court.

In Chapter 1, the focus was on the abandoned infants and how they were provided care with the intervention of the state, the municipal authorities, the non-Muslim communal organizations, and the missionaries. In Chapter 2, the viewfinder moved to the inner world of households and to the experiences of fostered girls in them. In other words, it was attempted to provide a cutaway to exhibit the lives of needy children raised by non-kin families. The next section, Chapter 3, will expand the purview to a much larger scale, that of the modernizing state and Ottoman reforms, and elaborate on the inmates of industrial orphanages (*ıslâhhanes*), which were opened with the central order of the state by almost all of the provincial governments of the Empire.

TABLES FOR CHAPTER 2

Table 2.1. – The Non-Kin Members of Muslim Households in Ottoman Istanbul 1885-1907²⁴⁰

Years	Total Number of Households (A)	Households Having Non-Kin Members (B)	Percent of Households Having Non-Kin Members (B/A)	Total Number of Non-Kin Members(C)	Mean # of Non-Kin members per Household (C/B)
1885	941	172	18	387	2.25
1907	1,183	225	19	380	1.69

Table 2.2. – Characteristics of Non-Kin Members of Muslim Istanbul Households, 1885-1907²⁴¹

Types of Non-Kin	1885		1907	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Evlatlıks	23	06	68	18
Slaves	224	58	80	21
Waged Servants	51	13	103	27
Unknown	82	21	101	27
Unknown Relative	7	02	28	07
TOTAL	387	100	380	100
Sex				
Female	330	85	318	84
Male	54	14	60	16
TOTAL	387	100	380	100
Age Groups				

²⁴⁰The table was prepared by Ferhunde Özbay based on the five-percent sample of the Istanbul Muslim Households in the 1885 and 1907 Census Rosters. Turkish Ferhunde Özbay, *Female Child Labor in Domestic Work: Past and Present*, Project Report prepared for ILO/IPEC, Istanbul, 1999, p. 19.

²⁴¹*Ibid.*, 22.

	1885		1907	
Less than 6	22	06	9	02
6-19	153	40	163	43
20-49	178	46	156	41
50 and more	33	09	49	13
Unknown	1	00	3	01
TOTAL	387	100	380	100
Place of Origin				
Istanbul	60	16	82	22
North (Circassian)	143	37	47	12
South (African)	99	26	30	08
East (Anatolian)	24	06	119	31
West (European)	19	05	33	09
Unknown	42	11	69	18
TOTAL	387	100	380	100

CHAPTER 3

'REFORM' IN THE LATE OTTOMAN URBAN SPACE: INDUSTRIAL ORPHANAGES (*İSLÂHHANES*)

3.1. Introduction

The noun *islâh* in Ottoman Turkish refers to an act of betterment, amelioration, and correction. Its plural form, *islâhat*, has usually been translated as “reforms” in English – one recalls the famous Imperial Reform Edict of 1856 (*Islâhat Fermanı*). The topic of this chapter, *islâhhane*, was a new institutional structure, which first appeared in the second half of nineteenth century in Niš and Trabzon. The root of the word is reminiscent of a “correction house”.¹ Modern day Ottoman–Turkish dictionaries define the term in a similar way,² but the Ottoman archives suggests that in contemporary Ottoman terminology, these were the first orphan asylums of the administrative

¹It is interesting that also in the north American context the term “industrial school/orphanage” has come to be associated in the minds of many people with juvenile reformatories. In the United States, juvenile reformatories were known first as *houses of refuge*; when that term became opprobrious, they were called *reform schools*; when that term in turn became obnoxious, the name *industrial school* was used; when that name became offensive, they were called *training schools*. Therefore, “industrial education” was usually associated with delinquency. Hastings Hornell Hart, *Preventive Treatment of Neglected Children*, New York: Arno Press, 1971, p. 70.

²In modern Turkish language, correction house is termed as *islâhevi* (Ottoman suffix -hane was replaced with a modern one -evi) and it seems that the modern definition was transferred to older usage.

authority – linked to the levels of central, provincial, or municipal.³

The naming father, Midhat Pasha, narrates in his memoirs that “since this was a brand new institution, with no precedent in the country” he had difficulty to find an appropriate name. After long inquiries, he decided to look into Koran and found a verse dictating that the best for the orphans would be improvement and reformation (*salâh ve islâh*).⁴ That's why he formulated a term with the same root: *islâhthane*.⁵ The idea of “reform”, inherent in the word, was not derived from the fact that its inmates were necessarily juvenile delinquents. Although it is true that these were important educational institutions with a set curriculum and an ideological discourse to inculcate into the orphans, the reform was targeting the outer space of the institution rather than its inner constituency: the urban space and economy in the provinces of the Empire.

After the establishment of the first two *islâhhanes* in 1864, the late Ottoman period witnessed the proliferation of the institution, which was introduced in order to collect orphan and destitute children and the children of the utterly poor, as the Ottoman governmental documentation shows. The average age in these orphanages were between 5 and 13 and the basis of education and curriculum were concentrated on providing industrial-vocational skills, together with a limited formal education, which would supply these children with knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Following the imperial order of 1867, by 1900, *islâhhanes* were opened in the centers of almost each province (*vilâyet merkezi*), together with some other large cities: from Ruse to Aleppo, from Kastamonu to Antalya, from Janina to Jerusalem, from

³In Britain, Youth Offenders Act of 1854 led to the creation in 1857 of industrial schools and reformatories, as two separate categories. The industrial schools were intended for vagrant children aged 7-14; and several other categories were subsequently added: beggars, wandering children, and children whose parents declared them beyond their control. While industrial schools were meant to be generally educational, the stricter reformatories dealt with more serious cases. They were intended for children under 16 convicted of crimes carrying prison sentences of 10 or more days. Carl Ipsen, *Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal Era*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 131.

⁴The particular verse was in the sura of Bakara, verse 220. “*Ve yelelûneke 'ani'l-yetâma kul islâhûm lehüm hayr*”: Sana yetimlerden sorarlar. Derler ki: Salâh ve islâh onlar için daha hayırlıdır.

⁵Midhat Paşa, *Midhat Paşa'nun Hatıraları: Hayatım İbret Olsun [Tabsıra-i ibret]*, Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu (ed.), İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 1997, pp. 34-35.

Izmir to Damascus.⁶ Many of them became landmarks in the lives of these cities with their contribution to urban social and economic life. Their existence in the collective and spatial memory of the cities is a witness for their role in the urban context.

From the beginning, these institutions were in close contact with a number of urban processes. On the one hand, cities had created social problems such as begging, vagabondage, and vagrancy. On the other hand, there were new developments such as the municipal security and order as well as increasing importance attached to industrial productivity which demanded vocational education. In that sense, their appearance was at the intersection of order-keeping and the aim of progress in urban industrial activity. These new institutions, in the most part, were opened with the benevolent contributions (*iâne*) from local notables, since these groups were also to benefit from a well-educated cheap work force. Not only were the developments associated with the local elite, but most of these orphanages were productive workshops in specific industries.

Primarily based on the documentation from Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives, this chapter aims to analyze the large network of Ottoman industrial orphanages which educated the urban orphan population of the Empire on a very large geographical scale, with similar curricular programs. A thorough analysis of *islâhhanes* is promising to shed light on the intricate relationship between new and existing urban institutions and actors, summarized and reproduced succinctly in this new structure.

The emergence of this new educational apparatus has to be considered hand in hand with such concepts as modernity, the reconstitution of the modern state, and the "Ottoman Reform". These industrial orphanages were actually major infrastructural apparatus of the Ottoman state in its efforts to extend and unify central governmental authority throughout the Empire. It is also worth noting that "the spirit" of the nineteenth century, with its emphasis on reorganization of state apparatus, introduction

⁶However, in the Arabic-speaking provinces the distribution was not that complete. In Syria there is mention of orphanages in Aleppo and Damascus but not in Saida or Beirut; in Iraq, there is an orphanage in Baghdad but not in Mosul. Provinces in Arabia, such as Yemen and Libya were not mentioned at all. This discrepancy can be related to both Ottoman state's inability to enforce reforms in these provinces or its distrust for these people's civility or loyalty. Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; Selim Deringil, "They Live in a State of Nomadism and Savagery': The Late Ottoman Empire and the Post-Colonial Debate", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 45, no. 2, April 2003, pp. 311-342.

of new concepts of rationalization and unification into the administration, was very much part of the efforts of the state to renovate itself.⁷ This chapter, therefore, considers the industrial orphanages as one of the significant educational and economic apparatuses of the modern state in the provinces conceived as a part of a series of reforms to change the urban space and local economic relations throughout the Empire. What is important is to refrain from conceptualizing governmental institutions as abstract reifications and think of them as political practices of real historical agents, such as governors, municipal heads, local elites, and so on.⁸

3.2. Industrial Orphanages (*Islâhhanes*): First Orphan Asylums and Their Specificities

The 'state orphanages' in the Ottoman Empire, although the concept seems to be flimsily put together, be it tied to central or provincial government, as opposed to communal⁹ and missionary ones, have rarely been documented and analyzed. In fact, the existing literature of the field is thin. Apart from scattered information on the provisions for the orphans, there is almost no specialized work on the protection and education of these children. The *Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli*, opened in 1903 with the initiative of sultan Abdülhamid II, in Istanbul, as one of the better known institutions, is usually treated as the first state establishment for the orphans in the Empire.¹⁰ Given the

⁷Avi Rubin, *Ottoman Modernity: The Nizamiye Courts in the Late Nineteenth Century*, PhD Dissertation, Harvard University, 2006.

⁸For a detailed historiographical summary relating to the studies on the Ottoman provinces and the idea of “colonizing the provinces”, see Nadir Özbek, “Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late-Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2008, pp. 47-67.

⁹Those belonging to different religious *millets* of the Empire.

¹⁰Nadir Özbek, “II. Abdülhamit ve Kimsesiz Çocuklar: Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol. 31, no. 182, February 1999, pp. 11-21. Also by the same historian: *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet: Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet 1876-1914*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002.

imperial pump behind the institution, its visibility in the contemporary press and in archival sources is understandable, despite its interestingly short life until 1909.

This whole range of *ıslâhhanes*, on the other hand, was not seriously investigated within the realm of orphan relief.¹¹ In most of the times, they are discussed in a context dealing with the reforms of Midhat Pasha during his governorship in the newly established province of Danube. The spread of the institution throughout the Empire and its emphasis on education of orphan and destitute children were only mentioned “in passing” and not analyzed for their own sake. In that sense, this chapter aims to provide new information with a new interpretation.

Documents from the Ottoman Archives, relating to the industrial orphanages, unanimously note the existence of an official acting order (*talimât* or *nizamname*), sent in circular form from the capital to the provinces on 21 June, 1867, as the explanation behind the introduction of these new institutions.¹² In the said order, it was decreed that each province (*her vilâyette*) should open an *ıslâhhane* of its own in order to protect and educate the vagrant orphans and destitute children (*başiboş gezmekte olan yetim ve bikes çocuklar*), for it was necessary and previously decided (*mütelzim ve mukarrer olarak*).¹³ The regulations prepared for these orphanages (*Vilâyât Islahhâneleri Nizâmnâmesi*) was actually the one prepared by Midhat Paşa for the province of Danube. Yet, after the proliferation of the institution throughout the Empire, it was decided that the same regulation be sent to all the provinces as a circular (*tamim*).¹⁴

11Nadir Özbek, though treating the *Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli* as the first orphanage, justly mentions that it would be wrong to claim that this was the first institution targeting the orphans and he elaborates on the industrial schools and *ıslâhhanes*. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Devlet, Siyaset, İktidar ve Meşruiyet, 1876-1914*, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p. 248-9.

12Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi*, İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003, p. 348.

“Vilâyât Islahhâneleri Nizâmnâmesi”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 2, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289 (1872), pp. 277-295.

13BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869): “...başiboş gezmekte olan yetim ve bikes çocukların muhafaza ve terbiyeleriyle tahsil-i ilm ve sanat eylemeleri hakkında her vilâyette birer ıslâhhane küşadına... vilâyetlerce terbiye-yi eytam için ıslâhhaneler küşadı mütelzim ve mukarrer olarak ol-babda kaleme alınmış olan talimat tamimen her tarafa gönderilmiş olduğundan...”

14“Vilâyât Islahhâneleri Nizâmnâmesi....., 277.

In 1868 and 1869, after the circulation of the imperial order, many industrial orphanages were opened simultaneously for the destitute and orphan children of the provinces. These included Bursa (province of Hüdavendigâr), Sivas (Sivas), Aleppo (Aleppo), Kastamonu (Kastamonu), Izmir (Aydın), Kandiye (Crete), Salonika (Salonika) and Diyarbekir (Diyarbakir). Also in a document regarding the establishment of the industrial orphanage of Edirne in 1873, it is repeated that for the betterment of the conditions of the Ottoman orphans (*yetime-yi şahane*) together with their education, each province should introduce a similar institution.¹⁵ The same year new *ıslâhhanes* were also founded in Harput, Adana, Konya, and Jerusalem. In total, more than 30 such institutions were opened within a period of thirty years (1864 – 1897) (Table 3.1.). The opening of many *ıslâhhanes* right after the circulation of the imperial decree is a convincing evidence for a due enforcement of the order in the provinces. Taking into account the rather difficult and retarded dispersion of other educational establishments in the provinces,¹⁶ the penetration of institution in many different localities of the Empire was a real success and decidedness on the part of the state.

A second layer of information on the significance of *ıslâhhanes* comes from the retrospective evaluation of the Ottoman administrators, who tended to evaluate *ıslâhhanes* as a tradition in the educational legacy of the Empire, which defined and legitimized other institutions that succeeded it. In a series of documents from 1899 to 1902, regarding the planning and opening of the famous orphanage of Abdülhamid II, the *Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli*, it is stated that this institution would be a continuation of the *ıslâhhane* genre.¹⁷ In terms of objectives, constituency, curriculum, and the nature of

15BOA, İ. DH. , 03/C/1290 (29.7.1873): “...yetime-yi şahanenin ıslâh-ı ahvali ve terbiyeleri hakkında vilayat-ı müteşekkülenin ekserisinin birer ıslâhhane inşa ve küşad olunarak...”

16The expansion of public schools in the provinces constituted a major challenge, which was not successfully handled until the demise of the Empire. The opening of *idâdî* schools in the provinces, for instance, brought about several problems: lack of funds, the need to set up educational administration and inspection; the need for trained instructors; and the question of non-Turkish ethnic groups. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2001, p. 272.

17BOA, Y.MTV, 193/44, 7/R/1317, (15.8.1899). BOA, İ. MF, 8/1320.C.1, 5/C/1320 (8.10.1902): “...kimsesiz çocukların ıslâhhane tarzında bir mahal tedarikiyle orada talim ve terbiyesi”

education, it is inevitable to observe the continuity such that the *Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli* can easily be treated as one of the industrial orphanages.

Yet, the older terminology, *ıslâhhane* was abandoned, and the newly employed concept, *dar'ül-eytam* (literally house of orphans), or orphanage was closer to terms used by the Europeans and, thus, was providing better opportunities for comparison with the Western world. In other words, the use of partially new vocabulary can be related to the sultan's desire to advertise himself and his institutions as one of the enlightened rulers of Europe. Moreover, the reason for such a discursive depart from the legacy is related to the fact that the first *ıslâhhanes* were introduced and, moreover, dubbed by Midhat Pasha, the famous vizier and opponent of the notorious despotism of sultan Abdülhamid II. In that sense, the sultan and the elite were not willing to emphasize the organic link of the institution with Midhat Pasha. Many *ıslâhhanes* of the Empire were started to be called “Hamidiye Sanayi Mekteb-i Alisi” under the reign of Abdülhamid II.¹⁸ The name of the *ıslâhhane* of Salonika was changed to Hamidiye Industrial School (*Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayii*) in 1891.¹⁹ Yet, interestingly in many official documents from the Hamidian era, the term still remains in use. In 1897, after the turmoil and massacres in Crete, the colonel in Hanya, Mahmud Şakir Bey, wrote to the Porte that it was necessary to send the orphaned and destitute Muslim children of the island to the *ıslâhhanes* of the provinces of the Empire.²⁰ The Orphanage of Izmir, although referred also as Izmir Industrial School in the 1880s, and Hamidiye Industrial School after 1891²¹, was still called an *ıslâhhane* as late as 1908, in the fortieth anniversary of the institution.²²

18Bayram Kodaman, “Tanzimat'tan II. Meşrutiyet'e Kadar Sanayi Mektepleri”, in *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, Osman Okyar, Halil İnalçık (eds.), Ankara, 1980, pp. 287-294; Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış*, Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1964, p. 80.

19BOA, İ. DH., 1256/98560, 05/Ca/1309 (7.12.1891). Méropi Anastassiadou-Dumont, *Salonique, 1830-1912: Une Ville Ottomane à l'Heure des Réformes*, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 335-6.

20BOA, Y.PRK.MYD., 20/22, 16/C/1315 (11.11.1897). “...bikes ve bikudret cezire etfal-i müslimesinden yüz elli kadarının vilâyet-i şahane ıslâhhanelerine lacel-tahsil igramları...”

21Aydın *Salnamesi*, 1890-91, 272.

22BOA, ZB, 404/38, 9/Ms/1324 (22.5.1908).

Also in much later accounts, the term *ıslâhhane* was equated with the newly circulating word, orphanage. In Salonika yearbook of 1893, under the section “Selanik Hamidiye Mekteb-i Sanayii”, the institution was defined as an orphanage (*işbu darüleytam*).²³ İhsan Şerif wrote an article about Midhat Pasha and the schools he opened in the Danube in 1915 in an important educational magazine of the time, *Tedrisât Mecmuası* [Journal of Teaching]. There, he explained that *ıslâhhane* as a concept simply meant orphanage.²⁴ Even if the orphanages of the post-WWI period were generally called as *dar'ül-eytam*, it seems that the older term was still not abandoned. In a petition sent by the Society for the Protection of Children (*Himaye-i Etfâl Cemiyeti*) to the Ministry of the Interior in September 1922, it was suggested that an industrial orphanage (*etfâl ıslâhhanesi*) be opened in order to teach skills to the orphans and destitute children.²⁵

From this small discussion on philology or etymology, it seems fair to argue that *ıslâhhane* was the first proper term that was formulated to denote orphanages. Given that the spread of the institution was a centrally decided *reform*, it is worth discussing and elaborating more on these first Ottoman (state) orphanages, as this Chapter attempts.

3.2.1. Children Body of Industrial Orphanages

It should be mentioned that this first example of a series of *ıslâhhanes* defined three different categories of children as its constituency. The first were orphans and destitute street children, who had practically no one to care for them. The second were Muslim refugee children, who flooded into the cities especially after the Crimean War

²³1311 *Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve “Hamidiye” Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311, pp. 139-40.

²⁴İhsan Şerif, “Midhat Paşa, Sanayi Mektepleri”, *Tedrisat Mecmuası: Nazariyat ve Malumat Kısmı*, İstanbul, vol. 5, no. 30, 1915, pp. 65-68: “...bire 'darüleytam' demek olan ıslâhhaneler...”

²⁵BOA, DH.UMVM, 167/14, 21.9.1922.

of 1853-56 and the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78 and created certain problems in the urban life. The third group of children that the *islâhhane*s targeted were the non-orphaned children, whose parents or relatives were bereft of necessary means to support them with proper care and education. Accepting a number of poor children into the institution was, in fact, a common trait of orphanages in many different contexts.

As already mentioned, despite the latent connotations of the term *islâhhane*, these institutions were not opened for criminal minors or juvenile delinquents. However, it is necessary to mention the existence of a linkage with the concern for crime. The prospective constituency of the orphanages were vagrant boys of the urban areas, who were suspected of being prone to felonious behavior, even if they had no previous charges.²⁶ In their objective to prevent minors from committing such deeds, industrial orphanages had a connection with this preventive, disciplining approach.

The average age in the orphanages differed from place to place, but it was still within a range. The *islâhhane* of Niš, opened in 1864, ordered the admittance of children above 5 and below 13 years of age.²⁷ When it was ordered to the various districts of the governorship of Danube to collect orphan girls for the opening orphanage of Ruse, it was underlined that these children were expected to be under the age of ten.²⁸ In the regulations of the girls' orphanage of Istanbul (Sultanahmet, Cağaloğlu), it was mentioned that the first grade would contain girls between the ages of 3 and 7. However, the orphanage would serve as a shelter for its graduates, even if they pass the age of 25, when they were neither married out nor placed in a suitable job.²⁹

In fact, the reformers aimed to educate the children when they were younger, since they thought that as they grow older, their chances of complying to the order and rules of the institution would be more problematic. In that respect, so as to lead these

²⁶This topic will later be discussed in detail in the section concerning the order and security in the cities.

²⁷BOA, A.MKT. MHM., 302/67, 1/M/1281 (6.6.1864); “Vilâyât Islahhâneleri Nizâmnâmesi...., 277: “Birinci Madde ... alınca çocuk 12 – 13 yaşından yukarı olmayacaktır.”

²⁸BOA, C.MF., 131/6542, 3/N/1289 (4.11.1872): “...islâhhane-yi mezkura alınacak kız çocuklarının on yaşından yukarı olmamaları...”

²⁹BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 4/29, 29/Z/1300 (31.10.1883).

undisciplined destitute children and orphans into a productive livelihood, it was necessary to educate them early before their age turns out to become an impediment.³⁰ In Salonika, the children older than 12 were not admitted to the orphanage.³¹ However, there was also a lower limit of admittance to industrial orphanages. Since these children were expected to perform certain trade skills, it was impossible for some younger ones to succeed in these. For that reason, in some orphanages, the acceptance age was higher. According to the regulation of the Skopje Industrial Orphanage, for instance, the boys between the ages of 12 and 14 were enrolled in the institution.³² In Diyarbakir industrial orphanage, the industrial classes started only after the age of 10. Before that age, the children were banned from the workshops and would be only admitted to regular classes.³³ The same regulation was also followed in Salonika. Children younger than 10 could not go to the workshops and were expected to stay in the classrooms during the day.³⁴ Also in the industrial orphanage of Izmir, the children in the first degree were not instructed in the workshops. In 1901, for instance, 74 of 276 students were not trained in a skill.³⁵ Another solution was to introduce preparatory classes for little children. For instance, in 1902 regulation of the *Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli* it was ordered that boys between the ages of 6 and 10 be gathered in this orphanage.³⁶ The younger children were put into

30BOA, Y. EE., 44/138, 10/R/1298 (10.2.1881): "...Fakat yurd ve akrabalarımı kaybetmiş olan çocuklardan başka suretle taayyüşe alışacak olurlar ise sonradan hiçbir kar ve zanaata saluk etmek istemeyeceklerinden bunları şimdiden, yani sinleri ilerlemezden evvelce başka tarafa sevk etmek lazımeden olmasıyla..."

31“Mekteb-i Sanaiye Şakird Kabulü Şeraiti: ...sini 12'yi tecavüz etmemiş olması ve emraz-ı mezmuneden salim bulunması iktiza eder.” *1311 Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve “Hamidiye” Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311, p. 142.

32İsmail Eren, “Kosova Sanayi Mektebi”, *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi*, Ankara, vol. 3, no. 18, March 1969, pp. 34-38.

33BOA, Y.MTV., 206/83, 16/Ca/1318 (11.09.1900).

34“Henüz on yaşını ikmal eylememiş olan şakirdan sanayihanelere gitmeyib dershanede kalırlar.” *1311 Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve “Hamidiye” Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311, p. 142.

35*Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Aydın* (1319 Sene-yi Hicriyyesine Mahsus), [Izmir]: Vilâyet Matbaası, 1319, p. 90.

36BOA, Y. MTV, 193/44, 7/R/1317, (15.8.1899).

a preparatory class (*ih̄tiyât sınıfı*) during the initial years after their acceptance into the orphanage, since they were not mature and capable enough to perform crafts and skills that were instructed in the workshops.

The student body of the orphanages also remained in an understandable range, between 100 and 200. The Niş orphanage was opened in early 1864 with 41 boys, collected from the streets, younger than the age of 10-12.³⁷ Later the student body of the orphanage grew to almost 200.³⁸ Yet, the administrators of the orphanage were complaining of the difficulty of running the orphanage, and it was deemed best that the student population remained between 100 and 120.³⁹ The Izmir industrial orphanage was planned as a larger institution with an orphan body of 200.⁴⁰ In the Adana industrial orphanage there were a little bit more than 100 children in 1873.⁴¹ The *Islâhhane* of Istanbul (1869) had a much larger group of children. The articles 16-19 in the Regulation of the Industrial School (*Mekteb-i Sanayi Nizamnamesi*)⁴² described the admittance of the students to the school, which would have two separate departments: external (day school) and internal (boarding). The school would accept 500 boarding students from among orphans and poor children, with the prerequisite that they are younger than the age of 13. The external department was arranged for the apprentices, who were already employed in several workshops. This department would accept at most 200 pupils.⁴³ In a short period of time, the school was unable to accept new applications.⁴⁴ The *Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli* of Istanbul was one of the largest of these

37BOA, İ.MVL., 502/22735, 21/N/1280, (29.2.1864).

38Midhat Paşa, 52.

39BOA, A.MKT. MHM., 302/67, 1/M/1281 (6.6.1864).

40BOA, İ. ŞD., 14/629, 16/M/1286 (28.4.1869).

41BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 460/86, 13/C/1290 (9.7.1873).

42“Dersadet Sanayi Mektebi Nizâmnamesi, 24/Ş/1285 (9.12.1868)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 2, Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289 (1872), pp. 258-276.

43BOA, İ.DH., 583/40618, 24/Ş/1285 (9.12.1868)

44In a document on the balance of payments of the school, the administrators complained that having more than 400 pupils created a big burden on the budget of the school, since the administration were forced to undertake some construction expenditures in order to enlarge the school building. However, the administration argued, since this school was also a philanthropic organization for the protection of

institutions; shortly after its establishment, the orphanage was forced to shelter 500 children, though with great difficulty.⁴⁵

3.2.1.1. The Orphans

In the initial (opening) documents of almost all of the *ıslâhhânes*, it is declared that these places were reserved specifically for the orphaned and the destitute children.⁴⁶ In a document from Niş orphanage, it is stated that orphans and destitute children would be put into a new establishment, which was to be called *ıslâhhane*.⁴⁷ In another one from Aleppo, 1869, it is declared that in order to protect orphans and destitute children and to educate them with arts and trades, an *ıslâhhane* was opened.⁴⁸ The Izmir industrial orphanage was defined as “particularly for the orphans” in 1886.⁴⁹ Correspondence from the *ıslâhhane* in Bitlis also bears the same discursive formula: “opened for the education and instruction of destitute orphans”.⁵⁰ The province of Diyarbekir informed the government that an *ıslâhhane* was opened and that destitute and orphan children were gathered in it.⁵¹ One of the latecomers, the Antalya orphanage orphans and destitute children, it was normal that the school spend more than it gained. BOA, İ.DH., 620/43160, 23/Z/1287 (15.3.1871).

45BOA, İ.MF., 14\1326.Za.1, 7/Za/1326 (01.12.1908).

46“Vilâyât Islahhâneleri Nizâmnâmesi...., 277. The first article of the Regulation underlined that the children who deserve to be admitted in the *ıslâhhânes* were orphans (*babası ve anası olmayıb öksüz ve yetim olmak*).

47BOA, A.MKT. MHM., 302/67, 1/M/1281 (6.6.1864): “...peder ve valide veya sair akrabası olmayarak bikes kalan ve fakir ve biçare olan aceze eytamının... kimsesiz kalmış olan çocuklar ıslâhhane namıyla bir mahalle idhal...”

48BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869): “...başı boş gezmekte olan yetim ve bikes çocukların muhafaza ve terbiyeleriyle tahsil-i ilm ve sanat eylemeleri hakkında her vilâyette birer ıslâhhane küşadına...”; “... vilâyetlerce terbiye-yi eytam için ıslâhhaneler küşadı mütelzim ve mukarrer olarak ol-babda kaleme alınmış olan talimat tamimen her tarafa gönderilmiş olduğundan...”

49BOA, İ. DH., 1005/79430, 19/M/1304 (17.10.1886): “İzmir şehrinde eytama mahsus olarak tesis ve küşad kılınmış olan ıslâhhane...”

50BOA, DH. MKT., 1376/85, 9/S/1304 (7.11.1886): “Bikes eytamın terbiye ve talimi hakkında müesses olan ıslâhhanenin...”

51BOA., İ.DH., 591/41114, 20.M.1286 (2.5.1869): “... Diyarbekir'de dahi bir

that was opened in 1888, defined its inmate constituency to be made up of motherless and fatherless orphans, which were quite numerous in the province.⁵² The Salonika orphanage's admission criteria was also similar. Motherless and fatherless poor orphans (*babasız anasız ve fakir-ül-hal olması*) would be admitted. In some cases, children having only one parent were also accepted, with the requirement that s/he was powerless (*ebeveyninden biri olsa da bi-kudret bulunması*).⁵³

It is plausible to claim that the primary target of the *islâhhanes* were the orphans. In the regulation of Diyarbekir Industrial School , it was stated that the orphanage would admit both orphans and children of the poor. Yet, it was decided to give priority to full orphans against those who had one or both parents, and to the ones who lost their mothers against those who lost their fathers (Art. 4).⁵⁴ In other words, the school was more interested to educate the orphans as opposed to children of poor parents. In order to be admitted to the Ruse Girls' Orphanage, one has to be a full orphan (*öksüz ve yetim*). One-parented children were also accepted with the requisite that s/he was extremely poor and needy.⁵⁵

3.2.1.2. Refugees

Policemen, reformers, and philanthropists in the Western world have long regarded the immigrants as the chief source of crime and pauperism in the cities. For instance, police chiefs claimed that vagrant children of New York were mostly of Irish and German parentage and complained that immigrant families increased the islâhthane küşad olunub bikes ve bivâye bulunan çocuklar alındığını...

52BOA, Y.MTV., 38/46, 13/S/1306 (19.10.1888): “...anasız ve babasız haylice eytam olub...”

531311 *Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve “Hamidiye” Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311, p. 142.

54BOA, Y.MTV., 206/83, 16/Ca/1318 (11.09.1900): “...4. Madde: Mektebe kayd ve kabul olacak etfal evlad-ı fukaradan olacak ve yetimler ebeveyni olanlara ve validesi olmayanlar ebeveyninden diğeri bulunanlara tercih edilecektir.”

55BOA, C.MF., 131/6542, 3/N/1289 (4.11.1872): “...öksüz ve yetim olmaları ve yahud ebeveyninden yalnız biri hayatta ve fakat fakr u zaruret hasebiyle acz ü dermanda olan takımından bulunmaları...”

“dangerous classes” of the city.⁵⁶ The same discourse, with a stronger emphasis on pity and affection for these miserable people, was also surrounded around the Muslim refugees that appeared in Istanbul and in some cities by at the Black Sea after the 1860s.⁵⁷ Therefore, it is necessary to underline the role of the wars and the problem of refugees, which had an impact on the inmate population of industrial orphanages.

Continuous wars with Russia were followed by sudden and massive flows of refugees toward Istanbul. The first such wave came with the Crimean War, 1853-56, which in the end necessitated a new legal settlement. The 1857 Refugee Law provided poor immigrant families with plots of state land along with exemptions from taxes and military service for a period of 6 to 12 years, depending on their area of settlement. The law, and the Refugee Commission established in 1860, were intended to deal with the influx of refugees, especially from Russian territories after the Crimean War. Between 1854 and 1876 some 300,000 Tatars from Crimea moved into the Empire, along with several hundred thousand Tatars from Nogay and Kuban, and about 500,000 refugees from the Caucasus.⁵⁸ In addition to that, in the aftermath of the 1877-78 war with Russia, there had been an uncontrollable massive flow of Muslim refugees toward the heartland of the Empire. Istanbul and parts of Anatolia received large numbers of refugees.

Although the first *islâhhanes* were established long before the explosion of the big refugee crisis, and although not all the cities, which possessed an industrial orphanage were crushed by the matter, two developments have a certain intersection points in certain contexts. In the first three industrial orphanages, that were opened in the governorship of Danube, together with the children and orphans of the poor and needy, there were especially the refugee children of Tatars and Circassians.⁵⁹ The authorities

56Joseph M. Hawes, *Children in Urban Society: Juvenile Delinquency in Nineteenth Century America*, Oxford University Press, 1971, p. 140.

57This topic will later be discussed in detail in the section concerning the security of the cities.

58Peter N. Stearns, William Leonard Langer (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of World History*, Houghton Mifflin Books, 2001, p. 528.

59BOA, İ.MVL., 584/26270, 26/L/1284, (20.2.1868): “... her nev aceze ve fukaranın ve hususiyle Tatar ve Çerkes muhacirlerinin etfal ve eytamı alınarak...”. Midhat Pasha also tells in his memoirs that the children of Circassian and Tatar refugees was a big problem to solve at that time, p. 53.

thought that after the opening of the girls' orphanage, its constituency would also be made up of mostly refugees.⁶⁰ The prediction proved to be true, since in the girls' orphanage of Ruse, there were actually refugees of Abkhasian origin.⁶¹ This organic link was also expressed in the finances of the institution, such that the governorship decided to assign 150.000 *guruş* for the construction of the girls' orphanage from the tithes of the refugees (*muhacirin aşarı*).⁶²

The same thing held true for the orphanage of Trabzon. In a document dated 1864, it is reported by the authorities in Trabzon that the orphans and destitute children of the refugees, *muhacir*, probably of the Crimean War, were in a miserable position, since they were bereft of their parents and unable to gain their livelihood (*peder ve maderleri vefat edüb yalnız ve maişetsiz kalmış olan zükur ve inas etfali*). In the end, the governorship decided to collect these children and shelter them in a rented building, where they were taken care of and educated by appointed workers.⁶³ This actually was how the industrial orphanage of the city was established.

After the above mentioned refugee crisis of 1878, the *ıslâhhane* of Izmir also admitted some refugee children.⁶⁴ The governorship of Aydın decided to assume the circumcision of the refugee children settled in the orphanage together with the ones

⁶⁰*Ibid.*: “...inas ıslâhhanesinde bulunacak yetimelerin en çoğu zükur ıslâhhaneleri gibi muhacir takımından bulunacađına...”

⁶¹BOA, DH.MKT., 2413/113, 16/C /1318 (11.10.1900).

⁶²BOA, İ.MVL., 584/26270, 26/L/1284, (20.2.1868).

⁶³BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 300/9, 5/Z/1280 (11.05.1864) “... o makule muhacir eytam ve sübyanı bi-l-tefrik toplanub münasib bir hane istikrasıyla ik'ad ve emr-i terbiye ve idareleri hakkında hizmetçiler tayin olarak baktırılmakta...”

⁶⁴Izmir had received a series of refugees after significant wars that the Ottomans fought. The first comers were some Tatars, who came after the war with Russia in 1774. As a result of this wave a new neighborhood was established, Keefe. Then, after the Crimean War, some groups of Crimean refugees were settled in the same area. However, the biggest immigration took place after the Russian War of 1877-78. Many Muslims from Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Montenegro arrived at Izmir and they were settled on a state land in the south of the city, between Kadifekale and Değirmendağı. Fikret Yılmaz, “Portrait d'une Communauté Méconnue: les Musulmans”, in *Smyrne, la Ville Oubliée? 1830-1930*, Marie-Carmen Smyrnelis (ed.), Paris: Autrement, 2006, pp. 52-62.

settled with some families, whose number added up to 212.⁶⁵ However, the industrial school in Istanbul was already very crowded such that the school administration had to refuse the entry of refugee children. For that reason, Saffet Pasha suggested the opening of a new such institution particularly for 500 such refugee boys and asked for assignment of funds from the treasury to meet the expenses of rent, construction of workshops, importing of necessary machinery, clothing and feeding of the children, etc.⁶⁶ Although the proposed school was never opened, the government tried to solve the problem by admitting these boys to various military schools and industrial branches of the army.⁶⁷

3.2.1.3. Non-Orphaned Children of the Poor and Needy

It is important to underline one common specialty of orphanages in many different localities and historical periods. Although the name of the institution is coming from the root orphan in many languages (orphanage, orphelinat, waisenhaus, yetimhane, etc.), it is fairly widespread that many non-orphans were sheltered in these establishments, which provided temporary or permanent care for children whose parents were in distress. Many poor children, who had quite a number of their relatives alive – one or both parents, siblings, aunts, uncles – were handed over to orphanages. Some industrial orphanages, therefore, were also some form of gratis boarding schools, where parents of small means secured excellent training for their children with no cost for the family. In fact, the institutional world of children was not one defined by rigid boundaries. Beyond the obvious and frequent “trespassing” of legitimate or parented children in foundling homes and orphanages, the institutions created could not always accommodate their intended populations. So we find foundlings kept in hospitals, or unruly children

65BOA, Y. PRK. BŞK., 1/49, 20/Za/1295 (15.11.1878): “...Saye-yi merahimvaye-yi hazret-i padişahide mensucat-ı mütenevvia umumiyetle işgal ve ikdar edilmek üzer mukaddema İzmir ıslahhanesine alınan muhacirin orada yanlarında okuyub yazmak ve sanayi öğrenmekde bulunan eytamı ile İzmir mahallatına yerleştirilmiş olan etfal-i muhacirinden henüz emr-i mesnun-ı hitanları icra olunmamış olan etfal 212 adede baliğ olduğu...”

66BOA, Y. EE., 44/138, 10/R/1298 (10.2.1881).

67BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK., 5/38, 16/M/1299 (8.12.1881); BOA, İ.DH., 841/67590, 21/M/1299 (13.12.1881).

committed by their parents to the authorities for “correction” ending up in judiciary prisons; and orphans, for lack of orphanage, classified as vagabonds and sent to a reformatory. Therefore, we need to imagine a world of poor, needy children in flux, some finding, or being forced into, institutional situations and others outside the doors of institutions.

It is an interesting topic why poor parents agreed to give away their children at an age where they could contribute to the family budget. One plausible answer may be to decrease the costs of having him at home. It was a way for the needy to feed their children in circumstances of extreme need. Moreover, poor families also thought that their children would be better fed and taken care of in a state institution and their eventual return would be much profitable for the family, since they can always be employed in some state-linked offices, factories, etc. Therefore, education was a large part of the explanation. The poor wanted their kids to be educated and these institutions were the few venues that they can accomplish this aim without spending money. Therefore, the reason why they sent away their children was usually economic and educational.

One aspect that may be helpful to elaborate and substantiate the discussion would be what we know from earlier periods about instances of families in the countryside to try to have their children admitted to the *Kul* system or of selling girls and boys to slave dealers, as a means of survival of the rest of the family and/or of providing these children with an opportunity to improve their social position considering these slavery systems as tools for plausible mobility.⁶⁸ It can be suggested that parents hoped that by *surrendering* their children to state, they might at least guarantee a better future for

⁶⁸Toledano argues that only some mobility occurred and in general slaves remained within their category. He also criticizes the fact that concubinage is often seen as a channel of upward social mobility for white female slaves. Yet, he also gives examples of families being forced to sell their daughters into slavery (Chapter 2). Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998, pp. 17, 167. On the other side of the coin, according to the testimonies of some enslaved children, of Circassian and Georgian origins, considered their positions within their master's house as better, since they were living in a wealthy household and they had chances of getting into the army or making a successful marriage. Hakan Erdem, “Kırım Savaşı'nda Karadeniz Beyaz Köle Ticareti”, in *Savaştan Barışa: 150. Yıldönümünde Kırım Savaşı ve Paris Antlaşması (1853 - 1856) : Bildiriler*, İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, 2007, pp. 85-118.

them, if not glamorous opportunities of upward mobilization.

Another aspect to deepen the discussion may be the question of parents-children relations and emotions, which is a major question in history of children and childhood in general. Despite the insistence of earlier works on parental indifference of the earlier centuries, it is argued in most of the recent works that the seemingly insensitive treatment of many poor children in the past was not necessarily a sign of unconcern.⁶⁹ Given the information available on the dire material situations in which so many parents found themselves, they likely made a choice calculated to best serve the interests of both the child and the family. The parents may choose to send children to work in orphanages, factories, or even mines, and may have cared deeply for their children at the same time. Although not much has been written on this by social historians of the Ottoman world,⁷⁰ it seems plausible to argue that poor parents were using the industrial orphanages as state-subsidized boarding schools.

Many of the *islâhhanes* of the Empire, though keen on to present a scheme of priorities and give privilege to the orphans, were not reserved to orphans only. Analysis of the documents on a number of industrial orphanages show that these institutions were founded to relieve some poor families as well. In the Regulations of the Aleppo orphanage, the targeted student body was defined as the children of the poor from all communities of the Empire (*teba-yı devlet-i aliyeden her sınıf fukarası evladından*).⁷¹ In Antalya industrial orphanage, opened in 1888, there were many children of poor parents, who were in a miserable position and unable to provide for the education of

⁶⁹Ipsen, 7.

⁷⁰One of the leading scholars of Medieval Muslim society, Avner Giladi, has dealt with these questions for earlier periods and in legal texts. *Children of Islam: Concepts of Childhood in Medieval Muslim Society*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992; "History of Childhood in Premodern Muslim Societies." In *Individu et Société dans le Monde Musulman Méditerranéen*, vol. 0: "Etat des lieux," U. Harmaan et al (eds.), Paris, 1998, pp. 57-68; "İslam Uygarlığında Bir 'Çocukluk' Kavramı Var mı?" , in *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Değişen Çocukluk*, Bekir Onur (ed.), Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Çocuk Kültürü Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Yayınları, 2001, pp. 105-115.

⁷¹BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869): "Üçüncü madde – Islâhhaneye alınacak çocuklar teba-yı devlet-i aliyeden her sınıf fukarası evladından nizamname-yi mahsus vechile yazılacak ve bunlara yevmiye yirmişer para katık bahasıyla yarımşar okka ekmek verilecek ve bu akçeler dahi yine yeter saikde gösterildiği vechile şimdilik matbaa sandığından taavukan ita kılınacaktır."

their children.⁷² Also before the opening of the Monastir industrial orphanage, it was specified that the institution would serve for the education and instruction of the children of the poor.⁷³

It is also necessary to take into account the issue of humiliation. Although these orphanages provided a good education and training, it would be still degrading for the children of affluent families to work more than 6 hours in the workshops, as shoemakers, carpenters, or tailors, and to be employed in the factories as laborers with a daily wage.⁷⁴ In other words, industrial schools had to target orphans and poor children, since otherwise they would have difficulty in enrolling children of middle and upper classes.

3.2.1.4. Voices of Children

This analysis, where it is attempted to discuss the motivations of the state, the schools, the city planners, the industrial reformers, and even the families, leaves very little if any possibility to hear the voices the leading actors and actresses of the play: the children who were educated in these industrial orphanages.⁷⁵ Although we know that orphans, refugee children, and the children of the poor and needy were educated in these

72BOA, Y.MTV., 38/46, 13/S/1306 (19.10.1888): “...anasız ve babasız haylice eytam olub bunlardan ekserisi fukrani-yi kudret ve --- zaruret mülabesesiyle merkeze gelip tedris ve istihsal-i maarif ve teşerrüf etmekten mahrum kalmakta oldukları görülmüş...”

73BOA, Y.MTV., 192/48, 8/Ra/1317 (07.08.1897): “...sair vilâyet-i şahanede olduğu gibi Manastır vilâyet-i alisi fukara etfalinin dahi talim ve terbiyesi için vilâyet-i müşarileyh merkezinde tesis ve küşadı musammem olan ıslâhhane...”

74Specificities of education in these industrial orphanages are discussed separately in the relevant section.

75Eve M. Troutt Powell, underlined the difficulty of hearing the real voices of the slaves. Researching more than 6000 slave narratives, she noticed a remarkable similarity in their discourses, which led her to the conclusion that white American abolitionists worked as editors of these stories. In other words, even in the presence of actual testimony, to hear the genuine *voice* may be rather difficult. Eve M. Troutt Powel, “Will that Subaltern Ever Speak?: Finding African Slaves in the Historiography of the Middle East” in *Middle East Historiographies: Narrating the Twentieth-Century*, Israel Gershoni, Amy Singer and Hakan Erdem (eds.), Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2006, pp. 242-61.

orphanages, the archival documents and other secondary sources actually say very little about the children. Were they happy or sad? Were they under hard conditions or better off compared to their former experiences of poverty in the streets? Did they miss their parents and run out? Did they ever become *somebody* some day? All these questions requires the testimony of the children who really spent a part of their lives in the industrial orphanages. Although writing autobiographies and memoirs have become fashionable in the twentieth century, it was not possible for me to find any autobiographies of former orphans or children who graduated from one of these institutions.

Instead what we have from the archival sources are some petitions and notes of gratitude to the sultan, where his benevolence is praised for what he did to them. In a letter from 1869, allegedly written by the orphans of Izmir orphanage to thank to the sultan, together with the *vali* and the notables of the province, the orphans said “We, having no mother and no father, while previously creeping naked in the mud, we had no one to help, no one to give a hand, and no one to provide us education so that we could attain salvation and well-being. Many thanks to God that now we are saved from that misery and we have been given this happiness”.⁷⁶ The letter is full of repetitive exclamations of “Long Live the Sultan!”

In 1886, the orphans of the *ıslâhhane* of Izmir sent another letter of gratitude (*varaka-ı şükraniye*) to the sultan when a new plot of land was granted to the orphanage in order to increase its income.⁷⁷ The orphans thanked to the sultan for his benevolence (*inayet-i mahsuse*), since he provided to them, little kids, education and affection (*peder ve maderimizin agûş-ı şefkat ve terbiyesinden mahrum*), which were taken away from them with the death of their mothers and fathers.⁷⁸ Another “thanks note” written by the students of Ruse Girls' Orphanage in order to show their gratitude to the sultan, due to

76BOA, İ.DH., 604/42096, 21/Ş/1286 (26.11.1869): “...bizler daha evvelleri anasız babasız çıplak olarak sokaklarda ve çamurlar içinde sürünürken yardım eden ve elimizden tutan ve terbiye edüb selamete çıkaracak kimsemiz yoktu. Çok şükürler olsun ki şimdi o sefaletten kurtulup bu saadete nail olduk.”

77BOA, Y.PRK.UM., 9/42, 22/S/1304 (20.11.1886).

78*Ibid.*, “...küçük yaşlarımızda iken peder ve maderimizin agûş-ı şefkat ve terbiyesinden mahrum kaldığımız için vaktile İzmir'de tesis olunan ıslâhhane dairesine alınarak... peder ve maderin nazar-ı latifi ve nüvazişinden dûr ve bizler gibi hal-i sabavetinde iken hatırları meksur kalan eytamın...”

his imperil gift (*2500 yirmilik mecdiye*), also does not suggest much to hear the voices of children.⁷⁹

The problem here is that it is a very small probability that the children wrote these letters themselves, as the language is too sophisticated for them.⁸⁰ With this form of evidence, what we can see is the image of the children from the viewpoint of the state and school administrators, who chose to picture the children as saved, happy, and grateful creatures. It was assumed that the state and the sultan were like their new parents, who gave them love and affection, together with food, security, and education. In other words, these documents can only exhibit how state employees dealing with the orphans reconstituted their own professional involvement in this project of orphanages.

Petitions, for that reason, may paint a more accurate picture of the viewpoint of the children. Natalie Zemon Davis argues that letters of remission, and for that matter other letters of grievance and petitions, are one of the best sources “of relatively uninterrupted narrative from the lips of the lower orders”, especially due to the fact that letters and memoirs from silenced people of the past, such as peasants, artisans, women, and especially children are rare.⁸¹ In March 1914, Ali bin Ahmed, a second year student of Salonika industrial orphanage wrote a petition, where he told that he had to migrate to Istanbul as a result of the war in the Balkans and loss of territory. As an orphan, having no sources of livelihood, he was forced to apply to the charity of the sultan. In his petition, he pledged to be transferred to the orphanage of Damascus as the petitions of some of his co-scholars had already been approved.⁸² This petition is important, since it underlines the pupils' actual desire to be in the orphanage. Also his willingness to go as far as Damascus may be treated as a sign of his desperation in Istanbul as an orphan, having no one to rely on. However, this is still too scanty of information to give

79BOA, İ. DH., 716/50047, 11.M.1293 (5.5.1876).

80Hakan Erdem underlines the difficulty of hearing the voices of subordinates. In his analysis of the Ottoman authorities' investigation in Spring 1855 of enslaved Georgian children, who claimed that they were happy with their masters and that they did not want to go back, Erdem doubted that this was *their voice* that spoke. It has to be underlined that when subaltern had a chance to speak it is normal that it speaks with the voice of superior. Erdem, “Kırım Savaşı'nda ...”, 108-111.

81Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987, p. 5.

82BOA, DH. İD., 190/37, 15/C/1332 (11.5.1914).

significant clues on the voices of children, which seems to be in most of the part in mist for contemporary social historian.⁸³

It is frequently underlined that court records are the main key to the lives of any group of people, “the closest we shall ever get to hearing and imagining their voices”, since it is in the courts that life dramas unfolded.⁸⁴ However, in the case of minor age orphans, who grew up in an institutional setting, there is smaller possibilities that there would occur court cases, like the ones discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore, there is still need to find further source material to go deeper into the voices of the children educated in the industrial orphanages.⁸⁵

3.2.2. Curriculum and Educational Principles

The aim of both industrial and formal education in industrial orphanages was to prepare the inmates to become responsible and dependable workers. Supervisors and teachers demanded good habits and polite manners. Boys and girls learned to be orderly, industrious, punctual, law-abiding, polite, reliable, and obedient. In a structured workshop environment there would be additional time to instill in the orphans such values as good work habits, diligence, achievement, self-reliance, initiative, neatness, and group cooperation. More importantly, education in industrial orphanages emphasized good moral conduct rather than intellectual learning.

The formal education in the industrial orphanages was always limited to introduction to reading and writing skills (*kıraat ve kitabet gibi şeylerin mukaddematı*).⁸⁶ Since the schools preferred to be specialized on industrial training, the

⁸³Ethnographic studies and oral history in the particular cities, where there used to be an industrial orphanage, might be of help, since valuable information can be gathered on the lives of the graduates of these institutions.

⁸⁴Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007, p. 260.

⁸⁵The closest was the lists of the children sent from Ruse and Istanbul orphanages to Paris for study, that is discussed in the Chapter and the actual list was provided at the end. However, it was not possible to trace these children and find whether they have left autobiographical evidence or not.

⁸⁶BOA, Y.PRK.UM., 9/42, 22/S/1304 (20.11.1886).

courses offered were limited to alphabet, pieces of Tebareke and Amme from Koran, writing, reading, and four arithmetical operations.⁸⁷ The curriculum, which the Ministry of Education had worked out, allowed around two hours a day in the morning (before the lunch break) for formal education.⁸⁸ In the curriculum of *Dariilhâyr-ı Âlî*, the students were expected to study or work for 13,5 hours a day (Art. 55). Their study hours could occupy at most 135 minutes (3 classes of 45 minutes each) of their day (Art. 56). But in the weekly program of the school, these courses were indicated as 30 minutes each.⁸⁹ In some sources the formal education was defined as primary school education. The governorship of Diyarbekir, for instance, argued that the schedule of the *islâhhane* would start every morning with the instruction of school lessons (*sübyan dersi*), which would be followed with training of arts and crafts, as the regulations (*tâlimat*) formerly sent from the center dictated.⁹⁰

The larger part of the curricular program in *islâhhanes* was the teaching of trades and skills. The children were supposed to work in the ateliers at least 5-6 hours a day in the afternoon.⁹¹ Although the term industrial orphanage was used throughout the chapter, it should also be underlined that the orphanage as an institution almost always provided vocational training, especially for the boys. The importance of self-help programs such as industrial training for the poverty stricken children were underlined simultaneously in other parts of the world as well.⁹² Industrial education was supported tremendously since it would prepare the orphans and poor children, who needed to stand

87Sakaoğlu, 79.

88“Şakirdan cumadan maada her gün sabahleyin dershanelere girerek iki saat ders ile iştigal eyledikten sonra...”: *1311 Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve “Hamidiye” Mektebi Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311, p. 142.

89BOA, İ.MF., 9/1321-S-6, 18/S/1321 (16.05.1903).

90BOA., İ.DH., 591/41114, 20.M.1286 (2.5.1869): “... bunların talimâtına tevfikân beher gün ibtida sübyan dersi okutulurak bade tahsis olunan sanatlara hidm ettirilmek üzere...”

91BOA, İ.MF., 9/1321-S-6, 18/S/1321 (16.05.1903).

92The Children's Aid Society of New York opened workshops where boys could earn money and learn a trade, stressing the idea of self-help. American self-help cult, the philosophy that an honest, industrious, frugal, and virtuous young man could not fail to rise in the society, was very strong in the minds of the founders of the Society.

alone in the long run, for a job in life. Social work and education journals, as well as small pamphlets of the nineteenth century testify to the support for industrial schools.⁹³ In these orphan asylums boys were trained to be dependable, obedient workers.⁹⁴ The educational mission of these institutions was usually to fit the boys out for their future life. All were instructed to love work and dislike being idle.⁹⁵ McCants argues that another reason behind industrial training was to provide youngsters with useful activities to occupy idle time. The reformers were concerned that the children utilize their leisure hours productively and not consume them on foolish activities.⁹⁶

As already discussed all of the *islâhhanes* were focused on industrial education. These schools comprised a number of proper workshops for certain trades, for the direction of which skilled masters were employed. As already mentioned the percentage of the time that the children spent in the industrial departments were usually larger than their proper school education. Moreover, the children were not allowed to leave the school before they finish their training in a particular trade. The same procedure was not followed for formal education: Students who became masters in their craft were allowed to quit their studies.⁹⁷ Also in order to turn each orphan to a skilled tradesmen, it was prohibited for students to move from one trade branch to the other.⁹⁸

Establishment of an industrial orphanage in Skopje was considered to be necessary in order to provide destitute children and orphans some skill-based instruction

93Marilyn Irvin Holt, *The Orphan Trains: Placing Out in America*, University of Nebraska Press, 1992.

94In this section, the children that we are talking about were generally boys, since the schools for girls were not directed at preparing them to work in the exact sense of the word. As it is discussed in detail in the chapter on adopted girls and *beslemes*, girls were inculcated other virtues for other purposes in life.

95Gary Edward Polster, *Inside Looking Out: The Cleveland Jewish Orphan Asylum, 1868-1924*, Kent: The Kent State University Press, 1990, p. 15.

96Anne C. McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age: Orphan Care in Early Modern Amsterdam*, Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997, p. 63.

97From the Regulations of *Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli*, Art. 58-59. BOA, İMF., 9/1321-S-6, 18/S/1321 (16.05.1903): "...sanatta ikmal etmedikçe mektebden çıkamaz." Also Art. 69 mentions that there are two types of diplomas for the graduates, one indicates graduation in both formal and industrial education, while the other is a diploma for only industrial training.

98*Ibid.*, "...Bir sanattan diğerine geçmek gayr-ı caizdir."

on certain crafts and trades.⁹⁹ In other words, the institution was indispensable to secure a decent training for this group of children. The *ıslâhhane* of Antalya hoped to turn these poor orphans into skillful and talented practitioners of a certain trade, as an act of benevolence for the needy.¹⁰⁰ The orphans in Izmir orphanage were defined as children who were learning to read and write and vocational skills (*sanayi öğrenmekte*).¹⁰¹

The trades instructed were similar to one another, despite certain specificities of some of the institutions. In Izmir, for instance, the orphans were taught tailoring, shoe-making, rug-weaving, cabinet-making, and publishing.¹⁰² In Aleppo, the children were trained only in tailoring and shoe-making, in order to manufacture the uniforms and the shoes of the municipal police.¹⁰³ In Diyarbakir, there were four different workshops: tailoring, shoe-making, aba weaving, and shawl weaving. Within a short period of time, the shoes for the gendarmes were being manufactured in the institution.¹⁰⁴ In *ıslâhhane* or *İslâh-ı Sanayi Mektebi* [School for the Reformation of Industry] of Istanbul (1869), there were 19 different trade departments such as iron-working, cabinet-making, foundry, architecture, tailoring, shoe-making, match manufacturing, lead pipe production, typography, lithography, and book-binding.¹⁰⁵ In fact with its well-equipped workshops, experienced masters, and large labor force, the school was almost a factory. Some of the trades were taught in other factories of the capital. Brick and roof tile production was taught in the factories around Karaağaç. Leather-working was also

99BOA, DH. MKT., 1881/116, 20/Ra/1309, (24.10.189): “...bikes etfalin talim-i sanat eylemeleri için bir ıslâhhane tesisi lüzumu...”

100BOA, Y.MTV., 38/46, 13/S/1306 (19.10.1888): “... bu misüllülerin dahi hassa-mend şeref ve meziyet olmaları maksad-ı hayrı...”

101BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK., 1/49, 20/Za/1295 (15.11.1878): “... İzmir ıslâhhanesine alınan ... orada ... okuyub yazmak ve sanayi öğrenmekde bulunan eytam...”

102BOA, İ.DH., 604/42096, 21/Ş/1286 (26.11.1869): “...terzilik ve kunduracılık ve kilim nesci ve tab'at sanatları...”

103BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869).

104BOA., İ.DH., 591/41114, 20.M.1286 (2.5.1869).

105For further information on this institution, Yaşar Semiz, Recai Kuş, “Osmanlıda Mesleki Teknik Eğitim: İstanbul Sanayi Mektebi (1869-1930)”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no.15, Fall 2004, pp. 275-295.

practiced in the mills of Kazlıçeşme and Beykoz.¹⁰⁶

To some extent the inmates taught themselves, since the Lancastrian Monitorial system of instruction was partially used. The system, whereby more advanced students taught less advanced ones, was devised in the late eighteenth century by a teacher in England, Joseph Lancaster, who found it necessary to keep educational costs down in order to continue teaching poor people in the area. This system was organized so that one master teacher could instruct from 200 to 1,000 pupils at one time. The pupils would be divided into groups of ten taught by a monitor who was responsible for issuing books and slates to pupils.¹⁰⁷ As they learned the lessons appropriate for their group, students were promoted to the next group. In the Regulations of the Diyarbekir Industrial Orphanage, it was mentioned that those reaching to the age of 20 were entitled to leave the school. However, those who completed their courses before that age were to be employed as assistant teachers.¹⁰⁸ Also in *islâhhane* of Izmir, the students were employed as masters for the instruction of smaller children. Eşref Efendi, from among the students of the school (*mekteb talebesinden*) was employed as the master of sock-making workshop, whereas Bedros Efendi became the assistant (*kalfa*) in carpentry workshop.¹⁰⁹

3.2.3. Gendered Choices and Solutions

Ideally, there should not be a sub-title “gender” but rather the notion of gender should shape the entire discussion, since potentially it may produce significant insights on the entire orphanage system. Yet, it is a fact that most of these industrial orphanages

106Midhat Paşa, 81.

107Carl F. Kaestle, *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement: A Documentary History*, Teachers College Press, 1973.

108BOA, Y.MTV., 206/83, 16/Ca/1318 (11.09.1900): “9. Madde – Mektebde müddet-i tahsiliyesini ikmal edib de mektebden çıkmak için muayyen olan yirmi yaşını tekmil etmeyenler muallim muavinliğiyle tevzif ve istihdam olunacak ve mektebden çıkmak zamanı geldiğinde kendisine sermaye olmak için şehri on beş guruş maaş müstehak olacaktır.”

109*Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Aydın* (1319 Sene-yi Hicriyyesine Mahsus), [Izmir]: Vilâyet Matbaası, 1319, pp. 88-9.

were opened to educate boys and most of the specialties of these institutions were generally deduced from boys' orphanages. Among the industrial orphanages that were documented in this study (34), only one fifth of them had girls in their student body. In other words, if we were able to provide detailed numerical information on the student body of the orphanages, the girls would remain a minority. Although there were a number of separate girls' orphanages, mixed education was very exceptional and rare. Yet, there is evidence that there were both boys and girls in the Kastamonu orphanage.¹¹⁰

The weakness of the institution in girls' education is understandable if we take into account the fact that the first secondary school for girls was opened in 1858. Although the curriculum of the first female *rüşdiyye* school in Istanbul is unknown, it probably included courses on sewing and embroidery.¹¹¹ With a similar emphasis Midhat Pasha started the construction of the first girls' industrial orphanage in Ruse, the center of the *vilâyet*, in 1868.¹¹² After the opening of the boys' industrial orphanage in the city in 1864-5, revenues from certain real estates increased the income of the institution to 300.000 *guruş*,¹¹³ as a result of which Midhat Pasha established a girls' orphanage, next to the one for the boys.¹¹⁴ In fact, the initial idea was to add girls' orphanages also to the other two (in Niş and Sofia) and the opening of the Ruse girls' orphanage would only be a beginning.¹¹⁵ Girls' industrial orphanages were also opened

110Kemâl Kutgün Eyüpgiller, “Kastamonu Kent Tarihi”, *Electronic Journal of Oriental Studies*, vol. 1, 1998, p. 106.

111Somel, 57.

112The orphanage was finally opened in the end of 1872. BOA, C.MF., 131/6542, 3/N/1289 (4.11.1872): “Mukaddema Rusçuk'da inşa olunan kız ıslâhhanesi on beş güne kadar küşad olunacağından...”

113From among the real estates of the orphanage, there was a building in Silistre rented by the Austrian steamboat company with a yearly rent of 100 Hungarian gold coins. In 1876, there was a dispute with the company concerning the currency rate, since the company insisted that 1 gold coin was worth 54 *guruş*, whereas the office of the district (kaymakamlık) argued that it was 56. The next year, the orphanage collected 3264,5 *guruş* as rent from its properties in Silistre. BOA, C.BL., 109/5403, 18/Ş/1293 (8.9.1876).

114Midhat Paşa, 52-3.

115BOA, İ.MVL., 584/26270, 26/L/1284, (20.2.1868): “... inas için elzem olan ıslâhhanelerden şimdilik yalnız birisinin tesisi... ileride karşılığı bulduğukça sair iktiza

in Üsküdar in 1878 and in Aksaray and Cağaloğlu in 1879.¹¹⁶

The educational schemes of the girls' orphanages were different, since the reformers assumed that the special condition of women require a different education (*inasın ahvâl-i mahsusuna muvafık*).¹¹⁷ Both formal and industrial parts of the curriculum were smaller, granted that sewing and embroidery were not considered trades but only feminine handicraft (*tahsil-i hüner ve marifet*).¹¹⁸ According to the Regulation of the Girls' Orphanage of Istanbul, which was proposed to be opened in 1883, girls would learn to read and write, together with some religious precepts. There would be only some industrial training (*biraz da sanayi*) in the program.¹¹⁹ In a similar respect, the Regulations of Girls' Industrial Schools, which was finally prepared in 1884, suggested the instruction of reading, writing, Koran, religion, arithmetics, history, geography, sewing, knitting, painting, embroidery in its 5 years long education.¹²⁰

As it became clearer in later years, girls' education took a different direction, quite separate from the development of education in general. The girls were not trained to become productive or to be abstained from idleness, they were prepared to become virtuous and capable mothers and housewives.¹²¹ As a part of this way of thinking, female education was based on housekeeping duties and rules of proper moral conduct. The *islâhhanes* followed these principles in their curricula as well. Together with “feminine handicraft” like sewing, knitting, and embroidery, they were instructed on proper female behavior. In the program of Ruse Girls' Orphanage, there was an

eden mahallere dahi yapılmak üzere şimdilik Rusçuk'ta...”

116Mehmet Ö. Alkan, “Modernization From Empire to Republic and Education in the Process of Nationalism” in *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey*, Kemal H. Karpat (ed.), Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 47-132.

117BOA, İ.MVL., 584/26270, 26/L/1284, (20.2.1868).

118BOA, İ.MF, 10/1322-L-4, 12/L/1322 (19.12.1904).

119BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 4/29, 29/Z/1300 (31.10.1883).

120“Kız Sanayi Mektebinin Teşkili, 21 Receb 1301, 5 Mayıs 1300 (17.05.1884)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, Zeyl 4, Istanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1302 (1885), pp. 119-124; Sakaoglu, 79.

121This is a subject requiring separate studies in its own sake. There is more information on this topic in Chapter 2, “Beslemes in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire”.

interesting topic, *edebiyat-ı insaniyye*. Also literal translation means human literature, the term most probably referred to courses on etiquette.¹²² The girls were most probably taught Saadi's *Bostan* (The Orchard) and *Gulistan* (The Rose Garden), which contain moralistic aphorisms and teaching stories, in addition to many proverbs, quotations and practical wisdom.¹²³ It may also be the case that they were instructed with other basic texts on morality of the Near East, such as Mütenebbi the Poet.¹²⁴

The education of girls also required special attention on the issue of educators. The governorship of Danube decided that it was necessary to find women teachers (*kadın muallimler vasıtasıyla*) for the girls' orphanage of Ruse.¹²⁵ For the industrial orphanage of Istanbul, the reformers thought that in order to decrease the costs and assure the security of the girls at the same time, some eunuchs from the imperial harem may be transferred to this institution, since it was argued they were not really deserving the salary they were paid in harem.¹²⁶ Given the traditional policies of the Empire regarding education of the girls, the method was nothing but re-invention of harem tradition, with women masters to teach and castrated guards to protect.

Furthermore, the spatial locations of girls' orphanages may require certain adjustments as well. Adjacent to Yedikule weaving factory, there was a girls' orphanage for destitute girls (*bivâyegân etfal-i inâs*). The orphanage was opened by the Ministry of Imperial Arsenal in 1869-1870 in the unused building of the gunpowder factory (*baruthane*), with 50 girls as its first inmates, where they were taught basic skills in

122BOA, İ.MVL., 584/26270, 26/L/1284, (20.2.1868): "...yetimelerin elbası ve iksasıyla beraber talim ve terbiyeleri için münasib kadınlar bulunub edebiyat-ı insaniyye tahsil ettirilmeleri hususuna itina ve rikkat..."

123Saadi's *Bostan*, together with his *Gulistanis*, are considered to be greatest of all Sufi Classics. These two books are regarded as supreme accomplishments of both literature and Sufi thought.

124Ebu't-Tayyib Ahmed ibn el-Hüseyin el-Mütenebbi (915, Kufah, Iraq – 965, Kufah). One of the most important representatives of Arabic poetry.

125BOA, İ.MVL., 584/26270, 26/L/1284, (20.2.1868).

126BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 4/29, 29/Z/1300 (31.10.1883): "Sekizincisi – Saray-ı hümayunda birçok harem agavatı beyhude maaş ve işsiz güçsüz oturmakta bulunmalarından bunlardan icabı kadarı işbu kızların bir takım halatdan muhafaza ile zabt u rabt için yapılacak nizam mucibince hareket ve muamelede bulunacakları."

weaving and tailoring.¹²⁷ The school was transferred in 1883 to a mansion (*Tunuslu müteveffa Mahmud bin İyaz Paşa Konağı*) in Sultanahmet area, since it was argued, due to the inappropriateness of Yedikule the student population of the school was diminishing on a permanent basis.¹²⁸

It is important to note that despite the limits of their educational programs, these institutions became important centers of female education in an environment where female education was in a very primitive level of development. In a short while well-to-do families started to apply to school administrations so that their daughters be admitted into the student cadre, even if they were neither orphans nor poor. After such applications, Ruse Girls' Orphanage decided to admit 3 non-orphaned Muslim girls with a yearly tuition of 500 *guruş*.¹²⁹ During the preparatory discussions of the above mentioned Regulation of 1884, it was mentioned that a special class may be opened for daughters of those families, who wanted to send their children to the school, with an annual fee of admission (Art. 12).¹³⁰ In 1904, the affluent families (*ağniya*) applied the Ministry of Education demanding permission to enroll their daughters to Girls' Industrial School of Istanbul, since in the Regulation of the school only the orphan girls were specified as the student body. These elite parents argued that there was not any equivalent institution for their daughters to provide such a high-level education on a boarding basis. As a result, the Ministry approved to open a special section for these rich girls, with the condition that they pay a yearly fee of 15 *lira*, in two installments.¹³¹

127Sakaoğlu, 79; *Salname 1295*, Dersaadet: Rıza Efendi Matbaası, 1878, p. 256. Later the school was placed under the authority of the Ministry of Education.

128 BOA, İ. DH. 884/70494, 01/B/1300 (18.4.1883): “... mektebin mevken münasebetsizliği sebebiyle cemaatine killet gelmesinden maada idaresi dahi kesb-i müşkülât ettiğinden...”

129BOA, C.MF., 131/6542, 3/N/1289 (4.11.1872).

130BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 4/29, 29/Z/1300 (31.10.1883): “On ikincisi – İşbu mektebe hariçden evladını vermek isteyen bulunduğu halde mekteb dahilinde bir sınıf bulundurularak ve bunlar başka yolda programa yazılıp münasib bir dühuliye ücreti alınacaktır.”

131BOA, İ.MF, 10/1322-L-4, 12/L/1322 (19.12.1904): “...kız sanayi mektebinin kısm-ı leylisi nizamname-yi mahsusu mucibince yetimelere münhasır olub tahsil-i hüner ve maarifet etmek arzusunda bulunan ağniya kızları için leylî bir mekteb bulunmaması hasebiyle meccani talebat kamegan nizamı dairesinde kabul olunmak üzere ... iki taksitte senevi on beş lira ücretle leylî talebat kayd ve kabulü hakkında...”

The need for education for middle or upper class women in the *islâhhanes* was also interpreted from an economic perspective as well. In a letter published in the daily newspaper *Terakki*, by a female reader, Faika, it was noted that due to intrusion of European modes of dressing and tailoring styles into the Empire, Ottoman women were forced to pay large sums to foreign tailors and embroideries. She suggested that women should also go to schools and be educated by knowledgeable teachers, so that they leave their laziness and use their hands and minds. Her solution was to attend the *islâhhanes*, which were instituted for women by the benevolent sultan. The letter, in that sense, stresses the importance of female education and women's labor for the prosperity and development of the country.¹³²

3.2.4. Ottomanist Influences and Ethno-Religious Heterogeneity

Ottomanism germinated from the Tanzimat recognition of the notion of citizenship.¹³³ Its proponents believed that it could solve the political and social issues that the Empire was facing. Influenced from the French Revolution and such thinkers as

The same regulation can also be found in the collection of laws: “Etfal-i yetime mahsûs Leyli Kız Sanayi Mektebi'ne iki taksitte 7 ½ lira alınmak şartıyla evlad-ı ağniyadan nehar-ı tâlibat kabulü hakkında irade-i seniyye, 12/L/1322 (19.12.1904)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 8 (1904-1908), Ankara: Başvekalet Devlet Matbaası, 1943, pp. 109-110.

¹³²*Terakki*, [Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye'nin Organı], no. 5, 14 Şaban 1285 (30.11.1868): “...Bizim için iptida mekteb lazımdır, içinde irfanlı hocalar bulunsun. Aklımız genişlesin. Çok sefahata alıştık, bizi men eden bulunmuyor. Kokonalar evlerimize ayak basmadan evvel bir entari dikmesine 5-10 lira verildiği işitilmiş midir? Frenk işidir deyu 5 kuruşluk şeyi liralarla alıyoruz. Bu modalar çıkmadan çıplak mı gezerdik? Diyelim ki Frenklerin işledikleri zariftir, biz özensek onlar gibi işleyemez miyiz? Şükür, bizim de ellerimiz vardır, aklımız vardır... İşte efendimiz bizim için ıslahhane etmişler, deyu durup söylüyorlar. Oraya gidüp çalışmalıyız. Hamaratlık edüp paramızı kokonalara vereceğimize, kendimiz yiyelim. Pederim Balıkesir'de memur iken o zavallı Anadolu kadınlarını gördüm ki, çalışa çalışa erkeklerden ziyade kazanırlar. Biz hanımlık kurup sanki ne olacağız...”

¹³³The *Hatt-ı Hümayun* of 1856 which promised full equality regardless of religion, and the Nationality Law of 1869 ad promoted a common Ottoman citizenship irrespective of religious or ethnic affiliation were precursors to Ottomanism. Stanford Shaw, Ezel Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. 2, 1808—1975*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 127-128.

Montesquieu and Rousseau, the ideology promoted the equality among the *millets*. Political elites used Ottomanism to achieve consensus among different ethnic and religious communities and foster political and social unity. In terms of policy development and governmentality, Ottomanist thought supported the equality of Muslims and non-Muslims. A series of laws followed to put this concept into effect. Non-Muslims were admitted to the secular schools and allowed to serve in the bureaucracy after graduation. Moreover, many new institutions and bodies were created, in which all the elements of the Empire served alike.¹³⁴

One interesting characteristic of these *islâhhanes* were their religiously mixed character. The first article of the Regulation of the *Islâhhanes* underlined that these institutions were opened for Muslims and Christians alike under the rules of equality (*yerli ve yabancı ve İslam ve hıristiyan her ne olur ise müsavaten kabul olunub*).¹³⁵ In fact, the Regulation of General Education of 1869 had certain articles supporting the mixed education of the Muslims and the non-Muslims. In articles 33 and 34, the opening of *idadis* was planned in cities (*vilâyets*) assuming that it would integrate all Muslim and non-Muslim citizens and would help to educate them in a common cultural atmosphere.¹³⁶ Also, Article 68 of the regulation, on the opening of a female teacher training college (*Dariümuallimat*), ordered that the college consists of two departments, for Muslim and non-Muslim female students. Articles 69 and 70 demanded that the curriculum be the same for both departments.¹³⁷ These policy changes were extensions of the change in the regulations of *rüşdiyye* schools, which started admitting non-Muslim pupils in 1867.

In that sense, the *islâhhanes* that were opened especially in the 1860s and 1870s were influenced from this Ottomanist ideology of the educational policies of the *Tanzimat* era. The orphanage in Niš had an orphan population of 150 Muslim and Christian children. Moreover different instructors were hired for both Muslims and non-

134Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964; reprint, New York: Routledge, 1998, p. 189.

135“Vilâyât Islahhâneleri Nizâmnâmesi....., 277.

136“Maârif-i Umûmiyye Nizâmnâmesi”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 2, Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289 (1872), pp. 184-219.

137*Ibid.*, pp. 196-7.

Muslims¹³⁸ With the same token, the Girls' Orphanage of Ruse (*Ruşçuk Kız ıslâhhanesi*) had also a mixed student body, with both Muslim and non-Muslim girls of the *vilâyet*.¹³⁹ In 1872, there were 30 Muslims and 21 Christians (Bulgarians) in the orphanage.¹⁴⁰ Izmir orphanage, as well, was comprised of a religiously heterogeneous body, although the majority was always Muslims. Its orphan boys, 200 in 1869, 130 in 1886, 136 in 1890, 150 in 1894, 236 in 1899, and 276 in 1901 were made up of Muslims and Christians (mostly Greeks and one or two Armenians and Jews).¹⁴¹ As a part of the same wave of a series of industrial orphanages of 1860s, the *ıslâhhane* of Diyarbekir, opened in 1869, sheltered 60 Muslim and Christian boys in its building within Hasanpaşa Hanı.¹⁴² The orphanage of Damascus, which was first opened in 1869 but discontinued for lack of funds, was re-initiated after the appointment of Midhat Pasha in 1878 with the collection of 200 Muslim and non-Muslim orphans.¹⁴³ In *ıslâhhane* of Istanbul for boys (1869), there would be both Muslims and Christians.

The decision of the religious constitution of the orphanage was probably one of the centrally dictated regulations. Yet, there seems to be some place for negotiation and bargaining. In some cases the local administrators, probably after deliberations in Municipal Councils, decided on the inmate policy of the institution, based on the realities of the urban politics in general. In Aleppo, for instance, it was discussed with

138BOA, A.MKT. MHM., 302/67, 1/M/1281 (6.6.1864): "... islam ve hıristiyan için başka başka hocalar ...islam ve hıristiyan olarak mevcut olan etfal ve eytamin adedi yüz elliye tecavüz ederek şimdiki mahallin bundan ziyadeye tahammülü kalmamış..."

139BOA, C.MF., 131/6542, 3/N/1289 (4.11.1872): "... vilâyet dahilinde mütevattın yerli ve yabancı islam ve hıristiyan her sınıf teba evlad-ı ins..."Üsküb'te tesisi gerekli görülen ıslâhhanenin inşa masrafları için piyango düzenlenmesi sakıncalı görüldüğünden başka bir yol bulunması. BOA, İ. DH., 716/50047, 11.M.1293 (5.5.1876): Letter of gratitude written to the sultan was signed as "All Muslim and Christian Students" (İslam ve Hıristiyan Umum Talebatı).

140BOA, C.MF., 131/6542, 3/N/1289 (4.11.1872).

141BOA, İ. ŞD., 14/629, 16/M/1286 (28.4.1869); BOA, DH. MKT., 1376/30, 07/S/1304 (5.11.1886); *Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Aydın*, 1894/95, pp. 147-153; *Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Aydın*, 1899/1900, p. 490; *Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Aydın*, 1901/1902, p. 89.

142BOA., İ.DH., 591/41114, 20.M.1286 (2.5.1869): "... 60 kadar islam ve hıristiyan çocukları mezkur ıslâhhaneye alınmış...". It is probable that the number of children increased in later years.

143Midhat Paşa, 233.

detail that the admittance of children pertaining to different religious communities (Muslims, Christians, and Jews) as boarding students would create very serious problems, even if the official regulation of the institution had an article enforcing mixed education on a boarding basis. The governor of the province, in his report to the Grand Vizier, argued that leaving aside to stay overnight, it was unacceptable and completely contrary to the currents of fanaticism for various children of this province to sit next to one another.¹⁴⁴ Since the children of all these three religious communities were registered to the orphanage, the governor was reluctant to board them all together, since, he claimed, the religious leaders of the communities would create a big crisis out of it and they would even alienate the children from the school.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, it is decided that the common language of the school be Turkish, and that there would be no mentioning or education of religion within the institution.¹⁴⁶ Yet, the governor was hopeful that in the future, the animosity between these children would wither away and that a real friendship would be developed among them, as a result of which the school administration might re-institute the article on the boarding of children.¹⁴⁷

Therefore, these institutions were earlier cases, where one may come across interesting discussions on education in multilingual and multi-religious schools. The curricular programs of industrial orphanages usually included religious education (*ulûm-ı diniyye*) in general and Koran in particular. Given that some of these orphanages had a multi-religious student body, one is compelled to question whether non-Muslims were instructed Islamic dictums. There is no mentioning that they were exempt from these courses. For instance, we do not know whether 17 Greeks, 1 Armenian, and 1 Jew in the *ıslâhane* of Izmir in 1901-2 were following Koran courses in the first three years

144BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869): “... buraca bir millet çocuklarının diğer millet çocuklarıyla bir mahalde yatıp kalkmaları şöyle dursun oturmaları milletler beynlerinde cari taassubata münafi...”

145*Ibid.*, “... birdenbire geceleri birlikte ıslâhhanede beytutet ettirilmek istenilse rüesa-yı ruhaniyede dürlü dürlü davalar çıkaracakları gibi fesadlarıyla çocukların dahi idarelerinde olan zıddiyet artacağı...”

146*Ibid.*, “... Türkçe tekellüm edüb okumak ve edyandan bahs açtırmamak kaydıyla ...”

147*Ibid.*, “... ezman içinde bittabi ve haset ve zıddiyetleri zail ve ileride birbirlerine ülfetleri hasıl olacağından ol-vakit nizamname-yi mezkurun o hükmü mucibince geceleri dahi ıslâhhanede beytutet ettirilmek üzere...”

of the school program.¹⁴⁸ However, there is evidence on the education of the languages of the non-Muslims. The yearbook for the province of Aydın for 1901-2 notes that there was a teacher for instructing Greek to students, İvan Keşişođlu, despite the fact that the course was not listed in the curriculum of the school, next to other language courses such as Ottoman, Arabic, and Persian.¹⁴⁹ With the same token in the first three industrial orphanages of the Danube, in Niş, Ruse, and Sofia, there were Bulgarian courses for the children of that origin.¹⁵⁰

3.3. Aims of the Industrial Orphanages: Reshaping the Urban Space

Without question, there were significant changes in the second half of nineteenth century urban space in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵¹ The motive behind the changes may be found in the introduction of new forms of knowledge (e.g. *Tanzimat* reforms, educational developments, Western influences), new institutional structures (e.g. municipalities, local councils), and an initiative of central government to resort to inherently new modes of political discipline (e.g. restrictions on begging and vagrancy, new approach to policing); but we may also need to refer to new material and

148 *Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Aydın* (1318 Sene-yi Hicriyyesine Mahsus), [Izmir]: Vilâyet Matbaası, 1318, p. 490.

149 *Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Aydın* (1319 Sene-yi Hicriyyesine Mahsus), [Izmir]: Vilâyet Matbaası, 1319, p. 88.

150 This is understandable given the developments regarding the Bulgarian *millet* around these decades. In the province of Danube, the official newspaper, *Tuna*, was published bilingually. Moreover, legal documents, such as 'Regulation on Provincial Administration' of 1864, or 'Regulation on the Duties of Village Headmen', were translated into Bulgarian. Moreover, in the Language School of Istanbul, there was department for Bulgarian. BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 360/21, 27/S /1283 (10.07.1866); BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 382/43, 16/M /1284 (20.05.1867); BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 393/47, 16/B /1284 (12.11.1867).

151 İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimat Devrinde Osmanlı Mahalli İdareleri (1840-1880)*, Ankara : Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2000; İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Yerel Yönetim Geleneđi*, İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1985; İlber Ortaylı, *Tanzimattan Sonra Mahalli İdareler, 1840-1878*, Ankara: Sevinç Matbaası, 1974.

demographic conditions (e.g. weakness of the local industries against foreign imports, increasing numbers of refugees in the cities as a result of a series of wars) which impelled certain urban economic interests (e.g. training of skilled and cheap labor, rejuvenation of 'national economy') or social groupings (e.g. emerging industrialists, men of commerce) to demand changes in the urban structures.¹⁵² The *islâhhanes* were at the intersection point of all these structures, processes, developments, and new groups, as actors in the urban environment and economic development.

In 1858, the Ottoman reformers tried to unify the administrative systems of the cities by establishing the first municipality system in the sixth ward of Istanbul (Galata and Pera).¹⁵³ This new system began to take root in the provincial cities in the 1860s, with 'Regulation on Provincial Administration' of 1864 (*Vilâyet Nizamnamesi*).¹⁵⁴ 'Regulation on Public Administration of vilâyets' of 1871 (*İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilâyât Nizamnamesi*) introduced a series of regulations for city administration to be applied to all the cities of the Empire.¹⁵⁵ Municipality Law of Istanbul and the Provinces (*Dersaadet ve Vilâyet Belediye Kanunu*) which followed in 1878 prescribed a

152Michael J. Reimer, "Urban Government and Administration in Egypt, 1805-1914", *Die Welt des Islams*, New Ser., vol. 39, no. 3, State, Law and Society in Nineteenth-Century Egypt, Nov. 1999, pp. 289-318.

153The traditional administration of the cities was by and large restricted to assuring an adequate supply of provisions and controlling their prices. This task was carried out not by municipal officials but by officers of the central government who perceived their urban responsibilities merely as an offshoot of their primary duties. What daily administration existed was in the hands of the *Kadis* (Judge) who regulated prices, inspected markets, adjudicated disputes, and served as the general population's link to the central government. These traditional conceptions precluded governmental concern with the provision of municipal amenities or services. These were provided by individual benefactors or the collective efforts of religious groups or guild brotherhoods.

154The Regulation placed the design and upkeep of the city infrastructure, police and fire-fighting duties, public medical care services, welfare programs, and community hygiene concerns under the direction of the municipal council.

155The sphere of jurisdiction of the municipality was enlarged. In regard to city infrastructure, roadway maintenance received the highest priority. The municipality was charged with surveying and registering existing roads, and with the construction and repair of pavement and sidewalks. These expenses were shared by the owners of the shops and houses lining the road, and were distributed according to the width of their frontage. More importantly, there was an article on the opening of charity institutions such as hospitals and *islâhhanes* for the common good of the provinces.

systematic manner of city administration. These last two laws set the frame for the equal participation of Muslims and non-Muslims in all administrative councils, then municipalities, and provincial appeal courts. According to some, the intent of the Ottoman reformers was to create a unified urban space governed by representatives of the populations, and without deference to religion. Their purpose was dual - to reduce the administrative burden and to improve relations amongst communities, which were divided along lines of religious affiliation.¹⁵⁶

The authority of the municipalities was extended to certain works that were either new or previously undertaken by other actors in the Ottoman urban space. These were the construction and maintenance of water supply and drainage canals, the installation of street lighting, the construction of public parks, pavements, public spaces, the control of traffic, garbage collection and street cleaning, quality control for food and for meter tools, and the maintenance of real estate transactions and the population registry. The municipal council¹⁵⁷ took over a number of functions previously carried out by traditional urban organizations, such as Islamic judges (*kadı*), city officials (*şehir kethudası*, *emin*, etc.), and local guilds (*esnafs*). In this regard, then, municipal reform was to integrate the various functions, old and new, into the hands of a single administrative body.

Municipalities occupied an important role in the area of charity as well. They offered ambulance services, assisted homeless people, supplied medical aid to handicapped persons. As one of the earlier examples, it is possible to discuss the first

¹⁵⁶Tetsuya Sahara , “The Making of the Modern Municipal Government in the Ottoman Balkans: The Distribution and Religious Structure of Municipal Councils as seen through the Provincial Yearbooks”, *January Meeting of the AEES* (January 22th, 2000 at Aoyama Gakuin University); Murat Gül, Richard Lamb, “Mapping, Regularizing and Modernizing Ottoman Istanbul: Aspects of the Genesis of the 1839 Development Policy”, *Urban History* (2004), 31: 420-436.

¹⁵⁷The municipal council was an executive organ of the municipality as well as a legislative organ, and was responsible for fulfilling the administrative duties within the jurisdiction of the municipality. In addition, the municipal council bore full responsibility for financial matters. The council checked the accounts of the municipalities at the end of every month, and sent a report to the higher authorities upon approval of the accounts. The income of the municipal council flowed in through various channels, including through property taxes, registration fees for real estate, passport fees, stamp duties, numerous market duties, and through the rent for real estate properties owned by the municipality, as well as through various taxes which were allotted to the municipality according to the customs of the localities.

municipal administration of Istanbul, which created new initiatives in the field of social services and public works. In early 1864, the Municipal Council appointed a municipal doctor to conduct a free clinic for the poor. When the Capital fell victim to the plague a short time later, the municipality provided free immunization for children within the district, employing local churches as vaccination centers. Some interpreted the Ottoman municipalities as “the wedding of the new idea of government responsibility for municipal development to the traditional Islamic concept of charity previously manifested by the donations of the well-to-do on behalf of the poor.”¹⁵⁸

Relief efforts for the poor and the orphans became the duty of the municipality. The provisioning of orphans became an important activity of the municipalities. In the budgets of the municipalities, which largely relied on local income, there were items called “poor relief” with names of poor orphans entitled to monthly stipends. Moreover, the construction and/or operational expenses of some of the industrial orphanages were met by the municipal treasuries. In 1873, the *islâhhane* of Harput was constructed thanks to the benevolent contributions of the local elite. Yet, the orphanage was still in need of finances for the opening expenses (50.000 *guruş*). The Porte ordered the governorship to get the necessary sum from the municipal budget in the form of borrowing (*suret-i taviziyede*).¹⁵⁹ With such new arrangements, communal charity took an institutionalized form in aiding the orphans.

Moreover, in the 'Regulation on Public Administration of *Vilâyets*' of 1871, there was an article rendering each Provincial Council (*Vilâyet Meclisi*) to work for the establishment and maintenance of a hospital and an industrial orphanage in their province.¹⁶⁰ As evidence for the realization of the article, in many provinces, industrial orphanage was opened at the same time with a hospital. The governorship of Edirne wrote to the Porte in 1873 that they finally achieved to establish a *islâhhane* in order to discipline and educate the orphans of the province, together with a hospital for poor and

158Steven T. Rosenthal, “Foreigners and Municipal Reform in Istanbul: 1855-1865”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2. (Apr., 1980), pp. 227-245; Steven T. Rosenthal, *The Politics of Dependency: Urban Refom in Istanbul*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

159BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 446/17, 26/Za/1289 (25.1.1873).

160Necmettin Akyay, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sağlık Örgütleri ve Sosyal Kuruluşlar*, Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Toplum Hekimliği Enstitüsü , 1982.

destitute patients [*gureba hastahanesi*] as the majority of other provincial administrations.¹⁶¹ The simultaneous introduction of industrial orphanage with a hospital was also repeated in Gümülcine (Komotini) in 1878.¹⁶² Also as a part of the new regulation of the provincial administration, in each province a commission was founded for the administration of the affairs relating to the orphanage (*Islahhane Komisyonlari*).¹⁶³ In that sense, *islâhhanes* and the spreading of vocational education for orphans was closely related to the mandate of provincial administrations.

These new arrangements may point to the fact that the reformers regarded the orphans as objects of affection and charity and attempted to organize better forms of care for them. Yet, the orphans were not only pitied, they were also feared. In that sense, the orphans were not only children to be protected, but also vagrants to be disciplined. In that sense, there was a 'control' side of the provincial reorganization.¹⁶⁴ As suggested by numerous researchers working on the field of charity and social welfare policies in the Ottoman Empire, nineteenth century provisions for the poor was very much conditioned with the taming of the urban areas. A discourse of surveillance – security, hygiene, order, all binded up together – targeted the beggars, the orphans, and the destitute. Nadir Özbek, in discussing policies towards beggars and vagrants in Istanbul during the nineteenth century, gives numerous examples of how government officials apprehended beggars and vagrants and put them to work in projects such as road construction or simply expelled them from the city.¹⁶⁵

161BOA, İ. DH., 03/C/1290 (29.7.1873): “...yetime-yi şahanenin ıslah-ı ahvali ve terbiyeleri hakkında vilayat-ı müteşekkilenin ekserisinde birer ıslahhane inşa ve küşad olunmak [ve] garib ve bikes ve bivâye olan hastagân için dahi hastahaneler yapılıp müdavat...”

162BOA, İ.MMS., 59/2781, 01/Ş /1295 (31.07.1878).

163“İdare-i Umumiye-yi Vilâyât Nizamnamesi, 29/L/1287 (23.5.1871)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 1, Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289 (1872), pp. 625-651.

164The municipalities had also police duties, which included supervising the transportation business, issuing permits for and collecting fees from bars and casinos, and cracking down on illegal enterprises.

165Nadir Özbek, “II. Meşrutiyet İstanbul'unda Dilenciler ve Serseriler”, *Toplumsal Tarih*, vol. 64, April 1999, pp. 34-43. There were regulations on vagrants from very early on. Yet, these were ordinary vagrancy laws were designed to coerce people not to leave their lands, and thus to prevent over-population in the cities. This was especially important for the fiscal revenues and provisionalist system of the

Mine Ener argues poor-relief practices cannot be understood only with social control. Despite the introduction of restrictions on poor people's public presence and increasing interventions in their lives, she argues, the word *policing* would not be an apt description of policies implemented in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, since inadequate resources and a certain measure of inefficacy meant that the poor could not be completely regulated or controlled.¹⁶⁶ Ener's formulation correctly moderates the strict lines of the perspective of disciplining by underlining unachieved consequences. In that respect, it is important to reinterpret relief policies and *islâhhanes* with reference to many overlapping urban phenomena and the changing strategies of groups.

3.3.1. Safety and Sterility of the City: Clearance of the Streets from Children

In nineteenth century, the “dangerous child” began to occupy a significant place in international public opinion.¹⁶⁷ The issues of street urchins, throwaways, and underage beggars entered the agenda of the elites, especially in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The period was a crucial one for public anxiety or concern about poor children occupying public spaces. Those spaces included streets, courtyards, and public houses and stood in contrast to other institutional ones that bourgeois opinion had come to recognize as appropriate, namely schools, the family home, the farm, and the factory or workshop. Street children instead occupied unregulated urban space at a time when that space was both expanding and coming more and more under an industrial regime. Cities then were emerging as centers of production.¹⁶⁸

Empire.

¹⁶⁶Mine Ener, *Managing Egypt's Poor and the Politics of Benevolence, 1800-1952*, Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003, p. 15.

¹⁶⁷Anna Davin, *Growing up Poor: Home, School, and Street in London*, London: Rivers Oram Press, 1996; Lydia Murdoch, *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare, And Contested Citizenship in London*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2006, pp. 12-42.

¹⁶⁸Ipsen, 133. Yet, the majority of the children did not occupy that dangerous urban space but continued instead to live in a rural world. And in that rural world the quantity of juvenile suffering surely outweighed anything to be encountered in the

The moral abandonment or neglect of older children, whose presence on Cairo and Alexandria streets as “vagrants” raised concern in the early 1900s, is better attributed to simple material scarcity and the strain of families of rapid and forced urbanization. The problem of untended children grown acute enough by 1908 to prompt the passage of a special law empowering the courts to consign vagrant children to state reformatories until they reached age eighteen.¹⁶⁹ In the Ottoman Empire, as well, various initiatives were developed in order to find a 'solution' to the problem of orphans, destitute and abandoned children, which resulted in systematic and institutional arrangements of the 1860s.

The first discussion on the destitute orphans of cities was made in 1838 under the subject of 'ragged schools'¹⁷⁰ (*gureba mektepleri*). There was a significant interest in the due upbringing of poor orphans. According to the mentality of the period, if they were not educated, they would become thieves and paupers; whereas if they were educated, they would turn into well-conducted and productive laborers. As a result, it was decided that two boarding ragged schools be opened so that orphaned children wandering in the streets be educated.¹⁷¹ However, these schools were never opened and the closest institution to them was *islâhhanes* of the 1860s. A very central theme in justifying this new institution, engaged in gathering and educating the orphans, was wide-spread begging and vagrancy of the children in the streets. In most of the documents, there is reference to the problem of begging.

It should be underlined that expressing concern about the presence of beggars and vagrants in urban areas was a novelty in nineteenth century discourse in the Ottoman Empire, since these were not newly appearing actors of the social life. On the contrary,

cities. That suffering, however, garnered less attention because it occurred in a traditional and familiar setting, not a new, changing, and frightening one. Nor did rural youth appeared to threaten the social order in the way that unregulated poor urban children did.

¹⁶⁹Judith E. Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 156.

¹⁷⁰Ragged schools is a name given to the nineteenth century charity schools in the United Kingdom which provided education and, in most cases, food, clothing, and lodging for destitute children.

¹⁷¹Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, İstanbul: Eser Kültür Yayınları, 1977, p. 627.

begging used to be a recognized 'occupation' with even a guild of its own. More importantly, the issues of public order that are taken as necessary to be policed, such as vagrancy and begging, started to drive the attention of the authorities, although they were not crimes in themselves until 1890s.¹⁷² Apparently, the presence of child beggars undoubtedly could be traced back through centuries but urban growth combined with the aspirations of the modernizing Empire increased both the scale of problem and the anxiety it inspired. General issue of children, especially poor children, and marginalization led to the emergence of the belief that a modern state should both protect children from danger and protect society from dangerous children.

The harsh policy adopted in Britain concerning children's activities in the street had its counterparts in many countries. In European or north American contexts during the same period, a juvenile delinquent was not solely a young person who had broken the law, but who wandered about the streets, neither in school nor at work and who obviously lacked a “good” home and family.¹⁷³ Children engaged in any activities on the streets were readily seen as potential delinquents and risked being treated as such. A very similar definition was embraced by the Ottoman government. In fact, vagrancy of the children was defined in such an extensive way that even the children freely playing games in the streets were defined as vagrants. A very significant announcement was published in the official newspaper of the province of Danube, *Tuna*, in 10 March, 1865. It was declared by the governorship that those children, who play games, sledge (*kızak kaymak*), who disturb the passers-by in the streets during weekdays and in school hours would be first scolded (*tekdir*). Their parents would also be warned. If they did

¹⁷²Until the passage of 'Law on Vagabonds and Suspected Persons', (“Serseri ve Mazannae-i Su-i Eşhas Hakkında Kanun, 9/R/1327 (10.5.1909)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 2, vol. 1 (1908-1909), Istanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1329 (1911), pp. 169-172.) in 1909, the 'Regulation on Vagabonds and suspected Persons', issued in 1890, was the main document defining the public order in the Ottoman Empire. Other important regulation was the one prohibiting begging: “Tese'ülün men'ine dair nizâmname, 13/Ş/1313 (29.01.1896)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 7 (1895-1904), Ankara: Başvekalet Devlet Matbaası, 1941, pp. 48-49.

In Italy, vagabondage and begging had been generally criminalized and according to the Public Security Law of 1889, idle, vagabond, and notorious children under the age of 18, a group that can be referred to as street children, were to be reconsigned to their parents or else, should they be parentless or their parents deemed unfit, sent either to a foster home or to a reformatory. Ipsen, 134.

¹⁷³Hawes, 32.

not behave themselves and continue to act in the same way, they would be put into the *ıslâhhane* as a final solution.¹⁷⁴ In other words, these orphanages were used as a form of punishment for children wandering idly in the streets, even if they were not opened for convicted children. Therefore, it may be expectable that most of the children were put into these places on an involuntary basis, against their or their relatives' will.

According to the interpretation of the Supreme Council (*Meclis-i Vâlâ*) in 1868, the industrial orphanages in the Danube (Niş, Ruse, Sofia) were opened primarily to collect the destitute children and orphans, who used to wander in the streets and perform the ugly act of begging (*zell-i sual*) together with other disgraceful behaviors (*sû-i efali irtikab*).¹⁷⁵ As apparent from the choice of words in the formulation, *zell* and *irtikab*, the council underlines the fact that the acts of these children were interpreted almost as criminal, although none of these vagrants had been charged with a specific offense.

In Aleppo, the governor general was worried about the fact that the orphan children, when uneducated, were strolling in the streets as vagrants and were begging. Moreover, the ones who reached puberty were joining the ranks of those infamous vagabonds of the city.¹⁷⁶ The legitimation behind the opening of Diyarbekir Industrial Orphanage was also similar. It was argued by the city officials that in the center of the *vilâyet*, Amid, there were quite a number of children, who were mostly from surrounding villages or towns of Diyarbekir, begging or wandering in the streets.¹⁷⁷ As

174Tuna *Gazetesi*, no. 2, 10.03.1865. “Çocuklar mektep tatillerinde, cuma ve pazar ve yortu günlerinde muzır olmayan oyunlar oynamağa mezun olup, fakat zararlı oyunlar oynamak ve kızak kaymak ve gelip geçenlere ilişmek ve mektep ve sanat vakitlerinde sokaklarda oynamak yasak olduğundan öyle görülen çocuklar ve velileri iptida tekdir ve ikinci defa da hapis olup yine mütenebbih olmazlar ise o makule çocuklar ıslâhhaneye konulacaktır.”

175BOA, İ.MVL., 584/26270, 26/L/1284, (20.2.1868): “...işbu ıslâhhanelerin yapılmasından maksad-ı asli sokaklarda ve şurada burada zell-i sual ve su-i efali irtikab eden bir takım aceze-yi etfal ve eytamın bir mahall-i mahsusda ictima ettirilerek ...”

176BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869): “... çocukların terbiyelerine bakılmadığı cihetle sokaklarda haylaz gezmekte ve yetim ve bakes olanlar dahi dilenmekte ve bu hal ile hadd-i bülûğu tecavüz edenler adeta Haleb'in meşhur haşeratı cümlesine dahil olmakta olduklarından...”

177Talip Atalay, “19. Yüzyılda Sokak Çocuklarını Topluma Kazandırmada Başarılı Bir Örnek: Diyarbekir Vilâyeti İslâhhanesi”, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e II. Uluslararası Diyarbakır Sempozyumu*, 15 – 17 November 2006.

can be seen, the above mentioned three concerns (wandering, begging, and vagabondage) were all voiced in the document. These acts were condemned in the name of order-keeping even if they were not crimes in themselves. The vagabondage was interpreted as a threat to the increasing circulation of commercial goods in and around cities. The municipality and police, in return, defined their most important task, probably with the interference of the local notables, as the protection of the local community of commerce.¹⁷⁸

The industrial orphanages were, therefore, also opened to respond to a specific “orphan problem” within the cities. In fact, historical data point to the urban character of the orphanages. The “boy problem” was very much prevalent in the official and administrative discourse of the time. The boys in the streets were suspected of unrest and crime and unwanted, not because they were charged with an offense, but simply because they were vagrants. The orphans, the children who profess to have no home, or whose parents have turned them out and did not take care of them were all on the suspect list. The discourse echoed in 'Regulation on Pious Foundations and Orphans of Crete' of 7/Ca/1296 (1879). New regulations directed efforts at training and educating the orphans, destitute and vagrant boys by sending them either to orphanages and schools or to make them work as apprentices. Yet, there was another curious article saying that those who do not show signs of reform (*ıslâh*) in the schools or workshops were to be conscripted into the navy and sent away from the island for long.¹⁷⁹

The discourse around vagrancy and begging comprised certain elements of undesired migration as well. The orphans and the children of refugee families, who were unable to move to the countryside to start a new life of their own, were engaged into begging. Since these people were mostly peasants, they were a burden for the city and they should have been resettled in agricultural districts. In his report/petition (*arıza*)

178Ferdan Ergut, “Policing the Poor in the Late Ottoman Empire”, *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 38, no.2, April 2002, pp. 149-164. Ergut argues that the transition from 'vagrant' to 'criminal' can only be understood with reference to the changing structure of the economy. Vagrancy was criminalized in response to economic developments that attempted to strengthen the 'national economy'.

179“Girit Evkaf İdaresi'ne dair Nizâmnâme, 7/Ca/1296 (29.4.1879)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 4, İstanbul, 1296 (1879), pp. 687-699. Also check, “Girit Evkaf ve Eytâm Nizâmnâmesi'ne müzeyyel mevâdd-ı nizamiye, 19/C/1304 (15.3.1887)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 5 (1884-1888), Ankara: Başvekalet Matbaası, 1937, p. 765.

dated 10.2.1881 to the sultan, Saffet Pasha argued that hundreds of orphans of the Rumelia refugees, who came to Istanbul as a result of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78, were forced into begging.¹⁸⁰ He claimed that before the attack of Russians, it was impossible to encounter a single beggar from Rumelia in *Dersaadet*.¹⁸¹ If these children, he continues, “who have lost their motherland and their relatives”, get used to this sort of livelihood, it would be impossible in the future to lead them into any craft or skill. In that sense, it was found necessary to drive them into a proper livelihood as quickly as possible, before their age turns out to become an impediment.¹⁸² Pasha's final suggestion was the opening of a new industrial orphanage, since the existing one was already beyond its limits.

The ideas of Saffet Pasha reverberated in certain policies of the time. In the short duration of a week, two orders were given in 8th and 13th of December, 1881 for the collection of the orphans of the refugees, wandering in the streets of Istanbul and for their consequent admittance to Navy or Industrial Schools (both military and civil).¹⁸³ In the following week, there was a serious activity of “child gathering” in Istanbul.¹⁸⁴ According to Grand Vizier's report to the sultan in 20 December, with the help of the superintendents and the sergeants of the municipality, 222 orphans had been collected and 34 of them were enrolled into the industrial orphanage of Istanbul, while the rest (188) were handed over to the Imperial Arsenal.¹⁸⁵ From this rather effective 'collection'

180BOA, Y. EE., 44/138, 10/R/1298 (10.2.1881): “Rumeli muhacirinden taşraya gidemeyub dersaadette kalanların erkek evlamlarıyla peder ve validelerinin vefatları cihetiyle yetim ve bivâye kalan erkek ve kız çocuklar cümleten tesaül yolunu tutmuş...”

181BOA, Y. EE., 44/138, 10/R/1298 (10.2.1881): “... Dersaadette mahsusen aransa bir nefer Rumelili dilenci bulunamaz iken bu facia-yı fevkalade bunların bir haylisini ... mecbur etmiş olduğu ...”

182*Ibid.*, “...Fakat yurd ve akrabalarını kaybetmiş olan çocuklardan başka suretle taayyüşe alşacak olurlar ise sonradan hiçbir kar ve zanaata süluk etmek istemeyeceklerinden bunları şimdiden, yani sinleri ilerlemezdten evvelce başka tarafa sevk etmek lazımeden olmasıyla...”

183BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK., 5/38, 16/M/1299 (8.12.1881); BOA, İ.DH., 841/67590, 21/M/1299 (13.12.1881).

184BOA, Y.A.HUS., 169/30, 28/M/1299 (20.12.1881).

185*Ibid.*, “... 222 çocuk toplattırılıb bunların 34'ü emr ve ferman-ı aliyye cenab-ı padişahileri mucibince mekteb-i sanaiye ve 188'i tophane-yi amireye teslim edilmiş olduklarına ...”

effort – since Saffet Pasha was mentioning certain hundreds of orphans, the figure 222 seems to be quite a success – and from the fast response of the government, in collaboration with the city's municipal units, it can be argued that the problem was readily felt. Moreover, rather direct transfer of the children to the military units (simply as places with vacancy) proves that education, self-development and reform (*ıslâh*) of the children was only secondarily important, the real issue at stake was to guarantee the security and the well-being of the city.

Girls were less dangerous than boys. Most descriptions of quasi-criminal bands of children in city streets refer specifically to boys. On the other hand, girls were more vulnerable and so “in danger” than their brothers. That danger was moral, to use the language of the day. One of the major underlying concerns relative to both street youth was sexuality. Lower-class girls were of course frequently the target of sexual predators; and that danger garnered special attention when those girls occupied public space (spaces outside of home, school, or factory). To protect girls from sexual abuse and the presumed attractions of a life of prostitution, orphanages for girls, who were supposed to be in danger were conceived. In 1883, the issue of refugee orphans in Istanbul reappeared. In an unsigned report to the sultan, it was underlined that despite the fact that the refugee orphan boys in the city had been gradually collected and sent to schools, the girls of the same kind have been left without any provisions.¹⁸⁶ It is reminded that if these girls were left bereft of a decent instruction and discipline, then Istanbul would suffer the emergence of certain unacceptable activities.¹⁸⁷ The orphanage, as a result, had the duty of protecting these girls from certain demeanors and keeping them under discipline (*kızları bir takım hâlatdan muhafaza ile zabt u rabt*). It is obvious that the report refers to the possible engagement of these girls in prostitution. The interesting point is that, in order to legitimize the opening of a girls' orphanage for these destitute refugee girls, the discourse of the document does not try to evoke pity for the girls – the most obvious formula in manifestos or programs of charitable

186BOA, Y.PRK.KOM, 4/29, 29/Z/1300 (31.10.1883): “Geçenlerde verilen evamir üzerine muhacirin ve sair bîkes biçaregan etfalın toplattırılıb peyderpey mekteblere gönderilmekte olduğu gibi bunların nisvanı için dahi bir çare düşünölmek tabidir...”

187*Ibid.*, “...bu çocuklar fena bir halde terbiye olunacak olur ise ileride İstanbulca bir takım ef'al-i gayr-ı marziyatın zuhur edeceği cihetle...”

institutions. Instead, there is a tone of warning for the dwellers of the city, who should be concerned for the morality, order, and safety of the urban space.¹⁸⁸ Girls were in danger because of their sexuality, while that same sexuality posed a corrupting threat to society in general.

How these orphans or poor children were physically put into the orphanages is a very crucial issue, which bears clues on the preoccupations of reformers.¹⁸⁹ Since these institutions were opened almost in all provinces of the Empire with an order from above, filling these brand new institutions with children should have been a problem. Taking into account the novelty of the institution, it is expectable that the children themselves or their parents and relatives hesitated or even refused to surrender into the hands of provincial administrators. It seems that in some cases municipal police (*zabita*) or gendarme forces were used to collect children from the streets or to take them away from their poor parents. In 1864, before the opening of the Niš orphanage, the governorship first tried to convince the population with its advices (*nesâyihi*) to bring such children to this new institution, without result. Then, municipal police was assigned the duty of collecting them from the streets, by using some form of compulsion (*bilicbar*) or threat.¹⁹⁰ A similar course was followed for Ruse Girls' Orphanage in 1872. The governorship ordered district rulers (*mutasarrıf, kaymakam*) to collect orphan and destitute girls, or daughters of very poor parents from their own localities. No specific detail was given on the method of collection, yet, these children were to be brought to the center for registration into the orphanage.¹⁹¹ It may actually have been difficult to take girls, younger than the age of ten (*on yaşından yukarı olmamaları*), away from their localities, relatives, and even parents.

188From a document of 1899, we learn that girls' industrial schools had been opened both in Dersaadet and in Üsküdar, and that they are still in need in the provinces. BOA, Y. MTV, 193/44, 7/R/1317, (15.8.1899).

189In England and Scandinavia, when the streets were cleared of begging children who were then set to work in orphanages or workhouses, nobody asked whether their parents agreed, or how the children felt about it. This was definitely a top-down decision, disregarding the perception of the lower classes. Marjatta Rahikainen, *Centuries of Child Labor: European Experiences from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century*, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2004, pp. 49.

190BOA, İ.MVL., 502/22735, 21/N/1280, (29.2.1864).

191BOA, C.MF., 131/6542, 3/N/1289 (4.11.1872).

As discussed in this section, the children were perceived as a form of threat for the safety and security of the cities. For the reformers, children in the streets were idlers, beggars, and vagabonds and no longer minors without protection, who needed affection and care. The urban space should be cleared off them, so that working, tax-paying, and respectable citizens of the country feel safe and secure. In that respect, they were collected from the streets as if they had rabies, with compulsive methods, which may have include brutality and force at some instances.

3.3.2. Change in the Urban Space: Orphanages and the City

The industrial orphanages of the second half of the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire brought significant novelties into the lives of the cities, where they were opened. In direct relation with the education provided in the orphanages, cities acquired three significant urban landmarks: the printing press, brass bands, and the orphanage itself.

3.3.2.1. Printing Press

In addition to the above mentioned traditional trades and skills taught in the orphanages, some orphans were offered much modern industrial skills. Practice of printing was an important departure from the classics. Printing press was almost always a part of the curricula of these industrial schools, due to their organic link with the establishment of the printing house. The precedent was set with the governorship of Midhat Pasha, first in the Danube, then in Damascus, Baghdad, etc. The orphans in Ruse Orphanage were employed in the printing house of the governorship, which published the official newspaper of the *vilâyet*, *Tuna*, together with other necessary documents, as bookbinders and lithographers.¹⁹² Before the opening of the Ruse Girls' Orphanage, the governorship thought of publishing advertisements in the newspaper in order to attract the attention of the population to bring orphan, destitute, and poor girls to the institution.¹⁹³ The use of such a method of child collection could only be possible thanks to establishment of a printing house and the labor of orphan boys there. The

¹⁹²Midhat Paşa, p. 52-3.

orphanage of Baghdad was also tied to the printing house of the *vilâyet*, which was primarily publishing the official newspaper, *Zevrâ*.¹⁹⁴

The example was repeated in other provinces as well. The first printing press of the governorship of Kastamonu, which was requested from the center in 1867, was placed within the *islâhhane*, as a part of the trades.¹⁹⁵ The printing press of the *vilâyet* of Salonika was also placed within the orphanage and even the yearbooks of the province was published by the children in the institution.¹⁹⁶ In a similar respect, there was a printing press in Izmir industrial orphanage. The children's proficiency in that trade was regarded so crucial that in the first anniversary of the institution, when the orphans were supposed to have an exam, they were asked to type and print, a letter of gratitude, with both Ottoman and Greek language and alphabet.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, it can be said that the printing press of the orphanage was ready to undertake publication of both Ottoman Turkish and Greek material, with its mixed body of students. The above mentioned official newspaper of the *vilâyet* of Danube, *Tuna*, was also published half in Turkish and half in Bulgarian.¹⁹⁸

Interestingly, some thirty years later publication in two languages (again Turkish and Bulgarian) was considered to be a dangerous issue by the Porte. In mid-1895, the governorship of Kosovo was in search of finances to open the planned industrial orphanage of the *vilâyet* in Skopje. After the Ministry of the Interior rejected the suggestion of the governorship to organize a lottery, the governor conceived other measures to secure some income for the institution. One of the resources that were to be transferred to the orphanage was the revenues of the printing press of the province. The

193BOA, C.MF., 131/6542, 3/N/1289 (4.11.1872): "... mutasarrıf kiramıyla Rusçuk mülhakatı kaymakamlıklarına yazılmış ve gazeteye dahi derc ile ilan edilmiş olmağla..."

194Midhat Paşa, 113.

195Eyüpgiller, 109-10.

1961311 *Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve "Hamidiye" Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311.

197BOA, İ.DH., 604/42096, 21/Ş/1286 (26.11.1869).

198BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 329/9, 14/Za/1281 (10.4.1865). The first copies of the newspaper were sent to the Porte.

governorship offered to publish the official newspaper of the *vilâyet* also in Bulgarian, the language of the majority of the population in the province, so that their subscribers increase and the profits of the printing press grow.¹⁹⁹ This request was rejected by the Ministry with the explanation that it would be inappropriate.

3.3.2.2. Musical Training and Brass Bands

It is very interesting that the instruction of musical knowledge and formation of brass bands were indispensable parts of orphan education, in general. This was the case from well-known orphanage of the Byzantine Empire, Orphanotropheion, to the Rennweg Orphanage in Vienna, from the New York Hebrew Orphan Asylum to Venetian Orphanage of La Pietà. The *islâhhanes* of late nineteenth century Ottoman Empire were not exceptions to this general rule, with quite large and successful bands in each provincial orphanage. Established under the authority of the provincial governments, industrial orphanages' brass bands performed certain roles as the representatives of the local administration. The band, and the orphans enrolled in them, in a way, were functionaries of the governorship with a duty to celebrate and accompany certain days and events with their music and marching in the streets.

The curriculum of all industrial orphanages included courses on music. In the schedule of the Skopje industrial orphanage, there were music courses. In fact, the orphanage had even a march of its own, written by Mustafa Şekip Tunç and composed by the music teacher of the school, Ali Fevzi.²⁰⁰ In the 1900s, when the *islâhhane* of

199BOA, DH. MKT., 397/20, 26/Z/1312 (20.6.1895): “...mutasavver olan islâhhânenin mesarif-i inşaiye ve daimesine tedarik olunan karşılıklar arasında matbaa-yı vilâyet varidatının dahi terk ve tahsisi ile varidat-ı mezkurenin bir kat daha tezyidine lüzum görüldüğüne ve bunun en mühim kısmı gazete bedeli bulunduğu vechile matlub fazla varidatın husulü abonelerin izdiyadına ve bu da vilâyet ahalisinin epeyce bir kısmını teşkil eden Bulgarlardan dahi abone tedarik olunmak ... üzere mezkur gazetenin bir nüshasının diğer bazı vilayat-ı şahanede olduğu gibi Bulgarca tabına mütevakkıf bulunduğu...”

200Yeni Mektep Dergisi, no. 8, Kanunuevvel 1327 (1911), p. 245.

Sanayi Marşı

Biz mektepli sanatkarız, çalışırız, yaşarız;

Hiç kimseden pervamız yok; müstakiliz, paşayız.

Ter dökeriz, iş yaparız, işte bizim şanımız.

Sanat için hor görülsek hiç değişmez kanımız.

Seherlerde uyanırız tezgahlara koşarız;

Bursa was started to be called Hamidiye Industrial School, music courses was added to the curriculum and along with that a brass band was formed from among the orphans. Also in the curriculum of the *Dar'ül-hayr-ı Âli*, there were music courses starting from the fourth grade.²⁰¹

The musical class of Salonika orphanage was made up of children, who were disposed and talented (*heves ve istidadı olan*) for music. Each day, they were to receive two hours of theoretical and practical music courses. In the 1890s, their teacher was Alfons Biçoto Efendi and 35 of 114 students were part of the band.²⁰² It is interesting that the *islâhhane* of Salonika was significant to serve as a foundation for the conservatory of the city, thanks to the graduates of the orphanage, who were expected to play an instrument proficiently, in addition to their trade skills. Grandfather of Yaşar Ürük, former director of Izmir State Theater, tells that his grandfather was one of the inmates of the orphanage of Salonika, where he became both a shoe-maker and a talented clarinet player.²⁰³ When he later migrated to Izmir with the population exchange of 1923 and started to play in the city's brass band, he realized that almost all the musicians in the band were practicing shoe-making for a living: They were graduates of Izmir Industrial Orphanage and just like himself they were instructed industrial and musical training at the same time. Actually the *islâhhane* of Izmir had a large band with 35 musicians in 1890.²⁰⁴ The band grew bigger in a decade and in 1901 it comprised 42 boys under the direction of their music teacher, Hidayet Bey and his

Başka yerde gözümüz yok, biz burada çoşarız.
Alnımızdan hep ter akar gördünüz mü bir leke!
Bu meslektir götüreceğ hepimizi dirliğe.
Haydi artık arkadaşlar ahdedelim birliğe;
Aziz vatan, sonra sanat değişilmez bir mülke!
Seherlerde uyanırız tezgahlara koşarız;
Başka yerde gözümüz yok, biz burada çoşarız.

201BOA, İ. MF, 8/1320-C-1, 5/C/1320 (8.10.1902).

2021311 *Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve "Hamidiye" Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311, p. 142,144.

203Interview with Yaşar Ürük conducted in 5.6.2007 by Orhan Beşikçi. http://www.kentyasam.com/ry_haber_goster.php?yazar_id=2&id=5

204Aydın Salnamesi, 1894-95, pp. 147-153.

assistant, Viktor Kaleyev Vecnarino.²⁰⁵ It was also true that shoe-making workshop of the school was one of the largest branches.

The relationship between the brass bands and the Ottoman orphans had the potential to become an independent topic in itself, since the peculiar composition of the brass bands can also be seen from other examples in the Ottoman Empire. *Dar'ül-aceze* had a band of around 60 children starting from 1911 onwards.²⁰⁶ Hakan Erdem notes that in May 1855 two little Georgian boys were found to be unjustly enslaved. Since they argued that they did not want to go back home, they were admitted to the military band (*askeri mızıkta*).²⁰⁷ Also in the 1890s, it was decided by the government that the male freed slaves would be enrolled in military music bands.²⁰⁸

3.3.2.3. The Industrial Orphanage as a Landmark in Social Memory

The physical appearance of the industrial orphanages and their placement in the city is a very important variable to understand their meaning for the society and the urban milieu as such.²⁰⁹ It can be argued that these orphanages became landmarks in the historical memories of the city. The street on which the industrial orphanage of Salonika was situated was named as Islâhane Caddesi, it is also mentioned that the

²⁰⁵*Salname-yi Vilâyet-i Aydın* (1319 Sene-yi Hicriyyesine Mahsus), [Izmir]: Vilâyet Matbaası, 1319, p. 88.

²⁰⁶Nuran Yıldırım, *İstanbul Darülaceze Müessesesi Tarihi*, İstanbul: Darülaceze Vakfı, 1997, p. 170.

²⁰⁷Erdem, "Kırım Savaşı'nda...", 107.

²⁰⁸Hakan Y. Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800-1909*, Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1996, pp. 179-80. BOA, DH.MKT., 1797/138, 25/Ca/1308 (06.01.1891).

²⁰⁹It is argued that much of information passed between generations is practiced away from public view, in intimate rituals few discuss, but everyone knows. To acknowledge such transmission sites, we must re-frame our questions, exploring different voices and different conditions of existence through knowledge and memory. The historical memory of specific places renders explicit both the contexts in which the urban setting impacts communities and the effects of human activities on the environment.

neighborhood bear the same name (Islâhhane Mahallesi).²¹⁰ In a similar respect, Islâhhane Sokak of Trabzon, in the district of Ortahisar, was named after the orphanage there. Also in Skopje, the orphanage still seems to be kept in the urban memory. Already in 1906, there was an Islâhhane Caddesi, in Gazimenteş district of the city. Furthermore, as late as 1980s there was a park carrying the same name with a minor distortion: Islâhane Parkı.²¹¹

Even if all first-hand witnesses of the actual building pass away, the institutions are easily *remembered* by the new generations in the neighborhood. Places have a form of memory as well, and it is passed to the newcomers regularly.²¹² Certain buildings became a part of the common knowledge of the cities, due to their significant roles in the urban life when they were built. We know, for instance, from many researches on the *tahrirs* that Christian districts are frequently named after the neighborhood church. Thus, these neighborhoods have saint names, whereas many Muslim neighborhoods share their name with the local mosque.²¹³ Choosing the orphanage as the identifier of a street or a district points to its centrality in the space.

It is necessary to underline that most of these orphanages had remarkably big and memorable edifices, compared to other educational institutions, such as primary or secondary schools, in the Empire. Most of them were multi-storied stone buildings with complex architectural features. These structures themselves point to the decidedness of the Ottoman reform, in the sense that the orphanages were not opened in rented

210Interestingly, the house of Mustafa Kemal was also situated on this street. Carole L. Crumley, “Exploring Venues of Social Memory: Social Memory and Environmental Change”, in *Social Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, Jacob Climo, Maria G. Cattell (eds.), California: AltaMira Press, 2002, pp. 39-51.

211From a poem of Necati Zekeriya (Skopje, 11.11.1928 - Novi Sad, 10.06.1988), “Üsküp’e Yeşili Ozanlar Vermiş”. Nevzat Kösoğlu (ed.), *Türkiye Dışındaki Türk Edebiyatları Antolojisi*, vol. 7: Makedonya, Yugoslavya (Kosova) Türk Edebiyatı, Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları, 2002.

212Olga Demetriou, “Streets Not Named: Discursive Dead Ends and the Politics of Orientation in Intercommunal Spatial Relations in Northern Greece”, *Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 21, no.2, May 2006, pp. 295-321.

213Gyula Káldy-Nagy, *Kanuni Devri Budin Tahrir Defteri (1546-1562)*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1971. Heath W. Lowry, *Trabzon Şehrinin İslâmlaşma ve Türkleşmesi, 1461-1583 Trabzon Örneğinde Osmanlı Tahrir Defterinin Şehirleşme Demografik Tarihi için Kaynak Olarak Kullanılması*, İstanbul : Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1998.

temporary buildings, although this was the most common method. Some of those former orphanage buildings are still in use today, usually for educational, but also for other purposes. The one in Konya now serves as Special Provincial Administration (*İl Özel İdaresi*) today. The industrial orphanage of Izmir is Mithatpaşa Endüstri Meslek Lisesi.²¹⁴

The orphanages and the orphans had definitely a new meaning for the changing and developing urban context, for the newly reformed administration of the city, for new projects of city planning, for new actors such as businessmen and merchants, and also for the local community who pass by these new institutions, hearing the voices of children inside.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the urban landscape of the Ottoman seaport of Izmir, like other centers on the eastern Mediterranean, was profoundly transformed by the advent of modern forms of urban institutions and infrastructure. Izmir's monumental quay and modern harbor was constructed between 1869 and 1875 (apart from an area of 75 meters) and, actually, it was one of the first large-scale infrastructure projects within the Ottoman Empire. It started at the imperial barracks (Sarı Kışla) and ended by the wharf of the Aydın railway station at the Pointe (Tuzla Burnu), that is, from one end of the city to the other. In 1880, when the project was finally completed, it consisted of a quay in the form of a retaining wall made of cut stones and extending 4 km along the shoreline. Sibel Zandi-Sayek, focusing on the conflicts that took place over the planning of the quay of Izmir, argues that diverse actors - including government officials, property owners, local merchants, and the actual developers - competed to assert their priorities and interests over the waterfront.²¹⁵

Interestingly, orphanage had a role in this picture as well. It can be traced from Ottoman archives that in 1886, the orphanage was to benefit from a large piece of land in Tuzla Burnu, on one end of Izmir quay, which was left as state property during the

214Both old and new photographs of the industrial orphanages in Izmir, Konya, Adana, Bursa are provided at the end of the Chapter (Illustrations 3.1 – 3.11.).

215Sibel Zandi-Sayek, “Struggles Over the Shore: Building the Quay of Izmir, 1867–1875”, *City & Society*, Vol. 12, No. 1, 2000, pp. 55-78; Elena Fangakis-Syrett, “The Making of an Ottoman Port: The Quay of Izmir in the Nineteenth Century”, *The Journal of Transport History*, vol. 22, issue 1, March 2001, pp.23-46.

construction of the quay.²¹⁶ Yet with passage of time, people started to use it as a dumping ground for garbage.²¹⁷ Since the Izmir industrial orphanage was one of the successful institutions of the state (*mezkur islâhhane hayli mühim tesisatdan bulunmuş olmasıyla*), the land was to be sold and a new parcel would be bought with the proceeds. When rented, earnings yielding from this transaction would be transferred to the orphanage as an acknowledgment of its importance for the city. These linkages between the construction of the Izmir quay and the land bequeathed to the orphanage indicate that the industrial orphanage of Izmir played a significant role in city's life, such that from one perspective the orphans were also part of the general discussion of the changing urban space of the city.

The establishment of printing press and brass bands within these institutions show an important level of orphanage's integration with the city. The significance of the formation of the press in the provinces of the Empire is obvious, when such concepts as modern ways of communication, literacy, creation of an imaginary community, etc. are taken into consideration. In that respect, it can be said that one of the key figures of modernity was entrusted to the hands of the orphans. The musical band was also the symbol of another merge between the city's identity and the contribution of the orphanage to it. The provincial administrators voluntarily assigned the orphans the duty of representing the governorship in different contexts.

Therefore, although the common gaze place the orphans and orphanages to a more marginal corner of the urban society, they were from many respects at the center of it. They were cities' musicians, factory workers, printers. Their existence, in that sense, coincided with many new developments of the urban life.

216BOA, İ. DH., 1005/79430, 19/M/1304 (17.10.1886): "... mektebin atiyen temin-i idaresi için şehrin Tuzla Burnu denilen mahallinde kain Nizamiye Karakolhanesinin karşısına müsadif olup ... İzmir rıhtımlarının inşası sırasında memlekete aid olmak üzere terk edilmiş"

217*Ibid.*, "... mürur-ı zaman ile atılan süprüntülerle dolup bir arsa haline gelmiş olan mahallin furuht edilerek esmanı ile münasib irad ve akar tedarik olunmak üzere..."

3.4. Aims of the Industrial Orphanages: Orphans as Economic Resources

In this section, the orphans' economic role in the urban life will be discussed. With the new regulations and institutions of the nineteenth century, orphans from different class backgrounds, knowingly or unknowingly, assumed significant roles in the economy. On the one hand, the sums that the rich orphans were inherited were to be used as capital for domestic producers and merchants, thanks to the creation of the Authority for the Direction of Orphans' Property (*Emval-i Eytam Nezareti*) in 1851. On the other, destitute and needy orphans were to be employed in new factories and industrial complexes opened by the entrepreneurs, as a result of the opening of industrial orphanages all around the Empire after the official order from the Porte.²¹⁸ In that respect, the orphans and orphanages can be considered as a part of some new settlements regarding the development of urban economy and reformation of the local industries so as to fight with foreign indebtedness of the Empire and its dependence on imported goods.

²¹⁸It is common that propertied and unpropertied orphans were handled with different regulations. For instance, Brazilian law, inherited largely from the Portuguese roman tradition, carefully protected property rights of minors. In a society where parents sired many offspring, and where life-expectancy was short, children frequently inherited from one parent or the other before reaching adulthood. The state, therefore, legislated responsibility for protecting the property of orphans.

The state that regulated care of orphans' material possessions also concerned itself with the moral and physical well-being of those who owned no property. Thus, the law stipulated that guardians should be appointed to care for and educate those children from whom fate had taken a provider without endowing them with earthly goods.

The state's concern that poor orphans, if left to themselves, might subvert the communal order prompted measures to knit these children back into the social fabric. To accomplish this goal, orphans should be properly brought up, taught the value of hard work, and able to ensure their own livelihood once they reached adulthood and left the company of their guardians. Joan Meznar, "Orphans and the Transition from Slave to Free Labor in Northeast Brazil: The Case of Campina Grande, 1850-1888", *Journal of Social History*, vol. 27, no. 3, Spring, 1994, pp. 499-515.

3.4.1 Establishment of the Authority for the Direction of Orphans' Property

A minor child's becoming an orphan – that is a dependent who was left without a legal male provider and guardian – raised three problems that might have required court intervention: the appointment of a general guardian (*veli*) for the orphan; the appointment of an executor (*vasi*) to take care of the orphan's share in the inheritance; and the imposition of daily child support for the orphan on his or her closest male agnates in cases where there was no inheritance. Later on, the judge's approval was necessary for any transaction made by the guardians in connection with the orphan's property. The foundation of a new authority to supervise the management of orphan properties introduced more bureaucratization into procedures but, more importantly, it meant direct state control of orphans' money.

The Authority for the Direction of Orphans' Property (*Emval-i Eytam Nezareti*) was established on 31 December, 1851 with a governmental decree announcing that the new institution would be placed under the Ministry of *Şeyhülislam*.²¹⁹ This authority was to supervise closely the management of properties and money that orphans inherited.²²⁰ It was to be involved with every step, beginning with the death of the parent and ending when the orphan reached to the age of majority and became legally responsible. It specified regulations for inspection of the registration of any inheritance of the minor heirs in the sharia court and the auction of the contents of the inheritance; the management of the orphans' money, kept in a special fund; regulations for borrowing money from the orphan's account in the fund and returning the loan; and the procedure for transferring the assets to orphans who reached maturity.²²¹

219“Emvâl-i Eytâm Nizamnamesi, 7/Ra/1268 (31.12.1851)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 1, Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289 (1872), pp. 270-75.

220Properties of both Muslims and non-Muslims were traditionally handled with Islamic inheritance laws. After many complaints by the non-Muslim communities and the intervention of the European powers, in 1856 non-Muslims were allowed to inherit and be inherited based on the written will of the deceased person. In other words, new regulation on the orphan properties were not applicable to non-Muslim population. Yet, in the absence of such documentation, especially in the provinces, the estates of the non-Muslims were also transferred to the orphan funds.

221Veli İnanç, *Eytam İdaresi Sandıkları ve Marmaris Örneği (1885-1911)*, Yüksekisans Tezi, Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Tarih Anabilim Dalı, 2002; Iris Agmon, *Family & Court: Legal Culture and Modernity in Late Ottoman*

Twenty years later another decree was issued, specifying more detailed regulations for the management of the orphan funds throughout the Empire and applying them to mentally disabled and insane, as well as to absent heirs.²²² This latter regulation deal specifically with practical means for implementing the former regulations throughout the Empire. It was decreed that each subdistrict center maintain an orphan fund and keep its money in a safe place, together with the Treasury, and that this fund be opened and closed according to a specific routine, in the presence of certain officials. Each orphan's money was to be kept separately, and the fund would lend that money according to fixed procedures against guarantee and guarantors. Other articles of the decree deal with the regular reports on the funds, periodic checking of their content and management, the allocation of daily maintenance for orphans, charity payments, marriage expenses, the requisite conditions for borrowing money from the funds, rarely obeyed restriction on government officials and departments' access to the money²²³, and other similar issues.

Properties of both Muslims and non-Muslims were traditionally handled with Islamic inheritance laws. In both regulations dealing with the properties of the orphans and the establishment of the orphan funds, the first article indicated that the new settlement for the properties of the orphans also comprised the non-Muslims.²²⁴ It was also specified that when a member of the local community passed away, the priest, the imam and the headman (*muhtar*) of the neighborhood or village should directly inform the provincial government whether the deceased had left orphans behind.²²⁵ In other words, the government had the authority to control the property of the non-Muslims as well. After many complaints by the non-Muslim communities and the intervention of

Palestine, Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2006, pp. 152-160.

222“Eytâm Sandıklarının Suret-i İdaresi Hakkında Nizâm-nâme ve Zeylleri, 16/Za/1286 (17.2.1870)”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 1, Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289 (1872), pp. 276-281. BOA, İ. MMS., 32/1330, 15/Ca/1283 (25.9.1866).

223I discuss the issue in the following pages.

224BOA, İ. MMS., 32/1330, 15/Ca/1283 (25.9.1866): “...Kasaba ve kariyelerde müslim ve gayr-ı müslim tebaa-yı devlet-i aliyyeden birinin vefatı vukuunda...”

225*Ibid.*, “...mahalle veya karyenin imam ve muhtar ve papazları derhal hükümete haber vermeğe ve müteveffanın veresesi içinde yetim ... olub olmadığını bildirmekle borçludur.”

the European power in 1856 non-Muslims were allowed to inherit and be inherited based on the written will of the deceased person. Yet, in the absence of proper documentation, especially in the provinces, it is possible to come across many instances where the estates of the non-Muslims were also transferred to the orphan funds. As late as 1878, there was still confusion about the limits of state interference to the matters of non-Muslim orphans' properties.²²⁶ The Sublime Porte informed the provinces that the orphan funds did not have any control over the property of non-Muslim orphans and that the only duty of the state would be to stop an abusive guardian from depleting the inheritance of an orphan.²²⁷

The orphan funds immediately became one important center of capital for local producers and merchants, since it was possible to borrow money from the orphans' accounts in the fund. Before the orphan funds began to operate, *kadıs* frequently served as trustees and were entrusted the orphans' part in the inheritance.²²⁸ However, the court had no direct control over these properties when another person was designated as the executor and its involvement depended upon application of people to the court voluntarily.²²⁹ With the introduction of the fund, a new state institution started to operate like a deposit bank actually taking over orphans' money.²³⁰ The creation of the funds are interpreted as a form of state intrusion into the family sphere. Yet, more importantly, these institutions served as important centers of borrowing money especially for provincial middle classes, bureaucrats, and even Treasury. Moreover, orphans' money

226BOA, Y.EE.KP., 1/30, 12/B/1395 (13.7.1878).

227*Ibid.*, "...eytam-ı gayr-ı müslime emval-i mevrusesi idaresine müdahale olunmayb veli ve vasi tarafından emval-i eytam itlafına sebep olunduğuna şikayet olur ise ... veli ve vasi müsrif ve müzeyyid olmadıkça ve bu yolda şikayet vuku bulmadıkça emval-i eytamın tahriri iktiza etmeyeceğine..."

228Miriam Hoexter, *Endowments, Rulers and Community: Waqf Al-haramayn in Ottoman Algiers*, Leiden: Brill, 1998, p. 163.

229Agmon, p. 152. Yet, in some cases the judge may act as the guardian of the orphan. An orphan of the Amr tribe, for example, seems to have become a ward of the Islamic court of Salt, which loaned out his inheritance of 3256 piasters with an annual rate of interest that ranged between 11 and 15 percent. Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850-1921*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 105.

230Agmon, 156.

deposited in the funds was seen as a loan borrowed from the Ottoman Treasury, and therefore, the Treasury had its own share in that money.²³¹

It seems to be a standard procedure for the Ministry of Finance to be indebted to the orphans fund of Istanbul to cover some of its debts. In 1852, the ministry decided to retrieve money from the funds in order to pay the debts of the Treasury to several banks.²³² In 1859, the act was repeated in order to pay for the expenses of the Danube channel (*Tuna boğazı*) and also to cover the debts to the Misiyani Bey, together with other domestic loans.²³³ In 1864, the Ministry was forced to borrow once more to the funds, again so as to relieve other debts.²³⁴ As a part of the Ottoman borrowing, it was a common method from the eighteenth century to sell some *mukataa* revenues in the form of bonds so as to transfer cash money to the treasury (*esham*). In 1855, new bonds, with 2-6 percent amortization cost, were put on sale to open other sources of borrowing (*esham-ı cedide*). Orphans' properties were also borrowed with this new method. In 1872, in order to arrange finances for the construction of İzmit and Eskişehir railways, the Special Council (*Meclis-i Mahsus*) decided to give shares (*sehim*) of orphans money as well.²³⁵

In 1874, realizing the difficulty of paying the debts, or assuming that the state had a legitimate right to usurp orphan money, the Sublime Porte decided that the debts to the fund were consolidated (perpetuated).²³⁶ Finally in 1881, it was reported to the Porte that the tradespeople of the city (*esnaf*) were complaining about the fact that Central Treasury was borrowing from orphan funds.²³⁷ Apart from the Ministry of Finances, there were many instances of government officials taking loans from the funds.²³⁸ In

231Agmon, 159

232BOA, A.AMD., 41/18, 08/S /1269 (20.11.1852).

233BOA, İ.DH., 1290/101473, 15/B /1275 (19.02.1859).

234BOA, İ.MMS, 29/1232, 19/Ra/1281 (22.08.1864).

235BOA, İ.MMS., 42/1741, 18/Za/1872 (28.1.1872).

236BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 473/37,08/Z /1290 (27.01.1874).

237BOA, Y.PRK.DH., 1/33, 16/R /1298 (17.03.1881).

238*Mutasarrıf* of Biga, Hasan Paşa, took a loan from orphan fund of Kandiye, BOA, A.MKT.UM, 537/78, 03/Ş /1278 (03.02.1862). The physician of Silistre, Kazmir, took a loan from orphan fund of Vidin, BOA, C. SH, 23/1102, 23/N /1293 (12.10.1876).

addition to the general orphan funds of the localities, in 1875 (1291) a new fund was established under the supervision of the Council of Orphan Properties specifically reserved for the orphans of *ilmiyye* officials.²³⁹

As already touched upon, the establishment of the funds was also very significant in order to secure capital for the local tradespeople and merchants. In many studies on the Ottoman family patterns that are based on *sicil* records, there are a number of examples of borrowing from the orphans fund. Nuri Köstüklü notes that the fund of Yalvaç (Isparta) supported local entrepreneurs by giving them loans. In 1908, Müminzade Hacı Ali Efendi borrowed 11.556 kuruş from the fund for a period of 3 years, as a result of which he agreed to pay 4160 kuruş interest.²⁴⁰ In another study on the family patterns in Rize in the beginning of the twentieth century, similar examples were noted. In 1913, Sarı Ahmetzâde Rıza Efendi ibn Osman Efendi applied to the orphans fund of Rize and took a loan of 1200 kuruş from the account of three brothers, Şaban, Ramazan, and Muharrem, whose father, Alemdarzâde Hacı Recep Efendi, has recently passed away.²⁴¹ It was common to give loans of three years or more. Shorter periods were rare and were only allowed when the orphan in question would reach to the age of majority in less than 3 years.²⁴²

Although the orphan funds quickly became a popular source of getting loans for the local elites, the Ottoman government was still concerned that there was no loans issued from certain accounts kept in the fund, which leads to the unpleasant result that the orphan's capital gains no interest. In 1880, Saffet Pasha wrote, in his report to the Porte on the protection of the properties of the orphans, that the article on the issuing of loans from orphans' money under the jurisdiction of the fund was established so that

Officer of title, Osman Efendi, took a loan from orphan fund of Hanya, BOA, A.MKT.UM., 480/57, 24/Z /1277 (03.07.1861).

239İnanç, 40. This is, in fact, an understandable amendment, since the funds were established under the authority of the Ministry of Şeyhülislam.

240Nuri Köstüklü, *Sosyal Tarih Perspektifinden Yalvaç'ta Aile (1892-1908): Bir Osmanlı Kazası Örneğinde Türk Ailesinin Temel Bazı Özellikleri*, Konya : Günay Ofset, 1996, p. 62.

241Ümit Erkan, "1509 No'lu Rize Şer'iyye Sicili Işığında Rize Ailesi İle İlgili Bazı Bulgular", *I. Rize Sempozyumu, 16-18 November 2006*.

242İnanç, 52.

orphan's inheritance grew in time. If the administration of the fund failed to give loans, that would deem some orphans' money unprofitable.²⁴³ In many examples from the court records, it can be traced that if an orphan's asset remain for a long time untouched, then the fund may decide to give it with a lower interest rate (as low as 5 %) to moneychangers, or to buy active as a form of investment.²⁴⁴ In the Regulation of 1851, it was decreed that in the case of accumulation of more than 25.000 *kuruş* in the orphan fund, the sum had to be invested into the moneychangers company (*sarraflar kumpanyası*).²⁴⁵ On the contrary, when the demand for borrowing was bigger, the rates were increased up to 16 percent.

The funds, especially the provincial ones, had a strong link with other institutions of the provincial government. The governorships benefited from the funds as their *backup* treasury. In other words, it was common that the governorships borrow from the orphans' funds in order to finance some public works for the community. The opening of new schools were important examples of such a relationship. When it was decided in 1857 to expand public education in Crete, it was proposed that *rüşdiyye* schools were opened in Kandiye and Hanya as well as Koran schools in the Muslim villages. One of the resources to meet the expenses of the educational plan was the orphan fund of Kandiye. Necessary arrangements were made and 190.000 *kuruş* was transferred to the local government, after leaving the standard interest rate, 12 %.²⁴⁶

It is worthwhile to note that while the economic concern seems to have been a major motivation for the establishment of both institutions, both the industrial orphanages and the department for inspection on orphans inherited properties, the reformers did not make the practical economic connection between the two. It is necessary to address the question of the fact that there was no use of the money

243BOA, Y.EE, 44/135, 8/C/1297, (17.5.1880): "...bu usulün başlıca mahzuru dahi birçok eytamın sandıklarda mevcut ve mahfuz olan akçelerinden bazılarının malları erba' olunub bazılarının ki müddet-i medide boşa kalması maddesidir."

244İnanç, 52.

245"Eytam Nizamnamesi", p. 272.

246BOA, A.MKT. MVL., 87/86-1, 8/L/1273 (1/6/1857), Somel, 70. It is interesting to note that when the interest rate of any form of debt was decreased from 12 to 9 percent, the rate obtained by the orphans fund was left untouched. BOA, MV., 25/41, 02/S /1305 (19.10.1887).

deposited in the orphan funds for financing the industrial orphanages. What might be learned from the lack of any relations between the two institutions and also the notions of orphanhood, family, state and social class? Minor explanations may be that many of the *islâhhanes* were opened before the establishment of the orphans' funds in the provinces. For that reason, it was rare that the financing of the orphanages relied on borrowing from the funds. The link between the two had to remain weak until the penetration of the funds to the provinces in 1880s. Yet, by that date the industrial orphanages were already on the down slope, either being closed down or re-organized.

More importantly, it is interesting to note that the orphan funds, where the concept of orphanhood is the one that is derived from the sharia law of inheritance, deal with children of affluent families whereas the industrial orphanages as institutions develop a different notion of orphanhood and, at the same time, they almost exclusively deal with children from lower-class families.

With the foundation of the Authority for the Direction of Orphans' Property, the main concern of the reformers was to turn orphans inheritance into accessible capital for loans and investment. The foundation of the authority was, therefore, apparently motivated by the political elite's economic considerations, granted that funds were used as important centers of borrowing, for provincial middle classes, bureaucrats, various ministries, and even Treasury with reasonable interest rates and flexible re-payment arrangements.

3.4.2. Reformation and Rejuvenation of Urban Economy

The establishment of industrial orphanages was a part of a series of measures taken to make up for the weakening of local industries. In the second half of the nineteenth century, exclusionary (usually mild and protectionist) discourse was evolving in Ottoman writings, underlining the need to limit the economic role of foreign businessmen and exporters in the urban matrix and to develop a class of Ottoman entrepreneurs who would shape a “national economy”. In this discourse, the Ottoman urban economy was depicted as a lost battlefield and a number of policies were

developed for the re-entrance into this fight, this time to be the winner. The primary concern of this chapter, the industrial orphanages of the Empire, were also part of this effort. They were designated and praised as engines of rejuvenation of the urban industries. The duty of the *islâhhanes* was to raise new generations of talented and skilled workers and make sure that certain traditional industries were continued by meeting the necessary quality requirements. In other words, these institutions had a crucial corrective role for the rehabilitation of domestic industry. Moreover, introduction of new skills and industries were also achieved through the orphanages, since there was some measure of experimental teaching.

It is interesting to see the introduction of industrial child labor in the Ottoman Empire, while throughout Europe there was a more or less parallel trend of child labor legislation.²⁴⁷ While Western child labor legislations attempted to fight with the issue of factory labor, which was perceived as particularly harmful to children, the Ottoman reformers wanted to create child laborers to develop the economy. Child labor was also common even in the mines. Quataert notes like their contemporaries, Zonguldak miners routinely employed young children. The 1867 regulations, which aimed to improve conditions and remained legally in force until 1921, expressly permitted the employ of 13-year-old boys in underground work.²⁴⁸ Actually, the legal regulations concerning the child labor came rather late and were dispersed into different laws and regulations. In the General Hygiene Law (*Umumî Hıfzısıhha Kanunu*), as late as 1930, it was underlined, in the first section on the “Protection of Childhood and Youth”, that children under 12 could not be employed in factories, mills, or mines.²⁴⁹

247England passed the first effective Factory Act, setting a minimum age of 9 for textile mills. The French passed the first Child Labor Law in 1841 and set a minimum age of 8 for workers in factories and workshops. A second law came in 1874 and established maximum workdays of 6 hours for 10-11 year olds. Austria had in fact been a leader in child labor legislation, seeking to limit the hours children worked (starting in 1786) and extending obligatory schooling. Carl Ipsen, *Italy in the Age of Pinocchio: Children and Danger in the Liberal Era*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 86-89.

248Not later than December 1911, boys younger than 16 were expressly prohibited from working underground in the mines. Presumably, they could work aboveground legally. From May to December 1913, the superintendent's office actively campaigned to enforce the prohibition. Donald Quataert, *Miners and the State in the Ottoman Empire: The Zonguldak Coalfield*, New York: Berghahn Books, 2006, p. 91.

249Ülker Gürkan, “Evlat Edinme ve Beslemelerin Hukuki Durumu”, in *Türk*

Midhat Pasha's experience in Danube, as the founding father of the *ıslâhhanes*, is significant to understand the standing of the institution in its urban economic context. His initial reforms and policies are indicative of the preoccupation with the creation of a modern urban space and supporting economic activity. Macadamized roads were constructed all over the province of Danube. Several bridges were built on the rivers to facilitate the transportation of goods. A coach company was founded for the transportation of mail and people. When the need grew in time, a factory was opened in Ruse, as a property of the company, and the carts and coaches were produced there. In order to secure safe passage of coaches, new police stations were opened on the highways. As a result, Midhat argues, the volume of trade increased to a large extent.²⁵⁰

The opening of industrial orphanages was, therefore, tied to these new developments undertaken to strengthen the local industries. First of all, the import duties were increased in 1862/1278, from 5 to 8%. Also, a fair was opened in February 1863 (*Sergi-i Umumi-i Osmani*) in a newly constructed building in Sultanahment in order to exhibit the quality, kinds, and prices of various domestic products together with imported machinery and in order to reward the successful producers.²⁵¹ More importantly, the Commission for the Reformation of Industry (*Islâh-ı Sanayi Komisyonu*) was established in 1864 to prevent ongoing weakening of the local producers of various goods, to help improve their trades (*ıslâh-ı sanat*) and to raise the value of their commerce. The commission was established to work for the industry of Istanbul at the beginning and its jurisdiction would be extended to provinces if it succeeded in the capital.²⁵² The first achievement of the commission was to unite the artisans, who were becoming smaller every day and languishing, under a single roof as corporations. This was a replication of the policy resorted to by Britain and Germany

Hukuku ve Toplumunu Üzerine İncelemeler, Peter Benedict, Adnan Güriz (eds.), Ankara: Türk Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları, 1974, p. 202. "...fabrika ve imalâthane gibi her türlü san'at müesseseleri maden işlerinde amele ve çırak olarak çalıştırılmamaları..." (Art. 173/1).

250Midhat Paşa, 33-34, 47.

251Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, 1338 (1922), pp. 738-44.

252*Takvim-i Vekayi*, 9 Şaban 1285 (25.12.1868).

previously.²⁵³ In 1867, it was ordered that corporations of silver-working, iron-working, and leather were established for the reformation and development of these arts.²⁵⁴ Some of these united corporations were founded from within the producers of thread (1866), harness (1868), and textile (1868), foundry (1868)²⁵⁵, iron-making (1869), tanning (1870).²⁵⁶

The opening in 1869 of *Islâh-ı Sanayi Mektebi* [School for the Reformation of Industry] of Istanbul, referred also as *ıslâhhane*²⁵⁷, in the old Kılıçhane building in Sultanahmet²⁵⁸, was one of the ventures of the Commission for the Reformation of Industry.²⁵⁹ According to Midhat's account, the government decided to open this school after realizing the benefits of the *ıslâhhanes* in the provinces, which played an important role in protecting and educating destitute children and orphans, together with rejuvenation of domestic economy and augmentation of skilled artisans.²⁶⁰ A new

253Adnan Giz, "1868'de İstanbul Sanayicilerinin Şirketler Halinde Birleştirilmesi Teşebbüsü", *İstanbul Sanayi Odası Dergisi*, no. 34, December 1968, pp. 16-19.

254BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 394/28, 24/B /1284 (20.11.1867).

255BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 405/89, 03/M /1285 (26.04.1868). "Dökmeci Şirketi" was founded for the Muslim and non-Muslim artisans of Istanbul. In addition to provision of certain privileges and subsidies, a school was to be opened for the education of craftsmen.

256Osman Nuri Ergin, *Mecelle-i Umur-ı Belediye*, İstanbul: Matbaa-ı Osmaniye, 1338 (1922), p. 748.

257Ömer Celal Sarc, "Tanzimat ve Sanayiimiz", *Tanzimat: Yüzyüncü Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940, pp. 423-440. Midhat Pasha wrote, "... Mahall-i mezkurun beş yüz çocuk istiab etmek üzere leyli bir mekteb-i sanayi yani ıslâhhane heyetine konulması..", p. 81.

258The school remained in that building until it was demolished with the earthquake of 1894. For a while the school was continued in various temporary buildings until a new one was constructed in 1899. Osman Nuri Ergin, *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, c. 1-2, p. 636.

259This institution was opened when Midhat Pasha returned from Danube to Istanbul, as the head of Council of State (*Şûra-yı Devlet*). For a long time, necessary finances were searched for to open a *ıslâhhane* in Istanbul. Finally, famous members of the cabinet, Âli and Fuat pashas, granted the sum to Midhat to realize the project. That's why, the institution is considered to be one of his achievements. Midhat Paşa, 81

260Giz, 20-22. Midhat Paşa, 81: "... vilatatta yapılan ıslâhhaneler bir takım aceze ve bikes eytammın muhafaza ve terbiyesiyle beraber dahili sanayiın ve ehl-i sanat ve hırfetin teksiri için bir mehaz ve mekteb olduğundan ..."

regulation – different from the one used by the *islâhhanes* of the provinces – was prepared for the school (*Mekteb-i Sanayi Nizamnamesi*).²⁶¹ The main objective of the school was declared as training a new well-educated artisan class in order to compete with the dominance of European goods in the marketplace.²⁶² Graduates were given the diploma of a head-worker (*kalfa*) and in order to facilitate the future engagement of its graduates with trades, the school provided its students a sum at the graduation, to be used as capital in starting their own business.²⁶³ Moreover, these artisans were to be exempt from taxes for a period of 10 years.²⁶⁴ However, many of the graduates had difficulty of opening their own shops and ended up recruited in dockyards and arsenal.

The 1869 “Ordinance of General Education” (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*), issued along with the contributions of Saffet Pasha, the Minister of Education, was an important attempt to establish a modern educational infrastructure. In line with the recent developments in the education of orphans in trade-based lines, the ordinance also strongly stressed the necessity of vocational training for the development and modernization of the country.²⁶⁵ In fact, the pioneering educational reforms of the

261“Dersaadet Sanayi Mektebi Nizâm-nâmesi”, *Düstûr*, Tertib 1, vol. 2, Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289 (1872), pp. 258–276. The Regulation was made up of 4 sections and 64 articles. The first section listed the general principles of the school, the second was on the duties and responsibilities of the employers, the third and fourth sections was reserved to rewards and punishments of the students and the employers. BOA, İ.DH., 583/40618, 24/Ş/1285 (9.12.1868); BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 382/80, 19/M /1284 (23.05.1867).

262BOA, İ.DH., 583/40618, 4/Ş/1285 (19.11.1868): “Dersaadet'te bir mekteb-i sanayi tesis ve teşkiliyle memâlik-i mahrûse-i şahanede Avrupa ehl-i sanatına kıyasen gerek usul ve gerek masnuatca geride kalmakta olduğu meşhud olan hîrfet ve sanatların ilmiyle beraber amelîyatının orada talim ettirilmesi...”

263Rıfat Önsoy, “Tanzimat Dönemi Sanayileşme Politikası, 1839-1876”, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2.2.1984, pp. 5-12.

264Mithad Paşa, 83.

265There were such ideas in the document: -Industry, commerce and business have not developed because the state has not trained the necessary manpower; -This reform of education aims training experts who can develop both culture and industry: -Industry is possible not by imitation but through science and technology. Mahmud Cevad İbnü'ş-Şeyh Nafî, *Maarif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti Târihçe-i Teşkilat ve İcrââtı: XIX. Asır Osmanlı Maarif Tarihi*, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2001.

Tanzimat era were in the areas of technical-vocational, professional and informal public education.²⁶⁶ As a part of the efforts to develop industrial education, some of the students of the industrial orphanages were sent to Paris so that they receive the necessary education to serve later as masters in their school and also as efficient artisans. The first group of children, a total of ten (4 Greek, 1 Bulgarian, 5 Muslims), were sent from Ruse Orphanage in August 1867. Another student was added to the group in May 1869 (Table 3.2).²⁶⁷ Short after their arrival, the Ottoman ambassador in Paris, Mehmed Cemil Pasha prepared a report in October 1867, where he touched upon the importance of vocational education as a part of the initiatives for rehabilitation of certain industries.²⁶⁸

In February 1869, Cemil Pasha asked for the permission of the Grand Vizier, Âli Paşa, to examine these students with the help of the French Ministry of Education. He suggested that successful students would remain and complete their studies, whereas those who failed were to be replaced with other “orphan or destitute inmates of industrial orphanages” all around the Empire. After the receipt of a positive answer, the exam was undertaken in July 1869. None of the 11 students were directly returned to the Empire, yet there was a group of four students who came back in 13 September 1872.²⁶⁹ Although none of the former students were eliminated, Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs decided in December 1869 to send 20 students from *Islâh-ı Sanayi Mektebi* of Istanbul to Paris. The basic aim was to educate orphans, destitute and poor children in a perfect way so that they come back to serve for their country.²⁷⁰ The

266The first School of Forestry followed the first School of Agriculture in 1857. For the clerks of Justice or scribes a three-year middle school was opened in 1862-63 along with the first school of translators of modern languages. For training foremen or technicians a School of Mining was opened in 1874. Between 1864 and 1868, Mithat Pasha, opened his famous industrial orphanages and schools.

267Adnan Şişman, *Tanzimat Döneminde Fransa'ya Gönderilen Osmanlı Öğrencileri (1839-1876)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004, pp. 74-75.

268BOA, İ.HR., 228/13360, 22/C /1284 (20.10.1867). Mehmed Cemil Pasha, son of Mustafa Reşid Pasha, was also active in the preparation of the curriculum for *Mekteb-i Sultani* with Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Pasha, making sure that the regulations of the school are in congruence with the ones in France.

269Şişman, 75-76.

270BOA, İ.DH., 604/42092, 22/N /1286 (26.12.1869).

children (16 Muslims, 4 Armenians) arrived at Paris in 13 January 1870 and were placed in different pensions.²⁷¹ They were specialized in fourteen different trades, from engraving to tile decoration (Table 3.3). In December 1872, a new group of 20 apprentices were sent from Ruse and Istanbul Industrial Orphanages, ten from each.²⁷² The director of the Istanbul Orphanage went to Paris in February 1873 to visit the students and to purchase necessary materials for the institution.²⁷³

In June 1875, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Safvet Pasha, argued that sending industrial students to Paris did not bring about the intended results and that it generated significant costs. As a result, most of the students were brought back in July.²⁷⁴

The appearance of the root *ıslâh* in the name of the commission and school in Istanbul seems to be a strong sign of the relationship of the opening of these orphanages to the attempt of industrialization. The decline of the artisan production, or the strong discourse of such a decline, especially in the traditionally strong industries was a very real concern for the administrative and intellectual elite of the Empire. Namık Kemal was moaning for the closing down of the workshops all over the Empire: “... previously, we were self-sufficient, not only in agriculture, but also in industry. We used to possess many workshops to respond our all sorts of needs. Within twenty-thirty years, all of them are ruined.”²⁷⁵

In the establishment of Aleppo orphanage (1869), there was also mourning for the decline of the economic activities of the city.²⁷⁶ It was argued that, being one of the most

271Şişman, 93-158.

272*Ibid.*, 77.

273BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 446/32, 28/Za/1289 (28.01.1873).

274BOA, İ.HR., 267/16059, 16/Ca/1292 (20.06.1875). The research of Şişman does provide information on the future careers of the graduates of various schools and institutes. However, unfortunately no such information is provided (found) for the students from industrial orphanages.

275Namık Kemal, *Hürriyet*, No. 7, 21 Rebiülahir 1285 (11.8.1868): “...biz ziraatte olduğu gibi sanatta dahi vaktiyle kendi yağımızda kavrulurduk. Hemen her ihtiyacımızı ifa edecek tezgahlarımız vardı. Yirmi otuz senede onların hemen cümlesi mahvoldu...”

276BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869): “... Haleb şehri ezmine-yi salifede sanayice memalik-i mahruse-yi şahanenin ekserisine faik ve çıkan emtiası her yerde medh ve senaya layık iken bir müddetten beri mevcut olan destgahlar azalmaya

appreciated and valued producers of the textile products of the Empire, Aleppo, recently, had to face the closing of many workshops. The establishment of *ıslâhhane* was one of the necessary measures to “reaffirm the eminence of the industry and to reinforce the wealth of the nation and the country.”²⁷⁷ The industrial school of Diyarbekir had created similar hopes for the administrators as well. It was argued that thanks to this institution various industries in the province would be revitalized (*sanayi-i müteaddidenin ihyası*) and the benefits accrued would surpass the borders of the governorship and reached to its surroundings.²⁷⁸

In that sense, the discourse was so much centered on the welfare of the industry that the institution seems to be more interested in the reforming (*ıslâh*) of the urban economy than elevation or rescuing of the orphans. As underlined repetitive times, the *ıslâhhanes* were not reformatories for rehabilitating juvenile delinquents or unruly children. They were established as a part of a series of new institutions, targeting the reorganization of the urban life in social and economic terms.

3.4.2.1. Benevolent Contributions of the Local Elite

The *ıslâhhanes*, in most cases, were opened with the benevolent contributions (*iâne*) of the notables and the local community.²⁷⁹ These were men of means (*erbâb-ı*

başladığı gibi...”.

²⁷⁷*Ibid.*, “... burada dahi öyle bir ıslâhhane yapılması hem sanayi-i mebhusenin itibar-ı alisinin iadesiyle servet-i millet ve memleketin ikmalini...”

²⁷⁸BOA, DH.TMIK.S., 39/19, 18/R/1320 (24.07.1902): “... mekteb-i mezburun bir suret-i mükemmele ve muntazamede tesis ve idare ve terkibatı ve sailinin istihsali oralarca en ziyade ihtiyac hiss ettirmekte olansa sanayi-i müteaddidenin ihyasına badi olacağı gibi bunun iktifat olunacak semerat-ı naftanın yalnız Diyarbekir vilâyetine de tahassur kalmayarak vilayat-ı mütecevizeye dahi şümulü derkar bulunduğuna...”

²⁷⁹ BOA, A.MKT. MHM., 302/67, 1/M/1281 (6.6.1864): “...erbab-ı şürot ve kudret taraflarından arz-ı iâne olunup...”; BOA, İ. ŞD., 8/142, 2/R/1285 (22.7.1868): “... eshab-ı servet ve yesar...”; BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869): “...eshab-ı hamiyet taraflarından olunan iâne...”; BOA., İ.DH., 591/41114, 20.M.1286 (2.5.1869): “... eshab-ı hamiyet taraflarından iâneten yaptırılmış...”, “... eshab-ı hamiyet taraflarından dükkan ve saire gibi irad dahi terk olunmakta olduğuna...”; BOA, DH. MKT., 1376/85, 9/S/1304 (7.11.1886): “... erbab-ı hamiyet iânesiyle”; BOA, İ. ŞD., 14/629, 16/M/1286 (28.4.1869): “...arz-ı iâne için eshab-ı hayır ve hamiyete bir nümune-yi teşvikat...”.

şürût), possessors of wealth and riches (*eshâb-ı servet ve yesâr*), charitable persons (*zevât-ı kirâm*), or generally philanthropists (*eshâb-ı hayr ve hamiyet, eshâb-ı hayrat ve hasenât*). Despite references to economic status of donors, the standard formula was to define them as morally and spiritually rich people. Although the share of the state funding in the total revenues was always huge, the fact that local inhabitants participated with donations of buildings, terrains or rent revenues, and that they deposited large sums before the opening of the orphanage, point to the fact that these institutions were embraced by the local population as valuable part of the urban life. Although there was elicitation of a traditional concept of charity, which takes the shape of donations of the well-to-do on behalf of the poor, the intent was much more modern. Perhaps the most obvious reason for the demand for industrial orphanages in these cities was related to their potential to offer skilled labor, who can assume industrial production of goods, now initiated by economically affluent sections of the indigenous town populations. In fact, the awareness of the benefits of a reformed urban infrastructure was growing quickly among the populations and this contributed to the growth of their relations with the *islâhhanes*.

The *islâhhane* of Baghdad, opened in 1869 by the riverbank of Tigris, was launched thanks to the support from the notables of the province, that Midhat Pasha organized and encouraged. While philanthropists of the *vilâyet* were contributing to the income collected for the establishment of the orphanage and poorhouse, Nasreddin Shah donated 2000 *liras* as a sign of his generosity.²⁸⁰ The construction expenses of the Harput orphanage, which was opened in 1873, was also met with the benevolent contributions of the local population (*iâne-yi ahali*).²⁸¹ In the budget of 1907, the expenditures and income of *Islâhhane* of Istanbul (1869) were listed. In addition to revenues gained by selling some manufactured goods, produced in the orphanage and rents of certain buildings that were transferred to the institution, an important part of the income was coming from the benevolent contributions.²⁸²

Among the documents relating to the industrial orphanage of Diyarbekir, there is

280Midhat Paşa, 113.

281BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 446/17, 26/Za/1289 (25.1.1873): “iâne-yi ahali ile Harput'ta inşa kılınan islâhhanenin küşadı...”

282*İhsaiyyat-ı Maliye 1325, İstanbul, 1327 (1909)*, p. 260.

a register from 1869, to which the names of the contributors have been enlisted (*Diyarbakir ıslâhhanesine iâne eden zevât-ı kirâmın isimlerini mebni defter*). An analysis of this information reaffirms the importance of the contributions from the state officials in general – the largest sum being donated, as always, by the governor of the province (*vali-yi vilâyet*) himself. Yet, this register comprises only the donations of cash, whereas it is obvious that this same orphanage has been founded thanks to the real estate revenues granted on its use. For instance, some philanthropists (*eshâb-ı hamiyet*) of the *vilâyet* undertook the construction of a complex with six shops adjoining to the Governor's Residence (*Hükümet Konağı*), together with another shop next to the newly built public offices outside the walled city so that the rents of them be accrued to the budget of the orphanage.²⁸³

Transfer of rents with the decision of the provincial government was a widespread practice to create revenue for the institutions. In order to cover the operational expenses of *ıslâhhâne* of Kastamonu, the rent revenues of 25 shops, khans, and coffeehouses were consecrated to the orphanage, together with the revenues of the boat that carried paddy (*çeltik*) on the Kızılırmak.²⁸⁴ The municipality of İzmir allocated the revenues of the thermal spring of Balçova and bath of Karantina district to the orphanage. Moreover, with a decree released in 1893, 2 percent of the tithe of the surrounding municipalities was transferred to the institution.²⁸⁵ In Bursa, several shops were built on state owned (*emlak-ı emiriyeden*) land of road house (*menzilhane*), so that the rents were granted to the orphanage.²⁸⁶ In Salonika, the real estates of the orphanage, built on the terrain donated by the Municipality, were located in one of the largest streets of the city (*Hamidiye Caddesi*) and were to bring remarkably high rents to the institution.²⁸⁷

Before the construction of industrial orphanage of Edirne, land, a valuable asset

283BOA., İ.DH., 591/41114, 20.M.1286 (2.5.1869): “Diyarbakir hükümet konağı ittisalindeki harabede eshab-ı hamiyet taraflarından yaptırılarak altı bab dükkan icarları zikr olunan ıslâhhaneye terk ve teberrü olunduğu gibi haric-i surda derdest inşa olan devlet dairesi ittisalinde kezalik eshab-ı hamiyet taraflarından yaptırılması mukarrer olan dükkanın ... varidatı da ona tahsis olunacağı...”

284Eyüpgiller, 106.

285Aydın *Salnamesi*, 1894-95, 151; Abdullah Martal, *Değişim Sürecinde İzmir'de Sanayileşme*, 19. Yüzyıl, İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 1999, p. 41.

286BOA, İ.DH., 1312/1311-Za-19, 15/Za/1311, (21.05.1894). The buildings were quite spacious and large (Illustration 3.11).

close to the imperial mosque of Selimiye and which comprised 32 *dönüms* (approximately 32.000 m²), was donated by a certain Ayşe Sıdıka Hanım, who was the trustee of the *vakf* owning that territory.²⁸⁸ In order to reward her generosity, it was discussed in the Education Department of the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet Maarif Dairesi*) to honor her with an *atiyye-i seniyye* (gift from the sultan). Then, it was decided to decorate her with a bracelet, worth of 20.000 *guruş*. Later, when the orphanage was finally opened in 1873, many houses and plots around the above mentioned land were also expropriated by state to enlarge the area.

Another, and a more modern form of attracting the attention of the local community was to organize lotteries. In the 1880s, a number of lotteries were prepared, especially for philanthropic purposes, arranging finances for industrial orphanages being one of them.²⁸⁹ In 1886, the governorship of Aydın decided to secure a stable revenue for the orphanage of İzmir, which was initially opened in 1869 but later closed due to economic problems. When it was reopened thanks to the benevolent contribution of the philanthropists (*erbab-ı hamiyet îânesiyle*), the local government decided to organize a lottery to purchase some real estates for the orphanage so that it could have a more permanent income.²⁹⁰ The governorship of Aydın allowed the arrangement of a lottery, worth 4000 *lira* (only 2000 would be used for the orphanage, the rest was for other purposes), in order to provide some operational income for the *islâhhane*.²⁹¹ In 1889,

2871311 *Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve “Hamidiye” Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311, pp. 139-140.

288BOA, İ. ŞD., 8/142, 2/R/1285 (22.7.1868).

289On the history of lottery in the late Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey, Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye’de Piyango Tarihi ve Milli Piyango İdaresi*, Ankara: Milli Piyango İdaresi Yayını, 1993.

290BOA, DH. MKT., 1376/85, 9/S/1304, (7.11.1886); BOA, DH. MKT., 1366/142, 22/Z/1303, (20.09.1886) : “... mukaddema tesis ve küşad edilmiş olan islâhhanenin temin-i idare-yi bekası hakkında varidat-ı mevcudesine ilaveten bazı akar tedarik edilmek üzere iki bin lira kadar bir sermayeye ihtiyac olduğu...”

291BOA, DH. MKT., 1378/82, 18/S/1304, (16.11.1886): “...mezkur islâhhane eytamın talim ve terbiyesi için vaktiyle tesis olunmuş ve idaresinin temin olunamaması vechile bir aralık kapandığı halde erbab-ı hamiyet îânesi ile açtırılmış ise de devam-ı idaresi her halde bir karşılık bulunmasına muhtac idüğü anlaşılmış olmasıyla mezkur islâhhane için akar iştirası...”

also a raffle was organized for Izmir orphanage, in which the 15 pieces of furniture produced by the orphans, such as cupboards or coffee tables, were given as prizes.²⁹² In 1890, the governor, Halil Rıfat Pasha secured the permission of the sultan to organize yet another lottery for the orphanage in 1890.²⁹³

Since this method of *iâne* collection became quite common, the governorship of Kosovo also asked for permission to organize a lottery worth of 8000 *lira* in order to meet the construction expenses of the industrial orphanage of Skopje.²⁹⁴ This time the Sublime Porte found the solution objectionable, since it was argued that “in a place like Kosovo”, lottery procedure would cause all sorts of problems in the future, if people got addicted to gambling. The Porte also decided that the disadvantages of organizing a lottery under the auspices of the government would supersede the benefits of an *islâhhane*.²⁹⁵ As a result, the Ministry of Interior asked the governor to find another measure.

The contribution of the local elite for the establishment and operational expenses of the industrial orphanages was related, first, to their dependence and obedience to the governorship and being unable to refuse when they are asked to donate money. Second, these local elites and merchants also realized the benefits of having such an institution in their localities for the economic development and prosperity of their region in the future.

292Gülnaz Koyuncu, “İzmir Sanayi Mektebi Piyangosu”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol. 18, no. 107, November 1992, pp. 22-27.

293*Ibid.* In the 1890s, various raffles were also organized. In 1899, Vali Kamil Paşa authorized the organization of “İzmir Hamidiye Industrial School Lottery”. Two Jewish money lenders, Mordehey Levi and Benyamin Devidas were given the privilege of organizing the lottery. The school in the end would receive the 15 percent of the profit. The lottery was repeated on a seven-times-a-year basis until the imperial decree of 1906 prohibiting all sorts of lotteries, except for the one organized for the benefit of Agricultural Bank (*Ziraat Bankası*).

294BOA, DH. MKT., 1858/47, 07/M/1309 (13.08.1891).

295BOA, DH. MKT., 1881/116, 20/Ra/1309 (24.10.1891): “mamafih piyango muamelesi de alhusus öyle yerlerde her dürlü fenalığı dai olduğundan Kosova gibi bir mahalde ahalinin himaye-yi hükümetle piyangoya alışdırılmasındaki mahzur islâhhanenin iyiliğinden ziyade tesir edeceği cihetle...”

3.4.2.2. Linkages with the Industry: Orphans as Laborers

One significant reason for the birth of such industrial orphanages was to *fight* with the idleness of children. Turning orphan children into productive workers was one of the central ideas that can be found in the secondary literature on the politics of relief in general and the orphanages in particular.²⁹⁶ It is also possible to document the existence of such a discourse in the Ottoman official correspondence.²⁹⁷ It is argued, in one of the documents that these children who lost their chances of living in prosperity and wealth, due to their lack of proper education were given a chance so that they gain a relative equality of opportunity in terms of economic well-being.²⁹⁸ In one of the founding documents of Niş orphanage, the ignorance of the local community was criticized since they were leaving the children unemployed, due to their under age.²⁹⁹ Therefore, together with a manifest discourse of “saving the children”, the reformers insistently underlined the need to make these children work. There is apparently a class issue here. Middle class children were frequently sentimentalized as objects of care and affection.³⁰⁰ However, the children of the lower classes were interpreted through the

296The linkage was true for all the workhouses throughout Early Modern Europe. Sixteenth-century French *hospitaux* for orphaned and pauper children adopted the principle of obligatory work by children. The largest charity hospital for pauper and illegitimate children in Florence tried to improve the children's morality by intensive training and for work and by placement in urban workshops. A pamphlet published in 1693 (thought to be a Jesuit work) advertised the fact that in the hospice of Ospizio Apostolico, all orphans, boys and girls, who would otherwise lead an idle and wasteful life, can subsequently become good servants and workers for the town and laborers in the countryside after they have been educated and brought up to work. In sixteenth century England several laws prescribed the necessity to put 'idle children' of the poor to work, while corresponding local schemes characterized the seventeenth century. Rahikainen, pp. 24-33.

297BOA, A.MKT. MHM., 302/67, 1/M/1281 (6.6.1864): “...hurfet ve sanayii devama alıřdırılarak...”

298BOA, İ.DH., 604/42096, 21/Ş/1286 (26.11.1869): “... bokes ve bivâye kalmıř çocukların en ziyade sahib-i servet olanlar gibi mükteseb-i ilm ve marifet fail-i refah ve servet olmalarına...”

299BOA, İ.MVL., 502/22735, 21/N/1280, (29.2.1864): “... islam ve hristiyandan sađir-üs-sinn cihetiyle iře yaramayan sübyan...”

300At the beginning of the nineteenth century almost all children participated in some version of family-supporting labor, while by the beginning of the twentieth, states had begun to pass child-labor laws and to view children working not as normative but as

lenses of correction and discipline, they were usually de-sentimentalized.³⁰¹ There was necessarily a different approach for the children of the lower orders. Linked to the general preoccupation to “manage” working-class population, it was important to divert especially boys from asocial non-productive behavior and turning them into productive and obedient laborers.³⁰²

In addition to the above mentioned local elite and merchants, large-scale producers and industrialists could also profit from the training provided in industrial orphanages. Opening of factories and the resulting need for unskilled and cheap labor tied the orphans and orphanages to the industrial production in a very curious way.³⁰³ According to the evidence at hand, the first few factories that were opened in the Empire relied on a variety of sources for their labor. Yet, they had a remarkable orphan population as its workers.³⁰⁴ During the mid-1830s, orphaned children worked at a yarn factory (*rişte-i hane-i amire*) to maintain uninterrupted production of Ottoman fleet. These were “suitably paid” and brought in on a rotational basis for a specified time. In

abusive. Gradually losing their economic importance, children came to be understood as primarily engaged in emotional work. These large-scale cultural transitions in the meaning of childhood do not have clear temporal boundaries, and in the negotiation of these new understandings there is much variation on the basis of class, region, gender, and race. Karen Sanchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, p. xx.

301Hugh Cunningham, “The Children and 'The Other Children': Dualism in the Social Construction of Childhood”, SHCY Conference, 29 June-1 July 2007, Norrköping, Sweden; Viviana A. Rotman Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.

302Ipsen, 152. Meznar also argues that certain conditions made poor orphans more attractive for prospective guardians. In periods of labor shortage youngsters became a reserve army of potential workers, in the households, the fields, and urban workshops. Meznar, 501.

303During the Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars in France, as the supply of labor was limited, orphans were no longer placed out with families, but put in factories. The work in factories was presented as assistance, but the *enfants assistés* were employed under extremely onerous conditions. At the time of Terror (1793), orphan asylums became pools from which manufacturers drew cheap labor. Rahikainen, 31.

304Rahikainen underlines that industrial child labor was concentrated in a limited number of sectors. As the textile industry, alone or together with clothing, was generally the largest or second largest employer of children. The other industries include mining, metalwork and machinery, paper, glass, and brick manufacture, and tobacco and match production. Rahikainen, 15.

fact, it is true that the opening of these factories caused a serious rural migration from the provinces. At first, Armenian orthodox children from the areas of Erzurum, Van and Sivas were recruited but their numbers provided insufficient. So, the government summoned some 100 Catholic and 100 Greek orphans from the mohair-weaving districts around Ankara and from Ürgüp and Niğde as well.³⁰⁵

Quataert argues female and child manufacturing work outside the home was commonplace, irrespective of location or ethnicity. It is not true that non-guild workshops and factories employed only men. This is a false assumption about Middle East privacy norms. Child and female workers predominated in all of the mechanized cotton spinning and silk reeling mills. They were an important, likely the major, part of the workforce in the Uşak wool yarn factories. Women also worked in the wool cloth factories at Niausta in the Balkans and Eyüp in the capital and in the umbrella workshops of Istanbul.³⁰⁶

Some of the industrial orphanages were specifically founded to supply laborers for large industrial complexes and factories.³⁰⁷ These industrial enterprises were inherently linked to the state as the sponsor and the main consumer. Orphanages were

³⁰⁵Halil İncalcık, Donald Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2 (1600-1914)*, Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 900.

³⁰⁶Donald Quataert, *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 47, 175. Female and child labor was also common at the cotton gins scattered throughout the area. Labor was particularly scarce in this southeastern region and the mill owners were in the process of building houses to attract Armenian workers from Haçın, Zeytun, and Aintab. There is more detailed information, but still very incomplete, about the Macedonian mill workers. Just after its founding in the 1870s, the first mill in Niausta employed 250 young women and 50 males, all Jews. Females, mostly girls, as young as six years of age, were three-quarters of all Macedonian spinning mill workers who, in 1906, numbered some 1570 persons.

³⁰⁷Many of these complexes were established by the private sector with the order of the state. Dadyans, the famous Armenian family, had close business ties with the Ottoman sultans and they were behind man of these projects. From the reign of Selim III to Abdülhamid II, 6 members of the Dadyan family served as the Head of Imperial Mint (Barutçubaşı). This family played important administrative and political roles within the Ottoman bureaucracy and they took part in significant charitable and administrative efforts in Armenian community in eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Anahide Ter Minassian, "A Family of Armenian Amiras: The Dadians", *Armenian Review* 45 (3/79), Fall 1992, pp. 1-16.

located near them making it easier for the children to walk to work on a daily basis.³⁰⁸ One of the earliest industrial projects, Hereke Textile Factory (*Fabrika-i Hümayun*) was opened in 1845 in order to meet the demand of cloth of the army – cloth, fez, serge, flannel, and stockings. It was an important investment, furnished with the most modern technology and machines brought from Europe. An industrial school for boys was immediately attached to it, as a part of creating labor. There was also an industrial school in Yeşilköy, linked to the iron-melting, horseshoe, and nail factory of Bakırköy, opened in 1840.³⁰⁹ Zeytinburnu Industrial Complex was also established in 1845 to produce iron tools and utensils for the army. In Zeytinburnu school, there were courses of mathematics, chemistry, geology, and metals in 1850s.³¹⁰

There were also cotton and wool textile factories stretching from Yedikule to Küçükçekmece. Adjacent to Yedikule weaving factory, there was an orphanage for destitute girls (*bivâyegân etfal-i inâs*), opened in 1870, with 50 girls as its first inmates.³¹¹ Khater argues, within the context of Lebanon, that the transfer of the gendered division of labor from village to factory was facilitated in several ways. For owners of factories, recruitment of women proved difficult at first because of the social taboos against contact with strange men. But in the early 1860s the owners circumvented this problem by recruiting young girls from orphanages. In place of their parents, the factory owner could incorporate these young orphans into a paternalistic institution where he became a surrogate patriarch.³¹²

308Orphanage-factory complexes had European predecessors. In 1670 the Danish king ordered a combined spin-house and orphanage to be built in Oslo, yet, it was not until 1778 that the first orphanage was established for children aged between 7 and 16. The barnhus (children's house) of Stockholm started as a combined orphanage and a manufactory, producing sailcloth (canvas). Rahikainen, 26-27.

309Their opening date seems to be ambiguous. While in certain sources the first industrial schools are attributed to Midhat Paşa and his governorship in the province of Danube, certain sources talk about the opening of industrial schools in Istanbul in the second half of 1840s.

310Sakaoğlu, 78.

311Sakaoğlu, 79; *Salname 1295*, Dersaadet: Rıza Efendi Matbaası, 1878, p. 256. Later the school was placed under the authority of the Ministry of Education.

312Akram Fouad Khater, *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001, p. 32.

Together with working in the factory, the graduates were also employed by the army in their sewing workshops. At the time of its foundation, no particular budget was granted to the orphanage, since the expenditures were met by the revenues gained from the sale of the products manufactured by the orphans.³¹³ In that respect, expansion of industrial education in the orphanages was profitable: the items made could be sold to the public and serve as extra income for the institution.

Midhat Pasha's industrial policies and their linkages with the *islâhhanes* in Niš, Ruse, Sofia, Baghdad, Damascus – each sheltering 150-250 orphans – were also remarkable. The orphans in Ruse Orphanage were employed in the coach factory of the *vilâyet*'s company as producers of carts. The girls of the orphanage of Ruse, on the other hand, worked for the cloth factory, which produced fabric for the army. Midhat also thought that it would be a profitable enterprise to found a broadcloth factory adjacent to the Sofia Orphanage. He brought the special machinery and the masters from Vienna, with the help of whom orphans became veritable masters themselves in two years. The factory was also a success, which manufactured 30.000 meters of broadcloth in a year.³¹⁴

Many *islâhhanes* played important roles as producers in meeting certain needs of local governments and municipalities. *Islâhthane* of Diyarbekir, only 3 months after its opening in 1869 was able to produce the shoes of the gendarme together with a part of their uniforms.³¹⁵ In its later years, the orphanage was able to provide for the needs of several governmental institutions, together with the local community.³¹⁶ Similarly, the industrial orphanage of Kosovo was able to produce shoes and uniforms for officers and civil servants of the province.³¹⁷ The *islâhthane* of Bursa was initially specialized on

313BOA, İ. DH. 884/70494, 01/B/1300 (18.4.1883): “...vaktiyle bu mekteb için sermaye vaz ve tahsis edilmeyerek idaresi talebatın imal eyledikleri eşya esmanından hasıl olan temettüe münhasır kaldığına...”

314Midhat Paşa, *Midhat Paşa'nın Hatıraları: Hayatım İbret Olsun [Tabsıra-i ibret]*, Osman Selim Kocahanoğlu (ed.), İstanbul: Temel Yayınları, 1997, pp. 52-3.

315BOA., İ.DH., 591/41114, 20.M.1286 (2.5.1869).

316Talip Atalay, “19. Yüzyılda Sokak Çocuklarını Topluma Kazandırmada Başarılı Bir Örnek: Diyarbekir Vilâyeti Islâhhanesi”, *Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e II. Uluslararası Diyarbakır Sempozyumu*, 15 – 17 November 2006.

317Eren, 35.

weaving. In the first years, the orphanage produced the fabric for the uniforms of the gendarme forces.³¹⁸

The orphans, as a result, served as unpaid labor in most of these industrial establishments. In fact, according to the regulations of the *islâhhanes*, the students were actually entitled a daily wage (*yevmiye*), which was kept in the government lending agency (*emniyet sandığı*), until the graduation of these orphans. The sum would serve as a financial assistance for the graduates so that they could start their own businesses. *Islâhhane* of Istanbul, for instance, promised to provide its students a sum at the graduation.³¹⁹ The same method was also followed in Ruse industrial orphanage for girls.³²⁰ However, it was not rare that the government acted reluctant to release these sums from the funds. In 1900, there were a series of complaints from former graduates of Ruse girls' orphanage that they were denied their earnings.³²¹ The father of three girls, Lütfiye, Şemsiye, and Münire, demanded the money that her daughters earned during their stay in the orphanage.³²² Eugenie Yorgiyef claimed her accumulated wages, which were entrusted to the Ruse treasury (*Rusçuk Sandığı*), together with its interest.³²³

While in some cases the private business sector was building friendly partnerships and fruitful alliances with the industrial orphanages, there was also competition. As already mentioned, the theme of “the struggle of the local producers against imports” was always prominent within the discourse of the opening of these institutions. One such case of competition was the manufacturing of uniforms and shoes for the municipal police officers of Aleppo in the workshops of the *islâhhane* of the city by the orphan inmates.³²⁴ In his report to the Grand Vizier, the governor of the province tells

318 Aydın Talay, *Eserleri ve Hizmetleriyle Sultan Abdülhamid*, İstanbul: Risale, 1991, p. 117, 139-40.

319 Önsoy, 9.

320 BOA, DH. MKT., 2346/12, 17/M /1318 (16.05.1900).

321 Since Ruse no longer belonged to the Ottoman lands, former inhabitants of the city were apparently concerned about their acquired legitimate rights.

322 BOA, DH. MKT., 2413/113, 16/C /1318 (11.10.1900).

323 BOA, DH. MKT., 2346/12, 17/M /1318 (16.05.1900).

324 BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869).

that they were previously working with subcontractors (*kontratocular*)³²⁵ with a mechanism of underbidding (*münakasa*). Then, after seeing the exemplars of both the uniforms and the shoes manufactured in the orphanage, which were both in good quality and very cheap, the governor decided to transfer all uniform and shoe production to the orphanage.³²⁶ This increased the population of the orphan labor force to 400.³²⁷ The governorship thought that this way the province would be relieved from the corruption of the subcontractors and the treasury would benefit from the decrease of costs. Except from a note in a register of 1878 that the debts to the subcontractors in Aleppo has been closed, it is not certain whether the agreement was annulled permanently or not.³²⁸ Yet, the dispute is still worth considering, since it underlines the actual role of industrial orphanages within the development of local industries and the achievement of the goal of self-sufficiency.

325This seems to be a quite well-known position within the Ottoman military-administrative system. In many documents the expression “Subcontractors of the Imperial Army” (Ordu-yu Hümayun Kontratocuları) has been used. They were not only manufacturers of clothing and shoes, there were also subcontractors for the procurement of food (*erzak kontratocusu*), or provision of tobacco (*tütüün kontratocusu*). Traditionally, these were not necessarily foreigners. In the Ottoman archives it is possible to come across a number of Muslim and non-Muslim citizens named as such.

326BOA, İ. ŞD., 13/610, 15/Z/1285 (29.3.1869): “...kontratocular tarafından dürlü dürlü fesadlar karıştırılması ve bu elbise ve kunduraların birer numunesi geçenlerde ıslâhhanede imal ettirilmekte pek muntazam ve fiyatı ehven surette çıkması cihetle bunların kaffesinin ıslâhhanede imali...”

327*Ibid.*, “... halkın şu günlerde göstermekte olduğu rağbete ve halide bulunan destgahlar emtiasının ayrılması maksadıyla her nevinden ıslâhthane derununda kurdurulacak destgahlar envaina kıyasen bu çocukların adedi 400'ü tecavüz edeceğine nazaran...”

328BOA, MAD.d., 13792. It seems plausible to think that the former subcontractors would resist annulment of their contracts and sabotage the feasibility of this project with all sorts of means.

3.5. Fading of the *Islâhhanes*

Although many of the industrial orphanages were opened almost simultaneously after the general order of the government in 1868, some of them did not live long. The story behind their disappearance is multifaceted and sometimes obscure. Some of them were actually closed due to lack of funds, specifically in the 1870s and 80s. This was the case, for instance, with Kastamonu industrial orphanage. The institution was opened in the old barracks for the infantry (Piyade Kışlası) in the northern part of the city in 1868. 10 years later, the barracks became inhabitable since this was an already old building from 1802-3. Therefore, in 1881 *islâhhane* was closed with the intent of constructing a more appropriate building elsewhere. Despite the orders from Istanbul, the provincial government could not realize this project. It was only in 1887 that the foundations of a new industrial school (*mekteb-i sanayi*) were laid in another part of the city.³²⁹

Trabzon industrial orphanage, opened in 1864, was closed in 1877-78, due to unknown reasons. Taking into consideration the refugee crisis of the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-8, the reason for closure becomes very incomprehensible. Yet, we know that the institution was not re-opened until the appearance of an interesting dispute between the Ministry of Education and the municipality in 1891. In July, the Ministry of Education demanded the transfer of 10.000 *guruş* worth revenues of the institution, that had been spent by the municipality and the local treasury (*mal sandığı*) for the last fourteen years. As the municipality was unwilling to let go of its precious resources, they replied that they would re-institute the orphanage and use the money for the expenses of opening.³³⁰ There is no evidence that the orphanage was re-initiated.

Yet, there was actually a series of re-openings in late 1870s and 1880s with particular efforts of Midhat Pasha in the provinces, where he served as governor. As already touched upon, when Midhat was appointed to the governorship of Damascus in 1878, he re-opened the orphanage for 200 Muslim and non-Muslim orphans.³³¹ During

³²⁹Eyüpgiller, 52-3.

³³⁰BOA, DH.MKT., 1848/56, 2/Z/1308 (9.7.1891).

³³¹Midhat Paşa, 233.

his governorship in *vilâyet* of Aydın, he also worked for the re-opening of the industrial orphanage of İzmir. According to the archival documents, the orphanage was closed or became inactive some time between 1878 and 1881 due to a financial deadlock. Yet, after the arrival of the new governor, the local population and philanthropists were called to donate benevolent contributions, with which the orphanage was reopened in 1880-81, during the short term of the governor.³³²

Another factor, which affected rather lessened visibility of the *ıslâhhanes* was the change in terminology. Many of these orphanages started to be generally called as “industrial school” and specifically as “Hamidiye Sanayi Mekteb-i Alisi” after the reign of Abdülhamid II.³³³ In Salonika yearbook of 1893, it was mentioned that the term *ıslâhhane* was abolished (“*ıslahhane*” *namının lağvıyla*) in 1890 (1308), so as to call the school with the exalted name of the sultan.³³⁴ This was a simple change in terminology, yet, it changed the expectations as well. Again in the same yearbook, it was argued until that happy day (of name change), the school entered a new period of progress and renewal (*o tarih-i mesuddan itibaren mekteb-i mezkur bir devr-i terakki ve teceddüde dahil olmuştur*). Ebuzziya Tevfik, who became the director of the industrial orphanage of İstanbul in 1891 prepared a report on the school, in which he complained to the sultan that this institution did not deserve the name “industrial school”, in the European (French) sense of the word, and that it was primarily an asylum for the destitute (*melce-i bîvâregân*), sheltering poor and orphaned children (*bir takım aceze-i etfâl*). The institution had to be reformed and re-instituted in many ways with a much larger budget, unless it was meant to be an orphan asylum (*melce-i etfâl*).³³⁵

332Midhat Paşa, 248. BOA, DH. MKT., 1378/82, 18/S/1304, (16.11.1886).

333Unat, 80.

3341311 *Sene-yi Hicrisine Mahsus Selanik Vilayeti Salnamesi*, (Vilayet istatistik heyet-i tahririyesi tarafından tertib ve “Hamidiye” Mekteb-i Sanayi Matbaasında tab ve temsil edilmiştir), 1311, pp. 139-140.

335Maarif Vekâleti, *Türkiye'de Teknik Öğretim II: Bölge San'at Okullarının ve Gezici Köy Kurslarının Tarihçeleri*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940, p. 137: “...Mektebi Sanayi unvanına ayrılan bu mekteb sanatı için muhtaç olduğu vesaiti bugünkü günde tedarik edememekte ve yalnız bir melce-i bîvâregân şeklinde bir takım aceze-i etfâli barındırmaktadır ki şu haline nazaran ihtiyar buyurulan masraf luzumundan ziyadedir. Eğer maksat bir melce-i etfal olmayıp da sanayi mektebi ise, ani istikbal ve temin edecek vesaitin o nisbette rayegân tutulması ispat ihtiyacından azadedir...”. It seems that his suggestions were actually followed, since during his term

Even though industrial schools were the chronological and organic continuation of *islâhhanes*, in other words although these institutions were essentially linked to one another, on the basis of student body, education, and aims, a simple name change led to the disappearance of the *islâhhanes* from the scene for contemporaries, and for historians. Due to confusion and ignorance of the continuity of *islâhhane* tradition, the institution was treated as less significant and more short-lived than it actually was.

3.6. Conclusion: Reforming the Orphans or the Urban Space and Economy?

The establishment of industrial orphanages in the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century was a very well-implemented central order, obeyed practically by every governorship of the Empire. The birth of the institution is linked to a number of old and new phenomenon coupled under different circumstances. These include new definitions of vagabondage, vagrancy, and begging; development of new structures of provincial government, municipality and the police; creation of an orphans' fund to turn the inheritances of well-to-do orphans into borrowable money; emergence of a protective stance against the foreign imports; increasing importance attached to industrial productivity of the domestic producers, and orientation towards vocational education.

The orphans, as a result, were (re)defined in different terms, other than parentless and pity-evoking children. They were, first, seen as a threat to the law and order in the cities as town as wanderers and vagabonds. Thus, they had to be confined in one way so that safety and security is achieved. Second, they represented an idle army of workers, who can be turned into productive laborers if educated properly and given a duty to perform. That's why the industrial orphanages were concentrated on educating these children on a vocational basis and employing them in the adjacent or related factories and workshops of the governorship. Third, related to the economic concerns of the

in office a new curriculum was prepared and new teachers and masters were brought from abroad.

reformers, and as a parallel development, the property of the orphans of the upper classes were put into use with the establishment of the Authority for the Direction of Orphans' Property (*Emvâl-i Eytam Nezareti*) in 1851. Therefore, unattended orphans and the children of the poor had to be removed from the urban space as a measure of sterilization of the urban space. Moreover, the state and industrialists were entitled to benefit from the orphans, either the money of the rich or the labor of the poor, in order to accomplish reformers' plans for developing and supporting domestic economy. In that picture, the disciplining or reformation of the orphans was only secondary compared to the larger goals of keeping the public order and security in urban areas, safeguarding the working of commercial activity, and rejuvenation of the urban industrial activity.

Chapter 3 aimed at showing the importance and altered meanings of the orphans for the state and how their *collection* and education were related to various aspects of internal politics and Ottoman reform. The next section, Chapter 4, on the other hand, will move its gaze to beyond the borders of the Empire and concentrate on the international controversy that the orphan relief had the potential to create. This way, the dissertation will accomplish its journey from from the most inner/intimate sphere to the most global/international, from the realm of unwanted pregnancy and child birth to the inter-state diplomacy.

TABLES FOR CHAPTER 3

Table 3.1 – Industrial Orphanages in the Ottoman Empire¹

City	Vilâyet	Establishment Date	
1. Trabzon	Trabzon	1280	1864
2. Niş	Danube	1280	1864
3. Ruse	Danube	1281	1865
4. Sofia	Danube	1281	1865
5. Salonika	Salonika	1281	1865
6. Istanbul, Sultanahmet	Istanbul	1284	1868
7. Kastamonu (mixed)	Kastamonu	1285	1868
8. Bursa	Hüdavendigâr	1285	1868
9. Sarajevo	Bosnia	1285	1869
10. Scutari	Scutari (Albania)	1285	1869
11. Sivas	Sivas	1285	1869
12. Aleppo	Aleppo	1285	1869
13. Baghdad	Baghdad	1285	1869
14. Izmir	Aydın	1286	1869
15. Diyarbekir	Diyarbekir	1286	1869
16. Erzurum	Erzurum	1286	1869
17. Damascus	Syria	1286	1869
18. Istanbul, Yedikule (girls)	Istanbul	1286	1870
19. Ruse (girls)	Danube	1289	1872
20. Kandiye	Crete	1288	1872
21. Edirne	Edirne	1290	1873
22. Harput	Mamuretülaziz	1289	1873
23. Adana	Adana	1290	1873
24. Konya	Konya	1290	1873
25. Jerusalem	Jerusalem	1291	1874
26. Istanbul, Üsküdar (girls)	Istanbul	1295	1878
27. Janina	Janina	1294	1878

¹This data is deduced from some 100 documents gathered from the Ottoman archives, the dates ranging from 1864 to 1908.

City	Vilâyet	Establishment Date	
28. Istanbul, Aksaray (girls)	Istanbul	1296	1879
29. Istanbul, Cağaloğlu (girls)	Istanbul	1296	1879
30. Gümülcine (Komotini)	Edirne	1295	1879
31. Istanbul, Sultanahmet (girls)	Istanbul	1301	1884
32. Antalya	Konya (Teke)	1306	1888
33. Skopje	Kosovo	1313	1895
34. Monastir	Monastir	1317	1899

Table 3.2 – Students sent to Paris from Ruse Industrial Orphanage (1867 – 1872)²

Name	Identity	Education	Arrival Date	Departure Date
1. Abbas	Apprentice	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-2), Hâvre (1872-4)	August 1867	26 May 1874
2. Ahmed Nazif	Apprentice (mechanic)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-3), Hâvre (1873-5)	August 1867	13 February 1875
3. Ahmed Şakir	Apprentice (machine repairer)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Hâvre (1871-5)	August 1867	January 1875
4. Dora	Bulgarian. Apprentice (tile decoration)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-2)	August 1867	13 September 1872
5. İbrahim	Apprentice (marquetry)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-4)	August 1867	26 May 1874
6. İbrahim	Apprentice (gardener)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-?)	August 1867	13 September 1872
7. Panayot	Greek. Apprentice (stove-maker)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-4)	August 1867	26 May 1874
8. Stephan	Greek. Apprentice (machine repairer)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-2)	August 1867	13 September 1872
9. Vasil	Greek. Apprentice (litograph)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-2)	August 1867	13 September 1872
10. Yuvan	Greek. Apprentice (carpenter)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-4)	August 1867	26 May 1874
11. Ahmed Mustafa	Apprentice (lathe operator)	Paris (1867-1870), Liège (1870-74), Paris (1874)	May 1869	August 1874 (sent to Ruse with tuberculosis)
12. Yunus	Birth: Niş Apprentice (tailor)	Paris (1872 -)	8 December 1872	15 July 1875
13. Todora	Bulgarian. Birth:	Paris (1872 -)	8 December	8 July 1875

²This table is prepared with the data provided by Adnan Şişman: *Tanzimat Döneminde Fransa'ya Gönderilen Osmanlı Öğrencileri (1839-1876)*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2004, pp. 93-158.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Identity</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Arrival Date</i>	<i>Departure Date</i>
	1860, Ruse Apprentice (printer and typesetter)		1872	
14. Mustafa	Birth: 1858, Crete. Apprentice (carpenter)	Paris (1872 -)	8 December 1872	He paid his own expenses after 15 July 1875 and, thus, stayed.
15. Mahir	Birth: 1858 (3 rd grade student) Apprentice (printer and typesetter)	Paris (1872 -)	8 December 1872	15 July 1875
16. İslam	Birth: 1858, Ruse (3 rd grade student). Apprentice (maker of vehicle bodies)	Paris (1872-3), Hâvre (1873-5)	8 December 1872	8 July 1875
17. İstaf	Bulgarian. Birth: 1857, Niş. Apprentice (tailor)	Paris (1872-3), Hâvre (1873)	8 December 1872	15 July 1875
18. Conné	Birth: 1858, Ruse Bulgarian, orphan. (4 th grade student) Apprentice (tailor)	Paris (1872-?)	8 December 1872	8 July 1875
19. Kristo	Birth: 1858, Bulgarian (5 th grade student). Apprentice (broadcloth weaver)	Paris (1872 - ?)	8 December 1872	8 July 1874
20. Şaban	Birth: 1862, Sofia. Apprentice (cotton fluffer)	Paris (1872 - ?)	8 December 1872	
21. Mitto	Birth: 1859, Sofia. Bulgarian. Apprentice (weaver)	Paris (1872-3), Hâvre (1873-5)	8 December 1872	8 July 1875

Table 3.3 – Students sent to Paris from Istanbul Industrial Orphanage (1870 – 1872)³

<i>Name</i>	<i>Identity</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Arrival Date</i>	<i>Departure Date</i>
1. Mehmed, Fehmi Hüsni	Birth: Istanbul. Apprentice (grater)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-74)	13 January 1870	December 1874
2. Krikor	Armenian. Apprentice (lathe operator)	Paris (1870), Hâvre (1870-5)	13 January 1870	13 February 1875
3. Kalust, Arsen	Armenian. Birth: 1857, Tekirdağ Apprentice (foundryman)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-75)	13 January 1870	13 February 1875
4. İbrahim,	Birth: 1855, Gebze	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-75)	13 January	13 February 1875

³Ibid.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Identity</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Arrival Date</i>	<i>Departure Date</i>
Mustafa	Apprentice (iron-maker)		1870	
5. İbrahim, Hasan	Apprentice (rug-maker)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-72)	13 January 1870	17 August 1872 (died in Liège)
6. Hüsni, Bekir	Birth: 1857, Istanbul Apprentice (foundryman)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-75)	13 January 1870	13 February 1875
7. Halim Hüseyin	Birth: 1854, Trabzon Apprentice (iron-maker)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-75)	13 January 1870	13 February 1875
8. Garabet	Armenian. Apprentice (tile decoration)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-5)	13 January 1870	13 February 1875
9. Galib	Apprentice (engraver, sculptor)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-4)	13 January 1870	26 May 1874
10. Emin	Apprentice (shoe-maker)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-74)	13 January 1870	26 May 1874
11. Cavit	Apprentice (tailor)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-2)	13 January 1870	22 May 1872
12. Bekir	Apprentice (carpenter)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-5)	13 January 1870	15 July 1875
13. Aziz	Apprentice (bind-binder)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-74)	13 January 1870	26 May 1874
14. Ali Seyid Hüseyin	Apprentice (lathe operator)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-75)	13 January 1870	15 July 1875
15. Ali	Apprentice (shoe-maker)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-4)	13 January 1870	26 May 1874
16. Ahmed Emin	Apprentice (jeweler) Birth: April 1854	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (?)	13 January 1870	?
17. Ahmed Abdi	Apprentice (harness maker)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-5)	13 January 1870	8 July 1875
18. Ohannes	Armenian. Apprentice (machine repairer)	Paris (1870), Hâvre (1870-5)	13 January 1870	13 February 1875
19. Salih	Apprentice (tailor)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-71), Paris (1871-2)	13 January 1870	22 May 1872
20. Süleyman Karanfi	Birth: 1854, Tepedelen. Apprentice (machine modeler)	Paris (1870), Liège (1870-75)	13 January 1870	13 February 1875
21. Mıgırđıç	Armenian. Birth: 1859, Istanbul. Orphan.		8 December 1872	15 July 1875
22. Kristopolos	Birth: 1856, Istanbul. Greek, orphan. Apprentice (carpenter)	Paris (1872-3), Hâvre (1873-4)	8 December 1872	July 1874

<i>Name</i>	<i>Identity</i>	<i>Education</i>	<i>Arrival Date</i>	<i>Departure Date</i>
23. Kadri	Apprentice (xlograph)		8 December 1872	8 July 1875
24. Halim	Birth: 1857, Istanbul Apprentice (tailor)	Paris (1872-?)	8 December 1872	15 July 1875
25. Cafer	Apprentice (harness maker)	Paris (1872-3), Hâvre (1873-5)	8 December 1872	8 July 1875
26. Bilal	Apprentice (maker of vehicle bodies)	Paris (1872-3), Hâvre (1873-5)	8 December 1872	8 July 1875
27. Mihal	Birth: 1855, Istanbul. Orphan. Apprentice (carpenter)	Paris (1872-3), Hâvre (1873-5)	8 December 1872	8 July 1875
28. Nazif	Birth: 1858, Istanbul. Apprentice (glazier)	Paris (1872 -)	8 December 1872	8 July 1875
29. Süleyman	Birth: 1860, Istanbul. Apprentice (carpenter)	Paris	8 December 1872	8 July 1875
30. Şakir	Birth: 1856, Istanbul. Apprentice (foundryman)		8 December 1872	15 July 1875

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER 3

Illustration 3.1 – Izmir Industrial Orphanage, Mithatpaşa Endüstri Meslek Lisesi (2004)



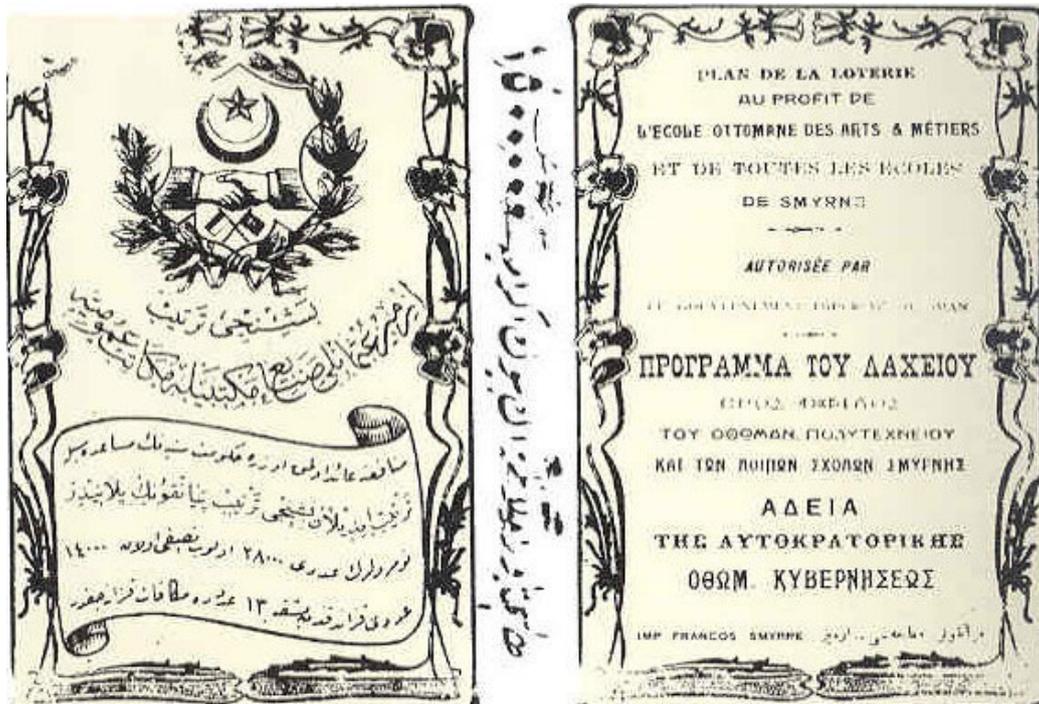
Illustration 3.2 – Izmir Industrial Orphanage, Mithatpaşa Endüstri Meslek Lisesi



Illustration 3.3 – Izmir Industrial Orphanage, Mithatpaşa Endüstri Meslek Lisesi



Illustration 3.4 – Lottery Ticket of the Izmir Industrial Orphanage (1899)⁴



⁴Gülnaz Koyuncu, “İzmir Sanayi Mektebi Piyangosu”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol. 18, no. 107, November 1992, pp. 22-27.

Illustration 3.5 – Adana Industrial Orphanage, İnkılap İlköğretim Okulu (2005)



Illustration 3.6 – Adana Industrial Orphanage, İnkılap İlköğretim Okulu (2005)



Illustration 3.7 – Konya Industrial Orphanage, İl Özel İdaresi (2006)



Illustration 3.8 – Konya Industrial Orphanage, İl Özel İdaresi (2007)



Illustration 3.9 – Bursa Industrial Orphanage (1906)



Illustration 3.10 – Bursa Industrial Orphanage (1906)⁵



⁵ *Hüdavendigâr Vilâyeti Salname-yi Resmîyyesi* (1324 sene-yi hicriyyesine mahsus), Bursa, 1324 (1906-7).

Illustration 3.11 – Real Estates of Bursa Industrial Orphanage (1906)⁶



*6*ibid.

Illustration 3.12 – Sivas Industrial Orphanage, Tailoring Workshop (1907)¹



¹*Sivas Vilayeti Salnamesi* (Sivas Vilayeti Matbaasında tab olunmuştur), 1325 sene-yi hicriyyesi.

Illustration 3.13 – Sivas Industrial Orphanage, Shoe-making Workshop (1907)²



2Ibid.

Illustration 3.14 – Sivas Industrial Orphanage, Carpentry Workshop (1907)³



3Ibid.

CHAPTER 4

ETHNIC CONFLICTS, MASSACRES, WARS, AND INTRICACIES OF ORPHAN RELIEF: RIVALRY OVER ORPHANS

4.1. Introduction

After a long tradition of seeing charity and charitable institutions largely as a manifestation of religious values, Middle Eastern scholars have begun to assert the importance of self-interest, or at least collective self-interest in motivating elites to offer charitable assistance.¹ It is underlined that at its simplest level, charity is a reflection of a donor's wishes, inspired by spiritual, social, economic, or political motives, possibly including self-interest and ambition. Attaining paradise in the afterlife or social standing among the living, seeking economic advantage through tax reduction or protection of property, and consolidating the support of constituencies all constitute possible motives for what may be termed charitable or beneficent acts.² Marco Van Leeuwen argues, for

¹Adam Sabra, *Poverty and Charity in Medieval Islam: Mamluk Egypt, 1250-1517*, Cambridge University Press, 2000; Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence : An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002; Michael Bonner, "Definition of the Poverty and the Rise of the Muslim Poor", *JRAS Series 3*, vol.6, no.3, 1996, pp. 335-44; Mine Ener, Amy Singer and Michael Bonner (eds.), *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts*, Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003; Nadir Özbek, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda 'Sosyal Yardım' Uygulamaları, 1839-1918," *Toplum ve Bilim*, Kış 1999/2000, pp. 111-132; Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, And The Hamidian Regime, 1876–1909", *IJMES*, vol. 37, 2005, pp. 59-81; Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of Poor Relief in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1876-1914," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, no. 21, Fall 1999, pp. 1-33; Oded Peri, "Waqf and Ottoman Welfare Policy: the Poor Kitchen of Hasseki Sultan in Eighteenth Century Jerusalem", *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 35, 1992, pp. 167-86.

²Amy Singer, "Serving Up Charity: The Ottoman Public Kitchen", *Journal of*

another context, that for elites, poor relief held out the promise of a number of social and economic benefits: the maintenance of a reserve of workers; the confirmation of the proper place of the poor in a static and hierarchical society; the maintenance of public order; the control of epidemic infections; and the moral improvement, or “civilizing” of the poor.³

In order to account for the existence and/or emergence of orphanages, it is necessary to refer to a complex web of interrelated forces, including economic, social, political and ideological factors, which lay behind the establishment and maintenance of such architectural and human monuments. In the presence of such traditional forms of orphan care, such as being raised in the larger family, foster care or apprenticeship, the opening of orphanages in the Ottoman Empire is a multi-dimensional topic as well, comprising many of the above mentioned factors. In fact, the establishment of the institutional context for the care of orphans has been interpreted from a number of approaches. On the one hand, this choice of an institution was related in some way to the emergence of an increasingly modern capitalist economy in the urban areas.⁴ The other theoretical approach is coming from what Michel Foucault has identified as “the great confinement”.⁵

The issue of charity is also valuated from the basic sides of “supply and demand”, in other words, it is possible to make an analysis by taking the agents in two sides of the relation: those who provide charity and those who receive it. In line with the Foucauldian interpretation, supply side, meaning economically favored, give to the unfavored out of pure self-interest; charity is thus an elaborate ploy by the privileged to maintain a fundamental inequality in all spheres of life. On the other hand, the demand side, meaning economically unfavored, somehow achieve power over the favored and force them to engage in redistribution of resources. Therefore, charity had the added benefit of eliciting from the poor a respect for the very social system that kept them in

Interdisciplinary History, vol. 35, no. 3, Winter, 2005, pp. 481–500.

³Marco Van Leeuwen, “Logic of Charity: Poor Relief in Preindustrial Europe”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 24, 1994, pp. 589-613.

⁴Here, we come across the inevitable relationship between the orphanages and workshops and the identity of an orphan is getting mixed with an apprentice.

⁵Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique: folie et déraison*, Paris: Plon, 1961.

poverty.⁶

It is possible to interpret the roles of “supply and demand” from another angle as well. It is true that charity often requires the presence of needy people or specific recipients. Yet, it is not necessarily inspired by them. According to some researchers in the field of philanthropy, welfare and charity, the idea that any activity of charity is dependent on the number or condition of those who are the potential 'customers' of this charity should be criticized. In fact, there is sometimes an inverse relation between the two: the demand is created after the emergence of the supply.⁷ Moreover, charity is offered in response to a *giver's perception* of both the need and the deservedness of the recipient. In that respect, in theorizing upon the emergence of the orphanages, one needs to consider cautiously various purposes of the providers of charity.

Some historical instances of utmost necessity may facilitate the understanding of the importance of these theoretical assumptions. One way of analysis may be based on the number of orphans, which could oscillate from decade to decade, and from place to place. In fact, these oscillations were closely tied to political, military, and social problems. In the case of the orphans, it seems that the pressing needs for some sort of orphan relief, either in the form of orphanages or foster-care, are created in emergency situations such as warfare and conflicts. In these circumstances, the number of destitute children becomes so great that the institutional or private care of them was regarded inevitable by interested parties. Warfare, especially an endemic state of guerrilla conflict, thus, could create a larger number of homeless children and necessitate the

⁶Anne C. McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age: Orphan Care in Early Modern Amsterdam*, Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997, pp. 3-15. Together with underlining the importance of economic and urban factors, McCants points to the importance of religious variables.

⁷We may give a basic example about the foundling hospitals. (Chapter 1) The absence or rarity of specific institutions for the foundlings helped to contain the frequency of abandonment, since it is noted that the presence of such institutions tended to attract greater numbers of children than would probably have been left, had no official establishment be created. For further information, Richard Adair, *Courtship, Illegitimacy, and Marriage in Early Modern England*, Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 1996, p. 191; Jean Meyer, “Illegitimates and Foundlings in Pre-Industrial France”, in Peter Laslett, Karla Oosterveen, and Richard M. Smith (eds.), *Bastardy and Its Comparative History: Studies in the History of Illegitimacy and Marital Nonconformism in Britain, France, Germany, Sweden, North America, Jamaica, and Japan*, Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1980, pp. 249-63.

opening of many new orphanages.⁸

Yet, it should be emphasized that certain material conditions, namely wars, massacres, conflicts, were necessitating only *certain* parties to take actual measures in order to tackle with the “problem” of only *certain* orphans. In other words, although the volume of the constituency is a meaningful variable, it is obligatory to look beyond that in order to guess at intricacies of orphan relief. As a case study, it can be argued that the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire could have been a suitable candidate for the mushrooming of orphanages all over the place, since all parts of country was shaking with independence movements, regional conflicts, the intervention of the great powers, shrinkage of the territories and flooding of the refugees, so on and so forth. However, 1- Apparently, every “orphan problem” had not led to the opening of orphanages; 2- Not the same actors were active in all orphan crises; 3- Some of the orphans were deemed more significant for the parties taking part over their “rescue”. Therefore, orphanages never solely targeted the sheltering and feeding of orphans, there was more to that.

Looking closer into a number of human crises taken place in the long nineteenth century of the Ottoman Empire may help clarify the above mentioned interpretation. The Armenian massacres in the Eastern provinces (*vilayets*) of the Empire during 1894-96⁹, for example, evolved into a major arena, where many actors fought for legitimacy, power, prestige, and hegemony over a seemingly philanthropic field of the opening of orphanages. However, the victims of the Crimean War of 1854-56 or Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-78 were not treated as such. Actually, both wars had caused the entry of enormous numbers of refugees¹⁰ into the Empire especially from the region around the

⁸Timothy S. Miller, *The Orphans of Byzantium: Child Welfare in the Christian Empire*, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2003.

⁹Terrible massacres took place at Trabzon, Erzurum, Erzincan, Sivas, Merzifon, Kayseri, Harput, Diyarbakır, Maraş, and Antep. As discussed by the missionaries, “these massacres were not isolated outbreaks, but were conducted according to a definite plan. They were conducted in a uniform way, reached one class of people, and they ceased the moment authorities intervened. These authorities did not interfere, but, on the other hand, aided in the carnage till the works of destruction had gone far enough.” “The Massacres in Turkey”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, February 1896, pp. 54-7.

¹⁰In Ottoman Turkish, these people were called *muhacir*, a term which was defined in the dictionaries of the time as “one compelled to abandon his country”. Therefore, they were closer to refugees in today's terminology, although they were actually in the same political unit.

Black Sea. These hundreds of thousands people who were forced to leave their homes were usually widows and orphans. The arrival of these refugees to the capital city of the Empire caused a real crisis, considering the provisions for these hungry, naked, sick, and destitute people, who apparently needed to be sheltered, fed, educated (in the case of the children), etc. However, the provisions for these miserable people had never become a serious matter of rivalry between the Sublime Porte, the missionaries, or other interested parties. In fact, the activities of these groups were relatively limited.

The missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)¹¹ were involved in only two minor fields of relief. Shortly after the war of 1877-78, some destitute children were added to the inmates of Armenian Protestant Orphan Asylum at Bursa, an institution opened in 1875 by Rev. Mr. Gregory Baghdasarian (native missionary of Bursa) and his wife, by voluntary contributions.¹² Another result of the war was the opening of a refuge in Istanbul. In the second half of 1878, when the refugees flooded into the city and filled the mosques, the school houses, and all the empty dwelling houses, according to the missionaries, what the government did was insufficient for these people on the verge of perishing. As a result, they decided to do something to aid in this “work of humanity”. After considerable discussion it was decided to rent a house as a refuge for some of the most needy. Some 8-900 persons were crowded into this house.¹³ It should be stressed that the Protestant relief movements in the United States, Germany and elsewhere, subconsciously knew that

¹¹The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was established in 1810 and the first missionaries sailed for Calcutta in 1812. The mission for the Ottoman Empire, established in 1819, continuously grew and expanded its field of activities. Successfully using the modern methods in the areas of education and health, missionaries had an enormous influence over the provinces of the Empire that the central government had difficulty of access. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika: Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2000; Hans Lukas Kieser, *İskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetlerinde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938*, trans. Atilla Dirim, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005.

¹²“An Urgent Appeal to the Benevolent Christians of the United States of America: Armenian Protestant Orphan Asylum at Bursa, Turkey, in Asia”, *Microform Archives of Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Unit 5, The Near East, 1817-1919* [ABC] 16.9.3, reel 615, no. 1189.

¹³Dr. Wood, “Constantinople Station Report”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 74, October 1878, pp. 328-9.

they had no chances of, leaving aside converting, even educating, the Muslim victims (either of Russian violence, or the refugees coming from the Balkans), due to both administrative and political obstacles put forward by the Ottoman authorities and their previous experience of failure with the Muslims.

In complete contrast to these measures, the ABCFM had opened approximately eighty orphanages in more than thirty different places, all previously established mission stations or out-stations, after the Armenian massacres of 1894-96.

The data for this chapter is collected from weekly, monthly, or annual bulletins of missionary organizations (*The Missionary Herald*, *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, *Les Missions catholiques: bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi*, *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission*), books written by the missionaries, annual reports of the mission stations, the archives of internal correspondence (of the ABCFM, the Jésuites, and the Lazaristes), and the Ottoman Prime Ministry's Archives. The chapter, situated at the crossroads of charity, missionary activity, modern state, nationalism, and history of education, dwells upon the intricacies of orphan relief in the Ottoman Empire in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Together with focusing on critical and practical issues relating to the orphanages of the Catholic and Protestant missionaries, such as their geographical dispersion, number of the orphans educated, basic components of the education, motives of the missionaries in orphan relief, this chapter also elaborates on the competitive environment created by the opening of missionary orphanages, since foreign relief activities, especially in the realm of orphans, created hostility on the side of the Sublime Porte due to religious and nationalistic reasons. Convinced that orphans, torn apart from their families and their social environment, were perfect targets for religious and nationalistic aims, Ottoman authorities were disturbed by the effectiveness of missionaries in the field of education and orphan relief. In their regard to orphans, all sides were amazed – or dreaded depending on their position – by the ease of “converting” these children and “gaining” them. Understandably, the Porte was not the only disturbed party, the Gregorian Armenians were also in a very difficult position: being in theory the legitimate guardian of the Armenian orphans, the patriarchate was weak in many ways. Although the criticisms toward the activity of the state and the

missionaries were strong, the patriarchate was still dependent on the charities of these adversaries for the survival of the remnants of the massacres.

Interestingly, all actors playing a part in the orphan crisis at the aftermath of the massacres – missionaries, the Gregorian Armenian Patriarchate, foreign consular officers, the Sublime Porte – had regarded the others as accomplices in this matter, despite their deeply felt conflicts in general. Perceiving the issue from the stand point of each, it was felt that the other two or three were in some form of alliance. Each side feeling a quite strong threat from the others, tended to believe that they were concluding alliances to hinder the activities of the former. Though a type of paranoia, this perception had a truth in itself, since unlikely parties were actually getting involved with each other to eliminate the rivalry of the other.

4.2. Missionary Relief Networks for the Orphans of 1894-96

Humanitarian involvement of the European Powers in the Ottoman Empire actually started, as West's earliest and most universal engagement to address a distant suffering, with the massacres, beginning in 1894 and continuing for more than two years, of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴ Observers were talking about 50,000 Armenian orphans scattered over Turkey, below the age of 12.¹⁵ In a number of countries, human rights of the Armenians (as they were called) attracted significant political support. In England, Prime Minister Salisbury, worked vigorously to build a coalition among the Great Powers to pressure the Sublime Porte. Eventually, Armenia's advocates succeeded in generating a broad public backing. In Switzerland, for example,

¹⁴The English edition of Johannes Lepsius's *Armenia and Europe: An Indictment*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1897) gives an 88,000-plus figure in a statistical table (330-31) taken from earlier figures compiled a year before the massacres ended. He adds subsequent deaths in his preface (entitled "A Later Note," xix), for a total of ca. 100,000. These did not include those who died later from wounds, exposure, or loss of breadwinner. By 1903, French and Italian commentators were putting the number of victims at 300,000. *Pour l'Arménie et la Macédoine* (Paris, 1904), vii, 64, 142, 184–85, 250–53. As in most mass killings, authoritative figures are unavailable.

¹⁵"Orphans in Turkey", *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, May 1898, pp. 204-8.

in 1896 a million francs were collected for Armenian relief and more signatures of support than on any petition in their history. Belgians identified the struggle of Turkey's subject peoples with their own fight against the Dutch in 1830. Italians had analogous associations, the "Garibaldians of Bologna" invoking their hero's name at pro-Armenian rallies.¹⁶

To the English-speaking world, the Armenians were outposts of Western enlightenment in the Ottoman Empire. The Liberal William Ewart Gladstone proclaimed that "to serve Armenia is to serve civilization". The Armenian cause also attracted the Liberals in the United States, strata most invested in the progressive narrative.¹⁷ In France, too, the supporters of the Armenian cause was spread to the political spectrum. Both the former royalist Count Albert de Mun and the leader of the socialists, Jean Jaurès demanded to know what their government will do about the Armenians in fall of 1896 . The most prominent advocates, however, founders in 1900 of *Pro Arménia*, were men of the Left, all committed Dreyfusards, all members of the League of the Rights of Men.¹⁸

The place and importance of religious groups in this panorama was also quite large. The constituency that the Armenians found in Germany, willing to provide them with sustained publicity and succor, were a particular kind of Christians. These men and women were millenarian, and thus part of a broader international Protestant impulse, connected to each other and committed to evangelizing activity, from street preaching to mission stations far away. These brought the events in Anatolia to the attention of the mainstream Protestant religious press, which eventually joined the cause. As defendants of the movement for Armenian relief in Germany, they organized rallies, took up collections for clinics and orphanages (amassing well over 600,000 marks by January

¹⁶Hans-Lukas Kieser, "Die Schweiz des Fin de Siècle und 'Armenien': Patriotische Identifikation, Weltbürgertum und Protestantismus in der Schweizerischen Philarmenischen Bewegung," in *Die Armenische Frage*, Kieser (ed.), Zurich, 1999, pp. 133–57.

¹⁷Thomas C. Leonard, "When News Is Not Enough: American Media and Armenian Deaths," in *America and the Armenian Genocide*, Jay Winter (ed.), Cambridge, 2003, pp. 294–308

¹⁸Margaret Lavinia Anderson, "'Down in Turkey, Far Away': Human Rights, the Armenian Massacres, and Orientalism in Wilhelmine Germany", *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 79, March 2007, pp. 80–111.

1897), and “adopted” children and paid the salaries of doctors and nurses.¹⁹

4.2.1. The ABCFM and the Orphans

Philanthropy was always a part of the American missionary mandate. Rev. George Herrick, writing on the areas of missionary work, emphasized four departments: the evangelistic, which develops into churches; the department of publication; education; and philanthropy, including free medical service, hospitals, famine relief, and the like.²⁰ The missionaries were organizing local relief measures in the case of fires, earthquakes, famines, and the like. The American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire were engaged in philanthropy first as a result of the great famine of Central Anatolia, which affected Merzifon, Talas, Kayseri, Kırşehir, and to some extent Bursa during 1874. The famine had been dreadful with an estimate of 150,000 death. After this disaster, most of the missionaries started to distribute bread to the poor and needy.²¹ In other cities, like Van and Erzurum, bakeries were opened to provide the poor with bread. There were generally many orphans that these calamities left behind. Kayseri missionary, Mr. Barrows found, in the winter of 1874, two orphans crying and begging, in a miserable condition. After two days of rest at their house, the government, at his request, took them to a place which has been provided for the sick. This was actually a hospital, but according to the missionary, “in America it would be called a stable.”²² Although it was noted that there were thousands in this same condition, the American missionaries did not engage in opening orphanages for these children.

Armenian Protestant Orphan Asylum at Bursa was the first establishment

¹⁹Anderson, 92.

²⁰Rev. George F. Herrick, “Canon Taylor on Missionary Methods”, *Missionary Herald*, January 1889, vol. 85, pp. 13-16.

²¹To facilitate the distribution and guard against fraud, they issued coupon tickets, which were numbered and having list of names of the heads of the family, the village or ward of the city, and the number of sacks of flour to which the family is entitled in the weekly distribution. Mr. Dewey, “Famine Relief”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 76, September 1880, pp. 351-2.

²²Mr. Barrows, “The Terrible Famine”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 70, December 1874, pp. 389-90.

targeting the orphans. It was opened in 1875 by Rev. Mr. Gregory Baghdasarian, native missionary of Bursa, and his wife, with voluntary contributions – not by the ABCFM money.²³ Shortly after the War of 1877-78, some destitute children became the inmates of this orphanage.²⁴ This orphanage was the first such Protestant establishment, which became a permanent institution with an orphan population close to 100. In 1883, according to the testimony of the Catholic missionaries in the area, they had around 70 orphans.²⁵ St. Paul Institute of Tarsus, was another pre-massacre orphan asylum of the American missionaries. Opened in 1888, the institution was started as a high school, not as an orphanage. Yet, the objective of the school was “the education of the orphans and other poor children to prepare them for the work of the Lord.”²⁶ Therefore, most of the students of this boarding school were selected from among the orphans. The contemporaries were sometimes calling the institution as “orphanage at Tarsus”.²⁷ In line with its tradition, for instance, 81 orphans were attending the school in 1911.²⁸

Another orphanage was established for girls in Istanbul in 1888, Orphans' Home Scutari. It was opened for “under a deep and pressing sense of the claims of hundreds of poor orphan girls, in various parts of this large city of Constantinople and its neighborhood, who are in danger of both physical and moral destruction.”²⁹ During the first year of the institution, over 100 orphan girls have applied, but only 25 of them

23It is underlined in some of the reports that this is a private institution, and that the American missionary in the field only helps in the management.

24“An Urgent Appeal to the Benevolent Christians of the United States of America: Armenian Protestant Orphan Asylum at Bursa, Turkey, in Asia”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 615, no. 1189.

25“... the poor Catholic and Armenian children are brought to the Protestants, who have already 70 of them in their orphanage.”« Soeurs de Charité de Brousse, le 6 janvier 1883 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 138, septembre 1883, pp. 155-6.

26Frank Andrews Stone, “Jenanyan and Haigazian: Two Armenia Protestant Educators in Anatolia”, *The Armenian Review*, Boston, 27-4, 1975, pp. 383-397.

27Mr. Fuller, “Central Turkey Mission: Before the Revival”, *Missionary Herald*, October 1889, vol. 85, pp. 405-6.

28“Central turkey Mission – Tarsus – Orphanage Work”, ABC 16.9.5, reel 667, no. 548-9.

29“First Annual Report of the Orphans' Home, Scutari”, ABC 16.7.1, reel 533, no. 150-1.

could have been received.³⁰

Opening of orphanages *en masse* started only after the Armenian massacres of 1894-96, which orphaned around 50.000 children.³¹ While before this date the American missions have only three very small scale *Homes*, the events forced the missionaries to open almost eighty new ones (Table 4.4.). In 1898, the American missionaries underlined that they were able to take care of 4000 orphans in 20 different mission centers.³² The orphanages, though now being considered to be a serious mission field, were still regarded as one forced by an emergency. Western Turkey Mission of the ABCFM, in its annual report to the head office defined the orphanages as “emergency work”.³³ The report of Mr. Sanders from Urfa is telling about the crisis situation:

“The people are ready to live on the very barest necessities... Now just the widows, (not all however recently widowed), and orphans alone, and that too not the entire number, but those whom the relief committee have aided, make up 37

³⁰For a fuller account of the orphanages opened by the ABCFM before the massacres, check Table 4.3.

³¹As already mentioned, numbers of killed are disputed. In earlier accounts, the number was usually given around 50.000. Rev. Edwin Munsell Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*, Philadelphia: J. H. Moore, 1896, p. 544. Later, higher numbers (between 100,000 and 300,000) were provided. Richard G. Hovannisian suggests that the number may vary between 100,000 and 200,000. Richard G. Hovannisian, *Armenia on the Road to Independence*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967, p. 28. Some researchers suggested 300,000 death, Arman J. Kirakossian (ed.), *The Armenian Massacres, 1894-1896: U.S. Media Testimony*, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004, p. 29.

Accordingly, to decide on the orphans is also a difficult issue. It was generally argued by the contemporaries that there were around 50.000 destitute orphans. “Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, October 1899, pp. 396: “...No special object is of more pressing importance than this effort to rescue some of 50,000 Armenian orphans scattered over Turkey.” *New York Times* used the number as well, “Fifty Thousand Orphans made So by the Turkish Massacres of Armenians”, *New York Times*, December 18, 1896.

³²“Orphans in Turkey”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, May 1898, pp. 204-8.

From p. 204: “There are now not less than 20 points in Asia Minor, most of them in the interior, where orphan children rescued from starvation and death have been brought together in homes of some sort. About 4000 such children are now being cared for. But this is only a small part of the children in that region who are without the care of parents.”

³³*Summary of the Reports of Stations of the Mission of the A.B.C.F.M. to Western Turkey Presented at The Annual Meeting, May, 1901*, with Map, Statistical Tables and a List of Names of Missionaries, Gloucester: John Bellows, p. 20.

percent of the whole former population, and if the number of the killed [in Urfa] is 5000 (our former estimate), they equal 49 percent. Mr. Fitzmaurice, the English vice-consul, however, after careful investigation, put the number killed at 8,000! If this is true, then these widows and orphans amount to 62 percent of the present Armenian population. If we include the widows and orphans who have not come to relief committee, and also the Armenians who have moved away since, we find over 65 percent probably are widows and orphans.”³⁴

Within a month, the missionaries in Urfa altered their estimate to a more acceptable point. It was noted that the number of widows and orphans aided amounted to 7431, which was 37 percent of the population.³⁵ Another example comes from Harput:

“In Harput city two houses have been opened for orphans, and it is hoped that others may be secured. The Arabkir pastor reports that there are in that city alone 1711 orphan boys and girls, and no less than 683 widows.”³⁶

In the pages of the *Missionary Herald* or in the reports of the missionaries from 1894 to 1898, the main subject was the orphanages and the general relief work. The extent of this work is also clear from the ratio of it in general expenditures and from the interruption of general educational work in some stations for almost two years. Even if this was an unexpected situation, the missionaries in the field were content with their operations, despite many inconveniences they had to face. In the end, they found, a great opportunity to make a massive impact on the local population.

“Very few have failed to meet the expectations of friends who succored them, and some of them are doing admirable work as *Disciples of Christ*. There is a quiet, yet deep, religious awakening throughout the orphanage, giving promise of blessed results. When we remember that *these young people are in a special sense being “saved to serve”*, the value of these orphanages in our mission field is most apparent.”³⁷

Despite the large network they built after the massacres, the permanence of the orphanages in the Ottoman Empire was discussed to a large extent by the Board. There are a number of references to their temporary nature. In Merzifon station report of 1897,

34Mr. Sanders, “In The Interior”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, August 1896, pp. 333-4.

35“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, September 1896, pp. 348.

36“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, March 1897, pp. 91.

37“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 98, May 1902, pp. 184-5.

it was declared that relief work on any considerable scale is “*inevitably temporary*, and separate provisions for orphans is expected to continue only during the few years necessary to give each one a common school education, a trade, and a training in Christian character.”³⁸ When the orphanages in Merzifon area were closed in 1906, the missionaries wrote, “a visible part of our institutions here, the Orphanages, are a thing of the past” and they repeated the same principle, that the orphanages “were from the beginning to serve only temporary purpose, and that, in a measure, accomplished.”³⁹ In his trip throughout Turkey, Dr. Cornelius H. Patton was surprised by the orphanage work, since this was “*not an integral part* of the work of American missionaries”.⁴⁰

Yet, the missionaries in the field were striving to convince the American Board that it was beneficial to have permanent orphanages. In order to secure more funds, for their orphan work, *Missionary Herald* were sparing space for such claims:

“In response to many suggestions received from our missionaries in Turkey, we would especially direct attention to a new method for affording relief to the sufferers by massacres and famine. In the most of the massacres the lives of the children have been spared, while the fathers and many of the mothers have been slain. The class most to be pitied are the orphans who have neither home nor food nor friends. What can be done for them? Provision for temporal needs is, of course, not the work of a missionary board. Yet philanthropic people everywhere must feel force of the appeal for these children and that they be not left to die. Multitudes of them can be supported at comparatively slight cost. It seems to us that at present the best from of extending relief in Turkey is to provide orphanages.”⁴¹

Especially in the years between 1900 and 1908, the American missionaries were repeatedly forced, basically by the decrease of the funds for the support of the orphans, to find solutions to send the orphans away and close the orphanages. When the institutions were getting close to their end, in 1909, George P. Knapp, of the Harput mission, were also asking for donations to establish a permanent orphanage with an industrial farm, underlining the beneficial results obtained from this field of work so far.

38“Merzifon Station Report, 1897”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 606, no. 698-720.

39“Report of Merzifon Station, 1906-1907”, American Board Archives (ABA) 0010-00796.

40“Central Turkey Mission – Marash – Orphanage Work, 1911”, ABC 16.9.5, reel 667, no. 378-83

41“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, December 1896, pp. 519.

The massacres of 1909 and 1915, apparently, closed the discussion of temporariness.

“Instead of being allowed to grow up as beggars or as vagrants, or even criminals, they were gathered in orphan homes, clothed and fed, educated in the schools and given a practical industrial training. ...Will you help us to realize this aim – a permanent orphanage and Industrial Farm Institute?”⁴²

Despite their inexperience in the field, the American missionaries were very successful with their orphanages. They succeeded in their aims to enlighten and evangelize these children, to be discussed later; and the health condition of the orphans was also remarkable.⁴³ Although it is difficult to discuss the exact mortality rates in orphanages, due to limited data, we can still make some comments based on a selective set. Apart from the periods of epidemics, the infant mortality was usually lower than 5 percent – quite low compared to infant mortality in the Empire.⁴⁴ The orphanage at Van, for instance, admitted around 500 children from 1896 to 1900 and only 27 of them died (5,4 percent).⁴⁵ The orphanage at Mardin had a better record: in 1897, 4 children died out of 112 (3,5 per cent); in 1898, 4 children died out of 90 (4,4 percent); in 1899, 2 children out of 93 died (2,2 percent).⁴⁶ Yet, infantile diseases could create more serious problems. In Harput, 10 out of 509 were dead from scarlet fever (1,96 percent) in 1901.⁴⁷

42“The Orphanage and Industrial Work at Harput, Turkey”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 703, no. 687-8.

43It has to be underlined that at most of the times the missionaries were keen on to show themselves superior than they are, to secure more funding and support. There is almost no self-criticism in missionary writing. The reports and journal articles are incredibly sanitized. Therefore, their self-assessment had always been exaggerated. In that respect, one may suspect some distortion in the data that they provided for their schools and orphanages.

44Clarence D. Ussher argued that “the infant mortality in turkey was something frightful, about 60 percent of all the babşes dying before completing their second year.” Clarence D. Ussher, Grace H. Knapp, *An American Physician in Turkey: a Narrative of Adventures in Peace and War*, Astoria, N.Y. : J.C. & A.L. Fawcett, 1917, p. 13.

45“Report of the Van Orphanage, for the Year 1900”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 704, no. 14-19.

46“Orphan Relief Work, Mardin, Turkey”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1127-32; “Mardin Orphanage, November 12 1900”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 703, no. 864-5; “Mardin Orphanage, Reports for 1897-1899”, ABC 16.5, reel 512, no. 201-30.

47“Harput, Turkey”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 703, no. 615-6.

Although American missionaries took hesitant steps in orphan care, their establishment was remarkable by the end of the nineteenth century. After the Armenian massacres of 1894-96, the ABCFM managed to initiate almost eighty orphanages in more than thirty districts. These places include Merzifon, Urfa, Van, Harput, Mezre (Elazığ), Eğin, Palu, Tarsus, Maraş, Sivas, Gürün, Bardezag (Bahçecik), Konya, Arabkir, Üsküdar, Bursa, Haçin (Saimbeyli), Erzurum, Bitlis, Sasun, Muş, Mardin, Antep, Diyarbakır, Zeytun (Süleymanlı), Çüngüş, İzmir, Hasköy (Istanbul), Kayseri. (Table 4.4.) The number of orphans in these missionary establishments ranged from 50 to 1000; but in average most of the orphanages had some 100 children. The orphan asylums of the ABCFM is thought to have provided for around 10.000 orphans in the following decade after the massacres.⁴⁸

4.2.2. Catholic Missionaries and the Orphans

There were several groups of Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire: the Jesuits, the Lazaristes, the Assumptionists, Franciscans, the Brothers of the Christian Schools (Frères des écoles Chrétiennes), the Capucins, the Carmelites, the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul (Soeurs de la Charité), the Sisters of Notre Dame of Sion, the Dominicans, among others. Most of these missions were officially under the protection of France and were supported financially, although there were also those Italian missions connected to Propaganda Fide.⁴⁹ For the most part the missionaries were also

⁴⁸After the Armenian deportations and massacres of 1915-6, the Americans, especially under the banner of Near East Relief had even larger networks of orphanages. However, my analysis only covers the long nineteenth century, until the outbreak of WW1.

⁴⁹The Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, whose official title is “sacra congregatio christiano nomini propagando” is the department of the pontifical administration charged with the spread of Catholicism and with the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs in non-Catholic countries. Its establishment at Rome in the seventeenth century was owing partly to the necessity of communicating with new countries then recently discovered, and partly to the new system of government by congregations adopted during the Counter-Reformation. In the Ottoman Empire, from early seventeenth century onwards, they had established organizations in Constantinople, Athens, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Armenia Minor, Mosul, Beirut, and Alexandria. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XII. New York: Robert Appleton

French, but there were also a number of Italians. The orphan care, in almost all of the mission centers, was left to female missionaries. Together with Sisters of the Assumptionists and Franciscans, most important female missionary group in the Ottoman Empire was Filles de la Charité.⁵⁰

In contrast with the ABCFM, the missionary work of the Catholics was strongly linked to orphan care from their earliest years in the Ottoman Empire. Misses Tournier and Oppermann (later Filles de la Charité) arrived at Istanbul in 8 December 1839 to found a mission station, and they were followed by three others in 1840. In only one year, they were able to instruct 200 pupils and take care of 24 orphans (girls).⁵¹ Long before the Armenian massacres of 1890s, there was a large network of Catholic orphanages in the major cities of the Empire – mostly in the relatively urban areas and port cities (Table 4.1.). All the Catholic groups had around forty orphanages, dispersed into a large geography from the largest cities in the west of the Empire, such as Istanbul, Izmir, Salonika, Edirne and, to the important centers in the eastern Mediterranean, such as Beirut, and Alexandria, and to the small cities of the Eastern Anatolian provinces and holy lands, such as Urfa, Maraş, Mardin, Siirt, Diyarbakir, Mosul, Bethlehem. In other words, before there was any sort of emergency situation, as in the case of Armenian massacres, the Catholic missionaries activities were well-experienced on orphan relief.

It is important to note that orphans and destitute children were considered to be the natural part of their mandate as Catholic missionaries, since these groups were considered to be easily converted.

Company, 1911 (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12456a.htm>)

⁵⁰The society was founded by Saint Vincent de Paul (1581-1660), whose pledge to God was to serve the poor. This meant food, shelter and nursing the sick. In 1617, he founded Dames de la Charité, from a group of ladies within his parish. He organized these wealthy women of Paris to collect funds for missionary projects, found hospitals, and gather relief funds for the victims of war and to ransom 1,200 galley slaves from North Africa. One of the Dames de la Charité, Louise de Marillac, took 12 peasant girls in 1633 to work among the poor. She called them Filles de la Charité (Soeurs de St. Vincent de Paul). They were the first uncloistered community of religious women. The Soeurs went on to become involved in hospitals, prisons and the care for abandoned children. *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume XV. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912: (<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/index.html>)

⁵¹*Congrégation de la Mission [lazaristes] ; répertoire historique... et table générale des annales de la congrégation de la Mission depuis leur origine jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1899*, Paris: à la procure de la congrégation de la mission, 1900, pp. 208-217.

“...this work offers quite sweet consolations to us, because [it is] an asylum against immorality, it serves as a boulevard for them, against the various heresies in the center of which they have to live. ... the good God gives us the grace to save great number of victims from Islam and Judaism. Sometimes it is a small Jewish girl sold by her own mother, and sometimes an abandoned Muslim slave girl, today it is an heretic, and tomorrow a schismatic.”⁵²

“The Christian population, quite numerous in this city [Mardin], lives in a general misery, without having the means to provide for the most important necessities of life. The need and the attraction of money offered by the Protestants and the Turks push and disorder a great number of Christian girls without instruction and work. An orphanage would ... keep these girls safe from all these dangers ... We can receive schismatic girls whose conversion could make the largest good in the country.”⁵³

It can, thus, be said that orphan relief was a part of the regular operations of the Catholic missionary groups. However, it is necessary to underline that they were also receptive to the crisis periods. For instance, two orphanages in Karaağaç, a town in Rumelia, were opened after the Russian War of 1877-78. The irregulars (*başıbozüks*), having massacred two large villages of Rumelia, the Catholic missionaries collected some children, who could escape the carnage.⁵⁴

Yet, they were not able to *benefit* from the situation created after the massacres of 1894-96: only 8 orphanages were opened for the Armenian orphans, and very small ones (Table 4.2.). A number of factors may explain this weakness. On the one hand, already established Catholic orphanages were usually elsewhere, in geographically distant areas. On the other, even if there were a few orphanages in the vicinity, they were too small to care for more orphans. That's why the Catholic missionaries preferred the transfer of orphans to their large and established orphanages in Beirut, Jerusalem, or Istanbul. They were also trying to convince their believers in the areas to agree for foster-care to by-pass their weakness in adopting orphans.

The Armenian Catholic patriarch in Istanbul, Monseigneur Azarian attempted to get involved in the orphan relief with the interference of the private families. He advised

52« Lettre de le Soeur Lasueur, supérieure à Galata, à la Soeur Mazin, supérieure général à Paris, Constantinople, 15 Mars », *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission*, t. 16, 1851, pp. 264-8.

53« Ecoles des R.R. Capucins, Rome, 8 février «1879 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 115, Novembre 1879, pp. 199-202.

54« Balkans et Turquie d'Europe », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 152, Janvier 1886, pp. 210-7.

to his constituency to accept some orphans to their homes and start foster-care.

“We have sent special aid to our venerable bishops, suggesting them to place some orphans with Catholic families, by means of a modest annual remuneration. A good number of Catholic Armenian families of the province agreed to answer our call and take care of this charitable work. We carry on this invaluable work, the rescuing of the orphans, with ardor.”⁵⁵

The Catholic missionary establishment was apparently the oldest in the Ottoman Empire and their presence was felt in a significant number of developed urban, and commercial centers, most of which happened to be port cities or neighboring areas. Related to the importance of French language, they managed to open many secondary-level or high schools, which attracted the children of upper classes. Their way to the lower-classes, on the other hand, was mostly through their charity establishments: orphanages, founding asylums, infirmaries, and hospitals. Yet, their experience in the field was not enough to take a leading role in the aftermath of Armenian massacres.

4.2.3. Basic Differences of Protestants and Catholics in Orphan Relief

First of all, there was a serious difference between these two groups understanding of relief and aid. Catholics were generally the most successful in opening institutions of charity and benevolence and they did not hesitate to distribute free favors in order to gain the support of the local communities. The American missionaries always criticized, sometimes in a jealous manner, the Catholic schools, and other missionary establishments, that they were unpaid and inclined to offer free and abundant aid in all forms. On the other hand, all schools, and even the orphanages, of the ABCFM were paid. The families of the children were expected to make some form of contribution. If the child was genuinely poor and/or destitute, then s/he had to work in the workshops to pay for his/her expenses in the institution. In other words, even in the case of orphans, the American missionaries did not offer “free help”. In their understanding, this sort of relief was both unchristian and unfitted to prepare the society to be self-supporting in

⁵⁵« Patriarcat Arménien Catholique, Lettre de S. B. Mgr Azarian, patriarche des Arméniens catholiques, à M. le directeur général de l'Oeuvre d'Orient, Constantinople, le 21 juin 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 227, juillet 1898, pp. 411-22.

the future.⁵⁶ Therefore, it was harshly criticized by the Americans that Catholic priests, in the places where they established their churches, schools, and orphanages, offered a loan of money and employment to those who would enter their names upon a list of converts. This was definitely a powerful inducement in view of their poverty and the pitiless taxation of the government.⁵⁷ Yet, this form of help would not elevate the living conditions of the society; on the contrary, it would make them even more lazy and dependent.

On the other hand, Catholic missionaries, being aware of their superiority in the field of charity, underlined the weakness of the American missionaries in “selfless giving”. From 1898 to 1899, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, published a series of articles by M. Étienne Lamy on France in the Levant.⁵⁸ The author, after discussing many strengths and weakness of the country, also provided a comparison between the Catholic missionaries and the Protestants. What he underlined basically was the different attitudes of these two groups in the realm of relief.

“The Eastern world did not have eyes for the human distresses lying everywhere under its sun. The Turkish had never sought to remedy them, and the Christians themselves seemed to have borrowed from Islam its fatalism against ignorance, infirmities, disease, and hunger.

It is by these miseries that the Catholic church resolved to begin the healing of its enemies. The Catholic missionaries opened, in places where the schismatic and Muslim populations were the most neglected, schools, orphanages, hospitals and hospices. Those to whom this task was entrusted abstained from propaganda; nothing would reveal their faith other than their costumes and virtues; this preaching, instead of shocking closed minds, crept into the entry of hearts; beneficial and quiet, these workers would wait the day when their services would have interceded for their doctrines.”⁵⁹

“Protestants, although the most active, did not give to the establishments of benevolence a place worthy of them. The liberality of their nature was paralyzed by the nature of their religion.... Some congregations of deaconesses are all that the Reform has of monastic force. The exaltation of “ego”, which is the philosophy of this worship, makes it extremely difficult to find selfless and

56Discussed further in the section below on “industrial training”.

57Mr. Marden, “Religious Awakenings”, *Missionary Herald*, June 1889, vol. 85, pp. 246-7.

58M. Étienne Lamy, « La France du Levant – VI: La Chance d'Avenir », *Revue des Deux Mondes*, t. 155, Sept.-Oct. 1899, pp. 306-344.

59*Ibid.*, pp. 321-2.

permanent co-operators for the coarse labor.”⁶⁰

After going over this general discrepancy in the interpretation of missionary work, it is possible to talk about basic differences between the two groups' approach to orphan care. First of all, they were geographically concentrated in different areas: while the Catholics had the control of the western coast and other port cities in the Balkans and Arabic provinces, the American missionaries had their stronghold in the inner and frequently unreachable districts of the Eastern Anatolia. Though successful in penetration, the Americans were, for a long time, jealous of their Catholic counterparts that they had consular representatives even in small cities and towns. Having the support of their governments at their back, the French and Italian were able to have a firmer standing in the Ottoman Empire, as opposed to the citizens of the United States.

A second major difference is about the appearance of their orphan departments. While the Catholic missionaries that were established in the Ottoman Empire immediately set out for collecting orphans, the ABCFM was involved in this branch of activity only when faced with a crisis, and declared to have a temporary basis. The reason is obvious: the Protestant missionaries never agreed to excel in the field of charity, since they interpreted it as a form of increased dependency. Interestingly, within a couple of years after 1896, the Americans were quite fast to pass beyond their adversaries, compared with their late involvement in the issue; as already mentioned, they were able to open around 80 orphanages within approximately a year. Therefore, in the end there was a very significant difference in the volume of their engagement in orphan care, especially for those of the Armenian massacres.

Two factors played an important role in this unprecedented success of the American Protestants. First, the ABCFM had already have developed missions – with its schools, churches, congregations, and staff – in the afflicted areas and they were able to channelize their whole activity into another realm very quickly. Second difference was generated by the different financial sources that these two groups leaned on. The Catholic missions in the nineteenth were mostly backed up by the French state and the papacy and they were receiving most of their income from central treasuries, while the ABCFM had significant methods for private fund-raising, from personal subscriptions

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 325-6.

to large donations.⁶¹ That's how they received enormous sums from Germany, Switzerland, Britain, and the United States to be used for the Armenian cause.

4.3. Aspects of Education in Missionary Orphanages

Taking into account that the Catholic missionaries had a limited control over the education of the Armenian orphans after the massacres, this section dwells generally on the orphanages of the ABCFM, although certain aspects of the Catholic institutions were underlined, when necessary and when there was sufficient information.

Education in the post-massacre orphanages was made up of three different areas: “a common school education, a trade, and a training in Christian character.”⁶² Therefore, most of the orphanages had a three-fold approach to instruction: 1-basic knowledge on reading, writing and arithmetics, 2-industrial training in one or more common trades, 3-religious indoctrination. All these three were also linked to a larger missionary aim of “civilizing” these native peoples. By teaching them how to read – to be saved from the ignorance of illiteracy, by furnishing them with a talent – to gain their own honorable livelihood, and by leading them to *genuine* Christian way – to get rid of nominal/schismatic Christianity.

The same three aspects were also applied in the Catholic orphanages, although the

⁶¹Spagnolo argues that the French emphasis on education was a product of an alliance of the Catholic missionary enterprise with French diplomacy and subsidies, and it was an important element in French imperial expansion into the Ottoman Empire. John P. Spagnolo, “The Definition of a Style of Imperialism: The Internal Politics of the French Educational Investment in Ottoman Beirut”, *French Historical Studies*, vol. 8, no. 4, Autumn, 1974, pp. 563-584. Drevet underlines the curious relationship between *secularist* France and support of Catholic missions. Richard Drevet, *Laiques de France et missions catholiques au XIXe siècle : l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, origines et développement lyonnais (1822-1922)*, unpublished PhD thesis, Université Lyon 2, 2002.

Elshakry also argues that American missionaries had continuous fund-raising campaigns throughout the United States. Marwa Elshakry, “The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut”, *Past and Present*, vol. 196, no.1, 2007, pp. 173-214.

⁶²“Merzifon Station Report, 1897”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 606, no. 698-720.

common school education of the children were taken more seriously, with a relatively more liberal curriculum with some language courses. The Catholic missionaries argued that they wanted to furnish these children with a developed primary education, with a certain trade that would help them to stand on their own after leaving the orphanage, and with a firm Catholic instruction.

“In the orphanage, we teach these children French, Arabic, Italian, and the primary education as developed as possible, housework, ironing, the seam and various kinds of embroidery allowing these children, when leaving the orphanage, to be able to stand up to the needs of life. This practical and necessary knowledge is cemented by the firmest and well-apprehended religious instruction.”⁶³

Generally the orphans spent the mornings and the evenings with religious practice and education, while the rest of the day was divided between school education and industrial training. A regular day at the orphanage could be as follows:

“The whole number assemble at 8 o'clock every morning for the opening service. Reverently they read a psalm, sing a hymn, and stand in prayer ...

The aim of training is to lay a good foundation for whatever may follow. The brighter lads may, by some means, be drafted later into high school; those who do not show such aptitude for books are prepared for earning their living in simpler ways. Two rooms in the old house are allotted to the tailor and shoemaker respectively. These men do the making and some of the mending for the boys in particular lines. They also help to pay expenses by taking orders from outsiders. Here of an afternoon you may see the boys who are appointed for this work, as busy as bees, learning the mysteries of sewing or pegging. Here too are a set of urchins are supplied by the matron with new sheets for their beds...

Another group of boys is in the kitchen peeling potatoes and cutting up the beans for the plain but wholesome meal which the work of the day prepares healthy appetites. In these and similar ways the lads learn to make themselves useful and save expense in the working of the home.”⁶⁴

4.3.1. Common School Education

School courses for the children in the orphanages generally include reading, writing, and arithmetic. When the mission's resources were available, they were

⁶³« Jérusalem, Oeuvres des Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 177, mars 1890, pp. 225-31.

⁶⁴Miss Susan Newnham, “Bardezag, Western Turkey”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, December 1898, pp. 497-502.

generally sent to the primary schools of the mission during the day to receive their instruction.⁶⁵ When the station in question had institutions of higher education, or colleges, bright and intelligent orphans were chosen to be sent to these schools for upper studies. American missionaries in Mardin wrote,

“The bright and most promising among them may forcibly be encouraged to take a course in higher education so as to be fitted for the more influential positions in life in more prominent service for their own.”⁶⁶

Especially the orphanages in the western Anatolia were conceived as relatively upper-level in terms of their curriculum. West Bursa Orphanage for Girls and Bardezag Orphanage for Boys were two such institution, which were planned to evolve into permanent orphanages and to serve as important centers for the instruction of future corps of the Protestant missions. Since they were planned to house the selected orphans of the massacres sent from as far places as Arabkir, they were bettered organized educational institutions. In the orphanage at Bardezag, for instance, there were a larger offer of courses: “In the school room are three classes; the studies of the highest class were during the past year, reading, writing, and grammar, in Armenian and English; arithmetic, elementary science, geography, drawing, singing, declamation and Bible, in Armenian.”⁶⁷

Yet, in many cases, the orphanages were built in quite inappropriate milieus with very few missionaries and assistants. Under these circumstances, the formal education that was provided for the children was quite low level. For instance, the girls in the orphanage at Çüngüş could not go to school because there was no room in the close, narrow quarters where “over a hundred girls were studying under the care of a teacher utterly unfitted for such responsibility”.⁶⁸

Catholic missionaries also argued that it would be unnecessary to give too much knowledge to the orphans, since what was at stake was their ability to stand alone and to

⁶⁵“The Orphans of Turkey”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, December 1897, pp. 501-3.

⁶⁶“Mardin Orphanage, Reports for 1897-1899”, ABC 16.5, reel 512, no. 201-30.

⁶⁷“The Bardezag Orphanage for Boys, February 12th 1897 – February 12th 1898”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 606, no. 787-8.

⁶⁸Mr. Browne, “Choonkoosh”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, August 1898, pp. 314-5.

support themselves, as true believers, as faithful Catholics.

“What do we teach in the orphanage? Let us say initially, that neither theology, nor philosophy, neither humanities, nor sciences; there is not any higher courses on languages; we send the children, whom we find fit for these studies, to outside. We have here workshops and four classes of primary school. ...

The purpose of that we have, thus, is not to make our children the scientists [savants], but good Christians and religious fathers of families. They will know their catechism perfectly; they will know Bible history, geography, mathematics, linear drawing, a little geometry, Arabic, some of them even European languages; but they will not go beyond, because the great number of the children should not go further in this country so much. On the other hand, our pupils will be able to earn their living by a honorable state, that of the carpenter, tailor, shoe-maker, etc. As relaxation during the recreations and holidays, they play the music and practice gymnastics.”⁶⁹

Therefore, it can fairly be argued that either due to financial limits or because of the emergency situation that followed the events, the missionary orphanages opened for the Armenian orphans of the massacres were not significantly interested in educating these children on a level that was equivalent of their educational establishments in general.

4.3.2. Religious Education

Expectedly, all the educational institutions of the missionaries were run by principles of religious instruction. When the parents wanted to send their children to the mission schools, it was a promise on their side that every child will “come regularly to the Sabbath school and attend divine service”.⁷⁰ These children were receiving religious instruction during the week and on Sabbath they all went to regular preaching service, thus, were having “impressions which will never be obliterated from their minds.”⁷¹ Eastern Turkey Mission reached to the following conclusion after its Annual Meeting in 1898: “As the work of the Board is to evangelize rather than to educate, expenditure of

⁶⁹« Sur la Situation de l'Oeuvre de la Sainte Famille en Terre Sainte, Bethléem, le 15 janvier 1881 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 125, Juillet 1881, pp. 137-144.

⁷⁰Mr. Schneider, “Merzifon Schools, etc.”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 70, August 1874, pp. 240-1.

⁷¹*Ibid.*

labor and money by the missionaries of the Board along educational lines is warranted only so far as it is tributary to bringing the gospel into contact with the hearts and homes of the people.”⁷² The missionaries hoped that “many of the orphans” would “give themselves to Christ” and would try “to love a Christian life”.⁷³

The means made use of to “bring the truth to bear upon the minds and the hearts of the pupils” were prayers, with reading of scriptures and singing every night and morning; a Bible lesson every day; a prayer meeting every Sunday morning, which nearly all pupils attended; a Sunday school at which every pupil was present; attendance on preaching in the chapel every Sabbath morning, and a sermon or lecture in the schoolroom every Sabbath evening; personal conversation with the pupils.⁷⁴ In Merzifon, the orphans attended the religious services at the College every Sunday, and had “Christian training day by day”, many of them gave, therefore, “encouraging evidence of the formation and development of substantial Christian character.”⁷⁵ All students were obliged to attend Sabbath and midweek services in Protestant chapel, and Bible instruction was a part of regular curriculum in the school. The purpose of this training, as missionaries declared was to give the orphans “an understanding of the way of salvation, as laid down by Christ, and induce them to secure a personal interest in it”.⁷⁶

According to the memoirs of one of the inmates of Maraş Boys' Orphanage (Ebenezer Home), Ephraim Jernazian, every day they had prayer and Bible study sessions. On Sundays they attended morning and afternoon services at the Armenian Evangelical churches in the city. Sunday evenings all the American and German orphanages had their respective joint meetings and they attended the American services

⁷²“Abstracts of Minutes of the East Turkey Mission, 6 June, 1898, Erzurum, 31st Annual meeting”, ABC 16.5, reel 509, no. 40-50.

⁷³“Annual Report of Merzifon Station 1905-1906”, ABA 0009-00772.

⁷⁴Rev. Dr. Greene, “Nicomedia Station”, *Missionary Herald*, February 1889, vol. 85, pp. 67-8.

⁷⁵“Merzifon Station Report, May 1904”, ABA 0011-00920.

⁷⁶Dr. Reynolds, “Relief and Orphanage Work at Van”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, July 1897, pp. 277-8.

regularly.⁷⁷

Most of the times religious education was more important than the formal one. Some children were not sent to school, due to various difficulties and lackings, yet, they were always given religious training. The orphan girls in Çüngüş, who could not go to school, were taught how to read and Bible truths every day.⁷⁸ The missionaries assumed that, thanks to the religious education provided to them, their orphans would become servants of Christianity.

“Besides the educational and industrial training they receive, another advantage they possess over those trained in the native homes is the religious instruction they received and wholesome moral influence by which they are surrounded. ... We have good reason to expect that these boys, because of their special religious and moral training will prove true and faithful Christian workers, witnessing fearlessly for Christ.”⁷⁹

The missionaries were very hopeful about their work among orphans. Many reports contains such evidence for high expectancy. With a similar tone, Mr. Hubbard of Sivas wrote:

“I have been on mission ground 26 years and have never seen anything that fills me so completely with satisfaction as the sight of these contended, obedient, enthusiastic children gathered in their large schoolroom for Sabbath school... They are specially open to spiritual leading and teaching.”⁸⁰

The missionaries desire to proselytize was, expectedly, very strong and dominant throughout their activities in the field. Therefore, religious education was the most important aspect of orphan education, since these children were invaluable targets for the missionaries. Even if they do not succeed to convert, the desire is there all the time and the reports and articles are written within that perspective. Therefore, it is necessary

⁷⁷Ephraim K. Jernazian, *Judgment Unto Truth: Witnessing the Armenian Genocide*, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1990, p. 17.

⁷⁸Mr. Browne, “Choonkoosh”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, August 1898, pp. 314-5.

⁷⁹“The American Industrial Institute, Oorfa, Turkey, Report for the Year 1911”, ABC 16.5, reel 505, no. 210-12.

⁸⁰Mr. Hubbard, “Orphanage Work at Sivas”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, January 1898, pp. 23-4.

to stress that all these arguments project the expectations of the missionaries and their efforts to legitimize themselves. In that respect, the picture that they draw in their reports may have been an exaggeratedly optimistic one.

4.3.3. Industrial Training

The specificity of the education in the orphanages was shaped by the emphasis on industrial training. This was a new method of relief that the massacres of 1895-96 forced the introduction of, to aid the poor, especially the widows and orphans. In fact, the American missionaries were always underlining the importance of industrial self-help, instead of alms-distribution. In Cyrus Hamlin's words, famous founder of the Robert College of Istanbul, "the object of the missionary must always be to help the needy to help themselves. The giving or loaning money is not often beneficial in its final results".⁸¹ The missionaries claimed that they relied on industrial work in order "not to trench on the self-respect of the people by unnecessary free distribution".⁸² The concept of relief in the American missions was always interested in differentiating themselves from a "nursing mother".

"... too many communities, ... looked up the American Board as a *nursing mother*, who would always supply their wants; whereas the missionaries are fully convinced that if ever this people are to attain a true, vigorous and Christian manhood, they must 'bear the yoke in their youth.'"⁸³

The main object of this kind of education was to assure the self-support of the orphans and "the development of industrious, efficient, manly character".⁸⁴ It is also argued that the chief object is to give the orphans the best institution, the matter of financial gain (for the orphanages) from the shops being wholly secondary. Catholic orphanage in Beirut, called "industrial school for the orphans" also had a similar

⁸¹Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, New York: R. Carter & Brothers, 1878, p. 198.

⁸²Dr. Raynolds, "Van", *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, April 1896, pp. 155-6.

⁸³Miss West, "KHarpur: Letter from Miss West, December 4, 1866", *Missionary Herald*, vol. 63, April 1867, pp. 107-9.

⁸⁴Rev. C. C. Tracy, "Encouragement in Anatolia College", *Missionary Herald*, vol. 91, April 1895, pp. 147-8.

meaning for the missionaries, because they thought, it was obvious that working for the young men was one of the surest guarantees of an honest and Christian future.”⁸⁵ In their quite limited relief efforts for the orphans, they had also introduced some form of industrial training in the massacre districts.

“We have received 20 orphan girls in Kayseri. (...) Two months ago, we opened a workshop [of rug-making] for the older girls under the direction of the Sisters, in a house that we bought exclusively to this purpose.”⁸⁶

Apart from the general objective, underlining the vocational education for the development of the self-sufficient character, it is necessary to take into consideration the crisis periods, in which such solutions gained ascendancy. According to Kieser, the “mission industry” was also a necessity that was created by the massacres. These industrial workshops (both in orphanages and in widow asylums) were founded in order to create opportunities for work and earning a living.⁸⁷ It is true that over-emphasis on industrial training was specifically forced after the massacres. For instance, the director of the Girls' School at Kayseri, which sheltered around 50 orphan girls after the massacres, was underlining this fact: “Our school is not in any sense an industrial school, nor do we wish to make it one, but such training is what the orphan girls and boys most certainly need.”⁸⁸

Furthermore, the orphans were an important labor force for the functioning of the orphanages. They were used as helpers in all sorts of necessary tasks. For instance, ignoring the difficulty of the task for such young children, the orphans in Bardezag Boys' Orphanage were used as the construction workers of the new building of the institution.⁸⁹ According to the directrice of the orphanage, they were accomplishing their

85« Ecole Industrielle de nos jeunes orphelins à Beyrouth », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 193, Novembre 1892, pp. 361-8.

86« La Situation en Asie Mineure », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 222, septembre 1897, pp. 182-7.

87Hans Lukas Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetlerinde Misyonerlik , Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938*, trans. Atilla Dirim, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005, p. 219.

88Miss Nason, “Work for Orphans”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, March 1897, pp. 112-3.

89It is very interesting that Village Institutes (*Köy Enstitüleri*) opened after 1940s in Turkey followed a similar method to raise its buildings. Fay Kirby, *Türkiye'de Köy*

task with utmost happiness and gratitude.

“The boys, big and little, worked bravely in all their spare time, thus saving much expense. Carrying bricks, and mud for joining them, chopping hemp for mixing in the mortar, pounding broken bricks for outside plaster, all must be done by hand. It was like a happy anthill, all movement, each toiling on his way to and fro. In thirteen days the frame was up and the roof on. ... Haroutune [one of the graduating class] was prepared to say, 'I've been six years in the orphanage, and here is the beginning of paying my debt'.”⁹⁰

Many mission stations opened industrial branches as a response to decrease the misery and poverty of the circumstances. The missionary of Van, Dr. Kimball, established an industrial relief department with funds from England and America and employed some 350 workers, “all of them wretchedly, abjectly poor” in “washing, carding, spinning, sizing, and weaving cotton and wool”. He argued that the little payment they earn kept “the wolf from the door”.⁹¹ In Van, the number of employed by the the Industrial Bureau had reached 1900 by June 1896.⁹² In Urfa, the missionary, Miss Corrina Shattuck had started some of the people in a form of silk embroidery on colored homespun. She tried to help members of widows’ families, around 2500, who have “neither son nor daughter to earn anything”.⁹³ Mr. White, of Merzifon, employed some men to superintend the manufacture of gingham cloth which had been one of the leading industries of the city. The missionaries thought that one of the best ways for rendering aid to “the despoiled Armenians” was to give them work in the manufacture of clothing or in the rebuilding of premises that had been burned. This type of relief was employed successfully at Van and Harput. In the latter, poor and destitute people were employed “in clearing away the debris of the burned buildings”.⁹⁴

Enstitüleri, Ankara: İmece, 1962.

⁹⁰Susan Newnham, *Bardezag: A Garden of Boys*, L. E. Newnham & Cowell, 1903, p. 17.

⁹¹Dr. Grace Kimball, “Medical Work – Famine Relief”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 91, November 1895, pp. 466.

⁹²“Relief Work at Van, Eastern Turkey”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, June 1896, pp. 231-5.

⁹³Miss Shattuck, “From Oorfa”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, November 1896, pp. 487-8.

⁹⁴“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, March 1896, p. 93.

The orphanages had followed the same educational approach. In most of the times, teaching a trade to orphans, together with religious instruction was more important than furnishing them with common school education. For the boys, usually tailoring, shoe-making, carpentering, bookbinding, cabinet making shops were opened. For the girls, there were shops for weaving clothes, rug making, sewing, needle work, embroidery in silk, lace work, quilt making, hemstitching of linen handkerchiefs, silk embroidery on colored homespun, manufacture of gingham cloth, etc.

Apart from these general guiding lines, the missionaries took the actual circumstances of their field into consideration as well. Since most of these eastern provinces of the Empire were important centers of agricultural production, the missionaries introduced agricultural departments in these orphanages. Missionary of Mardin, A. N. Andrus, argued that the majority of orphans in his field were villagers, and, thus, “should be made ready for village life”. Industrial training in agricultural work was inevitable to “fit them for such life”.⁹⁵ In Van Orphanage, there was also an agricultural department by 1900. According to the head missionary in Van, Dr. Raynolds, “it furnished a fine field for the boys to spend the summer vacation in healthful and profitable field work.”⁹⁶ There was an “orphanage farm” in Maraş as well. All the sorts of vegetables required for the mission station, grapes, tomatoes, beans, egg-plants, onions, etc., together with many fruit trees were grown. As an industrial enterprise, great many silk-worms were fed. Cotton, picked and carded by the orphans boys, was used for their beds or mattresses. The rest was sold and money was put aside as “endowment fund”.⁹⁷

This change was brought to life around 1905-1906. In some mission stations, the missionaries realized, when started to graduate their orphans, that the trades they had been teaching were more relevant for larger urban centers, where there was need for several tailors, shoe-makers, carpenters, book-binders, etc. Yet, in these smaller towns of Eastern Anatolia, orphan boys had difficulty to secure an employment in one of these occupations. The missionaries confessed that they had “already have more tailors,

⁹⁵“Mardin Orphanage, Reports for 1897-1899”, ABC 16.5, reel 512, no. 201-30.

⁹⁶“Report of the Van Orphanage, for the Year 1900”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 704, no. 14-19.

⁹⁷“Leaflet on 'Marash Orphanage Farm', September 17th, 1906”, ABC 16.5, reel 505, no. 201-3.

shoemakers and carpenters than can find work.”⁹⁸ But in agriculture, which was chief business of these areas, they had higher chances of finding work. Harput American mission station, which was relying on to traditional trades for the education of orphans, evolved its workshops into agricultural units, after seeing its graduate orphan boys only could be employed elsewhere.

“The trouble with most of the trades has been that the boys could not find work after being trained, and many of them have drifted to other parts of the country and some to America. But occupations connected with the land are always in need of workers in this large agricultural district. This led us three years ago [1904] to try to experiment of farming and gardening and silk raising.”⁹⁹

Having a place where some of these orphans could be trained in agricultural pursuits seemed like the ideal solution, since in such a region, where agriculture was the leading economic activity, such a farm was crucial. The experiment of the Harput missionaries proved to be successful, when one of the orphan boys took a prize in a government exhibition of silk culture. Later, the Americans decided to send one or two boys for two years to the Imperial Silk Culture Institute, Bursa.¹⁰⁰

The largest agricultural enterprise was in the “Industrial Institute of Urfa”, which was opened in 1895 and was directed by Miss Corrina Shattuck, until she died in 1910. Together with trades such as carpentry, cabinet-working, iron-making, tailoring, shoe-making, the orphanage had “farming and teaming” departments. The Boys' Orphanage owned two large farms in Harran plain and the boys orphans worked in the growing of wheat and barley. These farms provided the mission premises with the wheat supply for bread for the year. There was no gardening, since these lands were not among the “watered” regions. Yet, in the summer the boys were given two weeks' outing in a vineyard 4 miles north of the city. Moreover, the orphanage owned 1 ram, 20 sheep and 6 young, 35 goats and 20 young, from which they got part of the butter supply of the orphanage, also 1 white camel with yearling camel, and half share in 5 others; 7 horses

⁹⁸“Dear Friends of the Armenian Orphanage Work, Harput, Jan. 1906”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 708, no. 192-3.

⁹⁹“Notes on the Orphanage and Industrial Work (Nov. 6 1907)”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 703, no. 666-8.

¹⁰⁰“Dear Friends of the Armenian Orphans, Harput, Jan. 1905”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 708, no. 169-70.

for plowing and teaming and load wagons, 2 American plows and 1 cultivator.¹⁰¹

Industrial branches for the girls were started immediately after the massacres in 1896. They were mostly some form of weaving industry, from “rug work to fine hemstitching of linen handkerchiefs and embroidery in delicate silks.”¹⁰² These industrial branches, first, were useful to meet the demands of the orphanages and the schools themselves. Clothe for the uniforms of the children, mattresses for their beds, towels, and so on, were all provided by the missionary industries with much lower costs and on the spot.¹⁰³ Second, they aimed to accrue some profit from these industrial departments by relying on to local needs. Shattuck noted, for instance, that governor’s wife was their first customer to order some manufactures, and she declared her hope that other Muslim women would like to purchase as well.¹⁰⁴ It is remarkable that she secured the support of the local authority, which would trigger the purchase of mission products by other state officials’ of the city. Therefore, it is not a surprise that the “Department of Needle Work” in Urfa, manufacturing handkerchiefs, was very busy to meet the demands. Apart from the girls from the orphanage, around 2000 girls were employed from the city and from surrounding towns, and the department was never closed except a week each at Easter and Christmas.¹⁰⁵

Later, the missionaries even succeeded in concluding agreements with entrepreneurs abroad so as to export their products, thanks to textile centers established by the missionaries in several Anatolian and Arab provinces, based on cheap labor, usually oriented towards the international market. Towards the end of the century,

101“Report of the Industrial Institute in Connection with the orphan work of the American mission in Urfa, Turkey, for the year 1907”, ABC 16.9.5, reel 661, no. 889-92.

102Miss Shattuck, “From Oorfa”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, November 1896, pp. 487-8.

103The orphans in Bardezag were able to produce “238 under-garments, 15 shirts, 48 blouses, 17 coats, 43 pair trousers, 6 waistcoats” in the year 1902. Susan Newnham, *Bardezag: A Garden of Boys*, L. E. Newnham & Cowell, 1903, p. 12.

104Miss Shattuck, “Oorfa – Relief Work”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, September 1896, p. 370.

105“Report of the Industrial Institute in Connection with the orphan work of the American mission in Urfa, Turkey, for the year 1907”, ABC 16.9.5, reel 661, no. 889-92.

missionaries began producing and exporting “Irish” lace, as well as embroideries and other textiles. At the important Merzifon mission in the Black Sea area, missionaries used American and British charitable donations to encourage an allegedly new industry. Many orphans and students annually manufactured 150,000 yards of narrow gingham cloth, in addition to some toweling. Near Adana, children at the Haçin orphanage and many of the “poorer” inhabitants were put to work weaving cotton stuffs and carpets, again with capital from American and British donors. At Urfa, Antep, and Maraş, Armenian women and children worked under the direction of the American mission, embroidering for English and American buyers. At Antep, the agent of an Irish firm in 1911 employed several hundred women and orphan girls. They produced linen handkerchiefs and lacework and soon were competing with small “native” firms that exported directly to the United States.¹⁰⁶

As also apparent from the division of the shops, the missionaries were in line with the sexual division of labor of their day. The girls on their part were “instructed in feminine handicraft”¹⁰⁷, especially dressmaking, sewing, spinning, and needlework, but also housework, cooking, washing, and so on.¹⁰⁸ From a report of Harput station, written in 1897, it becomes clear that the duties or occupations that the orphan girls were burdened with were not considered as real work. “Boys' trades are... shoe-making, tailoring, carpentering... *There are no trades for girls*, but they spin, knit, sew, crochet, help in cooking and housework.”¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, their duties within the orphanage usually differed from those of the boys. For instance, while the girls were expected to wash their own clothes once a week, some laundry women were hired to wash the cloths of the boys.¹¹⁰

106Halil İncalçık, Donal Quataert (eds.), *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, vol. 2 (1600-1914)*, Cambridge; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 91.

107The expression, “feminine handicraft” was frequently used in many missionary reports.

108“The Women's Armenian Relief Fund (Van, Jan. 31st 1899)”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1123.

109“Report of the Orphan Work in the Harput Field (signed Mary E. Barnum, 1897)”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1098.

110*Ibid.*, “... a room where we found, amid the steam, a half dozen women, busily

Dr. Raynolds, American missionary at Van, writes in 1898 that Mrs. Raynolds, his wife and the director of the girls' orphanage, "is very desirous that the girls should do their own cooking, and so be better prepared for household duties".¹¹¹ So as to become proficient in housework, the girls were being used as actual helpers/servants of the orphanages. Therefore, orphan girls were not only the inmates but also the employees of the institutions, where they were housed. The 1906 report of the Urfa station of the American mission states that younger girls were doing "some work formerly done by employees", as they had none under 8 or 9 years of age.

"The work turns regularly and smoothly though there is no place for idlers. Cooking, bread making, sweeping, scrubbing, sewing and patching for the over 60 occupants of the two Homes is usually done by two house-mothers, one cook, and the girls".¹¹²

All these were allegedly done to prepare the girls for marriage. Minor exceptions were those who pursued further studies in mission schools and those who later become teachers in village or primary schools.

"Some have a special gift for study, other for needlework, yet others for housework, and we have great hope of their becoming wise and noble mothers and teachers in the future."¹¹³

The main objective of the missionaries, therefore, when it came to orphan girl graduates, was to marry them. Most of these girls, in the end, became wives, even of the men in America: yearly reports of the institutions proudly announce the number of girls that were 'married out'.

"[Harput] Our orphanages are now graduating their boys into various trades, and their girls into excellent homes, *many being sought by our young men in America*."¹¹⁴

engaged in washing the clothes of the boys. At 4 pm these disappear and their places taken by a company of 40 boys for their bath. On Friday and Saturday the room is entirely given up to the orphan girls, who wash their own clothes and take their bath."

111"Report of Relief and Orphanage Work at Van, July to December 1898", ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1122.

112"Report of Orphanage Work and Boys' Industrial Institute in Connection with the American mission in Urfa in Turkey, Dec. 31, 1906", ABC 16.9.5, reel 661, no. 875-7.

113"Bitlis Orphanage, Oct. 16th 1900", ABC 16.9.7, reel 703, no. 425.

114"A Mission Station in Turkey", *Missionary Herald*, vol. 97, August 1901, pp.

The Catholic missionaries were mostly interested in collecting some dowry for these orphan girls so that they get married and establish a house of their own. For that reason, they were not paid for their labor in the orphanage, and their wages were put aside to be given later when they leave the orphanage for marriage. There is no mention of what happens to the money of those girls, who leave unmarried.

“The profit of our orphan girls will be used half to contribute to their maintenance and half will be deposited in a savings bank in the name of each child. As these girls grow up, and in the age to stand up, they will have in their hand a small capital which will help them to land a husband.”¹¹⁵

It was a serious issue for the missionaries to arrange these marriages, since they were usually the genuine guardians of these girls and they were feeling responsible for their futures. Mr. Raynolds, missionary of Van, reports the questions involved in such a marriage decision.

“16 of the girls are married and begun homes for themselves... the arranging of these marriages comes mostly on my good wife, and she feels that it is a very heavy responsibility thus to determine the future of these dear girls, customs here are not like those of Europe and America, where the immediate parties to the marriage have the main responsibility in the selection of partners. Here it is considered very improper for any opportunity of acquaintance to be allowed, certainly before betrothal and in the case of our girls it is very seldom that the suitor is one of whom they known anything beforehand. In most cases the suitor comes not to seek any particular girl but merely to say that he wants a wife and so the selection falls wholly to Mrs. Raynolds. Of course she does not compel any girl to go against her will, but usually when the girls mind is asked, no more satisfactory answer can be secured than “You know, Hannum [Ma'am]”, and so the responsibility still rests on my wife. If it were possible yo secure husbands who were converted men, the problem would be immensely simplified, but outside of our own schools and our Protestant community, converted men are practically unknown in this *vilayet* [province]. From the Protestant community, there will not of course, be very many applicants, and the boys who go out from the orphanage must usually spend several years in getting started in life, securing an income before they can think of marriage. Two of our girls have gone to Protestant husbands, and 3 to boys who have been in the orphanage. For the rest, we try to make as careful inquiry as possible into the character and circumstances of the applicants, and refuse those of bad character, or who are unable properly to support a family.”¹¹⁶

325-7.

115« La Situation en Asie Mineure », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 222, septembre 1897, pp. 182-7.

116G. C. Raynolds, “Report of the Van Orphanage, for the Year 1901”, ABC

Apart from the marriage of the girls, the graduates in general was an area of concern for the missionaries. That's probably why they worked for the lengthening of the operation of their orphanages and keep their orphans as long as possible. One obvious problem with the graduates was to have a hold on their future lives, since they were still regarded as targets for further missionary activity.

“The majority, after leaving us, fell into a dangerous environments for their faith: surrounded by Muslims or schismatics even in their family, in contact with a corrupted youth which invades day by day this poor country, and finally, solicited by the promises liars of Protestantism.”¹¹⁷

In order to ensure control over the lives of the orphan graduates, missionaries tried to create fields of employment for these orphans in their own premises as teachers, preachers, or simple helpers. In reports of post-1900, there are various accounts about the lives of the graduates of the orphan asylums. It seems that many of them were sent to villages to teach in the common schools. Some of them were sent to the colleges of the stations for a higher education to become preachers or professors. In Van, for example, it was a source of happiness that the graduates and other orphans were teaching schools in “14 Gregorian villages, and the people, young and old, are eager to hear the gospel”.¹¹⁸ They were defined as the “ leaders and shepherds of their people”.

“These are the sources to which we look for laborers who are to reclaim this land, our future teachers, preachers, and helpers. Our schools here are doing no more important work than educating these orphans to be leaders and shepherds of their people.”¹¹⁹

Moreover, they were assisted, to a certain extent, to start their own businesses. It was important to have not only a talent but also some capital that would help them earn their own living when they grew up and reached to an age that they could leave the orphanages. For instance, in Urfa, for their shop work the boys were allowed a small

16.9.7, reel 704, no. 35-7.

117« Ecole Industrielle de nos jeunes orphelins à Beyrouth », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 193, Novembre 1892, pp. 361-8.

118Dr. Ussher, “The Work in and About Van”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 96, October 1900, pp. 409-10.

119“A Mission Station in Turkey”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 97, August 1901, pp. 325-7.

wage which accumulated and was paid to them when they graduated. When a boy left the orphanage, he took with him \$ 30 or 40 and these earnings were “sufficient to give them a good start in the trades for which they have prepared themselves.”¹²⁰

Industrial training comprised the larger part in orphanage curriculum. All the orphan boys admitted into missionary orphanage were expected to learn a trade from among tailoring, shoe-making, carpentering, bookbinding, cabinet making. Although undermined by the contemporary missionaries, the girls were also endowed with the craft of weaving and embroidery. The discourse of self-help was determinant in explaining the significance of mastering in an artisanal field. Yet, orphanages' apprenticeship program was intended not only to train orphan boys for station appropriate adult employment. Orphans' labor helped the institutions to decrease the cost, by using unpaid labor of the children in cooking, cleaning, and even teaching. Moreover, the goods manufactured in the workshops of the orphanages generated revenue for the institution.

4.3.4. Civilizing Mission

Education was invaluable for the missionaries to inculcate certain values and standards of 'civilization' to the people of the East. American missionaries were not specifically interested in economic development and they were also very cautious in preventing their missionaries and students to engage in any political activity that would have challenge the existing status quo. Yet, they had strong ambitions about family life, relations between husband and wife, cleanliness, child-rearing, nutrition, and so on. In that sense, while they were quite far off from political agitation, they were in fact revolutionaries in the realm of social influences.¹²¹ Their interpretation of the Ottoman Empire and the peoples living there was very much close to the general discourse of

¹²⁰“The American Industrial Institute, Oorfa, Turkey, Report for the Year 1911”, ABC 16.5, reel 505, no. 210-12.

¹²¹Elshakry argued even though missionaries failed ultimately in their mission to save souls - their success in terms of numbers of actual converts to the Protestant Church was never very impressive - they were nevertheless said to have helped win the battle for the ‘conversion to modernities’ in the Middle East. Elshakry, 176.

Orientalism, which depicted the East as a childish, lazy, and ignorant sister, even an animal, who can only be educated/tamed by her mature, disciplined, and civilized brother, the West.

“It is generally known that the social life of Orientals is one of great degradation... It is a fact, manifest to all observers, that wherever the influence of the gospel has not penetrated the ignorance, superstition, and degradation of masses of the people of Turkey is extreme. Cleanliness, order, and even decency are generally ignored in their dwellings and in care of their persons. *They live and eat and sleep so almost exactly like domesticated animals, that it is difficult to discern the human element at all.* As to what we mean by home, the domestic hearth, and the proprieties and amenities of daily social life, there exists the profoundest ignorance and the most solid indifference. The mother and wife makes no toilet on rising in the morning. She has slept in the clothing, such as it is, that she had worn during the day. She does not think of giving any attention to her own and her children's dressing or hair, except once a week or less often, when they go to a public bath, or elsewhere perform some special ablutions. ... The only making up of beds is a hasty rolling up of “that whereon they have lain”, and piling the whole up in a corner or closet till evening. *They eat precisely as those animals do whose fore-feet hands, except that there is one dish, and perhaps a wooden spoon for each person.* The sleeping, eating, and the work, often more than one distinct family, are in one room and that room is frequently in such a state that *no well-to-do American farmer would consider tolerable for the animals he is fattening for his table.*”¹²²

While discussing certain aspects of girls' education, especially cleanliness, eating, or dressing, the discourse of the missionaries became quite hostile and determined for a marked change.

“To live by the rule, to get up at a regular time in the morning; to come to meals when the bell rings; to brush their hair everyday, to sit in a straight row in school and in study; to recite lessons at certain set times; to come in out of the wet are all as *foreign to their natures as for a wild bear to earn his living chasséing down a village street.*”¹²³

These little restless and unruly species tamed in the hands of the Protestant missionaries and were turned into neat, hard-working, and well-behaved children.

“...the effect of their Protestant training is seen in their reverent behavior at their own services, so different from the restless, chattering villagers outside the rails.”¹²⁴

122“Influence of American Missionaries on the Social Life of the East”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 69, June 1873, pp. 187-190.

123Helen D. Thom, “Report of the Girls' Department of Mardin Orphanage”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1118-9.

One of the most common theme in the education of the orphans was to tell how these “little creatures” were received in a completely miserable, even despicable, condition and how they were transformed into clean and good-looking students of the missionaries. Female missionary at Merzifon tells that their orphan girls, numbering around 50, “came literally in rags, none had shoes or anything warm for winter” and every effort was spent to furnish them with clothes. “Each girl has a plain but neat cotton dress for everyday wear and now a woolen dress.”¹²⁵ Within a couple of months, the superintendent of the station, Dr. White wrote:

“They are now clean, mercy, obedient, rapidly learning both in books and in Christian life, so different from the *wretched little creatures* they were when they first came in.”¹²⁶

The American missionaries argued that the orphans who had been clothed and cared for and also disciplined by them were regarded with admiration by the whole community around them, since they were clean, good-looking, and well-dressed. An anecdote from Urfa exemplifies the perception.

“As these boys were taking a walk on a recent day a group of people stopped to gaze at them, and one said “Does Miss Shattuck pick out *all the fine boys* in the community for her orphanage?” “No” replied another, “*they grow fine after she has had them a little while.*”¹²⁷

The use of photographs, therefore, was a very important tool for the missionaries, who were keen on to convince the world, of believers and benevolent of contributors, that these Armenian wards were being civilized in their hands and become good Christians. These orphans, dirty, half-starved, and neglected, were always, “other children”, there was otherness of need, poverty, and undesirability.¹²⁸ The missionaries

124Susan Newnham, *Bardezag: A Garden of Boys*, L. E. Newnham & Cowell, 1903, p. 9.

125Miss Nason, “Work for Orphans”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, March 1897, pp. 112-3.

126“Merzifon Station Report, 1897”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 606, no. 698-70.

127“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, June 1897, pp. 216.

128According to Hugh Cunningham, these representations were significant, in the sense that they were defining a certain normality of childhood, which included happiness, protection, dependence, and so on. See, Hugh Cunningham, “The Children and 'The Other Children': Dualism in the Social Construction of Childhood”, SHCY

thought that these “other children” can be turned into “children”. Before-and-after photographs were the best to exhibit the work done with these “other children” and to collect donations. Being aware of this beneficial use, the missionary in Mardin were disappointed to learn that there was not a single photographer in the city, since the children that were taken into the orphanage, were not only cleaned from dirt and vermin, but they were also rendered “bright and interesting”.

“We could wish the city claimed a photographer as then we could enclose a couple of contested pictures of some of these “wards of Christendom” as they appeared upon reaching the Home – dirty, ragged, emaciated, covered with sores and vermin – and as they appear now – clean, comfortably clothed, sleek, bright and interesting. The transformation is wonderful.”¹²⁹

The orphans, in that respect, were considered to be empty sheets to be written on, since they were still very young to receive the messages given by the missionaries, much more easily than the grown up constituency within the mission field.

“Truly this is a hopeful and blessed work. Hopeful, because the children are so young. They are the little twigs which we may bend in the right direction. They are virgin soil in which we may sow seeds of truth and righteousness. They are lambs of the flock, and in doing for them we are obeying the command: 'Feed my lambs'.”¹³⁰

The larger aim was to reform the society in general, each and every household, with the help of the children, who were expected to perform as carriers of the message of *true Christianity*. These little apostles were to become the agencies of the missionaries in the domestic spheres that they were not allowed to enter themselves.

“These schools are the means of enlightenment in many homes, for the hymns and Scripture lessons learned in school are sung and repeated at home, and the monthly pictorial child's paper finds its way into more than a hundred families every month.”¹³¹

“Even now they are carrying the light to their villages. ... There is no part of the work which the missionaries have, which is more full of promise than this for orphans, and we believe that many will be raised up among them who will be

Conference, 29 June-1 July 2007, Norrköping, Sweden.

129“Mardin Orphanage, Reports for 1897-1899”, ABC 16.5, reel 512, no. 201-30. Quote was taken from to “Report of Mardin Orphan Department for 1897”.

130Helen D. Thom, “Report of the Girls' Department of Mardin Orphanage”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1118-9.

131Mr. Bartlett, “Continued Progress at Talas”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 70, October 1874, pp. 310-2.

great blessing to their people.”¹³²

“It is hoped that the boys and girls here instructed, many of whom came here entirely ignorant, *returning to their villages as teachers and artisans, and as Christians* true to their faith, may be an example for the emulation of their fellows and help to *elevate the mental and moral level of their whole people.*”¹³³

The balance between 'civilizing' these children and not alienating them from their own native environment was also a sensitive one, since the missionaries aimed to educate the people in their own environments and expected their graduates to be beneficial for their own country in the end. There was, in fact, no attempt to Americanize but the missionaries were interested in training an indigenous clergy for a self-directing and eventually self-supporting church.¹³⁴ Experience had thought them that too little intellectual stimulation was much safer than too much. Education should be stopped before it aroused a spirit of “self-seeking”, when it lessened a man's sympathy for his own people, or when it made him unhappy among them.¹³⁵ The missionaries had, in fact, a double purpose: both altering basic customs, beliefs, and habits of the Armenian children and also making sure that those educated in their institutions neither became *revolutionaries* and oppose the actual political regime of their own country¹³⁶ nor *adventurers*, or economic-minded persons, and feel brave enough to travel overseas for various purposes. These educational missions were organized to raise up a native agency in religious and educational matters so that after a while foreign missionaries feel free to leave for other destinations.

“... It is our purpose to adopt such a style of living, in the way of food,

132“Harput Orphanages (August 1900)”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 703, no. 608.

133“The Women's Armenian Relief Fund (Van, Jan. 31st 1899)”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1123.

134Rao H. Lindsay, *Nineteenth-Century American Schools in the Levant: A Study of Purposes*, University of Michigan Comparative Education Dissertation Series, 1965, p. 29, 58.

135Wilmont H. Wheeler, *Self-Supporting Churches and How to Plant Them*, Grinnell, Iowa: Better Way Publishing Company, 1899, pp. 179-81.

136There are many such examples in missionary documents. “Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 91, May 1895, p. 175: “The Board and the missionaries have sometimes asked for particular changes in the administration of the government at certain points in that Empire, but they have always done so in loyalty to the existing authorities, invariably discountenancing revolution or violent measures.”

clothing, and customs, as *shall not put them out of touch with their countrymen, or unfit them to resume life in their villages*, while at the same time habits of personal neatness are inculcated, to serve as a lever for gradually elevating the people.”¹³⁷

Most of missionary writing, therefore, were directed as understanding with a certain degree of empathy, the culture that they were penetrating into. Interestingly, one way to keep the graduates of American mission schools close to their people was to avoid teaching foreign languages. In the mid-century, the teaching of English created a big discussion, since according to some it had ruinous results of putting the students in missionary schools out of touch with their fellow countrymen. As soon as they learned English, they were going into lucrative secular employment, and were lost to the missionary services. Missionaries were worried that none of their graduates were becoming neither preachers nor teachers, but translators to businessmen.¹³⁸

The ABCFM officials later realized that knowledge of French would encourage their graduates to go to big port cities and assume a post in one of the consular offices or in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as dragomans. Moreover, potential mission helpers were exposed to all the learning and corruption of Western civilization. The knowledge of this language would make them open to harmful foreign influences, be it political, economic, or immoral.¹³⁹ Therefore, the missionaries argued they should be providing only a limited curriculum.¹⁴⁰

However, in the realm of education there are always unintended consequences. The missionaries perception of “limited” education may, in some cases, be quite

¹³⁷Dr. Raynolds, “Relief and Orphanage Work at Van”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, July 1897, pp. 277-8.

¹³⁸*1846th Annual Report*, Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1856, p. 45.

¹³⁹“...The knowledge of French is ruining multitudes of young men. Without any literature of their own, or in their own language, they buy greedily the French novels which flood the native bookshops, regarding these obscene stories as the highest outcome of Western freedom and civilization.” Mr. Dwight, “Opposition from Romanism and Moslems”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 78, July 1882, p. 266.

¹⁴⁰The Colleges opened by the ABCFM were an exception to that. In these colleges, foreign languages were taught, together with many other subjects of liberal education. It is also true that many graduates of these colleges were sent abroad for further studies or for specialization. In this case, their departure was not interpreted as alienation from their native environment. They were not prepared to be village teachers anyway.

“extended” for the local population. This is the paradox of education: you assume that you have planted the right the seeds, but in the end you harvest something else.¹⁴¹ That's why many students and graduates of these missionary schools betrayed their teachers and become revolutionaries or adventurers in the future; many left their villages and migrated to larger cities of the Empire, even to the United States. Sometimes, missionaries themselves were forced to support the migration of these children, since they were unable to gain a livelihood in their hometowns and the American missionaries were running out of funds if they keep them longer in the orphanage.

“A circumstance which seriously increased the difficulty of the situation was the fact that during the preceding two years a considerable number of the larger boys, who could naturally have left the orphanage were permitted to remain because the great economic depression prevailing in the province made it practically impossible for them to earn a living outside. ... There seems little hope of such an improvement in the financial status of this province as shall make it impossible for many boys to find work here and emigration to some more favored land seems the only solution of the problem of their future.”¹⁴²

Ceride-yi Havâdis made a very intelligible comment about the Protestant missionaries in 1882, referring to their non-political and submit-to-authorities attitude together with their potential of radically changing the lives of their students.

“Protestant missionaries cannot be touched by law nor by military force, because they are *quiet men* elevating the people by schools and moral teachings. Yet whoever reads their books or attends their schools is a changed man, unsettled in faith and discontented with his surroundings.”¹⁴³

The same argument on the unpolitical character of the Protestant missionaries can also be followed from Henry Brailsford's *Macedonia*, where he argues that the failure of Protestant missions in the Balkans came from the fact that the “Macedonian expects that

141Akşin Somel notes the same dilemma in the case of nineteenth century Ottoman experiment of educational modernization and social disciplining. The Hamidian education was “unsuccessful” in producing loyal, pious, and obedient individuals, although the bureaucrats believed that individuals could be moulded toward the desired ideological direction. The obvious example for this failure is the Young Turk opposition and 1908 revolution. Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2001, p. 275.

142“Report of the American Orphanage in Van, for the year 1907”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 704, no. 117-8.

143Mr. Dwight, “Opposition from Romanism and Moslems”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 78, July 1882, p. 266.

his Church should have a definitely national and political character. A purely spiritual propaganda is beyond his comprehension.” Yet, he underlined, they have done great good, particularly in Bulgaria. Their colleges and secondary schools were so largely frequented by native Christian lads that local community was largely effected by them. People became both discontented and aspiring. “If they have not made Protestants they have made relatively well-educated men, who found the stagnation and oppression of the Turkish East completely unendurable.”¹⁴⁴

As extensively discussed in the studies written from within the perspective of post-colonial theory, the relationship between the missionary and the native people is always an unequal one, in which superordinate imposes its values and truths to the subordinate.¹⁴⁵ The stance of missionary orphanages toward Armenian orphans could not be evaluated separate from that pretext. Orphans, especially young children, were much easier to *civilize* and, furthermore, they were candidates of becoming transmitters of that civilization. Therefore, the only dilemma in front of the missionaries was their desire to keep these orphans within the orbit of proselyting. In other words, it was necessary that they stay in their countries and act as good examples of Christianity, as opposed to nominal Christians.

4.4. Similar Strategies - Mutual Suspicions: Different Actors in Orphan Relief

Even if certain crisis situations, such as wars, massacres, and conflicts, create an emergency situation for the rescuing of the orphans, in actuality only *certain* such events end up attracting serious attention. What is more, only *certain* parties actually do something in order to relieve the pains of only *certain* orphans. In other words, although

¹⁴⁴H. N. Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future*, London: Methuen & Co., 1906, p. 75.

¹⁴⁵Leela Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

the volume of the people in need is a meaningful variable, it is obligatory to look beyond philanthropic activity in order to see the intricacies of orphan relief.

The involvement of several philanthropic societies for the care of the Armenian orphans – and not the Bulgarian, the Circassian, or Crimean ones – bears important clues in itself. They attracted the attention of many groups for particular purposes revolving around religion, nationality, identity, and conversion. These children were never seen simply as hungry, miserable, and poor creatures of *the day* who needed help. Their identities were visualized, their characters were defined, with reference to their *futures*, to their prospects. Therefore, it was a struggle over power to define what the Armenians would/should be in the days to come. Therefore, the orphans created both hopes and fears in the minds of the interested parties, based on what they can do and what they fail to do.

Therefore, all the sides of the controversy, the state and the missionaries, foreign consular agents, Armenian patriarchate, being aware of this, treated the realm of orphan relief as an arena of competition. All were aspiring to *save* the Armenian orphans. Furthermore, they all resorted to same sort of solutions and accused one another on the same basis.

4.4.1. Transfer of Orphans from the Region

There were three different mechanisms used to care for the orphans of the Armenian massacres of 1894-96. 1- The largest numbers of orphans were cared in the newly opened orphanages of the ABCFM, as already discussed. 2- Though smaller in volume, it is known that some of the orphans were admitted into private households as adopted children, or as servants, and were raised within a family environment. 3- A third option in this field was to send the orphans to other, already established or permanent orphanages, mainly in Istanbul, Izmir, Bursa, Jerusalem, and Beirut. Moreover, many boys and girls have been sent to Germany, Switzerland, and elsewhere, in the care of those individuals who had been working for succoring these orphans.¹⁴⁶

All the interested parties in the matter, namely the Armenian patriarchate, the

¹⁴⁶“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, July 1897, p. 264.

Sublime Porte, and foreign missionaries had tried to secure the transfer of some orphans from their field to other, securer areas. Expectedly, American missionaries were not the most active group in that campaign, since they were already successful in opening their proper orphanages. Gregorian Armenians, Catholics, and Germans Deaconesses, on the other hand, lacking the necessary local sources and men power were compelled to come up with such a strategy to take a hold of the orphans. The Sublime Porte, on the other hand, was resorting to all sorts of obstructive measures to stop the flow of Armenian orphans from one place to another.

In between this political contention over the care and education of the Armenian orphans, no one was actually worried about the children's own experiences. These orphans, some of them as young as 4, were taken from quite inner areas of the Empire, such as Bitlis, Sasun, Arabkir, and so on, under hard winter conditions in November or December, to be sent as far as to Izmir. Their trip to Trabzon, the closest port to the north-eastern Anatolia, on horseback, took usually more than a week; and many of these children were most probably walking on the whole way. When they reach to the port, there was always a crisis between the missionaries, the English consul at the place and the local security officials at the port, on the transfer of these children, during which these children, who were separated from their widowed mothers and relatives, were pushed back and forth between these different authorities.¹⁴⁷ Since the missionaries succeeded more frequently to realize their aims, these Armenian children, most of whom were seeing the sea for the first time in their lives, were put into a ship to Istanbul and had to suffer a long sea trip on a crowded deck with limited food and water.

These aspects never became a concern for the missionaries, who were supposedly acting as the saviors of the children. When the Sublime Porte attempted to intervene, on the other hand, it rarely referred either to unpleasant road conditions or to the sadness of

¹⁴⁷In cases of actual transfers, the linkage between the orphans and their families were broken. The distance between them was incredibly big and it was not in the capability of mothers or relatives to go visit these children. Sometimes they died in these orphanages, their families were not even able to see their funerals. Diruhi Jernazian had been transferred in 1898 to the German missionary orphanage in Izmir, as 6-year-old leaving her brothers and sisters in Maraş. In 1906, when she was fourteen, she died from tuberculosis. What her family had from her was a small photograph that the director of the orphanage sent to her brother after her death. Ephraim K. Jernazian, *Judgment Unto Truth: Witnessing the Armenian Genocide*, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1990, p. 20.

taking them away from their only relatives in their homelands, and preferred to put forth the harmful missionary operations. In other words, a fight over the futures of the children were being done without even taking the actual needs of the orphans into consideration.

4.4.1.1. German Protestants in Cooperation with the ABCFM

The German Deaconesses were a Protestant womens organization, formed much like the French Sisters and engaged in social work. Under the auspices of the Prussian king of the 1840s-50s, Friedrich Wilhelm III, they spread to Alexandria, Jerusalem, Beirut, Istanbul (German hospital) and Izmir. In Izmir they appeared in 1851 first to cater to the education of German expatriate children, but immediately started activities of a broader agenda. In 1853, they opened a boarding school for upper class girls, that had 220 students around 1861. In 1862, they established an orphanage on the same premises, which was accompanied by a school for poor children. The orphanage's capacity was around 30-40 children at that time, comprising Greek and Armenian as well as Jewish and a few Muslims orphans. All were educated in Prussian Protestant style. In fact, the radical proselytizing in the orphanage in these early years met much criticism by the relatives of the orphans as well as the local religious institutions. One case about a converted Muslim girl even led to an international diplomatic crisis in 1876.¹⁴⁸

Due to the anti-church sentiment of the early Bismarck years, the German Foreign Ministry refused to subsidize the Izmir Deaconesses after 1878, taking offense especially of their conversion efforts towards orphans. As the establishment came into crisis, pressure to convert was slightly eased. Also, the orphanage was restructured to accommodate mostly German orphans from all over the Levant, keeping more in line with Bismarckist policies. The number of orphans at that time was around 40, which was further decreased in the coming decade.¹⁴⁹ The American missionary, Mr. Peet

¹⁴⁸For further information, Malte Fuhrmann, *Der Traum vom deutschen Orient. Zwei deutsche Kolonien im Osmanischen Reich 1851-1918* (Imagining a German Orient: Two German Colonies in the Ottoman Empire 1851-1918, PhD), Frankfurt (M.): Campus 2006, pp. 109-256.

¹⁴⁹Interestingly, when the German Deaconesses were complaining from some sort of downsizing, the Catholic missionaries were looking up to them. « Asie-Mineure, Lettre de la Soeur Mairet, Smyrne, 30 janvier 1880 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no.

reported in 1887 that there were 25 orphans in the institution.¹⁵⁰

At the height of the Armenian massacres of 1896, the head organization in the Reich took a dramatic turn by firmly positioning itself on a pro-Armenian basis and decided to dedicate the Izmir orphanage exclusively to massacre survivors and “*to serve the Armenian people*”. A rush of donations from Germany allowed to expand the orphanage to accommodate 120 Armenian orphans, mostly Protestants. There were also many orphans coming from massacre-unaffected Western Anatolia, due to an internal instruction to the deaconesses to keep the number of Armenian children in the institution high, no matter where they come from.¹⁵¹ For instance, in 1905, the German consul in Izmir, Johannes Mordtmann,¹⁵² discovered that out of 109 Armenians in the institution, only 66 still originated from Eastern Anatolia, the rest were coming western provinces. At the same time Mordtmann’s imperialist sentiment found the thought of Germans serving Armenians outrageous. From 1905 until his retirement and even beyond, he urged the orphanage to abandon its commitment to the Armenians. His

120, Septembre 1880, pp. 354-8.

“The Protestant Prussian deaconesses, only in two steps distance to us, increase their classes and their orphanages, and they form an asylum for very little children; can we, facing this danger, at least make all that we can to prevent them from tearing away our souls, some of which, attracted by flattering promises, sometimes escape from us?”

150Mr. Peet, “Smyrna – Educational Institutions”, *Missionary Herald*, February 1887, vol. 83, pp. 59-61: “I was exceedingly interested in the school of the German deaconesses, which numbers 180 scholars, of whom from 25 to 50 boarders, and in the statement made by the sisters in charge, that the income of the school supported not only the boarding department, but also staff of 14 foreign teachers, sisters from Germany, and seven native assistant teachers, together with an *orphanage of 25 inmates.*”

151Malte Fuhrmann, *Der Traum vom deutschen Orient. Zwei deutsche Kolonien im Osmanischen Reich 1851-1918* (Imagining a German Orient: Two German Colonies in the Ottoman Empire 1851-1918, PhD), Frankfurt (M.): Campus 2006, pp. 109-256.

152Johannes Mordtmann was born in Constantinople in 1852. His father was Andreas David Mordtmann, envoy of the minor German states of Hamburg, Bremen, Lübeck, and Oldenburg to the High Porte, who later became a judge at Ottoman courts. Johannes Mordtmann, who had learned modern Greek and Turkish in his youth, was later sent to Berlin to receive training for a diplomatic career and a thorough state-sponsored education in Oriental languages. He returned to Constantinople as Dragoman at the German consulate, and later became the German consul first of Salonika (1886-1902) and later Smyrna (1903-1910). After his early retirement in 1910 he returned to Constantinople to devote himself full time to the study of Oriental languages. From 1915 to 1918 he taught historical methodology at Istanbul University.

racism even led him to take offense at Armenian orphans and German schoolgirls sharing the same playground.¹⁵³

The transportation of these hundred something children from the eastern provinces to Izmir, to Istanbul, or to Jerusalem was not easily accomplished. Traveling from one place to another within the Empire was not allowed without the acquisition of the necessary travel permit (*tezkere*). In the case of the Armenian orphans, since the Ottoman state was already alarmed by the increasing activities of the foreign missionaries, authorities were introducing all sorts of obstacles to impede the objectives of the missionaries. In one such example, the American missionary in Bitlis, Mr. Cole, had to apply a number of times (during August-December 1896) for the transfer of 23 Armenian orphans (12 boys, 11 girls) to the orphanage of the German Deaconesses in Izmir and to West Bursa Orphanage of the ABCFM.¹⁵⁴ When the children were at last put into a Greek ship heading to Istanbul from the port of Trabzon (23.11.1896) under the auspices of the British Consul, they were stopped by the inspector at the port, who thought that the reason behind why they left the orphanages in their own district and why they were transferred to be educated in other places was unclear.¹⁵⁵ Around the same time, in October 1896, German Embassy made another application to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the transfer of 10 orphans from Harput to the German Orphanage of Izmir.¹⁵⁶ Actually, this was a diplomatic memorandum note, since despite the previously taken permission¹⁵⁷, orphans' transportation was hindered.

New problems were encountered with each group of orphans that the missionaries tried to send. American missionaries, when asked permission to send 17 Armenian orphan boys and girls, age from 4 to 16, from Erzurum to Izmir and Bursa in October

153Malte Fuhrmann, "Cosmopolitan Imperialists and the Ottoman Port Cities: Conflicting Logics in the Urban Social Fabric", *Cahiers de la Méditerranée*, vol. 67: Du Cosmopolitisme en Méditerranée, December 2003. (<http://cdlm.revues.org/document128.html>)

154BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/21, 25/Ra/1314 (3.9.1896).

155*Ibid.*, "...bunların ol-havalide bulunan mektepleri terk ile mahall-i mezkureye sevklerindeki maksad anlaşamadığı..."

156BOA, HR. SYS., 2860/67, 23.10.1896.

157BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 658/38, 10/M/1314 (21.6.1896).

1896, they could not get any answer.¹⁵⁸ In December, they asked for the interference of the Consulate of Britain in Erzurum, who asked for permission to send more than forty orphans to above mentioned cities via port of Trabzon. The Ministry of Police thought that it would be impossible to stop them if they reach to the port and wrote to the governorship of Erzurum not to permit them to leave the province.¹⁵⁹ In similar circumstances, Mr. Cole, from Bitlis, requested travel permits for two orphan boys and 10 girls to be sent to the orphanages in Izmir and Bursa, in December 1899.¹⁶⁰ After ongoing correspondence, the request was finally rejected in March 1900, with the traditional excuse that the orphans should be sheltered and fed in their own localities.¹⁶¹

Despite all these hindrances, some orphans were actually transported to the permanent orphanages in the Western regions of the Empire, in Bursa, Izmir, and Bardezag (İzmit). For instance, when the Consul of Britain asked for permission to send 22 orphans from Urfa, 18 from Erzurum, and 5 from Bitlis, to the orphanages in Istanbul and Izmir, he was given authorization by the Sublime Porte (19.10.1896).¹⁶² Also reports of the ABCFM verify that many orphans were actually transferred. Mr. Cole, of Bitlis, wrote in December 1897 that he had sent a score of orphans to the “*more permanent orphanages at Bardezag and Smyrna*”.¹⁶³ *Bardezag Orphanage for Boys*, though opened for the orphans of the massacre in Istanbul, housed a smaller number of orphans from other villages and town – mostly in the vicinity: from Akhisar (3), Kurtbelen¹⁶⁴ (1), Kincılar¹⁶⁵ (5), Adapazarı (3), Diyarbakir (2), Nicomedia (3),

158BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/30, 9/B/1314 (14.12.1896)

159BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 640/39, 8/B/1314 (14.12.1896).

160BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/22, 1/Ş/1317 (5.12.1899).

161BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/22, 25/Za/1317 (26.3.1900).

162BOA, Y.A.HUS., 361/80, 12/Ca/1314 (19.10.1896). Interestingly when the request was made by a female missionary to send 22 orphans from Urfa to the suitable places in Constantinople and Izmir, she was rejected and directed to the Consul. BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 652/12, 27/R/1314 (5.10.1896).

163“*The Orphans of Turkey*”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, December 1897, pp. 501-3.

164Gevye.

165Gevye, Akhisar.

Ovacık (1), Eğin (2), Arslanbey (1).¹⁶⁶ West Bursa Orphanage, as well, received in January 13th 1897, 13 girls from Arabkir and Erzincan, Akhisar (9), Bayburt (2). In June 1897, others arrived from Arabkir (30), Constantinople (3), Bahçecik and Rodosto (2 each).¹⁶⁷

There was also a considerable traffic towards south, especially to Jerusalem. In May 1898, a score of children were given permission to be sent from Harput and Diyarbekir, to the orphanage of German Deaconesses in Jerusalem, after the request of the German consul of Jerusalem.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, 25 orphan boys were requested from the American orphanage in Mardin in 1897, by another Prussian orphanage at Jerusalem, under the direction of Mr. Schneller. The ABCFM missionaries, even after repetitive requests from the government, could not succeed in getting the permission for the transfer of them.¹⁶⁹ After some two and a half years of insistence, the government gave permission to the American missionaries to send 20 orphans from Mardin orphanage to Jerusalem, “but not until the direct influence of the German emperor had been made in their behalf.”¹⁷⁰

Leaving aside the transfer of orphans to the large cities of the Empire, especially in the West, but also to a certain extent in the south shore, there was a circulation going on within the eastern Anatolia itself. For instance, the American missionaries asked for permission from the Vali of Aleppo in November 6, 1896, to send 20 orphans from Maraş to Tarsus American Institute. When their request was refused, the American Legation in Istanbul had secured orders from Grand Vizier permitting them to go.¹⁷¹

166“The Bardezag Orphanage for Boys, February 12th 1897 – February 12th 1898”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 606, no. 787-8.

167“Report and the Financial Statement of the West Broussa Orphanage”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 617, no. 512-14.

168BOA, Y..MTV., 177/67, 03/M /1316 (24.5.1898).

169“Mardin Orphanage, Reports for 1897-1899”, ABC 16.5, reel 512, no. 201-30. From “ Report of Mardin Orphan Department for 1897”.

170*Ibid.* From “Report of Mardin orphanage for 1899”.

171United States Department of State, *Papers relating to the foreign relations of the United States, with the annual message of the president transmitted to Congress December 7, 1896, and the annual report of the secretary of state*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1896, p. 873.

Also, when Mrs. Lee, missionary in Maraş was opening her new orphanage, there arose a question whether certain children from the Zeytun region should be permitted to come or not. First the local authorities objected, yet, the issue was favorably decided in the end.¹⁷²

While there were orphans of massacres everywhere, and while every missionary in the eastern Anatolia could have collected a more-than-sufficient number of orphans from their own field, they were interested in getting some orphans from another places, for instance Zeytun. Why? This seems to be related to two aims. First, the Protestant missionaries always preferred separating the children from their families and relatives, since these would exert unpleasant and unchristian influences on the children when they are united during the vacations. The missionaries thought that the homes of these children were only zeroing their own Protestant influence over the children and keeping them *down*.

“However faithfully we labor for the girls in our boarding schools, there is always this drawback, that the home influence is against us and much of our work is there undone. This is not the case with the orphans [in West Broussa Orphanage for Girls]; for them *there is no vacation and there is no force drawing them down* while we are trying to lift them up.”¹⁷³

Second, the Protestant missionaries wanted to make sure that they raised orphans from all parts of the Empire so that these could have acted, in the future, as apostles for each village community. In other words, these orphans were expected to go back to their native villages and enlighten the people there as they graduated from missionary orphanages. These orphans, who would hopefully become teachers and preachers, would help the Protestant missions to have a well-trained native agency all around its field.

By 1904, for instance, Eastern Turkey mission reported that the orphans that they had educated filled up the ranks of each station. In that respect, the orphans were defined a great form of *investment* for the American missions in Turkey, since one of the biggest problems of them was to find honest Christians to employ.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 873-874.

¹⁷³Mr. Baldwin, “The Orphanages”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, March 1899, p. 111. (italics mine)

“Since the well remembered events of 1895, the [Eastern Turkey] mission has been engaged in the care and instruction of some 2550 orphans of both sexes.... On the whole each station has had its *corps of teachers and general helpers enriched from the ranks of these orphans*, and many are still in the higher schools in course of preparation for labor in these station fields on evangelistic and educational lines. The orphans have proved *a grand investment for the regular work of the mission* – one way in which the lord has made the wrath of men to praise him.”¹⁷⁴

4.4.1.2. Catholic Missionaries and the Patriarchate

Catholic missionaries used the same method of transferring some of the massacre orphans to their well-established orphanages as well, in order to take, at least, a limited hold of these Armenian orphans. As already mentioned, the missionaries had been able to open only 9 orphanages for the orphans of 1894-96 and the total number of orphans taken care of by the Catholics could not have exceeded some hundreds. Understandably, throughout the period after the massacres they were quite discontented with the success of the Protestants. The Dominican missionary of Van, Galland, wrote with protest to his superior in Paris that he did not know how to fight with an orphanage of 12 children against equivalent institutions of the Protestants, who sheltered more than 300 orphans, and who provided each year many schoolmasters to the Protestant schools of the surroundings of Van.¹⁷⁵

In total, the operations of the Catholic missionaries were not very significant also in the field of taking care orphans of massacres elsewhere. The largest project of them was the Sainte Anne orphanage of the Armenian Catholic Patriarchate in Istanbul. Although, the details of the affair is unknown to us, it is known that 62 massacre orphans were brought from various parts of the Empire to be educated in the Catholic Armenian orphanage that was opened in 1898 in the capital city.

“Let us speak now about the invaluable work that no one can neither ignore nor question the vital importance of. To collect the orphan boys and girls, who were neglected and remained without support since the terrible events of Anatolia! ... 62 poor small orphans, collected by our *massacre stricken dioceses*, are already

174“Eastern Turkey Mission Report, 1904”, ABC 16.5, reel 505, no. 222-7. (italics mine)

175« Mission Dominicaine de Mésopotamie, Kurdistan et Arménie, Rapport adressé par le R.P. Galland, supérieur de la Mission, à Mgr Charmetant, Directeur général des Oeuvres d'Orient », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 265, novembre 1904, pp. 366-75.

joined together in the orphanage and receive the maternal and devoted care of the Sisters, to whom we have entrusted the direction of this pious asylum.”¹⁷⁶

Other than that, the adoption of the Armenian orphans by the volunteering parties in France was discussed in the second half of 1896 in the bi-monthly missionary publication, *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*. At first, a letter by Dom Belloni, missionary in Jerusalem, was published, in which he was asking to receive a certain number of unfortunate Armenian children, who were orphaned by the last massacres, to his orphanage in Bethlehem. Then, the director of the orphan department, J. Joseph, suggested that he can take care of some twelve these orphans in his orphanage in Douvaine, town in Haute-Savoie region of France, and he encouraged his colleagues in France to do the same.¹⁷⁷

In fact, for the Catholic missionaries, who had much fewer numbers of orphans in their institutions, the best options for orphan boys would be sending them to France so that they are educated in a proper way. Realizing that they were unable to compete with the Protestant missionaries on the same geographical basis, the Capucin Fathers in Mezre, who had 28 boys and 18 girls in their orphanage, hoped to see some of these children educated in France so that they became teachers or preachers in the villages, where a certain Catholic population lived.

“We are content with our orphans' conduct and education. They start to speak French. We hope to send some of them to France for study. If one day they had the chance to return here as apostles, they would do good for their unhappy compatriots. The rest, we educate them so as to send them one day as catechists and schoolmasters to the villages where we have Catholics.”¹⁷⁸

In order to be able to respond to success and penetration of the Protestant

176« Patriarcat Arménien Catholique, Lettre de S. B. Mgr Azarian, patriarche des Arméniens catholiques, à M. le directeur général de l'Oeuvre d'Orient, Constantinople, le 21 juin 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 227, juillet 1898, pp. 411-22. (italics mine)

177« Adoption d'orphelins Arméniens en France », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 216, octobre 1896, pp. 449-52.

178« Lettre du R. P. Raphael, supérieur de la Mission des Capucins à Mezre (Mamouret-ul-Aziz) à M. le Directeur sur la fondation d'un orphelinat pour les enfants arméniens, Mezre, le 20 janvier 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 225, mars 1898, pp. 342-3.

missionaries, the Catholics were forced to use the same methods with them. However, as already mentioned the capability of the Catholic missionaries was much more limited, since they have fewer agents in the field of massacres. Moreover, French consular agents, as representatives of a secular state, was much less aggressive in supporting the religiously motivated aims of these missions.

4.4.1.3. Armenian Patriarchate and the Adoption Policy

In the nineteenth century, charity associations of the Armenian church exceeded the field of social charity, which traditionally included only education and health, particularly with the impulse of the American Protestant missionaries and, to a lesser extent, of the Catholics. During that period, the Armenians were concerned that the Christian message was associated with the benevolence that the missionaries distributed, to fulfill the needs of a community. It is undoubtedly after the massacres of 1894-96, which caused the decimation of the Armenian populations of the area and put them into a catastrophic socio-economic situation, that the Ottoman Armenians, inaugurated, to a certain extent, some modern forms of charity and benevolence, such as the emergence of private charity associations, fund-raising campaigns, and establishment of orphanages. Before that, the orphans were taken care in traditional forms under the roofs of churches, monasteries, and more recently in hospitals. The fifty thousand orphans of the events constituted, under these circumstances a considerable stake between various missionaries, the patriarchal officials, and the Ottoman state. Local charity organizations of the patriarchate were not sufficient to assume the responsibility of the needs of the population. Even if the Armenian community had the sufficient organizations capable of dealing with these orphans, pressing needs generated by the massacres forced them to consent to the involvement of foreign assistance.

The patriarch Mağakya Ormanian¹⁷⁹, elected right after the massacres, was under serious pressure of public opinion. After the massacres, the Armenians had difficulty in conceding to entrusting of Armenian orphans to foreign institutions. According to the perception of the time, the orphans were under threat of losing their identity with the the Protestant education they were forced to receive. Therefore, the central religious and

¹⁷⁹Maghakia Ormanian (11 February 1841 – 19 November 1918). Archbishop and Patriarch of Istanbul of the Armenian Apostolic church. After the forced resignation of Matheos III. İzmirlıan, Ormanian was selected on 6 November 1896 to the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate of Istanbul and remained in office until 10 July 1908.

national authority, the patriarchate had to create a powerful network with significant financial resources, to reorganize the administration of the orphan problem. Imposed by the circumstances, this meant the initiation of a new approach to the realm of humanitarian action, together with the inauguration of a new policy of communication, relying on the dissemination of circulars to the diocesan and parochial councils in the Empire. However, the patriarchate was only partially successful to *save* the orphans from Protestant hands.

Giving the initial priority to the orphans, the patriarchate arranged the delivery of some of these massacre orphans from eastern provinces to Istanbul and the consequent admittance of them in the Armenian Orphanage in Yedikule, next to Surp Prçiç Armenian Hospital.¹⁸⁰ There were around 100 of them in the capital city: 20 were subscribed into Kalealtı Armenian School¹⁸¹, while 80 were under the supervision of Vice-Prelate (*Reis-i Ruhâni Vekili*).¹⁸² More importantly, Ormanian launched an adoption campaign for these orphans. It is noted in the contemporary press that the Patriarch had invited financially well-off Armenian families to adopt an orphan from the community and take care of the child until the day that s/he would be able to earn his/her own living.¹⁸³

The Armenian patriarchate had also gone through many obstacles created by the local or central authorities, when it attempted to bring Armenian orphans from various provinces to the capital. In mid-1897, various requests were made for the transfer of 345 children from various provinces where the massacres took place¹⁸⁴ to Istanbul to be sheltered in the Armenian Orphanage and in the houses of charitable persons.¹⁸⁵ At first, the Ministry of Justice and Sects, with the order of Ministry of Interior, refused to

180*El Tiyempo*, Istanbul, 25 March 1897, no. 54, p. 1. I thank Julia Phillips Cohen for this reference.

181This can be Levon Vartuhian school adjacent to the city walls in Topkapı.

182BOA Y.MTV, 188/118, 22.Za.1316 (3.4.1899).

183*El Tiyempo*, Istanbul, 1 April 1897, no. 56, p. 2.

184Trabzon (20), Malatya (15), Sis (5), Bitlis (5), Diyarbakir (25), Sasun (10), Eğin (25), Aintab (5), Palu (20), Bayburd (25), Gürün (20), Van (10), Urfa (25) Mamüretülaziz (40), Sivas (20), Arabkir (35), Hısnımansur (5), Çüngüş (10), Erzincan (15), Kilis (10).

185BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/22, 1/R/1315 (29.8.1897).

give these children travel permits claiming that these children would suffer a lot in this long way and that the patriarchate should work to take care of them in their home towns.¹⁸⁶ Patriarchate replied in return that they also wished for the provisioning of the orphans in their native localities but given the emergency of the circumstances and their weaknesses in terms of budget, such an option would force them to ask for the generosity of the benevolent sultan.¹⁸⁷ Arguing that the total number that would be brought to Istanbul was quite small (345) compared to the general population of the orphans in the provinces¹⁸⁸, the patriarchate insisted for the release of permission. The final authorization was delayed until March 1900 and was given with the precondition that the orphans were brought partially in groups of five or six, which meant the transfer of orphans in 69 separate convoys.¹⁸⁹

Ormanian also managed the foundation of some dozens of orphan asylums to lodge and educate orphans by calling upon the generosity of the Armenians of Istanbul and the areas spared from violence. A special subcommittee was formed in order to execute these relief measures. They were charged with the taking inventory of the orphans, controlling the management of the establishments and distribution of the subsidies. He also compelled the large monasteries, by reference to the practice of charity within the church, to deal with the foundation of orphanages in their own premises. Based on the investigation of the Ministry of Interior, the Armenian Gregorian clerical authorities managed to open a number of orphanages in Urfa (50-60), Zeytun (6), Aintab (40), Mamuretülaziz (33), Malatya (30), Arabkir (32), Van (130),

186This is the single example that the state referred to the needs of the children. "... gönderilecek etfal ise vatanlarından ayrıldıkça bad-ı mesafe sebebiyle esna-yı râhde sefaletten düçâr olacakları gibi uzun uzun yollardan geçirilmeyib Dersaadet'e götürülmesi de cây- mülâhaza görülerek eytam-ı mahbusenin mahallerince işlerinin istihsaline çalışılmak..." BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/22, 2/R/1315 (30.8.1897).

187BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/22, 2/Ra/1315 (1.8.1897) "Ermeni eytamının mahallerince infak ve işleri hakkında cehd ve gayretlerde bulunulması Patrikhanece lazım gelenlere bildirilmiş ise de bu babda atıfet-i seniyye-yi hazret-i padişahiye dahi ihtiyac olacağı..."

188Ibid., "Patrikhanece celb edilecek eytamın mahallerince kesretine nisbeten üç yüz kırk beş nefer olarak mikdarı kalil bulunduğu..."

189BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/22, 20/Za/1317 (22.3.1900). "...etfal-i merkumenin müracaat vukuunda beşer altışar olarak müteferrik surette izamlarına ruhsat verilmesi lilayet-i lazıme yazıldığı..."

Erzurum (160), Sivas (63), Diyarbekir (520).¹⁹⁰ These calls to generosity were also heard by the Armenians of the Caucasus, Russia, and Egypt: each community took responsibility of the maintenance cost of one or more establishments.¹⁹¹

Armenian patriarchate was under the pressure of intellectuals of the community and also his larger constituency to be active in bringing relief to the massacre-stricken people of Anatolia, especially orphans, although bringing some hundreds of children was definitely a limited solution to such a big crisis.

4.4.2. Fears from and Attempts of Conversion

For the missionaries working especially in the eastern provinces of the Empire, the Armenians were those chosen people, who were regarded as the most appropriate targets of missionary activity, due to their previous record of inclination toward conversion. Yet, even among Armenians, the missionaries were coming across problems in entering into communities and in breaking the negative attitude of the local community. Crisis periods, such as epidemics, earthquakes, wars, or massacres, when the community was in utter need, were crucial moments for the missionaries, during which they turn the misery of the population into an *opportunity* to gain recognition. In the aftermath of many such events, the missionary correspondence reflects hopefulness. The Armenian massacres of 1894-96 also created an atmosphere of heightened visions for conversion. It is interesting to note that the missionaries in Bitlis were envied by others in other fields after the Sassoun massacres in 1894 (the first one). The missionary of Van, Dr. Raynolds, declared after visiting the area to coordinate the relief efforts that “a glorious field will present itself for gospel work, and I almost envy our Bitlis

190BOA Y.MTV, 188/118, 22.Za.1316 (3.4.1899).

191*Un Siècle d'Histoire de L'Union Général Arménienne de Bienfaisance, vol. I, 1906-1940*, Le Caire, Paris, New York, 2006, pp. 13-14.

Tiflis and Saint-Petersburg alone assumed the needs for several tens of orphanages, just like the Armenian colony of Egypt, very few in number, but prosperous. It is possible to speak about a movement of solidarity and generosity without precedent in the history of the Armenians.

associates the work that awaits them.”¹⁹² In some instances, the discourse becomes so joyful that it is hard to believe that they were tackling with such horrible things like death, rape, or torture. For instance, Dr. Barnum of Harput went so far as to depict/invent an orphan girl as happy that she had lost her family and friends during the massacres, since she was able to find religious salvation. wrote:

“The voices of some of the boys are often heard in prayer in the presence of large congregation. This is a *very touching sight* to us all, especially when we remember that 13 months ago not one of these boys and girls who are so much interested in spiritual things knew how to pray, or had any knowledge of Christ and his salvation. One of the little girls, in writing the other day to a man who had adopted her, said that she was *glad she lost everything, for in that day she had found Christ*, whom she could not lose.”¹⁹³

After the spread of the massacres to the entire eastern provinces, the missionaries were no longer jealous of the Bitlis field, they were all offered the same *opportunity*. Feeding the hungry, caring for the sick, sheltering the orphans and the widows, the missionaries had a much larger constituency at their disposal, not only to help but also to mold under their religious influence. The orphans were one of the most precious members of these *chosen* people. It is very interesting that the very last sentence of Clarence D. Ussher's book of 1917, *An American Physician in Turkey* underlines an opportunity for the Americans: to go and train the Armenian orphans, who hold the future in their hands.

“...the future of this blighted country must be very largely *in the hands of the Armenian children* who have survived, for as always hitherto, this Mohammedan country must owe its economic and intellectual development to the Christians. These children, *these orphans, can be trained* now for that stupendous task. *Behold America's opportunity!*”¹⁹⁴

It can be said that the interested parties of the post-massacre relief measures were not selflessly benevolent. They had political calculations and objectives. First of all, they deliberately employed a policy that was shaped around the deserving and undeserving needy, which led to the discrimination of the latter. Denying the access of

¹⁹²Dr. Raynolds, “Relief at Sassoun”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 91, October 1895, pp. 403-4.

¹⁹³“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, April 1898, p. 129.

¹⁹⁴Clarence D. Ussher, Grace H. Knapp, *An American Physician in Turkey: A Narrative of Adventures in Peace and War*, Astoria, N.Y. : J.C. & A.L. Fawcett, 1917, p. 331-2.

those to relief who needed help had a number of levels. First of all, the Protestant and Catholic missionaries selected Armenian massacre victims as their target group for *philanthropic* action, instead of many other groups who were also in need of such provisions. Second, it was found intelligent to prioritize the relief for the *orphans* of the Armenian community over other groups of adults or children, who were also starving and begging for help. The orphans supposedly had the potential to be easily converted, with the terms of Van missionary saved from the “filth and ignorance” of their society.

“[Van] While it is worth much to be able to keep the multitudes from starving, *little can be done to lift them out of their filth and ignorance. But the orphans can be put under such influences* as may change their whole destiny for time and eternity.”¹⁹⁵

As a third level, some were eliminated, even from this best constituency, Armenian orphans. The above mentioned discourse of opportunity centered around the futures of Armenian orphans still included a form of discrimination. Before the collection of the orphans into missionary institutions, missionaries applied a serious selection process, that they called “sifting”. In other words, not even all the orphans were deserving for their *philanthropy*. The missionaries were preparing planned trips to many districts, close or far away from their station, and only after careful examination, they selected only a few of these children to be accepted in their orphanages.

[Van] A certain proportion of the boys give all their time to schoolwork, with the hope that they may be fitted for teachers in their respective villages... These are *selected* from the most *promising* and advanced...¹⁹⁶

[Sivas] We selected the *cream* of them, now no longer with parents and relatives to keep them back.¹⁹⁷

[Mardin] These orphans *have been gathered from 34 places* after careful *sifting*, and that only after various trips for the purpose.¹⁹⁸

[Van] ... as we must *select a few from the many*, this was the class that presented the *strongest claim on our sympathy* both from their utter helplessness and because of the hopeful future they promise if now cared for and educated.¹⁹⁹

195“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, March 1897, p. 90.

196Dr. Raynolds, “Relief and Orphanage Work at Van”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, July 1897, pp. 277-8.

197Mr. Hubbard, “Orphanage Work at Sivas”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, January 1898, pp. 23-4.

198“Mardin Orphanage, Reports for 1897-1899”, ABC 16.5, reel 512, no. 201-30

199G. C. Raynolds, “Report of Relief and Orphanage Work at Van, July to

[Bardezag] Their places [of graduates] will be filled by *boys selected from the large company of needy ones* that have been long waiting their turn.²⁰⁰

After a two-level discrimination, of non-Armenians and of non-orphans, the missionary relief policy further discriminated against these Armenian orphans. Clearly, they did not gather any orphan and the selection was definitely not made on the basis of need or destitution. The particular details of the sifting process is unknown to us. Were they going from house to house to see the orphans, or were they asking the orphans to come and apply? What was the specificities of their “entering exam”? Were they making interviews with these children, or were they just observing them? As the above quotes underline, what actually mattered was intelligence, having no parents or relatives, and being inclined to be molded: therefore, ease of conversion. Although it is not clear how the missionaries decided on the existence or absence of some of these criteria, it can be traced that they were actually making some mistakes. Some of the orphans, who succeeded in getting into the orphanages, were later dismissed with reference to their inability to follow the discipline of the institution. Mardin missionaries, for instance, took the selection process very seriously and collected their orphans from 34 different places. Yet, they could not see that some of the village boys had an unpleasant habit of freedom.

“6 boys have left mainly because of *having used to the freedom and independence* of village life, they could not bring themselves to the *restraints of order, neatness and a regular school life.*”²⁰¹

“18 have left... unwilling to conform the restraints of neatness. Order and regular school life.”²⁰²

The whole process clearly points to the conscious efforts of the missionaries to inculcate Protestant values in undertaking the duty of “saving the orphans”. Although the benevolence and Christian humanism was involved, this was not a blind benevolence, since not everyone was entitled to it. What was behind philanthropy of the Armenian orphans was, in most of the cases, related to desires for conversion.

December, 1898”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1122.

200“Orphanage for Boys, Bardezag (Ismidt), Report of 1900”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 617, no. 487.

201“Mardin Orphanage, Reports for 1897-1899”, ABC 16.5, reel 512, no. 201-30.

202“Orphan Relief Work, Mardin, Turkey”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1127-32.

Therefore, it was feared (by all parties) that the Armenian orphans would become the targets of proselyting activities, since they were very vulnerable as they were torn apart from their families and their social environment.

4.4.2.1. Islamicization of Armenians

The role of religion in motivating the European and American public to act for the Armenian cause was indispensable. Armenians were not only Christians, they were also a part of the proselytizing efforts of the missionaries in the Empire. In other words, just as they proved their inclination to evangelical truth in the past, they were seen as promising targets for the future. Protestants turned horror stories coming from the massacre sites into traditional Christian narratives of suffering: Armenians were martyrs; Abdulhamid II was a new Diocletian. The conversions to Islam due to threat of death in the villages of Anatolia underlined the message that these Christian brethren were victims of religious persecution.²⁰³ The American missionaries criticized the desire of the Ottoman authorities to take under control and shelter as much orphans as they can. Missionaries interpret this, in a very racist tone, as the following: “They want to raise these thousands of orphans as Muslims and therefore, they aim to add intelligent minds to their degenerate race.”²⁰⁴

In the discourse of the missionaries, one common idea was the rescuing of Armenian orphan from possible conversions to Islam. Their whole depiction of the crisis and the need to intervene was imbued with the threat of Islamicization of Christian peoples. The interesting point is that even if these orphans were described as under threat of “losing their faith” in the hands of them Muslims, what they received from the Christian volunteers to save them was also another form of *loss*.

“This thought that thousands of poor children are today without father or mother and that they try to escape an inevitable death that awaits them or Islamism that watches for them, makes a very profound and painful impact, since in our orphanages in the East, there is no more place and resources to receive some more orphans.”²⁰⁵

“We understand that the situation of these unsupported orphans was

²⁰³Margaret Lavinia Anderson, “‘Down in Turkey, Far Away’: Human Rights, the Armenian Massacres, and Orientalism in Wilhelmine Germany”, *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 79, March 2007, pp. 92-93.

²⁰⁴Hans Lukas Kieser, *İskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetleri'nde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938*, trans. Atilla Dirim, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005, p. 258.

disturbing, deplorable: they ran the risk to lose their life and their faith.”²⁰⁶

The Ottoman state was also pressured on the issue, due to the demands of the Western powers, who gained the right to interfere for the Christian subjects in the Empire as a result of the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. In the end, a Government Inquiry Commission was established in order to investigate the subject of the forcible conversions to Islam in the region of Urfa, Birecik, and Adıyaman during the massacres. British Vice-consul at Urfa, Mr. Fitzmaurice, was appointed to the Commission together with two state officials. The government first claimed that these converts “had found salvation of their own free will.”²⁰⁷ Yet, in his report to the British parliament, Fitzmaurice declared that he found overwhelming evidence that in numberless cases it was made quite clear to Christians that to espouse Islam was the sole escape from instant and horrible death, although he had great difficulty in getting testimony from the people except in private. He put the number of forced converts at considerably over 6,000.²⁰⁸

Another issue that the missionaries touched upon was the adoption of orphan girls into private Muslim households. Since there were numerous miserable orphan and destitute children on the streets, it is understandable that many took refuge in the houses of strangers when such help was offered. Yet, it is important to notice this sort of help comprised other motives than purely selfless and humanitarian ones. This seemingly philanthropic action was unacceptable for the Gregorian Armenians as it was also for the missionaries, who interpreted it as a direct mechanism for conversion to Islam and sexual abuse. The opening of Girls' Orphanage of Siirt by the Catholic missionaries was explained by reference to such dangers and threats.

“It was necessary to provide for these poor little girls, whose parents had disappeared in one way or another during the massacres, and who, completely abandoned or received into Muslim houses, were in danger of losing their faith

205« Adoption d'orphelins Arméniens en France », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 216, octobre 1896, pp. 449-52.

206« Patriarcat Arménien Catholique, Lettre de S. B. Mgr Azarian, patriarche des Arméniens catholiques, à M. le directeur général de l'Oeuvre d'Orient, Constantinople, le 21 juin 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 227, juillet 1898, pp. 411-22.

207“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, August 1896, p. 308.

208BOA, Y.A.HUS., 358/2, 15/Ra/1314 (24.8.1896).

and their innocence.”²⁰⁹

When German and American Protestant orphanages were disbanded in Diyarbekir, the missionaries worked hard to make the consular officials solve the issue, since they were worried about the fact that some of these orphans were “forced to take refuge in Muslim houses, and were lost to moral and Christian influences.”²¹⁰

In the wake of the general atmosphere of massacre and insecurity that reigned in Anatolia in this period case after case of conversion was reported from the provinces, especially mass conversions. Under these circumstances both the Armenian patriarchate and the Christian missionaries were disturbed by the fact that these little children without protection were to be raised as Muslims.

4.4.2.2. “A Herd of Locusts”: Threat of Protestantism for the Sublime Porte

In his memo for the rejection of the re-opening of a German orphanage in Diyarbekir, the governor of the province described the missionaries as “... dispersed in these areas like a herd of locusts”.²¹¹ This genuine description is significant to understand the perception of the Ottoman authorities: missionaries were numerous, they were working hard, they were essentially harmful for the country, and they were invading the jurisdiction of the state. The real problem was that the missionaries were able to limit and in some cases by-pass the impact of the Ottoman rule on the local native population, thanks to their effectiveness in the major fields of education and health.

However, it is important to underline that the sensitivity of the Ottoman state was not solely a phenomenon of the Armenian orphan crisis of 1894-6. There was an uneasiness on the part of the state authorities long before the explosion of the massacres. The area of concern was always related to the education of the subjects of

²⁰⁹« Mésopotamie et Kurdistan, Rapport du R.P. Galland, supérieur de la Mission dominicaine de Mossoul, à M. le directeur de l'Oeuvre d'Orient », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 222, septembre 1897, pp. 204-217.

²¹⁰*Ibid.*

²¹¹BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 14/Ş/1317 (18.12.1899): “...cerad-ı münteşir gibi bu havaliye dağılan misyonerler...”

the Empire. The subject matter of an official proposal written in 17th May 1876 was the influence of the foreign schools on the Ottoman subjects.²¹²

“...allegedly with the purpose of serving the civilization, these missionaries, by collecting the children of the fatherland, by teaching them the books they want, by educating them as they wish, and by securing children's inclination towards them from early on, wipe out these children's love for their fatherland and make them eager to imitate foreign attitudes...”²¹³

Minister of Education, Zühdü Pasha wrote in his official communication of 1893 to the first secretary of the sultan that he collected detailed information on the Protestant schools by applying to all provinces and the Directorates of Education in each of them. The basic concern that forced him to undertake such a big project was the fact that the central state was unaware of the operations of the Protestant schools. As a result of ministry's inquiry, detailed information on the numbers of these schools, their establishment dates, their exact location, and their curricular programs had been collected. Zühdü Pasha then prepared statistical presentation of this data, and the information was re-processed as a single inventory.²¹⁴ According to these tables, there were, in total, 392 Protestant schools in the Empire and 108 of them were opened after the enthronement of the Abdülhamid II.

Zühdü Pasha argued that these Protestant schools had three different aims: the spread of Protestantism, the creation of a political opposition in the Empire, balancing the influence of France in the Ottoman Empire. Minister stressed that even if these schools seem to operate on humanitarian basis, being usually free of charge, helping even the families of the students, what they targeted was far from philanthropy. They were playing a game based on a political agenda of converting as much children (together with their parents) as possible.²¹⁵ Moreover, he criticized the fact that although

212BOA, Y.EE.KP., 1/22, 22/R /1293 (17.5.1876).

213*Ibid.* “... guya medeniyete hizmet etmek zu'muyla, vatan çocuklarını toplayıp istedikleri kitapları okudarak, beğendikleri gibi terbiye ve bunların küçükten meyillerini kendi cihetlerine celb ile, muhabbet-i vataniyelerini izale eylediklerinden, evlad-ı vatan büyüdükçe ecnebi etvarın taklide heveskar...”

214Yahya Akyüz, “Abdülhamit Devrinde Protestan Okulları ile İlgili Orijinal İki Belge”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, vol. 3, no. 1- 4, Ankara, 1970, pp. 121-28.

215BOA, Y.EE., 102/38, 19/M/1311 (1.8.1893): “... Mekatib-i mezkurenin tesis ve küşadlarında maksatlar- suret-i zahirede, alem-i medeniyete neşr ve ilan ettikleri gibi,

hundred percent of the students of these Protestant schools were the subjects of the Empire, ranging from 3 to 20 years of age, the central authority was clueless about the education they receive, about the character of their teachers, or about the vocational training they got. Furthermore, it was observed that most of the graduates, assuming that they were instructed throughout their lives with European practices and manners, although were called Ottoman subjects, were following the ideas instructed to them in these schools.²¹⁶

It seems that this was the first official attempt of the Sublime Porte to collect analytical information on the missionary activity in the Empire.²¹⁷ In that sense, it can be argued that around this time the Ottoman state started to position itself against the workings of Protestant missionaries. One solution that the minister came up with was to oppose to these institutions on the basis of legality. While 51 of these 392 schools had some form of permission, an imperial *ferman*, an order from the government, a certificate of the Ministry of Education, 341 of them were opened without any form of authorization. The minister noted in his report that there is no ancient or modern Ottoman law that gives the right to these foreign missionaries to open their schools with

mahaza envar-ı ulum ve maarifin kıta-i cesime-yi şarkiyede ve hususiyle memalik-i mahrusede neşr ve tamamıyla cemiyet-i beşeriyenin zulmet ve cehalet ve nadaniden kurtarılması fikr-i insaniyet perveranesine hiç bir vakit müstenit olmayıp belki kavaid-i siyasiye ve politikanın kısm-ı mühimmi icabınca bu misillü mekatibin pek çok fedakarlıklar ihtiyariyle tesis ve küşadı ve talebe-yi masume-yi tebaanın zihinlerini kendi mezhep ve meşreplerine imal ve tahvili ve etfalin çoğundan ücret-i tedrisiye almayıp guya hayırhahane bir cemile olmak üzere meccanen talimleri, ve hatta etfalin muhtaç-ı iane olan bazı velilerine ikramiyeler itasiyle onların fikirlerinin dahi istedikleri...”

216*Ibid.*, “... ecnebi mekatibi muallimi ve muallimelerinin memalik-i mahrusada ders verdikleri sıbyanın yüzde doksan beşi ve belki de yüzde yüzü tebaa-yı saltanat-ı seniyyeden oldukları halde, üç yaşından, efkar-ı hayriye ve şerriyeye cevlangah olan yirmi yaşına kadar bunların suret-i tahsili ve meslekleri hakkında devletin hiç vukuf ve malumatı olmayıp, mezkur muallimler ve muallimeler ne yolda sevketmişler ise bittabi oraya gitmiş olduklarından ve sinn-i tufuliyetten beri Frenklerin adet ve melufatına alıştırıldıklarından, etfal-i merkume mektepten çıktıktan sonra tebalık namına takınmakta iseler de, hakikat-ı fikirleri, menşeleri olan mektep tesiriyle meşhun gitmekte bulunmuştur.”

217A similar sort of inquiry was repeated some time later in 1903. According a report of the Council of Ministers of 18 October 1903, there were around 200 American educational institutions in the Empire. It was found out that 121 of them did not have any sort of authorization. BOA, Y.A.RES., 122/145, 26/B/1321 (18.10.1903).

complete freedom. Referring to the article 129 of the Regulation of General Education (1869), he underlined that such foreign private schools can only be established with official recognition, ideally with an imperial *ferman*. However, he added, this article was ignored and many foreign schools were opened without it. The legal flaw that he discovered was to be used later on to close the orphanages of the missionaries.²¹⁸

After the massacres, the Sublime Porte became even more concerned. With an imperial decree of 1st September 1897, the establishment of a mixed commission, made up of three Muslims, from Şeyhülislam, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Interior, two Armenians, and one Greek Orthodox members, was ordered.²¹⁹ The duty of it would be to prevent the further spreading of the spheres of influence of the foreign missions, to assure that everyone remains in their own religion, and to prevent the conversion of the Ottoman subjects to Protestantism as well as to other foreign sects.

There were serious concerns that the missionaries in the Empire would be able to create a large constituency of their own, by relying onto these Armenian orphans and that these Ottoman subjects would be completely lost to foreign causes.

“In order to use the poor, the helpless of the non-Muslim subjects by supporting and curing them and in order to steal the orphan and the destitute to Russia, to England and to France with a *vesika*, the societies, *Palestine* of Russia, *Protestants* of England, and *Jésuits* of France, are opening numerous establishments in all parts of the Ottoman Empire with so-called humanitarian causes. It is necessary to impede the harmful impacts of these establishments, since those extremely destitute and desperate orphans, who are not yet capable of understanding *the honor and essence of religion or sect*, understandably *seek refuge anywhere to feed themselves*.”²²⁰

218In all the attempts to close the orphanages, there was reference to this particular article. It is possible to find many examples throughout the chapter. However, in later periods as well, such as after the Adana massacres of 1909, the article was used to close certain American or German orphanages. For example, the German orphanage of Malatya was attempted to be shut down on this basis. BOA, İ.MF, 17/1328-Za-2, 28/Za/1328 (1.12.1910).

219BOA, İ. HUS. 123, 3/R/1315 (1.9.1897), in Selim Deringil, *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji: II. Abdülhamid Dönemi (1876-1909)*, İstanbul: YKY, 2002, p. 99.

220BOA, Y.PRK.UM., 46/63, 28/M/1317 (8.6.1899): “... son derecede bikes ve biçare kalmış ve din ve mezhebin şeref ve mahiyetini henüz idraktan kasır olması hasebiyle iâşe için her yere ilticaya mecburiyeti müsellim bulunmuş olan etfal-i yetimeyi müslimenin hıfz-ı diyanet ve temin-i maişetleriyle beraber emr-i talim ve terbiyeleri ...”

Orphanages were seen as very suitable milieus for the spreading of the harmful effects of the missionaries. The Martial Commandant of Adana and Aleppo, Ali Muhsin, was very much disturbed by the fact that the American orphanage in Haçin was increasing its constituency each day. Currently, there were 250 girls and 80 boys in the institution. There was another orphanage of the ABCFM in Kozan with 25 boys and 65 girls. He argued that these missionaries were coercing the Armenian orphans to get into their orphanage and to the new industrial branch that they had opened and they were working physically and spiritually so as to spread the Protestant faith.²²¹

In April 1899, it was ordered by the sultan that Council of Ministers discuss the measures to be taken against the activities of the Protestants in the realm of orphan relief.²²² It is decided to stop the “evil doings” of the missionaries, since if the initiatives, inculcation, education, and instruction of these missionaries continue in the orphanages that they established and in other such foreign institutions, the morality and thinking of the local population will be corrupted such that in the end, as a natural outcome, they will lose their nationality.²²³

The Sublime Porte was more or less certain that the main target of the conversion attempts were the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, particularly the Armenians. This was a problem in itself, since the conversion of so many number of people to Protestantism would strengthen the power of the United States in the Empire as one of the Great Powers. Moreover, the Ottoman official feared, getting into so much contact with foreigners might lead to the increase of the revolutionary sentiments among

221BOA, Y.PRK.UM., 51/38, 11/R/1318 (7.8.1900). “Haçin kasabasında Amerika misyonerleri tarafından mukaddema küşad olunmuş idüğü evvelce arz olunan eytamhane gittikçe kesb-i tevsî eylemekte ve Ermeni çocuklarını cebren denilebilecek kadar eytamhaneye ve bu kere müceddeden küşad eyledikleri sanayi mektebe aldirmakta ve ol-havalesinde Protestan mezhebinin tevsine malen ve bedenen çalışmakta olduğı...”

222BOA, İ.HUS., 74/1316-Z/59, 19/Z/1316 (30.4.1899). The issue was actually discussed in June, since it appears also among the documents of Council of Ministers: BOA. MV, 97/73, 9.S.1317 (19.6.1899).

223BOA, İ.HUS., 74/1316-Z/59, 19/Z/1316 (30.4.1899): “...Anadolu'da misyonerler canibinde icra olunagelen teşebbüsât ve telkinat ve bunların tesis ettikleri eytamhanelerle sair o gibi müessesat-ı ecnebiyyece vukubulan tedrisat ve talimat devam eylediğı takdirde ahali-yi mahalliyenin ahlak ve efkarı feshat-pezir olunarak bilhare milliyetlerini dahi gaib edecekleri tabi olmasına nazaran ... misyonerlerin devam-ı ifsadatına meydan verilmemesi.....”

the Armenians. Though minor in volume and significance, there was also concern for the conversion of the Muslim subjects as well.

In mid-1900, the governorships of Adana, Aleppo, and Diyarbekir were asked whether there was a problem of apostasy of the Muslims in their provinces and whether the Muslims were sent to missionary schools or orphanages.²²⁴ All the responses received were to relieve the Sublime Porte: there were no cases of conversion and only a few children were registered to the American or Latin schools. The parents of these children were warned later on with a notification describing the necessities of Islam.

Apparently the threat of evangelizing seemed much larger to the Ottoman authorities than the missionaries perceived the conversions to Islam. This is because the activities of the Protestants were based on nothing but proselytizing and they were operating aggressively in the field, especially after the massacres, whereas conversions to Islam came directly through fear of life. Moreover, the missionaries were undermining and/or surpassing the state jurisdiction as part of their routine work. In that respect, the government seemed to be on the defensive facing offensive movements of the Protestant missionaries.

4.4.2.3. Evangelization - Catholicization: Concerns of the Gregorian Armenians

The orphan relief brought about new dimensions to the relations of the missionaries with the native Gregorian Armenians. In some instances, the missionaries argued that relief work created brotherly relations between religious communities – Gregorian or Catholic and Protestant – since they were joining together in their gratitude toward and sympathy with the missionaries. In fact, they were seeing this as an opportunity to break the prejudices of the communities and to gain legitimacy. As underlined, the disasters were frequently taken to be good opportunities to acquire spheres of influence, under the banner of philanthropy.

“From nearly every station word comes of the breaking down of opposition on the part of Gregorian Armenians and of great cordiality toward evangelical Christians. The old churches are being opened to Protestants, and the message of gospel is welcomed.”²²⁵

224BOA, Y.PRK.UM., 51/38, 11/R/1318 (7.8.1900).

225“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, July 1896, p. 265.

[Harput] “The orphanage work gives us great encouragement. ... this work and its high standard secures the approval of Gregorians and Protestants.”²²⁶

“During and shortly after the massacres in Turkey, there was reported a decided breaking down of the barriers existing between Protestants and Gregorian Armenians, and a recognition, in some good degree, of the fact that the missionaries were seeking, not the destruction but the reformation of the old church.”²²⁷

The same hope existed also among the Catholic missionaries. They believed that their involvement in the care of the orphans would increase greatly the sympathies of the local population and will serve as a mechanism to break the long lived prejudices against the missionary efforts.

“This work [opening orphanages], far from causing any national jealousy, will notably increase the sympathies of the Armenian population in our regard. It will also enable us to fight advantageously against American Protestantism.”²²⁸

They were regarding their involvement in relief work in general, but also in orphan relief in particular, as an opportunity for furthering their operations in conversion. Since, religious education had always been an integral part of the educational missions of the ABCFM including the orphan homes, raising these children in the true Protestant way was an understandable goal on their part. The reference to evangelization and conversion as an end of the orphanage work was generally put forward in an open and direct form.

“In fact, these children are to find in the orphanage, together with the ordinary care of the body and the heart, the essential kindness and the *grace of the faith*. It is with this thought that we adopted a Gregorian Armenian girl as our first orphan.”²²⁹

“It seems to us that at present the best from of extending relief in Turkey is to provide orphanages. ... *these rescued children will form in the coming years a most hopeful class* from which Christian agents can be secured. Many of the best evangelical native helpers of our India missions are orphans who were saved

226“A Mission Station in Turkey”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 97, August 1901, pp. 325-7.

227“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 96, April 1900, p. 138.

228« Mésopotamie et Kurdistan, Rapport du R.P. Galland, supérieur de la Mission dominicaine de Mossoul, à M. le directeur de l'Oeuvre d'Orient », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 222, septembre 1897, pp. 204-217.

229« L'Orphelinat de Seert (Kurdistan), le 4 août 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 228, septembre 1898, pp. 435-41.

during the great famine of 1877-8.”²³⁰

Missionaries assumed that it was possible to mold the characters of these children and make a decided mark on their future lives such that children who were educated in these orphanages would give “a higher and nobler life to the Armenian people” in the future.²³¹

“This work of caring for orphans is one that with God’s blessing, may in a few years *make that land as the garden of Lord.*”²³²

“[Bursa] God’s providence has placed the choicest of the youth of the land of both sexes in our hands, and the work of *molding their characters* is, so to speak, entirely committed to us, and the prospect is ... to *make a decided mark* on their future lives and characters.”²³³

“[Merzifon] The orphanage work has furnished an unusual opportunity for impressing truths upon the men and women of the next generation in Turkey.”²³⁴

It seems that the missionaries were right to be hopeful about evangelizing these orphans. A few years after they were gathered into asylums, the news started to come of “true Christians” among them, which in itself is a sign that this was the essential aim of the work undertaken.

“All the letters coming from Turkey speak of the great hopefulness of the work among the orphans. Dr. Barnum of Harput writes of the religious interest in the orphanages of that city. 39 boys have manifested their lives such a great change that it is believed that they have become true Christians.”²³⁵

The attempt was not particular to the Americans. The Catholic missionaries of the eastern *vilayets* were also amazed by their chances of converting the orphans of massacres, since their lives were literally left in their hands. In some reports of the Catholic missions, the missionary work in the orphan field was defined as a new phase,

230“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, December 1896, pp. 519.

231“The Bardezag Orphanage”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, November 1899, pp. 482-3.

232Rev. W. A. Farnsworth, “The Armenians”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, February 1897, pp. 55-9.

233Mr. Baldwin, “The Orphanages”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, March 1899, p. 111.

234Florence A. Fensham, Mary I. Lyman, H.B. Humphrey, *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire*, Chicago: Women's Board of Missions of the Interior, 1908, p. 48.

235“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, April 1898, p. 129.

a higher stage of the general missionary establishment, since they were, for the first time in their institutional history in the Ottoman Empire, were sensing a different kind of hope about their chances of conversion.

“... the invaluable work ... of collecting orphan boys and girls ... of the terrible events of Anatolia! This beautiful work, which was initiated after these events, characterizes, so to speak, the *last period of our relief work*, thanks to the generous aids of our brothers in the West.”²³⁶

Moreover, their graduates were to act as guarantors for the sustainment of their operations in the regions, since these orphans, educated properly and being converted to Catholicism, were prospective helpers of the missionaries to proselyte the society on a more general basis.

“Van Orphanage Project (...) free boarding school for poor children, who were never so easily collected than today after the massacres. Wouldn't these children become one day our best auxiliaries within the Armenian society, for the conversion of their compatriots? Indeed, a movement of conversion or rather *rapprochement* towards Catholicism takes place in Van since the events of June of last year. (...) There is not a more effective means than the complete Catholic education of Armenian youth, who were raised by us from early on, cleared away from prejudices of the milieu, will remain firmly attached to us without being prone to the concerns of the politics nor to the fluctuations of opinion.”²³⁷

Understandably, the missionaries were faced with criticisms and complaints of the Armenian patriarchate. Gregorian ecclesiastics felt that the gathering of thousands of orphan children into institutions cared for and under the control of the missionaries and their helpers would give to Protestants and Catholics a power, and may result in the withdrawal of great numbers of children from the national church. The feeling of annoyance was quite wide spread among the Armenian community since although the Armenian Patriarchate was the official protector of the orphans, it did not have the resources to run the orphanages. Therefore, one significant problem after the Armenian massacres of 1894-96 was about the means. The foreign missionaries had the necessary financial means, human resources and the support of their governments. Thus, they

236« Patriarcat Arménien Catholique, Lettre de S. B. Mgr Azarian, patriarche des Arméniens catholiques, à M. le directeur général de l'Oeuvre d'Orient, Constantinople, le 21 juin 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 227, juillet 1898, pp. 411-22.

237« Mésopotamie et Kurdistan, Rapport du R.P. Galland, supérieur de la Mission dominicaine de Mossoul, à M. le directeur de l'Oeuvre d'Orient », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 222, septembre 1897, pp. 204-217.

were in a better position to take care of the Armenian orphans, even more so than the Armenian Gregorian Patriarchate. Yet, another equally significant factor was the quality of circumstances and education in these American orphanages. The relatives, or widowed mothers, seeing the health and content of their children in the missionary establishment were sometimes reluctant to register them into patriarchal orphanages (or to send them to Istanbul) even if such relief was offered.

“The undeniable superiority of American establishments, in terms of both comfort and education, made the orphans to flood in there, which has led the Gregorians into great discouragement, since they were unable to give these children an education competing with the one they received over there, even if they had possessed the average materials that are available to Protestant establishments.”²³⁸

The Armenian ecclesiastical authorities were quite critical of the conduct of the missionaries. They were worried that the Americans were trying to evangelize the children, and did not allow Apostolic priests in the institution. In the end, the Patriarch filed a complaint to the British embassy in 1897.

“Mr. Chambers [Erzurum missionary] allows the orphans to go to the Armenian church, but will *not permit a priest* to be received in the establishment in order to teach the Armenian children the belief and ceremonies of their church. He says that he already teaches the Bible in the institution, and that the priest may visit the institution, but without being charged with the religious and moral instruction of the children.

The committee [of Gürün] in charge of the orphanage raises many difficulties about the attendance of the orphans at the Armenian church, and this notwithstanding the promises made when the orphanage was opened. At Easter they sent only the smaller children and that on the second day of the Easter, declaring that the larger boys were free to go or not. As to the orphan girls, the committee insists that they must receive the communion at the holy altar of the Protestant church, which the girls refuse to do. The professors and servants in the orphanage sneer at the children for praying, kneeling, and for making the sign of cross, and require them to pray with the eyes shut. They do these thing in order to bring up the children as Protestants.

[Maraş] The missionaries have commenced not to send the orphans to the Armenian church and deprive them of the privilege of attending church and of communing. They sneer at the manner in which the children pray and forbid them to make the sign of cross or to kneel at prayer.”²³⁹

238« Patriarcat Arménien Catholique, Lettre de S. B. Mgr Azarian, patriarche des Arméniens catholiques, au R. P. Charmetant, Constantinople, le 4 février 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 226, mai 1898, pp. 369-79.

239“The Summary of Armenian Patriarch's Complaint to the British Embassy, 1897”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 706-9.

In the writings of the Americans, such as in the articles in the *Missionary Herald*, it is said that the policy toward the Gregorian orphans was such that permission was given to those who wish to attend service at the Armenian Church. The emphasis was supposedly on the freedom of belief and on not alienating the children from their own society, since the missionaries were cautious not to render their orphans away from the lives of their communities.

“...no effort is made to alienate them from their national church, and *freedom of conscience* in such matters as keeping fasts is allowed, while their attendance at their own church keeps them *familiar* with its services.”²⁴⁰

“As the children are all Armenians, and as it has been no part of our plan to *denationalize* them, we have given them, from the first, teachers of their own nationality. These have all been graduates of our mission High schools.”²⁴¹

Apart from this seemingly respectful attitude, the orphans were compelled to attend Sabbath and midweek services in the Protestant chapel, and Bible instruction was a part of regular curriculum in the school, as previously discussed in the section on religious instruction. Faced with criticisms, the missionaries argued that they were desirous of pursuing a conciliatory policy with the Gregorian ecclesiastics.²⁴² Although they did not consent to the omission of Biblical instruction from daily curriculum of the orphanages, the missionaries declared that they recognized the right of the mother church to continue her ecclesiastical care of the Gregorian orphans.²⁴³

“Although no demands upon us by the Armenian patriarchate have yet been formulated – at least none have been presented – yet we know that it is strongly desired that Gregorian Armenian orphans be kept to their connection with the national church. And we recognize the reasonableness of this desire to provide against any influences of the nature of proselyting efforts, under cover of charitable care for the helpless. Yet on our part, and on the part of all supporters of this work, it will be regarded as a “sin qua non” that the *whole care of the mental, moral and religious training of these children be in the hands of the superintendents of the orphanages*, left quite untrammelled of course, Armenian

240Dr. Raynolds, “Relief and Orphanage Work at Van”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, July 1897, pp. 277-8.

241“Report of West Broussa Orphanage”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 617, no. 512-4.

242Dr. Chambers, “The Annual Meeting”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, October 1897, pp. 396-7.

243Edwin W. Martin, *Hubbards of Sivas. A Chronicle of Love and Faith*, Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1991, p. 280.

visitors, clergy or lay, will always find a welcome at the orphanages. And it is believed that we may concede this frankly and everywhere that *we do not aim to make Protestants of them*, that considering *their condition as minors*, most of them very young, we will not recommend their becoming Protestants while in the orphanages, and that we will give the children facilities for attending their church on Sunday morning and on special occasions during the week.”²⁴⁴

“... much talk has been made by the Gregorians as to these children becoming Protestants if left entirely under our charge. This will not be our effort in any respect, but it is simply *impossible not to surround them by an atmosphere redolent of the Bible, prayer and Christian principles*, while they attend our school. We cannot but hope that many of these children will come out of the orphanages *consecrated, educated Christians* to bless this land.”²⁴⁵

All these declarations are in fact ambivalent. On the one hand the missionaries were making open declarations against proselytizing or denationalizing, on the other, their education was solely based on evangelical truths and they were aiming to train these orphans as the bearers of the Protestant faith. Dr. Raynolds even spoke of a form of hidden conversion, not in name, but in essence – so strong that the graduates of the orphanages were expected to bring light to their former communities and start another wave of evangelization.

“Certainly no effort is made to estrange the children from the mother church, but very *constant effort is made to establish them in true Christianity*, and it seems to me that the effort is quite as successful as could be expected. Several of the boys are now about ready to go forth as graduates of the school and teachers of their people and *if they can go as members of the mother church and find entrance to the hearts of the people whom they go*, and be freed from restrictions on their consciences, and all this *without having the handicap of Protestant name*, we might hope far greater results in the way of really extending the master’s kingdom than could come for sending preachers and teachers as Protestants.”²⁴⁶

This was understandable since direct conversion proved always difficult for the missionaries and they increasingly turned to strategies of “indirect conversion” through schooling. From the very start, they had stressed the need for general education to accompany their proselytizing efforts.²⁴⁷

244“Concerning Work for Orphans, June 10 1897”, ABC 16.9.3, reel 607, no. 610.

245“Work for Orphans in the Harput field, July 28, 1897” ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1093-4.

246Dr. Raynolds, “Relations with the Gregorian Church”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, October 1899, pp. 418-9.

The extent of the massacres and the greatness of the population affected from the events decreased the capability of the Armenian ecclesiastic authorities to act in an effective way. Already strong networks of missionaries were much more successful in sheltering and feeding the Armenian orphans. The authorities could not dare to reclaim the Armenian orphans in missionary orphanages, since the community's future generation was at stake. This was a real matter of life and death. Yet, they were forced to follow closely what form of instruction these children received, so as to prevent their alienation from their own community.

4.4.2.4. Rivalry Between Protestants and Catholics

Protestants and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire had tense relations. As two different groups competing with each other based on their serious conversion activities, they saw the other with almost contempt and hate. Protestants argued that the Catholics were incorrigible sinners, corrupting the people around them. They were “'The Beast', 'the Man of Sin', 'the mystery of iniquity', 'that Wicked', 'whose coming is after the working of Satan'”.²⁴⁸ With a tone of hate and contempt, their educational establishments were called “diabolical schools of celibacy”.²⁴⁹ For the Catholics, on the other hand, Protestants were ever-promising liars, deceiving the people (sollicités par les promesses menteuse du protestantisme).²⁵⁰

The Americans, when they first developed their missions in the interior of the Empire, were in a much weaker position compared to the Catholics, who had a presence in those lands for around two hundred years. The most important advantage possessed by a Roman Catholic schools was that they taught French, the official language of the Turkish Foreign Office. In that respect, they were able to draw more children to their schools and orphanages.²⁵¹ In 1894, in Mardin, the American missionary was forced to

247Elshakry, 182.

248Mr. Richardson, “Broosa: Letter from Mr. Richardson, May 6, 1867”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 63, August 1867, pp. 239-242.

249“Miscellany: Romanism in Syria”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 69, January 1873, pp. 35.

250« École Industrielle de nos jeunes orphelins à Beyrouth », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 193, Novembre 1892, pp. 361-8.

251Mr. Dwight, “Opposition from Romanism and Moslems”, *Missionary Herald*,

hire a priest of the papal Chaldean community to teach French in the Protestant school. Soon after, patriarch, the bishops, priests, all Catholic missionaries united in urging the priest to quit teaching for the Protestants.²⁵²

Moreover, the rights of consular representation and political intervention in the matters of protection of the Christians, given to the European governments after the Congress of Berlin, were important matters that the Americans envied the Catholics for. They even thought that the influence that they gained in the regions about Mardin, Siirt, and Diyarbekir were mainly through these privileges.

“The influence that has been gained by them in the regions about Mardin, Siirt, and Cizre, mainly through proffers of protection from civil oppression, is really very great, and I very much fear that the whole Syrian and Nestorian churches will be absorbed by them.”²⁵³

Protestants claimed that many native peoples were converted to Catholicism by “promises of temporal advantage”. Many were converted with the promise of the French consuls that they would benefit from the rights and privileges of French or Italian citizenship. The wealthy men were eager to possess under French protection, to be freed from taxation and from liability to imprisonment. Moreover, the missionaries were able to grant protégé status to certain people, especially their helpers and workers.

“The Catholics here are more numerous than the Protestants. They have been made Catholics by promises of temporal advantage, as the French have a consul here; and he – anything but a good man – makes them fair promises, and had taken some ten or twelve of the most wealthy men under French protection, thus freeing them from taxation and from liability to imprisonment.”²⁵⁴

As already mentioned, in the later periods starting from the 1880s, the weak side was usually the Catholics, who continuously complained that their influence was much less than the Protestants. In *Les Missions Catholiques*, the organ of the Society for the Propagation of Faith, the discourse of rivalry was used to collect funds: “If our

vol. 78, July 1882, p. 266.

252Mr. Gates, “The Papists at Mardin”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 90, October 1894, pp. 427-8.

253Mr. Walker, “Diarbekir: Letter from Mr. Walker, April 2, 1857”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 53, August 1857, pp. 271-274.

254Dr. Goodale, “Marash: Letter from Dr. Goodale, September 18 1860”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 57, January 1861, pp. 17-8.

contributions increase we shall be able to open a Catholic school at the side of each Protestant school. This must be our policy in every Christian settlement.”²⁵⁵

Especially after the 1894-96 Armenian massacres, the strength the Protestants gained through their orphanages grew a lot and the Catholic missionaries were very much disturbed by this. They realized that if they do not prepare themselves to “fight back”, the success that the Protestants would achieve from the *opportunity* would be immense.

“The Protestant missions, which are equipped with incomparably higher resources than ours, continue the same task [the rescue of the orphans] on a great scale and with remarkable activity. They have already set up vast orphanages on various points of Anatolia, and even in the suburbs of the capital [Bardezag], and thousands of Gregorian Armenian orphans are compelled to receive a fundamentally Protestant education in these asylums.”²⁵⁶

“There are prosperous [Protestant] orphanages in Constantinople, Smyrna, Bursa, Merzifon, Sivas, Gürün, Malatya, Harput, Anteb, Maraş, etc. It is enough to have lost one parent to be admitted there. You can guess what an influence that would accrue to Protestantism.”²⁵⁷

“We are here face to face with Protestant Americans and Germans, who have many flourishing orphanages in Mezre and Harput.”²⁵⁸

The missionary in Malatya, witnessing the opening of two large orphanages for boys and girls attempted to awaken the sympathies of the headquarters in France by arguing that these children would be lost to Catholicism and French influences, if he failed to open a orphanage.

« Sur les instances de l'ambassadeur d'Allemagne près la Sublime Porte, la Société protestante allemande vient d'obtenir l'autorisation d'ouvrir à Malatya un grand orphelinat pour les garçons et les filles. ... Il y a seulement cinq jours que cette oeuvre est commencée et déjà nos écoles se vident, nos orphelins et orphelines se réfugient chez les protestants. ... Vous le savez, une fois les

255« Bulgarie et Arménie », *Les Missions catholiques: bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi*, t. 13, 1881, pp. 509.

256« Patriarcat Arménien Catholique, Lettre de S. B. Mgr Azarian, patriarche des Arméniens catholiques, à M. le directeur général de l'Oeuvre d'Orient, Constantinople, le 21 juin 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 227, juillet 1898, pp. 411-22.

257« La Situation en Asie Mineure », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 222, septembre 1897, pp. 182-7.

258« Lettre du R. P. Raphael, supérieur de la Mission des Capucins à Mezre (Mamouret-ul-Aziz) à M. le Directeur sur la fondation d'un orphelinat pour les enfants arméniens, Mezre, le 20 janvier 1898 », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 225, mars 1898, pp. 342-3.

orphelins et orphelines sont réfugiés chez les protestants, au lieu d'apprendre le français, ils étudient l'anglais et l'allemand, et par ce moyen ces nations leur deviennent sympathiques au détriment et l'influence française; et leur conversion au protestantisme est ainsi préparée.

Pour deux raisons, d'abord au point de vue catholique dont je suis le représentant, et ensuite au point de vue français dont je suis le missionnaire, la mission étant française, je tiens à vous informer immédiatement de ce qui se passe et des moyens que je voudrais opposer au danger.

Le seul moyen de faire contre-poids serait de faire ce qu'ils font, c'est-à-dire d'ouvrir immédiatement un orphelinat. »²⁵⁹

When the mission head R.P. Célestin managed to open two orphanages in Malatya, finally in 1902, he was happy to regain his constituency, who previously abandoned him. Yet, these were much smaller orphanages, with less than 25 children in each.

« ...deux orphelinats où j'installais mes orphelins et orphelines; et c'est ainsi que ceux qui m'avaient quitté, pour aller chez les protestants, s'empressèrent de rentrer au bercail avec grande joie et à ma grande consolation. »²⁶⁰

The same rivalry took place in Van as well. The American missionaries there had numerous orphanages, where they had 250 orphans in 1897 and 500 in 1900 (Table 4.4.). The Catholics were eager to stop their influences, yet they were aware that their strength was far behind that of the Protestants. They opened two orphanages for boys and girls in 1898 and had less than 25 children in each. The head of the Dominican mission, R.P. Galland, admitted that it was ridiculous for them to fight.

« Mais comment lutter avec un orphelinat de 12 enfants contre les oeuvres similaires des protestants qui comptent plus de 300 élèves orphelins, et qui fournissent chaque année de nombreux maîtres aux écoles arméno-protestantes des environs de Van? »²⁶¹

With the same token, the Armenian Catholic bishop of Adana, Paul Terzian,

259« Informations Diverses: Arménie », *Les Missions catholiques: bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi*, t. 30, 1898, pp. 544.

260« Arménie, Lettre du R.P. Célestin, capucin, supérieur de la mission de Malatia (ancienne Mélytène), à Mgr Charmetant, Directeur général de l'oeuvre d'Orient, sur la situation des orphelins de Malatia », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 242, janvier 1901, pp. 401-3.

261« Mission Dominicaine de Mésopotamie, Kurdistan et Arménie, Rapport adressé par le R.P. Galland, supérieur de la Mission, à Mgr Charmetant, Directeur général des Oeuvres d'Orient », *Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*, no. 265, novembre 1904, pp. 366-75.

argued in 1898 that he had to open more schools and mission stations so as to compete with the influence of the Protestants.

« Je dois multiplier les écoles et les missions, afin que protéger mes fidèles contre l'influence du protestantisme, qui fait de grands ravages dans la Cilicie et ne peut que rendre les Arméniens plus malheureux encore au point de vue religieux et politique. »²⁶²

The relationships between the Protestants and the Catholics had always been uneasy, since they were looking at each other as rivals targeting the same groups as their constituencies. Yet, the Armenian orphan crises that occurred after 1896 sharpened the relations, as both missionary groups assumed that orphans were unbelievably easy preys for their causes.

4.4.2.5. Rivalry Within Protestantism: Germans vs. Americans

The relation of the ABCFM, the host missionary force in the Ottoman Empire started as a very friendly one with their younger but richer brother, the German missionaries. In the beginning, the Germans were only providing funds and the Americans were taking care of the operations. Some time after the massacres, W.W. Peet business agent of the Board for “Asiatic Turkey missions”, visited Germany in 1896, arousing many Christian people to assist in providing supplies for orphans. “Friends in Germany” provided to open orphanages in the interior and to supported the missions which would engage in some industry with tools and supplies.²⁶³

However, after a while the missionary corps of Germany grew to a significant extent and they started to stand up on their own, without really relying on to their experienced American counterparts. This was also the moment where some controversies between two groups were experienced. Even if both groups were Protestants and were in some form of accord in terms of religious doctrine, the Germans did not find it enough to remain as silent partners of this agreement and the ABCFM missionaries could not accept the fact that German missions were getting more prosperous each day, even with the capability of overarching their own influence. Their

²⁶²« Progrès des missions catholiques de la Cilicie », *Les Missions catholiques: bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi*, t. 30, 1898, pp. 265-6.

²⁶³“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, December 1896, pp. 519.

relationship turned into a rivalry, though a minor one, especially in the city of Van.

First minor suspicion rose when some orphanages were closed in Diyarbekir, Palu, and Çüngüş. The Americans thought that “the Germans had been imprudent in some way and that one of theirs was closed for that reason”, which led to the subsequent attack on the American ones.²⁶⁴ Yet, the larger crisis was experienced in Van.

In 1900, there were around 500 orphans in Van, sheltered in rented houses of the ABCFM, under the care of American missionaries, Dr. and Mrs. Raynolds. The orphans were not only cared for physically, but also taught and used as free labor in part as to pay their own expenses. There were numerous workshops and half day was given to trades and other necessary tasks. All the clothes used for the mission premises were woven by the children in the looms; the skins of the oxen and the sheep were cured, and boys made them up into shoes of three grades. Carpentering and blacksmithing were also done. Furthermore, all the food needed was prepared on the place, thus training up another corps as bakers and cooks.²⁶⁵ In other words, these orphans were not only a target for evangelization, but a necessary and inevitable workforce for the Americans.

Since the burden of the orphanage was enforcing the missionaries to ask for some aid, first Miss Virginia Wilson was sent by 'Friends of Armenia' of London. When she left in 1901, the German relief committee, which had assumed the financial support of most of the orphans, sent out Herr Roessler, a Swiss gentleman. He was later succeeded by Pauline Patrunky. While, the German committee steadily increased the number of orphans it supported, Pastor Lohmann, Secretary of Deutsches Hilfsbund (The German Aid Society for the Orient), negotiated the transfer of the orphanage work to the care of Germans.

“The agreement was that the children should be sent to the American schools and that for the sake of the mission polity and to *avoid rivalry and unchristian competition* in the Lord's work, the Germans should not undertake independent educational or evangelistic work in our mission district. ... when their orphans were educated we were to employ them, if suitable, as teachers and evangelists.”²⁶⁶

264“Women's Armenian Relief Fund: Extracts from Dr. Raynolds' Letters (March-April 1899)”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1162-3.

265Clarence D. Ussher, Grace H. Knapp, *An American Physician in Turkey: a Narrative of Adventures in Peace and War*, Astoria, N.Y. : J.C. & A.L. Fawcett, 1917, p. 74.

266*Ibid.*, p. 75.

During the first years the Germans gave all their attention to physical care of the orphans. Soon, however, they felt the need of broadening their work and started schools, first in the orphanage, and then in the villages. Then, they began to draw away teachers from American schools by offering higher salaries. When they were reminded of their previous contract, they frankly confessed that the agreement was no longer working to their advantage. After this moment, the relationship between these two groups of Protestant missionaries at Van became quite cold. The Americans kept the orphans under their supervision and remained, in a courteous way, reluctant to offer the Germans any help. In 1907, when the German missionaries failed to open their brand new orphanages, five of them, in Van, the report of the American missionary, Dr. Raynolds, sounded almost cheerful. Moreover, he refused “interference with the management” of the boys' orphanage, the only one successfully opened in 1906, which “repeatedly occasioned much of perplexity and anxiety to those in charge of the orphanage, making the year for them perhaps the hardest in the history of institution.”²⁶⁷ Their cooperation was so over that in 1908 they put into effect the “consummation of a plan made some time since for separating the German and American orphanages.”²⁶⁸

The objective of saving and educating Armenian orphans so that they are converted into Protestant faith, first, brought different Protestant groups together as partners. Yet, later the same goal created rivalry and serious tension between them, when the latecomer started to see the stakes involved in the issue. The competition between the missionaries of the same religious direction can be regarded as an important indicator of the fact that even if pure religious formations, which suggest the existence selfless motivations, had definite interests in their involvement.

²⁶⁷“Report of the American Orphanage in Van, for the year 1907”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 704, no. 117-8.

²⁶⁸“Report of the American orphanage at Van, for the year of 1907-8”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 704, no. 143-4.

4.5. The Sublime Porte and the Orphans

The huge numbers of orphans of the 1894-96 Armenian massacres was one of the biggest worries of the Sublime Porte. There was a rival ahead of the Ottoman state, successfully using the modern methods in the areas of relief, education and health. Moreover, the main activities and influence of this adversary were concentrated in the distant provinces of the Empire, which were not under complete control of the state. Therefore, the influential penetration of the foreign missionaries in the care of the Armenian orphans of the massacres forced the Ottoman state to take part in the issue with a number of strategies in time.

4.5.1. Denial of the Need for Orphanages

In the first place, the Sublime Porte denied that there was any work needed to be done in the provinces, arguing that the accounts of massacres and suffering were either exaggerated or false. In their repetitious rejections of the demands of missionaries to open orphanages, the officials claimed that there were no killings in the places and therefore no poverty, no hunger, no misery, and no orphans. For example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Ministry of Interior in December 1897 that although there was never a massacre in Haçin and although, therefore, there were no orphans in the area, the American missionaries were making seditious publications on the issue and was deluding the European and American public.²⁶⁹ However, there were around 400 unsheltered orphans in Haçin, together with 150 others in two orphanages of the ABCFM.²⁷⁰ Later, the Germans started to take care of 100 more orphans.²⁷¹

269BOA, HR. SYS., 2792/69, 21.12.1897: “Haçin'de hiçbir olayın meydana gelmediği, dolayısıyla ebeveynini iğtişaşa kaybeden yetim bulunmadığı halde, Amerika ve Avrupa kamuoyunu iğfal amacıyla kasıtlı, hilâf-ı hakikat yayınlar yapıldığı...”

270Mrs. Coffing, “Haçin Orphanages – The Work of Native Teachers”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, January 1898, p. 25.

271“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, June 1899, p. 221: “Pastor Lohmann, of the Frankfurt Armenian Relief Committee ... agrees to support 100 orphans at Haçin.”

The same attitude of denial was repeated by the governor of Diyarbekir in December 1899, when Dr. Lepsius applied to re-open the German orphanages previously shut down, the governor wrote to the Grand Vizier with the utmost contempt of the missionaries.

“... while there are no hungry orphans in need of foreign subsidy, the missionaries who were dispersed in these areas like a herd of locusts try to open orphanages as if there were many Armenian orphans in the streets allegedly as a result of turmoils, that the imperial government could not come to rescue them, and that they were the so-called succors for the Armenians...”²⁷²

The denial of the massacres themselves was rare and a relatively short-lived policy. Although the Ottoman authorities refrained from using the word massacre (*katl*), they usually acknowledged that some events (*olaylar*, *hadise*) or turmoils (*iğtişaş*) took place. However, they were insistent on the fact that missionary relief was unnecessary, since the Ottoman authorities were able to provide sufficient care for the population.

4.5.2. Hindrances in Distribution of Aid

In their efforts to provide relief to the victims of the massacres of 1895-96, one of the first problem that the missionaries encountered was the distribution of money and materials. After the first massacres in Sassoun and throughout the summer of 1895 repeated efforts were made to bring relief to that comparatively small section.²⁷³ Many were provided with food, and a commission of relief was sent by the English to assist in the distribution and help on the general work. Yet, the distributors, some of them American missionaries, some of them English consular officials, found themselves

²⁷²BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 14/Ş/1317 (18.12.1899): “...dahil-i vilayette aç ve gayrın ianesine muhtac eytam yok iken cerad-ı münteşir gibi bu havaliye dağılan misyonerlerin eytamhane küşadına çalışmalarına güya iğtişaş mahsülü olarak birçok Ermeni eytamı sokaklarda kalmış da hükümet-i seniyye bunların imdadına yetişemiyor imiş ve kendileri Ermenilere meded-res oluyormuş gibi hâlât-ı muzırira iraesiyile...”

²⁷³Despite the size of the area, there was an important relief movement. More than 5,000 were supplied with daily bread, tools of all kinds were furnished, wall layers were brought in from Muş to labor with the people in laying up their walls, preparatory to receiving the roof timbers the government promised to furnish as its part of the relief. For further information, Dr. Raynolds, “Relief at Sassoun”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 91, October 1895, pp. 403-4.

constantly hampered by the opposition of officials and, most of all, the Official Relief Commission.²⁷⁴ The commission make the declaration that nothing is to go direct through the Americans and that they are the *accredites* of the commission to do the work. Measures of relief for the sufferers in the Sassoun district had to be stopped.²⁷⁵

The Ottoman government had, in fact, have some money in hand to give out to the sufferers, but, according to the missionaries in Bitlis area, the officials required the recipients of aid to sign such statements that none are willing to accept such help. Then, a telegram was sent to Istanbul, with copies to the United States Legation and English Embassy, stating the number of those who had died in the district, and asking that arrangement be made whereby they could apply relief to the sufferers without any conditions.²⁷⁶ Expectedly, the government was unable to hinder as much in the more isolated villages of Sassoun.²⁷⁷

The same episode was repeated when Clara Barton²⁷⁸ was about to arrive at Istanbul (March, 1896) with a huge amount of money (collected by the National Armenian Relief Committee) to be distributed to sufferers of the massacres via Red Cross. Then came the objection of the Ottoman state: word was sent that the Sultan absolutely refused to allow the Red Cross to do the work, basically referring to the above mentioned denial of the massacres. When it was no longer disputed that there were actual massacres, the Porte tended to insist that whatever work was needed was already being done through the officials and could be carried out by the corresponding

274Rev. Edwin Munsell Bliss, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*, Philadelphia: J. H. Moore, 1896, p. 506. Bliss tells that the commission was composed of five members, two of them Christians and argues that it has been there for three months and has done nothing, save to give out less than £400 of the reported £2000 (\$8800) in its hands. The Ottoman documents call these particular body as “Aid Commission” (*İane Komisyonu*). BOA, İ. HUS. 66/1316-Ra043, 10/Ra/1316 (29.7.1898).

275“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 91, December 1895, pp. 485.

276“Destitution and Relief”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 91, October 1895, pp. 402-403.

277Bliss, 507.

278Barton, Clarissa Harlowe (Clara Barton), 1821 - 1912, philanthropist, founder of the American Red Cross Society. During the Armenian massacres of 1894-96 she sailed to the Ottoman Empire with five assistants and actively took part in the relief effort. For more information, Elizabeth Brown Pryor, *Clara Barton: Professional Angel*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.

organization in the Empire called the Red Crescent. Appeals were sent by the missionaries through the Congress and the President of the United States and in an unofficial way pressure was brought. As a result, objections were overcome and Clara Barton and her associates started the work.²⁷⁹

However, throughout the period of relief distribution, missionaries faced same sorts of obstacles. In September 1897, the Porte was informed that Armenian orphans and widows were given money, grain, and other necessities by a mixed commission, through the agency of the American missionaries.²⁸⁰ The Porte argued that “the seditious acts of the foreigners were blatant” and since distributing charity was a humanitarian aid, it was underlined that the work should have been undertaken by the functionaries of the government. It was ordered to the province not to overlook such a bridge of authority no more.²⁸¹

The American missionaries were not the only targets of this policy. The Armenian patriarchate had also confronted many such crisis in its attempt to receive the funds collected specifically for the victims of the massacres. The Sublime Porte decided to collect benevolent contributions from charitable persons with the sale of donation tickets, mainly in the capital city. An Aid Commission was established as the responsible organ to execute the duty of collection and to distribute afterwards the amount accrued. The Armenian Patriarchate was entitled, with imperial decree, to receive the donations for Armenians directly from the Aid Commission and to distribute it the way they saw fit.²⁸² Understandably, the funds were used generally for the reparation expenses of the churches and schools that were set on fire and/or demolished, for the support of the needy, for feeding and sheltering the orphans and widows. After the collection of a remarkable amount of money, the Porte decided that the damage was not restricted to the Armenians and that Muslim schools and mosques also got their share of the violence. Therefore, the commission was separated into two distinct

279Bliss, 513.

280BOA, İ.HUS., 56/1315-R/78, 18/R/1315 (16.9.1897).

281*ibid.*, “...ecnebilerin bu suretle hareketlerinin muzırratı derkar olduğundan ve ahaliye olunacak iane bir muavenet-i insaniye ise hükümet memurlarının marifetiyle cereyanı lazım geleceğinden ahval-i mümessilenin adem-i tekrarı...”

282BOA, İ. HUS. 66/1316-Ra043, (14.6.1897).

branches (Muslim, Armenian), so that the money received was distributed accordingly.²⁸³ This separation caused serious problems in Patriarchate's receipt of the donations, which were originally intended for the Armenian sufferers. When the Patriarch applied in March 1897 to the commission to receive the donated sums, he was told that the clerks did not note down from whom each donation was collected and for that reason they did not know the real share of the Armenians and Muslims in the total amount. In an arbitrary way, the Porte consented to send 65.000 *guruş* to the Patriarchate. When the Patriarchate asked repeatedly for another contribution, a sum of 1.000 lira was given by the Commission in July 1898.²⁸⁴

4.5.3. Aggressive Attacks: Closing Down of Missionary Orphanages

Despite the abundance of critical decrees and orders targeting the prevention of the activities of the missionaries, it was relatively rare that they were duly executed. Understandably, many factors were playing a part at this inertia. Financial deadlock and consequent weakness of the penetration of the state bureaucracy and educational network can be enumerated as the most important ones. In addition to those, it seems that the complaints of the missionaries via their consular agencies or home countries almost always prevented the Ottoman authorities to take effective action. Even if some severe steps were taken by the government, most of them were reversed after the pressuring of the Western powers supporting these missionary societies.²⁸⁵

283BOA, İ. HUS. 66/1316-Ra043, (17.5.1898). “...Patrikhanece esna-yı iğtişta yanıp yıkıldığı iddia ve dermeyan olunan kilise ve mekteb gibi müessesat-ı mezhebiyenin imarı ve sair muhtac-ı iane olanların ikdarı evvel kararlaştırılmış ve bunun için iane cemine dahi teşebbüs kılınmış olmakla beraber iğtişanın hasarı yalnız Ermenilere münhasır olmayub az çok İslamın cevami ve mekatibince dahi hasarat vaki olmasıyla ve zaten iane komisyonu iki şubeye ayrılarak müstahsilat bakiyesinin iki sınıfa aid hasarın taminine ve muhtac-ı muavenet olanların tadil-i ihtiyaca sarfı mukarrer bulunmasıyla...”

284BOA, İ. HUS. 66/1316-Ra043, (14.6.1897).

285Many examples can be given on the attempts of the government. Below mentioned crises of travel permits are of that sort. Furthermore, there were several orders to close the educational institutions of the missionaries throughout the 1890s, apparently not without success. For instance, in 1889 the American missionaries in

One exception to that was the closure of four American (in Diyarbakır, Palu and Çüngüş) and two German orphanages (Palu, Diyarbekir) in early 1899. The decision to shut them down was developed most probably in mid-1897, after the regional inspection trip of the new governor, Hâlid Bey, who traveled around Mardin, Çan, Maden, Çermik, and Palu from June to August 1897.²⁸⁶ Yet, the execution of the closure was delayed until January 1899, since the governor searched for valid reasons for such a harsh act of the state.²⁸⁷ At first, he investigated whether there were any complaints on the part of the Armenian clergymen. Getting into contact with the Armenian Prelate of Diyarbekir, it was learned that 44 of the 95 orphans in Diyarbekir orphanages were given permission by the Gregorian religious authorities, based on the promise of the missionaries that their mother tongue would be preserved (*lisân-ı mâderzadları muhafaza olunmak*) and they would not be removed from their church.²⁸⁸

In the presence of such an agreement, the governor tried to prove that the missionaries were not loyal to their promises. First, it was found from an earlier correspondence that the Armenian Patriarchate declared that these children were delivered to the missionaries only to maintain their sustenance, and that they were not informed about educational aspects of these institutions.²⁸⁹ The Directorate of Education

Antep underlined a growing dislike of the general government toward Christian schools. The local government ordered the closure of American and French schools on the ground that they had no *firman*. The French consul, however, had taken a very decided stand in this case, and had sent the governor a flat refusal to comply in his requirement. The missionaries believed that “when all the foreign influence is united in defense of the schools hitherto allowed, the government will be constrained to modify its opposition so far as to allow substantially the old order of things to continue. The fact is, these foreign schools are so deeply rooted in the country that it will be a difficult thing to pluck them up.” “Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, June 1889, vol. 85, p. 220.

286BOA, DH.TMIK.S., 11/13, 25/M /1315 (25.06.1897); BOA, Y.PRK.UM., 39/6, 04/S /1315 (04.07.1897); BOA, DH.TMIK.S., 12/37, 25/S /1315 (25.07.1897); BOA, DH.TMIK.S.,12/72, 03/Ra/1315 (02.08.1897).

287BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 21/N/1316 (2.2.1899).

288BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/24, 2/C/1315 (28.10.1897).

289“... kırk dört çocuğun teslimi tedris için olmayub temin-i maişet maksadına mebni olduğu mamfih tedris olacaklarına dair taraflarına bir günâ teklif dahi vuku bulmayub talimat ve şerait-i mezkure haricinde bir hallin vukuu görülmesiyle marhasahanece kabul edilemeyeceği...” BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/24, 13/L/1314 (17.3.1897).

informed the governorship in 5 March, 1898 that the orphans in question had a special school uniform and that they attend the school of Protestants during the day.²⁹⁰ Later, the governorship made the police department investigate the issue, which confirmed the previous report that the orphans were being educated in day-schools. The Ministry of the Interior was notified accordingly with a telegram in 22 March, 1898. Although the Ambassador of the United States denied the charges, arguing that the orphanages in Diyarbekir did not provide any sort of instruction, secret investigation (*tahkikât-ı hafîye*) of the governorship revealed that there was a man in the orphanage, whom the children called “*varjabet*”, which means teacher in Armenian.²⁹¹

As a result, the governorship asked for official communications from the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and the Interior pointing to the fact that it was prohibited for foreigners to open educational establishments, such as orphanages, without obtaining official authorization from the relevant authorities.²⁹² It was discussed, as a result, in the final closure order that the institutions were opened without an imperial *ferman* and lacked necessary authorization and certificate from relevant offices. As a result of failing to abide by the Article 129 of the Regulation of General Education, their functioning was deemed illegal.²⁹³ Two orphanages in Diyarbakır (50 boys and 45 girls)²⁹⁴, two in Çüngüş (one with 34 boys, the other with 35 girls), and two in Palu (one

290BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/24, 21/Şb/1313 (5.3.1898).

291BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/24, 15/M/1316 (4.6.1898).

292BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/24, 12/C/1315 (8.11.1897). “...mekteb küşadı Maarif Nizamnamesi ahkâmınca muamele icrasına mütevakkıf iken ecnebiler bu usule riayet etmeyerek hûd-be-hûd mekteb tesisine kalkıştıkları emsâl-i adidesiyle müsbet ve şu yolda açılan mekteblerden siyaseten muzırrat müşahede olunduğundan ...”

293BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 21/N/1316 (2.2.1899).

294Yet, the Ambassador tried to downsize the actual population by arguing that there were only 15 orphans in Diyarbekir orphanages. From the archive of the ABCFM, it can be followed that there were around 100 children in Diyarbekir as the governor also found out after his investigation. “Harput Orphanage, Jan. 5 1898”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1112-3.

Later reports written by Lepsius, to reopen the orphanage, also declared that there were 94 orphans in this orphanage. BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 28/Ca/1317 (4.10.1899).

Also Çüngüş orphanage for girls seems to be larger: Mr. Browne, “Choonkoosh”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 94, August 1898, pp. 314-5.

The number given for Palu fits with missionary accounts: “Marash – Palu –

with 30 boys, the other with 150 boys and girls) were closed by the order of the imperial government and by the local authorities. The orphans sheltered in these asylums were dispersed into households.²⁹⁵

This has led to the immediate visit of the Ambassador of the United States to the Minister of the Foreign Affairs. In defense of the conduct of missionaries, the ambassador argued once more that these orphanages were not really educational establishments, but charitable institutions (*işbu müessesat-ı hayriye mekteb ittihaz edilmediği*). They were established by the benevolent contributions from the United States and other countries, with the philanthropic objective to save these orphan and destitute children from misery.²⁹⁶ Moreover, the ambassador added, these were only temporary establishments and that the Protestant missionaries intended to send these orphans away as they found employment to gain their livelihoods.²⁹⁷

More importantly, the minister was warned by the Ambassador that this issue may turn into an international crisis, putting the Ottoman state into the position of a cruel despot, who do nothing but hinder the prosperity of its subjects. In order to dispel the impact of the attack the imperial government would have to face, the Ambassador suggested that the ministry ask for an official document from the Armenian patriarchate, wherein detriments and mischiefs of the Americans and the Europeans, such as the instruction and inculcation of the Protestant faith, are discussed. The minister promised that sending this document as a reply to the American Embassy's complaint would solve the problem, by covering up the responsibility of the local governments.²⁹⁸ The threats

Harput”, ABC 16.5, reel 504, no. 252.

295BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 21/N/1316 (2.2.1899). “...Diyarbakir ve Mamüretülaziz vilayetlerinin bazı mahallerinde işcar olunmuş olan hanelerin hükümet-i seniyyece seddi ve çocukların dağıtılması teşebbüsünde bulunduğunu ve hatta Palu'da öyle bir hanenin hükümet- mahalliyenin emriyle kapatıldığı...”

296*Ibid.*, “... halbuki işbu müessesat-ı hayriye mekteb ittihaz edilmediği gibi hükümet-i mebusanın inzımmatı ile dahi yapıldığı ve Amerikalılara münhasır olmayıp diğer milel ve akvamın da muavenetiyle vücuda gelüb mücerred bakes ve bivaye bazı etfalın sefaletten tahlisi maksad-ı insaniyetkaranesiyle eshab-ı hayır taraflarından gönderilen ianat ile idare olunub...”

297*Ibid.*, “...hatta etfal-i merkumenin iş buldukça çıkıp gideceklerine nazaran muvakkat bir şey olduğu...”

298*Ibid.*, “... işbu tedbirden dolayı hükümet-i seniyyenin hedef olacağı taarruzatın

of the Ambassador were taken seriously and as a result the said letter was demanded from the patriarchate with the intermediation of the Ministry of Justice and Sects.

This formulation was both clearing off the hands of the state and legitimizing the presence of the missionaries in the field. Therefore, in a remarkably subtle way, the Americans were able to paralyze both the state and the patriarchate. Armenian patriarchate was used as the scapegoat in the matter, as the liable authority behind the closure of the orphanages. However, since the missionaries were aware of the whole plot, they put equal blame on both actors in their press organs. In *Missionary Herald* Armenian and Ottoman authorities were depicted as allies, as if united to attack American missionaries.

“There has doubtless been some danger that through the *jealousies of the Armenians* and the *fears of the Turks* the orphanages established in various sections of Turkey might be closed. ... The Gregorian Armenians are undoubtedly anxious lest the orphans in coming under other religious influences than they have been accustomed to, should be lost, to their church, and the *Turks have doubtless inspired the Armenians to protest* against the influences of these orphanages.”²⁹⁹

In fact, when the Armenian patriarchate was approached (18.2.1899), the patriarch refused to write such a letter arguing that they had already filed a complaint on the same issue only 11 days ago. The official complaint written by the Armenian patriarch (7.2.1899) was actually touching upon the question of conversion as the Ministry wanted. It underlined that the state has never overlooked to the population hunting (*sayd-ı nüfus*) performed by the members of various faiths. Patriarch argued that Protestant and Catholic missionaries were benefiting from poverty and misery of the people in the provinces, that resulted after the calamity faced by the Armenian community.³⁰⁰

tesirini izale için bu babda mumileyh Patrik'ten Avrupa ve Amerikalılar'ın hareket ve ifalarının muzırratını mabeyn resmi bir varaka alınması kafi olub sefarete verilecek cevapta bundan bahs olunduğu takdirde...”

299“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, May 1899, pp. 175.

300BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 26/N/1316 (7.2.1899). “...mezahib-i saire erbabının bi-l-istifade sayd-ı nüfusa kalkışmaları devletçe öteden beri asla tecavüz buyurulmamış ve buyurulmayacağı ... şimdi taşralarda ali-ül-tevali vaki olan maruzat ve ifadata nazaran derece-yi nihaye fakir ve perişan halk düçar olmuş ve esbab ve vesait-i maişeti tedarik ve teminden aciz kalmış olan Ermeniler Protestan ve Katolik misyonerleriyle pederlerin muavenet ve sahabete dair vaki olan dürlü vaad ve tekliflerine bi-l-zarure kapılmakta bulunmuşlardır.”

The American Ambassador, in his later reply to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, manifested his anger towards the Armenian clergy men, who did almost nothing to relieve the misery of their own orphans and who unashamedly lodge a complaint against the Protestants, who are the only people saving these orphans from starvation.³⁰¹ In the end, being the true whipping boy of the matter, the patriarch was compelled also to write a letter of excuse to the American authorities, declaring his and his people's gratitude and appreciation of the missionaries in the eastern provinces.³⁰²

“The Armenian Patriarchate hurries on to bring forth to the knowledge of the Legation of the United States of America, regarding the rumors that circulates on the foreign orphanages in the provinces of Turkey:

that no step is made on behalf of the Patriarchate, neither against the existence nor against an unspecified act regarding the mentioned orphanages;

that the Patriarchate from time immemorial followed with a feeling of full gratitude the care and the sacrifices that the pious hearts of Europe and America showed towards the Armenian widows and orphans, the poor stricken people;

...that the Patriarchate, relying on the philanthropic intentions of these benefactors, remained and remains convinced that the benevolent aids should serve neither for proselytism, nor against the Armenian national church..”³⁰³

The practice of closing down of orphanages had the potential to grow into a larger wave of attacks to missionary orphanages. There is also evidence that the Ottoman local authorities attempted to close some other orphanages in the province of Mamüretülaziz (Harput, Eğin, Arabkir, and Malatya) as they were found to be without authorization. Yet, the local officials were stopped with the application of the German Embassy and with the interference of the Ministry of Interior to postpone the execution of the

301BOA, A.MKT.MHM, 702/24, 21.03.1898: “... Şurası şayan-ı taaccübdür ki Ermeni memurları bu yetimlerin tehvin-i sefaletlerine pek de himmet etmedikleri halde bunları açıklıktan hanel olmaktan muhafaza eden Protestanlardan şikayet ediyorlar.”

302BOA, HR. SYS, 2793/2, 18/2/1899.

303*Ibid.*, Patriarcat Arménien
Constantinople, le 6/18 Février 1899

Le Patriarcat Arménien s'empresse de porter à la connaissance de la Légation des États-Unis d'Amérique à propos de bruits qui courent sur les Orphelinats étrangers dans les provinces de la Turquie:

que aucune démarche n'est faite de la part du Patriarcat près la Sublime Porte, ni contre l'existence ni contre un acte quelconque regardant les dits Orphelinats;

que le Patriarcat a suivi de tout temps avec un sentiment de pleine gratitude les soins et les sacrifices que les âmes pieuses de l'Europe et de l'Amérique ont montré envers les pauvres éprouvés, les veuves et les orphelins arméniens...

decision.³⁰⁴

4.5.3.1. Re-Opening Crises

In fact, the German missionary in Diyarbakir, Herr Baenisch, had never given up his relief work with the orphans. Even when the order was given to have the orphanages at Diyarbakır closed and the orphans (around 90) be dispersed into various private houses in the city, American sources verify that Herr Baenisch “continued to provide for them.”³⁰⁵ Later, he illegally re-opened his orphanage, as the Ottoman authorities found out in June 1899.³⁰⁶ It was argued that he secretly *kidnapped* (*hafiyen aşırmağa*) these children into a rented house in the center of the province with the aim of instructing them Protestantism. There were numerous complaints against him in the police records, such that he did not let mothers to see their children and that he convert these orphans, whom he enmeshed in his house of deception (*dâm-ı iğfaline düşürdüğü*). The governor of Diyarbakir argued in his report to the Sublime Porte that when a police officer was sent to the above mentioned house, Baenisch refused to let him in for inspection and, moreover, “he acted contumaciously by insulting and expelling the officer”.³⁰⁷

Also in Palu and Çüngüş, the missionaries continued to care for the orphans even after the closure of their orphanages. There were 30 boys in Palu under American care, and the Germans had more than 150 boys and girls. Boys of the American missionaries were distributed among the “best families in the town, and supported by a weekly allowance” while the government compelled to children, who were under the care of Germans, “to go to their own wretched homes”.³⁰⁸ 69 boys and girls in Çüngüş were also supported in private families after the closing of two homes, by a weekly

304BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29,18/Ra/1317 (26.08.1899).“...Almanyalıların merkez-i vilayete iki saat mesafede Bircinç kariyesinde dahi bir hane isticar ederek elli kadar çocuk koymuş olmaları üzerine bunların dağıtılmasına teşebbüs olunmuş ise de Sefaretin müracaatına mebni Dahiliye Nezaret-i Celilesinin 5 Kanunuevvel 314 tarihli telgrafnamesi üzerine tehir olunmuş olduğu...”

305“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, June 1899, pp. 221.

306BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/30, 12/Hz/1315 (24.6.1899).

307 *Ibid.*“... gönderilen polisi tard ve tahkir etmek gibi ahval-i serkeşâne cereyan eylemiş...”

308“Harput Orphanage, August 22nd 1899”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1144.

allowance, but the same order from the government has sent them to their own homes.³⁰⁹

In parallel to *de facto* openings, the initiative was also started to secure authorization to re-open these banned orphanages. The *Herald* underlined in June 1899 that German missionaries had expected no help from their own government in reopening their orphanages and that they were relying on the success of British government in convincing the Ottoman authorities, since the orphanages were also supported by British and American funds.³¹⁰ It was also discussed in *Daily Telegraph* of 8 April, 1899 that three orphanages in Diyarbekir, which were being run by British charitable donations, were closed and that immediate orders were given to the Ottoman government for the re-opening of them.³¹¹

As expected, Embassy of Britain applied to the Sublime Porte in 17th August 1899, with an official communication reminding the situation.³¹² In line with his American colleague, ambassador underlined that these orphanages, established only with humanitarian purposes to relieve the distress of the population, thanks to the benevolent contributions of the charitable peoples of America, Britain and Switzerland, which were handed into the American missionaries, who were considered to be the most suited people in Anatolia to use and distribute these sums invariably on the basis of poverty and need.³¹³ He also added that the functioning of many orphanages opened by the American missionaries within the province of Mamüretülaziz, such as the ones in Harput, Hüseyinik, Hülaküğ, Malatya, Arabkir, and Eğin were never interfered by the local government. Here he was referring to a very common complaint of the missionaries that in the Ottoman Empire the decisions were still not standardized and their fates were left in the hands of some local governors.³¹⁴

309*Ibid.*

310“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 95, June 1899, pp. 221.

311BOA, Y.PRK.TKM., 41/91, 28/Za/1316 (9.4.1899).

312At the top of the page, the document is named as a *muhtıra*, reminder.

313BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 9/R/1317 (17.8.1899). “...Anadolu'da ikâmet etmekde oldukları cihetle ahâlinin ihtiyacatına her suretle âgâh olan ve insaniyet namına olarak bilâ-istisnâ fukara ve muhtacine muavenet etmek hususunda en ziyade münasib görünen Amerika misyonerlerine gönderilerek onların marifetiyle tevzi ve ita olunmaktadır.”

314“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 91, July 1895, pp. 267:

In order to escape from the binding force of the Article 129 of the Regulation of Education, British Ambassador also argued untruly that despite the fact that they were called as such, these institutions were not orphanages (*eytamhane*) but rather abodes (*mesken*) for these children, since they were only fed and sheltered there but not provided with education, which was considered to be the duty of the local communal places for schooling.³¹⁵

By the end of August (29.8.1899), it was ordered from the Porte to the province of Mamüretülaziz to give permission for the re-establishment of the orphanages in Palu and Çüngüş.³¹⁶ Interestingly, the Porte made a mistake there, since these regions were under the jurisdiction of province of Diyarbekir. Therefore, the missionaries noted, “notwithstanding the positive promises given by the Porte to the Ambassadors” that the orphanages in Palu and Çüngüş should be opened at once, “the *vali* of Diyarbekir, to which these places belong, has told the British consul that he has received no orders to that effect.”³¹⁷ Actually, the governor was telling the truth, since the orders were sent to irrelevant parties. The missionaries hoped that Ambassadors would insist that the promises be fulfilled and that these places be re-opened by winter.

The German orphanage in Diyarbekir, when attempted to be reopened by Dr. Johannes Lepsius³¹⁸ was subject to even stricter investigation. The Commissariat of

“There is a singular diversity in the experience of missionaries in different parts of Turkey in the restrictions put upon their work. Much seems to depend upon the attitude of local officials. In one place a church is wholly unable to obtain a permit for rebuilding its edifice, in another case a church that has never had a *firman* is permitted to rebuild.”

315BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 9/R/1317 (17.8.1899): “Vakıa her ne kadar müessesat-ı mezkureye eytamhane namı verilmekte ise de hakikat-ı halde derununda ikame ettirilen çocukların orada yalnız geceleri beytutetle infak ve iaşe olunmakta olduklarına ve talim ve tedrisatı mahalli mekteplerinde görmekte olduklarına nazaran bunlara eytamhaneden ise mesken denilmesi daha münasib olur.”

316BOA, Y.A.HUS., 399/51, 22/R/1317 (29.8.1899).

317“Harpur Orphanage, August 22nd 1899”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1144.

318Johannes Lepsius (Potsdam, 1858-Merano, 1926). An evangelical pastor, following the Armenian massacres of 1894-1896, he set up the Deutsche Orient Mission, the aim of which was to run orphanages for Armenian children who had survived the massacres. In 1896 he published “Armenians and Europe”, his first documented report on the atrocities committed by the sultan Abdul Hamid II, an ally of Wilhelm II. In aid of the Armenian victims of persecution he set up the Lepsius

Police of the province of Diyarbekir asked for a detailed inventory of the orphans registered in that asylum (94 boys and girls). Lepsius presented a record book containing information on each orphan's name, sex, neighborhood, nationality-religion (*millet*), age, and guardian. Leaning onto this data, the police called all the guardians to interrogation and asked whether they consented to send these orphans to the orphanage of Lepsius or not. In the end, it was found that while 26 orphans' guardians gave their assents, 61 were taken without it (the remaining 7 were indeterminate). Furthermore, according to the police department, the assents of those 26 guardians were purchased with promises of payment.³¹⁹ Later on, in December 1899, the governor general of Diyarbekir wrote to the Grand Vizier that the approval of this orphanage would lead to the multiplication of these schools of sedition.³²⁰ Yet, he added, in case of authorization, it would be a good idea to appoint a director-in-charge from among Ottoman subjects, so that the administration of the orphanage is kept under continuous surveillance.³²¹

This exceptional crisis over the closure of some missionary orphanages is a very interesting test case to understand the distribution of roles and powers between different actors. The major struggle was between the state and the missionaries, the latter usually acting aggressive and the former striving to curb its power. The Armenian patriarchate, on the other hand, was usually conditioned by the demands of others. Another significant finding of this episode is the fact that apparently, it was in government's power to prevent missionaries from functioning, as the example of governorship of Diyarbekir proves.

Foundation, with various branches in Anatolia. From 1912 to 1914 he took part in diplomatic moves and conferences on the Armenian question in Constantinople, Paris, London and Bern. Ulrich Trumpener, *Germany and the Ottoman Empire, 1914-1918*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

319BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 28/Ca/1317 (04.10.1899): “İşbu defterde esamisi muharrer çocuklardan seksen yedi neferin velileri celb ile tahkikat icra kılındıkta bunlardan altmış birinin eytamhaneye gitmelerine velilerinin muvafakatleri olmadığı ve yirmi altısının muvafakatleri var ise de bunların para ile ita edilmiş oldukları...”

320BOA., Y.PRK.UM., 49/38, 25/Ş/1317 (28.12.1899).

321BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 12/Ş/1317 (16.12.1899): “...ruhsat verilecek olursa teba-yı devlet-i aliyyeden bir müdür-ü mesul tayiniyle idarelerinin hükümetçe taht-ı nezaret-i mütemadiyede bulundurulması suretinin şart ittihaz edilmesi...”

4.5.4. “For the Orphans of All Creeds”: Project for State Orphanages in the Provinces

The policy of closing foreign orphan asylums opened for the care of the Armenian orphans was quite limited in scope and short-lived, due to the acknowledgment that it would be impossible to close all the schools and orphanages of the foreigners, which have been in function for quite a long time, with or without permission.³²² Realizing the limits of their state sovereignty, given the actual influence of Great Powers in the internal politics, the Porte evolved this policy into a smoothed version of arbitrary hindrances and obstacles – as in the case of granting travel permits. When it was finally realized that previous attempts to obstruct the workings of the missionaries remained fruitless, a necessary counterpart was formulated: to open equivalent institutions in the eastern provinces to compete with the missionaries on the same grounds.³²³ These institutions, such as schools and hospitals, were regarded as charity works of a modern state in order to increase the state's presence in the eastern provinces and to strengthen the ties of patriotism.³²⁴

The starting engine of this new educational reform plan was the ongoing complaints of the foreign embassies about the closed orphanages and the international public opinion on the misery of the orphans and widows that were left uncared for in the provinces. It was assumed that if the Ottoman state offers sufficient shelters for those afflicted populations, then, there would be no basis for European criticisms. A remarkable number of orders from 1899 call for increasing the number of government schools and opening state orphanages so that there will not be any necessity for the (re)establishment of orphanages by the missionaries or by other foreigners. Minister of Interior, openly declared in his report from April 1899 that the only way to silence down

322BOA, Y.A.HUS., 396/12, 2/M/1317, (13.5.1899): “... öteden beri mevcud olan mekatib-i ecnebiyyenin tedrisattan meni maddesi cay-ı nazar olarak çünkü bunlar memalik-i şahanenin ekser tarafında ve katbekat bir takrib açılarak yerleşmiş ve gerçi bir çoğu ruhsatsız ise de bir takımını da ruhsata merbut bulunmuş olmağla şimdi tatilleri pek müşgül ve bki gayr-ı kabil olduğu...”

323The standard formula in a series of documents is the following. “...kaffe sunuf-ı tebaa-yı şahane etfal için hükümetce iktiza eden mahallerde mekatib-i ibtidaiyye ve eytama mahsus darütterbiyeler tesisi...”

324Hans Lukas Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetleri'nde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938*, trans. Atilla Dirim, İstanbul: İletişim, 2005, p. 250.

the British, German, and American embassies for the closure of orphanages was to open state establishments to care for these orphans.³²⁵ In May 1899, ministers of Foreign Affairs and Education repeated that the foreigners had no right and authority to interfere, if the orphans in the provinces were educated in the state orphanages, that were to be opened there.³²⁶

In other words, it was admitted by the Porte that this new initiative to introduce new state schools and orphanages in the provinces was directly related to the incapability of preventing the missionaries' activities with *prohibitive* measures. The only solution, therefore, was to resort to *competitive* ones: to open state orphanages in the whole area. Instead of steep and sudden methods, the Ottoman state adopted gradualism: slowly the children attending to missionary orphanages would be directed and sent to the state schools, and after a while they would be banned from going to these foreign institutions.³²⁷

This idea was originally proposed by the famous memorandum of reforms for the eastern provinces, prepared by Şakir Pasha, Inspector General of Reforms in Anatolia. The inspector proposed that two well-equipped industrial institutes (*Medrese-i Sanayi*) should be opened in Erzurum and Amasya.³²⁸ When their benefits were observed and acknowledged, then new ones would be opened in Harput and Kilis, and later on in all other centers. These schools, designed separately for boys and girls, would teach basic

325BOA Y.MTV, 188/118, 22.Za.1316 (3.4.1899): “Bikes kalan Ermeni fukara-i etfalinin iskan ve iâşe ve talim ve terbiyeleri maksadıyla Palu ve Çüngüş'te tesis olunan yerler hükümetçe sedd olunduğundan etfal-i merkumenin iâşe ve terbiyesi niyet-i hayriyye-i insaniyetkarane müstenid olduğu cihetle bunlara hükümet-i seniyyece bakıldığı takdirde bir şey denilemeyeceği Almanya ve İngiltere sefaretleri tarafından ifade kılınmış ve tebaa-yı Devlet-i Aliyye'den bivaye ve muhtac-ı himaye olan Ermeni çocuklarının umur-ı iskan ve iâşe ve terbiyelerinin ecanibe bırakılmayıp hükümet-i seniyyece deruhte edilmesi bilvücu muktezi olmağla etfal-i merkumeden hakikaten fakir ve bikes olmaların miktarıyla bunların ne suretle ve nerede iskan ve infak ve talim edilmeleri lazım geleceğinin vilayetle bilmuhabere kararlaştırılarak...”

326BOA, Y.A.RES., 101/39, 19/S/1317 (29.6.1899): “...memâlik-i şahanenin bazı mahallerinde bulunan etfal-i yetimenin devletce yapılacak mekteplerde terbiyelerine ecanibin bir şey demeğe bir güne hak ve salahiyetleri olamayacağına...”

327BOA, Y.A.HUS., 396/12, 2/M/1317, (13.5.1899): “... bu mekteblere müdavim bulunan etfal-i tebaanın tedrican devamdan men ile devlet mekatibine sevk ve idhali emrinde lazım gelen tedabir-i hükümanane ittihaz olduğu takdirde...”

328BOA, Y.EE., 131/20, 06/Ş/1316 (20.12.1898).

knowledge on Ottoman language, mathematics, geography, and religion to its students. However, the basic aim would be to train the children in certain arts and crafts for both boys and girls.³²⁹

Departing from the acknowledgment that it was a necessity for the state to take part in the care of Armenian orphans, the Porte wanted to acquire full information on the volume of orphans in each province and the extent of the missionary involvement there. In March 1897, the Armenian Patriarch, Ormanyan, presented to the Ministry of Justice and Sects a list indicating the number of Armenian orphans to be found in the provinces of the Empire. This list was prepared by the Patriarch upon the order of the Sultan.³³⁰ Probably the list was found insufficient or unreliable, since in 3 April 1899, Ministry of Interior was ordered to prepare a detailed inventory of the Armenian orphans under the protection of Protestant missions according to provinces and numbers under care.³³¹ According to the report prepared by the Ministry of Interior, Commission of Rapid Transactions (*Tesri-i Muamelat Komisyonu*) there were 6386 Armenian orphans in nine provinces, Aleppo, Mamüretülaziz, Van, Diyarbekir, Erzurum, Bitlis, Sivas, Trabzon, Ankara. (Table 4.5.).³³²

In 30 April 1899, it was repeated that an orphanage be built in a suitable place in Anatolia by the government and admit the orphans of all denominations from among the Ottoman subjects.³³³ This orphanage would be able to work for the conservation of these

329For the boys: tailoring, carpentry, quilt-making, iron-work, shoe-making, harness-making, book-binding, tanning, glass manufacturing, stone-masonry. For the girls: child care, cooking, sewing, embroidery, needle work, weaving, rug-making.

330*El Tiyempo*, no. 50, 11 March 1897, p. 1.

331BOA, Y.MTV, 188/118, 22.Za.1316 (3.4.1899).

332Apparently the government's knowledge on missionary orphanages and the numbers and identities of the orphans there was quite detailed. According to the memoirs of one of the inmates of Maraş Boys' Orphanage (Ebenezer Home), the government gave each boy, upon entry into the orphanage, a copy of a certificate of citizenship stating the place and year of birth. If the same procedure was followed for all the institutions, it means that the government knew quite well about the inmates of the orphanages. Ephraim K. Jernazian, *Judgment Unto Truth: Witnessing the Armenian Genocide*, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1990, p.17.

333BOA, İ.HUS., 74/1316-Z/59, 19/Z/1316 (30.4.1899): "... Anadolu'nun münasib bir mahallinde hükümetçe bir eytamhane inşasıyla oraya her sunuf tebaa-yı şahane eytamının kabulü ve bunların milletlerini muhafazaya ve ahlâkını tehzibe kâfil

children's nationalities (*milletlerini muhafazaya*) and for the correction of their morality (*ahlâkı tehzîbe*).³³⁴ Here, it can be easily seen that the concerns of the Porte were both the conversion of these children and the alteration of their national allegiances. It was underlined once more that after the establishment of such an institution, there would be no longer any need for the multiplication of the orphanages of the missionaries and other foreigners. In this document, the Porte had contemplated on the opening of a single orphanage in Asia Minor, whereas all other orders spoke about a larger network of state orphanages.

The attempt was particularly related to the closure of the orphanages in Diyarbekir and Palu, which led to the decision to open compensatory educational institutions in the eastern provinces, especially primary schools and orphanages. It was ordered by the Sublime Porte in 6 May, 1899 from the relevant ministries that a commission, made up of the ministers of Foreign Affairs and Education, together with some officials from the Ministry of Education, be set up to work for the establishment of primary schools and orphanages (*mekâtib-i ibtidaiyye ve eytâma mahsus dariütterbiyeler*) in all the necessary localities in the eastern provinces for the children of Ottoman subjects of all creeds, so that pernicious work of the missionaries in the realm of orphan help be avoided.³³⁵ It was repeatedly emphasized that state's entry into the field would render the foreign involvement redundant and would end their influences without unwanted tension with diplomatic representatives of the states.

As a result, a small commission, made up of the ministers of Foreign Affairs and Education, Tevfik Pasha and Zühdü Pasha, Legal Adviser of the Sublime Porte, Hakkı Beyefendi, and the Head of Secondary Schools, Celâl Bey, convened and prepared a

olmak üzere tedrisine...”

³³⁴According to S. Akşin Somel, the expression “tehzîb-i ahlâk” was referring to “moral education”, which had strong emphasis on religion and morality. In fact, the idea of Ottoman education, frequently notified with the term “terbiyye”, had probably have an underlying notion of interpreting education as a means of inculcating moral values. It should also be kept in mind that correction of human being was one of the aims of the public education at that time. For further information, Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2001.

³³⁵BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/30, 24 April 1315, (6.5.1899).

very long and detailed report, which was presented in 13 May, 1899.³³⁶ The document proposed the opening of primary schools, mixed and gratis orphanages (*muhtelit ve mecanni darültalimler*)³³⁷ and industrial schools designed for the orphans of the provinces, together with establishment of teachers' institutes and secondary schools for boys and girls in order to defend against the harmful impacts of the foreign establishments. The aims were exactly identical with the ones declared in April. The Sublime Porte underlined that these schools and orphanages were crucial so as to preserve the religion and language of the people of the Empire (*memâlik-i şahane ahalisinin ahlâk ve lisânını muhafaza için*), who were under threat of the missionary influences. These mixed (*muhtelit*) orphanages (*darütterbiyeler*) had a limited curriculum, which included simply the instruction of reading and writing, together with a trade.³³⁸

As to the finances of these educational establishments, the Porte argued that the budget of the Ministry of Education was vast enough so as to cover quite a large percentage of the expenditures of such a project. Yet, the commission objected by saying that the assets and expenditures of the budget of education was evenly equated and asked for permanent yearly assignment. Investigating the number of Armenian orphans scattered in the provinces (6386), the commission assumed, interestingly, that there should also be same amount of Muslim orphans in the same area, adding up to a total of almost 13.000 orphans.³³⁹ The yearly expenditures – food, clothing, heating, wages for teachers, masters, and cleaners – of each orphan was calculated to be 10 *liras*, which necessitated a yearly budget of more than 100.000 for these institutions.³⁴⁰

336BOA, Y.A.HUS., 396/12, 2/M/1317, (13.5.1899); BOA, Y.PRK.BŞK., 59/62, 3/M/1317 (14.5.1899).

337In many of these documents, the Ottoman term for orphanage took a number of forms: *eytamhane*, *yetimhane*, *darütterbiye*, *darültalim*.

338BOA, Y.A.HUS., 396/12, 2/M/1317, (13.5.1899): “... Muhtelit eytamın terbiyesi için ... darütterbiyelerin yani okuma ve yazma ve sanat öğrenmek için açılacak...”

339BOA, Y.A.HUS., 396/12, 2/M/1317, (13.5.1899): “...bir o kadar da eytam-ı müslime eklemek tabi bulunduğundan...”

340BOA, Y.A.HUS., 396/12, 2/M/1317, (13.5.1899): “...bunların mekülât ve melbusât ve mahrukât ve sair levazımat ile muallimin ve usta ve hademe mahsusatı dahil olarak beheri için senevi on lira kadar bir mesarifin vukuu zaruri olmağla...”

Moreover, the Porte suggested, with a self-confident and sarcastic tone, the missionaries might also contribute to the budgets of these orphanages, which were directed for the well-being of Christian children, if what they were really doing was philanthropic work.³⁴¹ The same tone was also repeated in the report of the commission: the missionaries were not allowed to open new orphanages, yet they were invited to contribute to the budget of the state orphanages opened for non-Muslim orphans.³⁴²

In a subsequent study, written as a follow up of the report of the special commission on the reform of education, it was argued that it was necessary to open as many schools and orphanages as possible, to stop the penetration of the missionaries into the region. Introduction of a curriculum that would respond to the needs of all religious faiths would guarantee the education of the children of the provinces in a both mixed and united form (*muhteliten ve müttehiden*), so that their minds would be saved from external inculcation.³⁴³ Previously developed formula of “preserving nationality and correcting religion” was also restated as one of the aims of these orphanages.³⁴⁴

The American missionaries of Merzifon had calculated the yearly expenditure of an orphan to be 5,5 liras in 1905. “Annual Report of Merzifon Station, April 1905”, ABA 0011-00936.

341BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/30, 24 April 1315, (6.5.1899): “... Maarif tahsisatının gayetle vâsi bulunmasına nazaran... maarif tahsisatının kısm-ı mütebakisinin mekatib-i ibtidaiyye ve eytamhane inşasına tahsisi. Şayet ecanib kendilerinin mektebler ve darüterbiyeler tesisinde takib edegeldikleri şeyin insaniyete hizmet amali olduğunu bi-l-beyan bu hususta yine insaniyet namına verilene muavenet etmek isteyecek olurlar ve bunun da Hıristiyan etfali için olduğunu dermeyan ederler ise tevdi edecekleri meblağı etfal-i gayr-ı müslimeye aid olmak üzere müessesat-ı mezkureyi idareye memur olacak heyet-i resmiyece kabz ve sarf olunabileceğinin lazım gelenlere ifhamıyla...”

342BOA, Y.A.HUS., 396/12, 2/M/1317, (13.5.1899): “...ecanibin ve misyonerlerin eytam ve saire için mektebler ve eytamhaneler küşad eylemelerine müsaade olunmayacağıının ve fakat devletin taht-ı terbiyesinde bulunacak eytam-ı gayr-ı müslimeye muavenet etmek istedikleri surette bu misüllü ianeleri mahallerine tevdi edebileceklerinin lazım gelenlere tefhimi...”

343BOA, Y.A.RES., 101/39, 19/S/1317 (29.6.1899): “... mekteblerin tesisi halinde bir veche maruz-ı müessesat-ı ecnebiyyenin muzırratına karşı oldukça müdafaatta bulunmuş olacağı gibi terbiyenin devlet mekteblerinde muhteliten ve müttehiden icrasından dolayı etfal-i ahalinin izhanı telkinât-ı hariciyyeden mahfuz kalacağı...”

344*Ibid.*, “... Anadolu'nun münasib bir mahallinde hükümetçe bir eytamhane inşasıyla oraya her sunuf tebaa-yı şahane eytamının kabulü ve bunların milletlerini

After contemplation and theorization in the center, relevant orders were sent to the provinces for the establishment of state orphanages. For instance, Governorship of Mamüretülaziz was informed in 26 August, 1899 with such a circular. It was argued that orphanages, industrial schools, and other similar institutions opened by the foreigners, with the pretended aim of feeding and educating the children of Ottoman subjects, were politically harmful. In that sense, it was necessary to open similar institutions by the imperial government to care for these orphans and destitute children so that the foreign establishments become uncalled for. As a result, it was decided that industrial orphanages be established in the center of province and that the Ministry of Education prepare a report on the necessary expenditures and where to collect the allowances for them.³⁴⁵

The governor of Diyarbekir, Hâlid, was the first and only to act after these correspondences. Without even relying on the financial support of the central budget or the one of the Ministry of Education, he opened such a school apparently by the province's local means. Appointed in November 1896 as the governor of Diyarbekir, Hâlid was deeply involved in the *fight* against the missionaries. Actually, his governorship was a perfect prototype of the execution of discursive orders of the Sublime Porte against the missionaries. As discussed above, the governor closed down a number of missionary orphanages, he obstructed the re-opening of them, and he refused the provisioning of children in private households under the surveillance of the missionaries. As a necessary counterpart of these policies, he worked to open an industrial school for the orphans of the region, so that they were not handed over to missionaries and be exposed to Protestants instruction. The project was conceived short after his arrival to the province, in early 1897, and it took more than two years to be finalized.³⁴⁶ The school was designed to house 400 orphan and poor boys, who would learn one or more of the seven trades that has been offered in the relevant workshops of

muhafazaya ve ahlâkını tehzibe kâfil olmak üzere tedrisine...”

345BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/29, 14 August 1315 (26.8.1899).

346BOA, A. MKT., MHM., 702/30, 12/Hz/1315 (24.6.1899): “... vilayete vürud-ı çakeranemden beri tesisine sarf-ı ikdamat etmekte bulunduğum mekteb-i sanayinin inşaatına kemal-i kerime ile devam olunmakta olub ... üç dört maha kadar hatmi memûl olunmağla vekil-i mumileyh [Diyarbekir Protestan Milleti Marhasası Vekili] idaresindeki çocukların da mekteb-i mezkura alınmaları mukadderdir...”

the school.

By a cipher-telegram of 2nd May, 1900, the governor informed the Sublime Porte that the construction of the industrial school was finished and it was opened with a present number of thirty boys, both Muslim and non-Muslim.³⁴⁷ Its building was quite spacious with an area of 1280 m² such that the construction expenditures reached to 300.000 *guruş*. The money was collected in the form of benevolent contributions from the civil servants and the people of the province of Diyarbekir and its counties.³⁴⁸ However, the necessity of arranging a permanent revenue for the school was also underlined.³⁴⁹ As a gesture to please the sultan, and in line with a number of industrial schools bearing the same name, the governor asked for permission to crown it with the “exalted name of *Hamidiye*”.³⁵⁰ The governorship later prepared the Regulations of the school and presented to the Sublime Porte.³⁵¹ According to the regulations, this boarding school, which had two sections, primary school and trades, would preferably admit orphans and those without mothers, from 5 to 15 years of age. In entrance to the school, the guardians of the orphans had to give their deeds of consent.

Apparently, this was the only educational institution opened for the orphans of the massacres to combat with the missionaries, after a long series of orders and plans from the Porte. It is also interesting that by 1902, the issue of Armenian orphans faded out and the institution was presented as a center for the development of domestic industry.³⁵² Moreover, the brave attempt of the governor remained as an isolated case,

347BOA, Y.MTV., 202/18, 03/M /1318 (2.5.1900); BOA, A.MKT.MHM., 702/30, 29/Ns/1316 (12.5.1900).

348The governor adds that the counties Mardin and Maden were not included in this sum and that he will go for another tour for a month and hopes to induce the collection of around 1-2000 *liras* there.

349The suggested solution was to take a tax from wool and clothe animals when they enter the interior of the country.

350BOA, Y.MTV., 202/18, 03/M /1318 (2.5.1900).

351BOA, Y.MTV., 206/83, 16/Ca/1318 (11.9.1900).

352BOA, DH.TMIK.S., 39/19, 18/R/1320 (25.07.1902): “.....vali-yi sabık atufetlu Hâlid Bey Efendi hazretleri tarafından evvelce bizzat verilen izahatın istinbat olduğu üzere mekteb-i mezburun bir suret-i mükemmele ve muntazamede tesis ve idare ve terkibatı ve sailinin istihsali oralarca en ziyade ihtiyac hiss ettirmekte olansa sanayi-i müteaddidenin ihyasına badi olacağı gibi bunun iktitaf olunacak semerat-ı nafianın

which was also quite short-lived. According to the Educational Year Book of 1903, there were fourteen industrial schools in the Empire. Diyarbekir was not indicated in that list and, moreover, none of these schools were in the eastern provinces.³⁵³

Admitting the difficulty of stopping the missionaries with harsh methods of closing their orphanages or sending them away from the country, and also considering the human aspect of the matter – that orphans' lives were at stake – the Ottoman state contemplated to enter into the field as a direct competitor of the missionaries. Opening of state orphanages would balance the influences of the Protestants and preserve the language, religion, and nationality of Armenians. Yet, the project could only be brought to life in Diyarbekir.

4.5.5. Project for Ottoman Orphanage in Istanbul

In the end, the Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs – who had been previously ordered by the Sublime Porte to prepare a report – were compelled to propose the establishment of an orphanage in the capital city, given the limits of the Ottoman state, especially in the provinces. In August 1899, a joint report was prepared by these two ministers on the establishment of an orphanage in Istanbul for the orphans of all denominations among the Ottoman subjects, who would be brought from the provinces for the purposes of education and instruction. Since the transportation of the girls from such a long distance to the capital city would cause certain problems, the orphanage was planned as an institution for the boys only. The girls were thought to be educated in the orphanages and industrial schools, which were to be opened in their provinces. The ministers also underlined that it would be an impossible task to bring all the orphans from Anatolia to Istanbul, an urban city which had its own orphan

yalnız Diyarbekir vilayetine de tahassur kalmayarak vilayat-ı mütecavizeye dahi şümulü derkar bulunduğuna göre mektebin temin-i mükemmeliyet ve terakkiyatı mukteza-yı halden olub...”

³⁵³The indicated industrial schools were located in İstanbul, Adana, Edirne, İzmir, Kastamonu, Hüdavendigâr, Kosovo, Monastir, Salonika, Damascus, Tripoli, Baghdad, Aleppo, and Yemen. Most of them were called “*Hamidiye Industrial School*”. *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, 6. Sene, 1321 Sene-i Hicriyyesine Mahsustur (1903), İstanbul: Asır Matbaası.

problems. Therefore, it was decided that only two categories of orphan boys would be transported: those who were “in the hands of the missionaries” and those who had no family or relatives to care for them.³⁵⁴ As a result, the aim of the ministries of preventing the missionaries from assailing “the children of the country” (*evlad-ı memleket*) would be accomplished.

When the number of orphans in Istanbul was added to the ones that would come from the provinces, the authorities assumed, the orphanage would have a total population of approximately 2500 orphan boys from various religious faiths. In order to meet this need, the orphanage was planned to be built on a very large piece of land, in Acıbadem (Haydarpaşa), and to be constructed as five separate buildings, housing 400-500 orphans each.³⁵⁵ Boys between the ages of 6 and 10 would be admitted and they would be thought certain trades so that they can easily gain their livelihood. Assuming that such a huge project of construction would take quite a long time, it was ordered that temporary houses were rented in Üsküdar and in Istanbul in order to start immediately the sheltering of the orphans of massacres.

The project was never brought to life. By November 1899, the same orphanage, planned to be built in Acıbadem, was defined as one that would house the destitute children of the Muslim community (*ahâli-yi müslime evladının bîkes kalan sıbyanına mahsus*).³⁵⁶ The Ottoman Orphanage (*Dâr'ülhayr-ı Âlî*), which was opened in 1903 in Sultanahmet area, can be thought to be a continuation of the initial idea to open an orphan asylum for the Armenian children of the eastern provinces.³⁵⁷ However, there was a major change in the underlying principles of the institution. In the records of the the orphanage, there was no mention of Armenian orphans transported from massacre areas. Furthermore, the idea to admit the children of various religious faiths was left

354BOA, Y.MTV, 193/44, 7.R.1317 (15.8.1899).

355Ibid., “...gerek Dersaadet ve gerek bazı vilayatta bulunan zükur eytamdan darüleytama kabul olunacakların nüfusu isnat-ı mütefavide ve edyan-ı muhtelifede olarak iki bin beş yüze [2500] baliğ olabileceğini ve bu daire dahilinde dört nihayet beş yüzden ziyade çocuğun bulunmasında idare ve terbiye ve zabıta hususâtınca pek büyük zorluk olacağı ... vechile ... başka başka beş dairenin inşası icab-ı hal ve maslahattan olub...”

356BOA, Y.A.RES., 104/34, 25/B/1317 (29.11.1899).

357For further information, Nadir Özbek, “II. Abülhamid ve Kimsesiz Çocuklar: Darülhayr-ı Âlî”, *Tarih ve Toplum*, vol. 31, no. 182, February 1999, pp. 11-21.

aside, and the institution was reserved to only Muslim orphans, together with a limited number of those who agreed to convert to be admitted into the orphanage.³⁵⁸

4.6. Conclusion: Unusual Accomplices

Philanthropy takes its color and their shape from the vessels into which it is poured. “I need to provide help!” is a decision about oneself and about the Other, a question of identification and rejection, of affection and distance. Humanitarian relief campaigns are always campaigns for particular humans, even when advocates speak the language of universality. Michael Ignatieff argues, “Everyone’s universalism ultimately anchors itself in a particular commitment to a specifically important group of people whose cause is close to one’s heart or conviction.”³⁵⁹ Although NGOs claim to be anti-political, in practice their activism “means taking sides and mobilizing constituencies powerful enough to force abusers to stop. As a consequence, effective human rights activism is bound to be partial and political.”³⁶⁰

The involvement of the foreign missionaries in the relief of the victims of Armenian massacres of 1894-96 can also be read from these lenses of intricacies of relief. As repeatedly touched upon, the missionaries, by preferring Armenians against other Muslim or non-Muslim groups, by preferring orphans as their primary target of relief against other adults, and by finally by preferring only certain Armenian orphans, with reference to their inclination towards conversion, clearly exhibit their partial, and not universal, engagement in the realm of humanitarian aid. Their *philanthropic* works were motivated and determined with their loyalty to their primary cause. The missionaries were doing nothing unexpected, but faithfully sticking to their routine, their already decided agenda of conversion.

358BOA, ZB, 320/123, 18/Şu/1322 (3.3.1907).

359Michael Ignatieff, “Human Rights as Politics,” in *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry*, ed. Amy Gutman, New Jersey: Princeton, 2001, pp. 3-52. Quote from p. 9.

360Michael Ignatieff, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

The interest of many states, societies, social and religious groups, political figures for the care of Armenian orphans generated an interesting environment for the immediate actors of the controversy. The basic three sides, missionaries, the Sublime Porte, and the Gregorian Armenians had a curious relationship. In fact, regarding from the stand point of each, the other two were interpreted as accomplices, although they had usually nothing in common.

The missionaries, facing opposition from the Porte, the ecclesiastic authorities of the Gregorian church and the local community, were treating the Armenians and the Ottoman state as if they were allies, united to hinder the workings of the missionaries.

“We learn from Constantinople that on the 22nd of May the president of the Armenian Council at the Patriarchate, Simon Bey, was assassinated by Armenian anarchists at Galata. His official’s policy had been to insist with Turkish officials that no Gregorian Armenians are revolutionists, and that *all who were guilty of sedition were Protestants in disguise*, and under the lead of the missionaries. It is believed that *this man, who had constant access to the sultan, is responsible for much of suspicion that has existed in the palace against the missionaries.*”³⁶¹

“To what extent the jealousy of Armenian patriarch in Constantinople, of Protestant influence may have had to do with this [closure of orphanages] I cannot say.”³⁶²

The Ottoman state, was inclined to view the interests of the Armenians and the American missionaries as parallel ones. The Armenians, in the eyes of the state, were stirred up by nationalist aspirations and longing for independence. The Americans, by providing them such facilities as education, health, and orphan relief, were reinforcing their alienation from the central state, which was pushing the demands for independence further. Charges have been made by high Ottoman officials that American missionaries in the Empire incited the Armenians to sedition.³⁶³ After the rise of revolutionary suspicions in Merzifon, for instance, the first accusations of the state were directed against the American missionaries.³⁶⁴

361“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 90, July 1894, pp. 274.

362“Women's Armenian Relief Fund: Extracts from Dr. Raynolds' Letters (March-April 1899)”, ABC 16.9.7, reel 694, no. 1162-3.

363“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 92, March 1896, p. 90.

364On the night of January 5, 1893, placards were posted in many places in Anatolia, which were addressed to Ottomans, and aboded in denunciation of the

“Hüsrev Pasha [chief of the gendarmerie of Merzifon], as was well understood by the people, threatened in violent ways both the College and its teachers, charging the institution with being a source of sedition, and affirming that the placards were issued from the College, since they were written with a cyclostyle such as the missionaries used.”³⁶⁵

“The charge has frequently been made by officials in Turkey that missionaries are responsible for the uprisings which have resulted in massacres. The charge has been repeated so frequently that it has apparently been believed by a few representatives of some European governments.”³⁶⁶

The Armenian community felt threatened from both sides. According to the Armenian authorities both the missionaries and the Sublime Porte had a stake at the control of Armenian orphans. Both had visions for converting the Armenian Apostolic community: while the missionaries was targeting their religious identity by preventing the children to learn their faith, the Porte may target their national presence. The integration of orphan children in the establishments of the missionaries (American, German, Swiss, French) created a feeling that the nation's survival was under threat, since two generations was lost at the same time: the fathers were killed by the government, while their children were under the influence of foreigners. Fifteen years later, when faced with a similar situation in Adana, Zabel Esayan interpreted the events in the following way:

“It had already happened to the children of the great massacre [of 1895-1896]. ... They were also dispersed with the four winds, they were gone and never returned. The blow [carried by] despotism destroyed two generations with only one blow: the tree which germinated and the buds which were opened.”³⁶⁷

government.

365“Recent Events in Turkey”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 89, June 1893, pp. 224-7.

366“Editorial Paragraphs”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, June 1897, p. 217.

367Zabel Esayan, “Giligio Vorpanotsneri” [Orphanages of Cilicia], *Arakadz*, Year 1, no. 13, New York, 17 August 1911, pp. 196-7: “Il en avait déjà été ainsi des enfants du grand massacre [hamidien de 1895-1896]. ... Ils ont été eux aussi dispersés aux quatre vents, ils sont partis et ne sont jamais revenus. Le coup [porté par] le despotisme a anéanti deux générations d’un seul coup : l’arbre qui poussait et les bourgeons qui s’ouvraient.”

With this last chapter taking the massacre orphans to the center of the scene, the dissertation completes its journey within different social, economic, and political aspects of nineteenth century Ottoman history. Chapter 4 was the last and most outer chamber in a series with its international emphasis, as the dissertation started with the most inner sphere of the infant and the mother, moved to the household level with the fostered daughters, and then passed to the third chamber with the discussion on Ottoman reform policies regarding the urban space and economy.

TABLES FOR CHAPTER 4

Table 4.1 – Orphanages Opened by the Catholic Missionaries Before the 1894-96 Massacres¹

	Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Number of Orphans
1.	Constantinople - Galata Saint-Benoît	1783	Center of the Lazaristes. La Providence of Soeurs was next to it.	(1851) 25 abandoned children (1915) 120 orphan girls
2.	Constantinople – Galata <i>Couvent de La Providence</i> (Maison Centrale des filles de la Charité) (Maison de Notre Dame de Providence)	1839	A crèche and an orphanage, opened in the neighborhood of the College, under the patronage of Saint Joseph	(1839) 9 girls (1840) 40 girls (1880) 60 (1883) 70 orphan boys (1894) 70 (1900) 150 in the crèche
3.	Izmir Maison de Marie	1840		(1880) 65-70 orphan boys (1894) 45 orphan girls
4.	Constantinople – Bebek Maison de St. Joseph	1841	The terrain was bought In 1836, when the country house in San Staphano was sold. Crèche de Bebek, Orphelinat (with foundlings)	(1883)40 orphan girls (1894) 270 orphans (1920) 55 abandoned children
5.	Colonie Agricole de St. Vincent d'Asie (Bithynie)	1854	Lazaristes	(1854) 20 orphan girls
6.	Constantinople Hôpital de la Paix Orphelinat de Notre Dame de la Paix	1856	Orphans were raised with particular care, and, when they arrive at a certain age, they were taught a trade, such as iron-work, carpentry, tailoring, shoe-making, weaving. They helped the girls around 15 for marriage.	(1870) Opening of girls' section with 40-50 girls. (1873) 85-90 (1878) 80-90 (1883) 90 (1886) 130 (1900) 200 (1915) 50

¹This table is deduced from Catholic missionary journals (*Les Missions catholiques: bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi, Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission, Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*); some official annuals and summaries (Père J. B. Piolet, *La France au Dehors Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIXe Siècle, Tome Premier, Missions d'Orient*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1900); and French diplomatic document (MAE Quai d'Orsay, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale, Nouvelle Série, 1897-1918, Turquie).

	Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Number of Orphans
7.	Kula (Izmir) Établissements des Orphelins, Orphelines et Enfants Trouvés, de Saint-Joseph au Kula	1859	<i>Orphelinat de Saint-Joseph de Koulah</i> A vocational school of orphan boys, in which the boys learned the trades of the carpenter, blacksmith, tailor, shoe-maker, gardener, and baker	(1876) 18 (1916) 72 orphan girls, 42 boys
8.	Izmir Orphelinat des Soeurs de St. Joseph de l'Apparition à Cordelie [AlayBey]	1860	Orphelinat de Sacré Coeur. Boys and girls.	
9.	Izmir Orphelinat de la providence des Soeurs de Charité	1860		(1867) 200 orphans (1916) 43 orphan girls, 26 abandoned children
10.	Calamari (Salonika)	1860s		(1900) 40 orphan girls
11.	Zeytinlik (Salonika) Orphelinat de Saint-Vincent de Macédonie (two kilometers to Salonika, in the countryside)	1861	They collected abandoned children.	(1873) 28-30 boys (1894) 25 (1900) 40 orphans (1916) 20 orphans, 15 abandoned children
12.	Beyrouth Orphelinat Saint Charles	1861		(1861) 20 abandoned children (1885) many applications (1891) 300 girls (1900) 120
13.	Salonika	1864	(1873) orphanage of foundlings	(1873) 30 (1879) Orphanage was full. (1881) (1894) 22 orphan girls (1916) 30 orphan girls
14.	Izmir Orphelinat de Dames de Sion	1864		
15.	Orphelinat de St. Joseph (Çukurbostan, Péra)	1865	Section for abandoned children until 1886 (then they were transferred to la Paix).	(1883) 200 orphan girls

	Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Number of Orphans
16.	Buca Orphelinat des Soeurs de Charité	1867		
17.	Aydın Maison de Charité des Soeurs de Charité	1868 (rebuilt in 1875)	Maison de Saint-Vincent (orphanage for boys and girls)	
18.	Izmir Nazareth de St. Roch (Mortzkia)	1870-71	Asylum for the abandoned children of Fille de la Charité	
19.	Constantinople <i>La Maison de l'Artigiana</i> (Hospice des Artisans)	1871	It was founded by an Austrian in 1838, then transferred to the Lazarists in 1871. Asylum for 150 small children	150
20.	Association des Demoiselles Patronesses de la Crèche	1872	.	(1874) 560 orphans
21.	Bornova (Bournabat) Orphelinat de Soeurs de Charité	1873		(1873) 33 (1916) 64 orphan girls
22.	Jerusalem (by Mlle Colomb)	1875	Asile Français de Jérusalem	(1881) 50-60 orphans
23.	Bursa	1875	Orphelinat (Fille de la Charité) Opened in 1857, closed after a few years. Re-installed in 1875.	(1883) 6 orphan girls
24.	Alexandrie	1878		
25.	Karaağaç	1879	Orphanage for boys and girls	(1879) 26 orphan girls, 30 boys
26.	Andrinople	1879	(1881) Industrial work: textile work, embroidery, rug-making, crochet, etc. A small workshop is slowly developing.	(1886) 30-40 boys
27.	Bethléem	1879	Orphan boys and foundling	(1881) 70 orphan boys

	Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Number of Orphans
28.	Mardin	1879	Orphanage of Capucins; school and nursery of SS. Franciscaines	Orphan girls
29.	Khosrova	1880		(1880) 25 orphans, 130-150 young boys
30.	Trabzon	1882	Capucins of Trébizonde 3 December 1882, they had a nursery for the foundlings.	(1882)
31.	Diyarbakir (Les Religieuses franciscaines de Lons-le-Saunier)	1882		Orphan girls
32.	Urfa	1885		
33.	Terre Sainte (Jerusalem)	1886	A crèche for the abandoned children. In 15 years, 486 children were received.	(1886) 36 (1890) 23 (1900) 116
34.	Jerusalem L'orphelinat Saint-Joseph	1887	Soeurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition	(1889) 50 orphan girls
35.	Mosul	1889		275
36.	Constantinople – Kadıkoy l'orphelinat de Saint-Jacques	1889	Mékitaristes de Venise	
37.	Koukouch/Kılıkış (Salonika)	1890		(1916) 20 orphan girls
38.	Cilicia, Adana	1895	Asylum for small children.	(1895) 4 orphan girls (1900) 30 (1901) 60

Table 4.2 – Orphanages Opened by the Catholic Missionaries After the 1894-96 Massacres²

	Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Number of Orphans
1.	Siirt Orphelinat de filles à Siirt	1896	(la Mission dominicaine) Older orphan girls rendered services like assistance for day pupils.	(1897) 10 Girls (1898) 17 (1899) 18 (1900) 20
2.	Malatya Orphelinat Arménien de Malatya	1896-97	Orphanage of SS. Franciscaines	Around 25 boys and girls
3.	Erzurum	1897		(1897) 150 girls
4.	Kayseri	1897	Foster care Rug-making workshop	20 Girls (1900) 20-25 girls
5.	Van Orphelinat de filles à Van	1898		(1898) 16 Girls (1899) 30 (1900) 25
6.	Van Orphelinat de garçons à Van	1898	(Mission Dominicaine) Children received Catholic religious instruction and attended the chapel of the mission. Older orphan boys were employed in the city as apprentices. Yet, they were still attached to the orphanage, where they followed the religious service and had lunch and dinner.	(1898) 35 or 25 Boys, having neither father nor mother. All are Gregorian Armenian. (1899) 30 (1900) 35 (1904) 26, later in the year 12
7.	Constantinople Orphelinat Sainte Anne	1898	(de Patriarcat Arménien Catholique)	62
8.	Mezre	1898	(Mission des Capucins, orphelinat des SS. Franciscaines)	28 Boys, 18 Girls

²This table is deduced from Catholic missionary journals (*Les Missions catholiques: bulletin hebdomadaire de l'Oeuvre de la propagation de la foi, Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission, Oeuvres des écoles d'orient*); some official annuals and summaries (Père J. B. Piolet, *La France au Dehors Les Missions Catholiques Françaises au XIXe Siècle, Tome Premier, Missions d'Orient*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1900); and French diplomatic document (MAE Quai d'Orsay, Correspondance Politique et Commerciale, Nouvelle Série, 1897-1918, Turquie).

Table 4.3 – Orphanages opened by the ABCFM Missionaries Before the 1894-96 Massacres³

Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Education	Number of Orphans
1. İzmir	1851	German Protestant Orphanage After the massacres , the head organization in the Reich had decided to dedicate the Smyrna orphanage exclusively to massacre survivors and “to serve the Armenian people”.		(1887) 25 orphans
2. Bursa	1875	Bursa Orphanage (both sexes) founded by Rev. Mr. Gregory Baghdasarian and wife after the famine of 1874.	Scripture, German, geography, drawings, needle work.	(1883)70 (1887) around 100 children (1890) more than 600 children of both sexes have been admitted since establishment (in 15 years). (1890) 50 children
3. Tarsus (Christie, Jenanyan)	1888	November 1888, St. Paul's institute- school had 17 students, some of which were parentless (After 1895) Jenanyan was soon channeling assistance to eleven communities in which he aided almost 5000 widows and children.	Boys work as carpenters, book bindery, laundry-men, stable-boys, sweepers of the rooms, waiters at table, cleaners, nursing the sick, duties of watchman at night, surveillance in the study room	(St. Paul) (1901) over 30 orphans (1905-1906) 50 orphans in the school (1910) 41 orphans (1911) 81 orphans (200 total)
4. Üsküdar (Istanbul)	1888	Orphans' Home Scutari (for girls) – hundreds of poor orphan girls, in various parts of Constantinople and its neighborhood, who are in danger of both physical and moral destruction were accepted (1889). An <i>imtiyaz</i> (permit from the government) has been secured.	General education and Christian training were provided so as to fit them for honest service.	In its first year, over 100 orphan girls have applied, but only 25 could be taken in.

³The data for this table was deduced from a thorough research of the official journal of the ABCFM (*Missionary Herald*, from 1850s to 1914); of the archive of internal correspondence (Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions [microform]. Unit 5, The Near East, 1817-1919); and from various memoirs and books of the missionaries in the field.

Table 4.4 – Orphanages Opened by the ABCFM Missionaries After the 1894-96 Massacres⁴

Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Workshop	Number of Orphans
1. Antep	1897	Girls' Seminary and orphanages Boys' Home Mardin Hill Orphanage (April 1897)	Boys: carpet and rug work, Girls: Aintab drawn work, lace. Girls help in house work. Washing is done entirely by them.	(1898) 65 in Mardin Hill (1911) 129 boys in boys' home (1911) 133 girls and 24 boys in Mardin Hill
2. Arabkir	1897	Two homes Swiss support, ABCFM administration		(1897) 100 children
3. Bardezag (Adapazarı)	February 12, 1897	The Bardezag Orphanage for Boys The boys are mostly remnants of the Constantinople massacre. Support from England, Switzerland, and the USA. School courses: reading, writing, and grammar, in Armenian, and English, arithmetic, elementary science, geography, history, drawing, singing, declamation, and bible in Armenian.	(1898) tailoring, shoe making, carpentry, bookbinding, the tinsmiths' and iron workers' arts, etc. (1906) new ventures: rug making, sock-knitting Sericulture has also proved remunerative. Sale of cocoons.	Opened with 9 orphans (1898)101 orphans (1902) The total number received has been 164, of whom 84 are us with us still (1906) 101 boys; 23 of elder boys attending high School as day-scholars
4. Bitlis (Mr. Cole)	1897	.	Industrial training	(1897) 250 boys and girls
5. Bursa	1897	West Bursa Orphanage (for girls) Finance by Comités Suisses de Secours aux Arméniens superintendence by Rev. G. L. Garabedian and wife. French lessons.	Cutting, fitting, and sewing of garments; knitting, mending, use of sewing machine. The care of the house and the cooking for the large family all devolve on the girls so that they become accustomed to a line of house duties.	(1897) 48 orphan girls, of whom 30 are from Arabkir (1898) 55 girls (1902) a little more than 50
6. Çüngüş	1897	Great stone house of a prominent brother, the		over a 100 Catholic, Gregorian and

⁴The data for this table was deduced from a thorough research of the official journal of the ABCFM (*Missionary Herald*, from 1850s to 1914); of the archive of internal correspondence (Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions [microform]. Unit 5, The Near East, 1817-1919); and from various memoirs and books of the missionaries in the field.

Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Workshop	Number of Orphans
		upper story of which is used as an orphanage for girls. There was also a boys ' orphanage. Both were closed by the government in February, 1899. Reopened in August, 1899.		Protestant girls (1899) 69 boys and girls
7. Diyarbekir	1897	The children are gathered later than the fields of Harput. Two homes (girls, boys), supported by the Germans and English, closed by the government in February 1899		(1897) less than 100 children
8. Eğin	1897	Two homes (English funds)		(July 1897) 100 orphans
9. Erzurum	1897	Erzurum Orphanage There were 2000 – 3000 orphans in the province. In Bayburt alone, there were 1382.		(1897) 60
10. Geghi (Kiğı)	1897			50 orphans
11. Gürün (Hubbards)	After 1895	2 orphanages at Gürün, supported by the funds coming from Switzerland (1901) The Swiss friends are taking over the orphanages in Gürün.	“Gürün Relief Industry ” – This weaving industry was commenced in 1897, had 130 looms in operation and was giving constant work to a large number.	(1895) 50 boys (1901) 25 boys
12. Haçin (Mrs. Coffing)	After 1895	2 orphanages	Industries provided work for several orphan boys and girls.	(1898) Orphanage in Haçin with 75 orphans. In another part of the city, there was a “home” with 75 inmates. (1899) Pastor Lohmann (of Germany) agreed to support 100 orphans at Hadjin.
13. Harput (Caroline E. Bush)	After 1895	(1897) in Harput alone, 1711 orphan boys and girls, and no less than 683 widows. (1909) Some 1400 orphans have been cared for in Harput station field.	Boys' trades: shoe-making, tailoring, carpenter. The girls practiced spinning, knitting, sewing, crochet and helped in cooking and housework	(1897) 7 homes in the city of Harput, 150 children (71 girls, 79 boys) (1899) over 1000 Armenian orphans in the orphan homes at Harput mission, 350 of these are in the kindergarten and

Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Workshop	Number of Orphans
			(1907) The orphanage produced silk and lace to be sold in the market.	primary departments of the college school. (1902) number under care reduced to about 900
14. Kayseri	1896	Relatively small orphanages.	Previously, the schools did not provide industrial education. Yet, the missionaries thought such training was certainly needed by the orphan girls and boys.	30-40 (in the school)
15. Konya (Jenanian Apostolic Institute)				(1903) over 500 orphans and fatherless boys and girls protected
16. Malatya	1897	(English funds)		(1897) 10 more orphans
17. Maraş (Miss Agnes C. Salmonds) (Mrs. Clara Hamlin Lee)	1898-9	At Maraş there were 6 orphanages. (3 for girls, 3 for boys) 1 st boys' house was called Ebenezer Home (under the direction of Mrs. Clara Hamlin Lee) (1911) The Girls' College at Marash accepted 15 girls from the orphanages.	Marash Orphanage Farm, opened in 1899 (1906) Grapes, tomatoes, beans, egg-plants, onions, etc. 200 mulberry trees, silk worms. Cotton was used for beds and mattresses of 100 boys.	(Jan 28 th 1898) Six orphanages contained 228 children, while 21 more boarded out in families. (1903) 360 boys and girls (1911) over 1000 orphans in Maraş orphanages
18. Mardin (Helen Thom) (Mr. Andrus)	September 1896	Orphans have been gathered after careful sifting from 34 places.	Girls department: home-economics Boys department: general formal education	112 orphans have been received since the opening. (1897) 112 orphans: 72 boys, 40 girls (1898) 90 orphans: 53 boys, 37 girls (1899) 93 orphans: 62 boys, 31 girls (1900) 68 orphans: 38 boys, 30 girls
19. Merzifon	After 1896	Orphanage for boys (Mrs. Carrington) Orphanage for girls (Mrs. Tracy) orphans in Anatolia College (C. C. Tracy)	Girls: "art of making a good home", weaving Boys: shoe making, tailoring, cabinet-making, weaving cotton clothe. They worked at trades half a day. -"Wickes Industrial Self-Help Department":	(1897) over 50 girls, nearly 60 boys (1898) 160 children (1900) 42 girls, 70 boys (1900) over 100 orphans in Anatolia College

Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Workshop	Number of Orphans
			enlarged iron smith and woodworking shops	
20. Mezre	1897	Two homes (German involvement)	Plans of buying land and having a strong department of industrial relief.	(Feb. 1897) 60 children (July 1897) 166 orphans
21. Palu	1897	Boys' orphanage of the ABCFM (English funds) Mixed orphanage of the Germans Closed by the government in Feb, 1899. Reopened in Aug, 1899.		(1899) 30 in boys orphanage, the other had 150 boys and girls
22. Peri	1897			
23. Sasun	1897	Sassoun Branch Orphanage near Muş.	Industrial training	
24. Sivas (Hubbards)	After 1895	5 orphanages in the city -Emma Hubbard's Boys Orphanage -Jenanyan orphanage -Swiss Orphanage -2 other mission orphanages	They had two sewing machines. boys – tailoring, shoemaking, carpentry, bookbinding, cabinet making girls – weaving clothes, rug making, sewing, housework Both learned nursing for the sick.	(1897, Sivas and Gürün) 280 orphans, (130 supported by the Swiss committee) (1898) nearly 200 orphans (Swiss funds) (1900) 320 orphans in Sivas and Gürün. (1901)273 orphans
25. Talas	1896	Talas orphanage		
26. Urfa (Chambers, Shattuck)	After 1895	- Orphanage at Urfa, commenced by Miss Shattuck. (1901) new home for the Urfa orphan girls (1906) German orphanage (1910) Girls' orphanage was closed	(1899) furnish work for 1100 widows and orphans (lace making, embroidery, and rug making) (1906) 1824 women and girls are employed, 850 of this number is orphan girls (1911) Boys' Industries – 4 departments: carpentry and cabinet-making, iron work, smithing, tailoring, boot and shoe-making. Boys' orphanage owned 2 large farms in Harran. These provide the wheat supply.	(1897) 80 orphans in the orphanages 3325 orphans on the relief list, of those aided with food, clothing, etc. (1906) 60 orphans of the two Homes (1907) 75 orphans (1908) 61 orphans, only 15 girls (1910) 45 orphan boys,

Where	Date of Opening	Orphanage	Workshop	Number of Orphans
27. Van (G.C. Raynolds)	After 1895	Ladies are largely occupied with orphanage and kindergarten work.	The boys are instructed in shoe-making, blacksmithing, carpentering and other useful trades, while the girls are prepared to be useful in homes and schools. The girls make a large part of their own clothing, learning to sew and mend, besides taking part in housework.	(1897) 250, together with the oversight of nearly 300 children, who are deprived of both parents. (1899) 400 orphans (1900) 500 orphans on the premises (300 boys, 200 girls) (1901) 509 (1902) 425
28. Zeytun	1897			(1898) 30 orphans (1903) 30 orphans

Tables 4.5. – 4.11. Results of the Sublime Porte's Investigation on the Armenian Orphans¹

Table 4.5 – Distribution of Orphans According to Provinces

Province	Number of Orphans
Aleppo	2668
Center	0
Urfa, Birecik	1060
Maraş, Zeytun	1250
Kilis	58
Aintab	300
Mamüretülaziz	1749
Center	660
Harput	450
Malatya	200
Arabkir	32
Eğın	400
Çarsancak	7
Van	800
Center	0
Gevaş }	
Erciş }	800
A-- }	
Diyarbakır	520
In the whole province	520
Erzurum	304
Center	300
İspir	4
Bitlis	157
Center	44
Siird	95
Garzan	2
Erde	2
Hizan	14
Sivas	134
Center	134
Trabzon	15
Center	15
Ankara	39
Center	12
Yozgad	24
Kırşehir	2
Çorum	1
Total:	6386

¹All the tables below are prepared based on the government's investigation: BOA Y.MTV, 188/118, 22.Za.1316 (3.4.1899).

Table 4.6 – Orphans in the Governorship of Aleppo

District	Allegiance	Number
Urfa	Miss Shattuck (ABCFM missionary) and the Germans	380
Urfa	Armenian Community Orphanage	50-60
Maraş	German ladies (Miss Rubah)	180
Maraş	English lady (Miss Mandile)	246
Dersaadet	Kalealtı Armenian School	20
	Under the supervision of Reis-i Ruhani Vekili	80
Yenicekale	French Sisters	205
Zeytun	American missionaries	30
Zeytun	Armenian Patriarchate	6
Dersaadet	Transferred to	9
Aintab	Transferred to	4
İzmir	Transferred to	13
	With their mothers and relatives, supported by the Armenian church	32
Aintab	ABCFM, the orphanage of Dr. Şirt	65
Aintab	School of the Armenian Church	40
Miscellaneous		200

Table 4.7 – Orphans in the Governorship of Mamüretülaziz

District	Allegiance	Number
Harput	American missionaries' orphanages	450
Malatya	Latin priests' schools	50
Merkez	German Christian Charity-Organization for the Orient ²	360
Mamuretülaziz	Armenian Patriarchate	33
Arabkir	Armenian Patriarchate	32
Malatya	Armenian Patriarchate	30
Malatya	Armenian Protestants, American funds	100
Eğin	Armenian Protestants, American funds	100
Arabkir	Armenian Protestants, American funds	69
Çarsancak	Armenian Protestants, American funds	7
Merkez	Uncared for	+ 300
Malatya	Uncared for	150
Eğin	Uncared for	+ 300

²The Hilfsbund für christliches Liebeswerk im Orient.

Table 4.8 – Orphans in the Governorship of Van

District	Allegiance	Number
	Protestant schools and industrial workshops	300
	Catholic priests	30
	Armenian Prelate and Catholicos of Akhtamar	130
	Scattered	340

Table 4.9 – Orphans in the Governorship of Erzurum (304)

District	Allegiance	Number
Erzurum	Sanasaryan Armenian School	160
Erzurum	Protestant School	140
İspir		4

Table 4.10 – Orphans in the Governorship of Sivas (134)

District	Allegiance	Number
Sivas	American Missionaries's Boarding School	71
Sivas	Orphanage of the Armenian Prelate	63

Table 4.11 – Orphans in the Governorship of Bitlis

District	Allegiance	Number
Siirt	French Fathers (given with the permission of their guardians)	14
Siirt	Girls distributed to various counties	12
	With relatives	Some
	Armenian Boarding Schools	Some
	Transferred to Izmir and other places	Some

The orphans in the Governorship of Diyarbekir (520) were being taken care of in the Armenian Prelate, in the Armenian Church, and in the houses of various people. The orphans in Trabzon were being fed with the money given by the government.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR CHAPTER 4

Illustration 4.1 – Orphanage at Urfa (1897)³



³*Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, June 1897, pp. 216.

Illustration 4.2 – Orphan Boys at Harput Orphanage, Shoe-Making Workshop (1897)⁴



4“*The Orphans of Turkey*”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 93, December 1897, pp. 501-3.

Illustration 4.3 – Orphan Girls at Harput Orphanage at Housework with the House Mother (1897)⁵

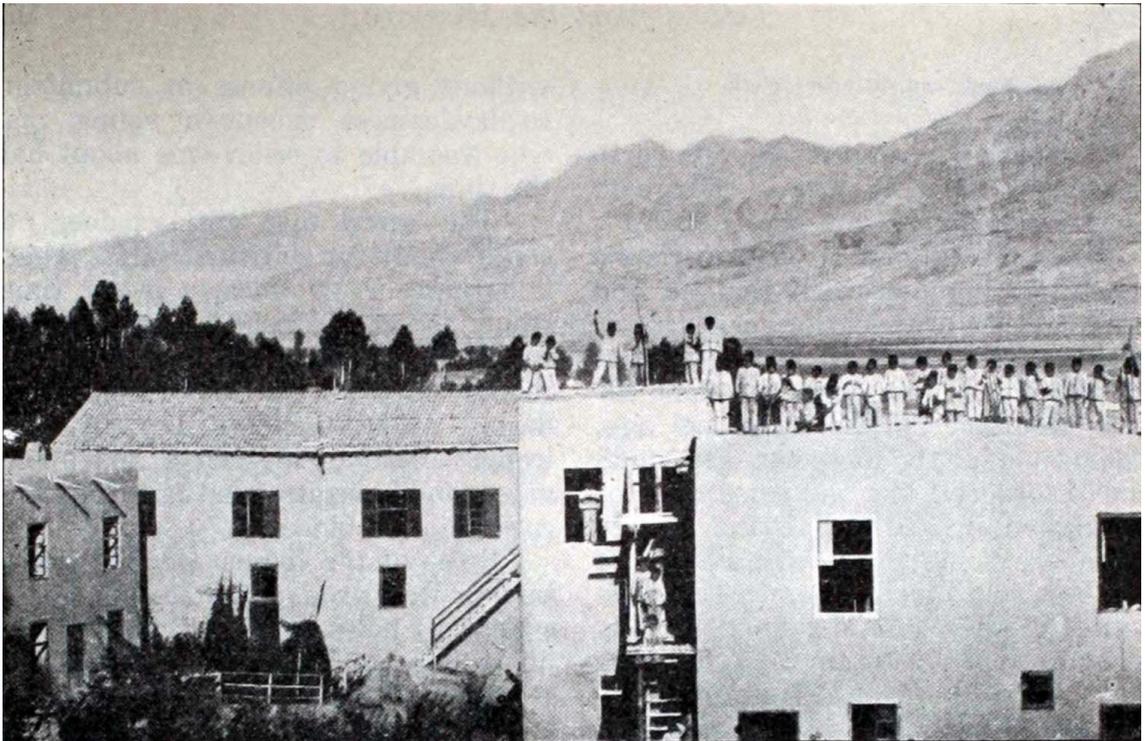


5 *ibid.*

Illustration 4.4 – Sivas Orphanage, Carpenter Workshop (1908)⁶



Illustration 4.5 – Van Orphanage (1910)⁷



⁶*Missionary Herald*, vol. 104, May 1908, p. 210.

⁷“Village Work in the Van District”, *Missionary Herald*, vol. 106, May 1910, pp. 222-3.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation is a contribution to the history of childhood and youth in the Ottoman Empire with a perspective that intends to put the children in the middle of the narrative. The objective of the study, therefore, is to treat the children as historically relevant agents and to re-write already analyzed subjects with new actors. In terms of historiography, the attempt can be resembled to Akira Kurosawa's *Rashômon* (1950), in which each witness has a different version of the same event.¹ From this perspective, there are many stories within a particular event or time in history. Each witness tell his or her own distinct version of the story and these versions contradict one another, although each witness sincerely believed in his or her testimony.

The efforts is similar to the historians of the working classes, or feminist historians, or historians of colonialism, respectively of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, who worked to recover the place of labor, women, and the 'colonized' in history. The agency of these groups had been then recognized and their voices, which had been echoing in the depths and darks of a forgotten past, had been recovered from the unknown that they were abandoned to. In a similar attitude, the re-introduction of children into the general picture as partakers, witnesses, and actors of history brings many unnoticed and unelaborated aspects of widely exhausted subjects of nineteenth century Ottoman history.

In general, histories of childhood are based on the conception of children and youth in different societies during different time periods. This dissertation, however, departs from these works in the sense that what is aimed is to depict children as actors, and not to focus on childhood as an idea or a distinct phase in human life-cycle. Therefore, the orphans and destitute children, the main characters of the study, are

¹The story is about a court trial of a rape and a murder with four actors, a bandit, a woman, a woodcutter, and a medium who speaks for the dead husband.

conceived as amongst the primary witnesses of nineteenth century Ottoman social and political developments and their testimony upon matters, that has essentially affected their lives, is of vital importance.

The particular stress on the orphans and destitute children, instead of Ottoman children in general had to be justified, since evidently, nineteenth century was a period during which all the children were potentially able to play new roles and acquire new meanings, as future citizens, soldiers, or believers. However, unprotected children had a potential to take part in distinct facets of life, in different corners of social history from the war field to factory lines, from the streets to the non-kin households. Orphans, moreover, had an incremental significance in the period, since nineteenth century, especially post-Tanzimat period, was an epoch of exceptional change, reform, and transformation. The uncertainty of all these turbulent forces had also an aspect of experimentality. The rootlessness or poverty of these children helped the administrators, reformers, or even missionaries, to rely on them in revolutionary or experimental projects. Midhat Paşa, for instance, targeted orphans and children of the very poor for his *islâhhane* project, which was discussed in detail in Chapter 3 ('Reform' in the Late Ottoman Urban Space: Industrial Orphanages, *Islâhhanes*), because this completely new institution could only been tried out on an experimental group made up of children in dire need, who had no one to protect them or hinder the orphanage administration. Therefore, in periods of turbulence or with initiatives of change, orphans could serve as significant fields to essay pilot projects.

By the same token, orphans were more suitable targets for those who had such *transforming* aims as creating a community or conversion. As elaborated in Chapter 1 (A Contested Terrain: Abandoned Children in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire), for instance, Catholic Sisters found it more plausible to concentrate on the care and education of abandoned babies, since without any particular effort for religious convincing, these infants were directly proselytized, by immediate baptism at the instance of their admission. Moreover, those children had no family or relatives to reclaim them from the Sisters. Chapter 4 (Ethnic Conflicts, Massacres, Wars, and Intricacies of Orphan Relief: Rivalry over Orphans) also highlights the existence of similar motivations for both Catholic and Protestant missionaries, who wanted to take hold of as many Armenian orphans as they could, based on their conviction that these

children would become the most reliable members of their congregations in the foreseeable future. In that sense, orphans were magical acorns, which will guarantee the growth of a bountiful field of believers.

Moreover, due to their vulnerability and defenselessness, orphans and destitute children were under threat of various dangers and misfortunes, which in the end made them more *experienced* in the face nineteenth century social questions, such as begging, exploitation, or abuse. Foster daughters, the main actresses of Chapter 2 (Foster Child or Servant, Charity or Abuse: *Beslemes* in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire), for that reason, were well-informed witnesses to speak about child circulation, enslavement, and the dynamics of middle-class households, when compared to other little girls of their age. Therefore, the concerns and fears of different actors, such as poor parents and relatives, Ottoman authorities, and intellectuals were concentrated more upon unprotected children rather than minors in general.

As it was underlined throughout the dissertation, although formulated within a discourse of threats, the orphans were also seen as *opportunities* for many different parties, from the state to the missionaries, from the provincial governors to the household masters for different purposes. That's the reason why there was also an assumption that they would become threats in the direction and instilling of wrong hands. Therefore, child-saving projects and campaigns were not only to protect and shelter children, but also to inhibit other threatening or rival groups and to take hold of these needy orphans. Destitute children, therefore, were *menaces* and *chances* at the same time. For instance, street children and unprotected waifs of the urban centers were collected into state orphanages by the provincial governments, as elaborated in Chapter 3, not only to prevent the growth of begging and wandering poor, who were seen as threats for the order, security, and economy of the cities, but also to establish productive workshops and skilled laborers.

As also underlined in Chapter 4, the interested parties of the post-massacre relief measures were never selflessly benevolent, they were rather going after opportunities, defined by their political calculations and objectives. Their relief policy discriminated between various groups of needy people. First, the missionaries selected Armenian massacre victims as their target group for *philanthropic* action, rather than many other groups who were also in need of relief. Second, they prioritized orphans over other

groups of adults or children, who were also on the verge of starvation. After these two-levels of discrimination, of non-Armenians and of non-orphans, the missionary relief policy further discriminated against Armenian orphans for the benefit of those, who were supposedly more inclined to be converted.

The dissertation, in that respect, argues that giving orphans and destitute children voice and making them visible would add delicate nuances to Ottoman modernity, since being the target of a range of contemporary domestic and international political, economic, and religious actors, these children definitely had a range of experiences in various facets of nineteenth century Ottoman history to comment upon. Parallel with the new scholarship on modern governmental institutions and practices in the late Ottoman Empire, which widened the array of historical agents so as to include both central and local, domestic and international actors,² this study attempted to place orphans, as historical actors in between the state, governors, municipal heads, missionaries, local elites, and so on. In that respect, the dissertation offers an analysis of modernity, based on the complicated relations, positioning, and practices of real historical agents, and as an outcome of social and political struggles and negotiations between these numerous and dynamic agents.

One possible line of sophistication is apparently on the emergence of practices and conceptions that we are accustomed to relate with the modern state. Several themes that are discussed in separate chapters of the dissertation implies more or less clearly the existence of a solidly structured, bureaucratized, and relatively centralized administrative apparatus, what one may resemble to that of a modern state. The controversy over nationality and citizenship of the foundlings, that was treated in Chapter 1, was resulting from the obsession and preoccupation of the modernizing state to properly register new-born babies in line with the Regulation on Population Registration and from the resistance of the communal authorities to accept a new administrative reform that challenged their customary authority and autonomy over their

²Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850–1921*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; Yonca Köksal, “Coercion and Mediation: Centralization and Sedentarization of Tribes in the Ottoman Empire,” *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 42, no.3, May 2006, pp. 469–91; Nadir Özbek, “Policing the Countryside: Gendarmes of the Late-Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire (1876-1908)”, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 40, no. 1, 2008, pp. 47-67.

own communities. This crisis was a typical example of the paroxysms of transforming a communally divided multi-national empire into a centrally administered modern state.

The establishment of industrial state orphanages in the provinces of the Empire, as investigated in Chapter 3, emphasize the existence of conscious policies, which were conceived by the central state and which were later disseminated in an organized manner to the remotest corners of the Empire. Certain administrative decisions and solutions that were analyzed in this chapter, such as the revitalization of urban trades and industry or maintenance of stricter order in the cities, were also examples of the increased sphere of influence of the Ottoman authorities – in all municipal, provincial, or central levels.

Amongst the limits of accomplishing the original purpose of this study, that of hearing the voiceless, seeing the invisible, it is necessary to underline the difficulty of writing the history of those who personally leave almost no evidence behind. The same deterrent has been encountered by other researchers, trying to provide a picture of “history from below” by studying traditionally subordinated groups and identities. In the case of children, in addition to various subservient positions created by class, gender, social status, and ethnicity, there was another level of dependence created by age and seniority, which continuously left the children and youth out of the historical accounts.

Under these circumstances, it has to be acknowledged that the “voices of the children” could not be heard as strong and clear as it was hoped and expected in the earlier stages of the research. In fact, it was almost impossible to reach to sufficient and satisfactory sources providing actual, first-person narratives of children. Chapter 2, had the most appropriate source material to achieve the goal of “listening to children”, since with the help of many court cases and official grievance applications, the testimonies of the fostered girls could be directly heard.

From the perspective of “giving voice”, admittedly Chapter 1 is the one with the least amount of testimonies of the children themselves. The reason for this weakness is understandable when it is acknowledged that the subject of the chapter is exposed infants, who were unable to reflect on their situation. Yet, this chapter definitely succeeds in taking heed of the completely silenced voices of the abandoned children with an exceptionally attentive concern for their lives, under circumstances that make it

impossible to let them speak for themselves. Thanks to the research done, it can be seen at least that they simply existed, that there was a range of provisions for them, and that they became the object of serious disputes.

Therefore, Chapters 1, 3, and 4 could not have relied on equivalents of the source material used for Chapter 2. However, what is accomplished in the dissertation is to look from the viewpoint of children to various phenomena, whenever it was possible. All chapters succeeded in to expose children's experiences and their perception of general trends and decisions into view. In Chapter 4, for instance, the transfer of children from Eastern Anatolia to the western regions of the Empire was criticized, by emphasizing how such long trips should have been painful, even deadly, for the children. By the same token, in Chapter 1, the suffering of foundlings, caused by the endless genealogy fights between municipalities, police departments, birth registrars, and religious officials, was problematized, with the aim of exhibiting the mortal impacts of modernized administrative apparatuses and discourses of the state and the communities on actual subjects.

Also in Chapter 3, it was noted that the orphaned and poor children in the streets were possibly institutionalized in involuntary terms. Street children or beggars were collected from the streets with the intermediation of the police and put into orphanages with coercion. In another scenario, their relatives or parents were persevered to agree to send orphaned and poor children into these newly established, vaguely known environments. However, it is also necessary to leave space for the other possibility that orphans could be happier in institutions than they were in the homes of their relatives or non-kin members. Ephraim K. Jernazian, one of the orphans of 1896 massacres tells in his memoirs that he was physically, intellectually, and morally satisfied in an orphanage of the ABCFM in Maraş (Ebenezer Home), and that thanks to the missionaries, he had the opportunity to receive a very good education.³ The autobiography of Nissim Benezra, who became an orphan during the First World War, also affirms the increased quality of life in the orphanage of Alliance Israélite in Ortaköy (Istanbul) that he attended, compared to the starvation and poverty he was faced with at his relatives' houses.⁴ These differed accounts are also precious to challenge the over-generalizing studies on orphan asylums, which usually equate orphanages with coercion, discipline,

³Ephraim K. Jernazian, *Judgment Unto Truth: Witnessing the Armenian Genocide*, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1990, pp. 17-25.

and coldness. The evidence at hand, however, suggests that the contrary can also be true, especially from within the perspectives of the children.

Therefore, the very effort to unearth the histories of children back to daylight can be legitimately considered as “seeing the invisible” and, from many respects, the dissertation accomplished to put the orphans and destitute children into a much more prominent position in the nineteenth century Ottoman history.

It has to be underlined that using a variety of equally rich sources may lead the researcher to be carried away with the collimation of the material at hand. It is important to, at least, be aware of this fact and take the necessary precaution. I tried to resist to the infatuating allurements of very interesting, yet unrelated topics throughout research and writing. However, hopefully, the dissertation can inspire further research topics among certain issues that were only slightly touched upon and not exhaustively elaborated, or with the introduction of different source material.

First, the use of *sicil* records, which were not among the primary sources of the dissertation, with the exception of Chapter 2, may have brought new nuances into the analysis. Especially the subject matters of Chapter 1 and 2 can be developed by relying more on the court records and with the introduction of new legal evidence. By the same token, for Chapter 1, registers (*Defters*) of the provinces can be analyzed further, since they contain voluminous information on the allowances for abandoned babies. In this way, for instance, the trend of child abandonment in a particular province can be traced over the years as a time series. Quantitative information on the history of child abandonment in the Ottoman Empire could provide meaningful and reliable data on the extent of the phenomenon and on the trends of rise and decline.

The topic of Chapter 3, namely the research on industrial orphanages, for that matter, can benefit to a large extent from such methodologically rich areas as social memory, oral history, and city monographs. Area studies or monographs on particular cities, where industrial orphanages were opened in the nineteenth century and where the buildings are still in use today with an educational or administrative purpose, can suggest new vistas to understand the actual course and meaning of economic development and urbanization. Tracing the life courses of the graduates of industrial

⁴Nissim M. Benezra, *Une Enfance Juive à Istanbul, 1911-1929*, Istanbul: Isis, 1996.

orphanages with a micro-historical perspective and through oral history with the relatives of the person and the locals of the city, can also be considered as a promising line of study.

The dissertation, by focusing upon a different group of destitute children as the protagonist in each chapter – foundlings, foster daughters, inmates of industrial orphanages, and orphans of an ethnic conflict – elaborates upon various aspects of Ottoman modernization, such as urbanization, citizenship, welfare policies, growth of urban child labor, maintenance of order and security, imagined statehood and nationhood, from within the agency of children. Although many of these are already analyzed issues and questions, the dissertation offers new and original information, by introducing the testimony of new actors. The accomplishment of the study is to enlarge the purview and to increase the sensitivity of the recorder, such that certain missing faces and voices of a well-known narrative are discovered. Orphans and destitute children are finally given the chance to reclaim their legitimate role in nineteenth century social, economic, and political history of the Ottoman Empire.

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İdare
Kalem-i Mahsûs
Kalem-i Umumi
Mebânî-i Emîriye Ve Hapishâneler Müdüriyeti
Mektubi Kalemi
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Muhasebe Kalemi
Tahrirat Kalemi Belgeleri
Tesri-i Muamelat ve Islahat Komisyonu
Umûr-ı Mahalliye-i Vilâyât Müdüriyeti

Hatt-ı Hümayun

Hariciye

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Tercüme Odası

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Dahiliye
Defter-i Hakani
Evkâf

Girid
Harbiye
Hariciye
Hususi
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Meclis-i Vâlâ
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