

HALIDE EDIP AND THE TURKIFICATION OF ARMENIAN CHILDREN: ENIGMAS, PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS

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It is a well-known fact that the Islamisation of Christian children in the Ottoman Empire has a long history. In the great majority of cases Islamisation was carried out forcibly, accompanied by the erasure of a child's ethnic-religious identity for those who remembered it and totally hiding their ethnic roots and religious affiliation from those who didn't. The whole process of cultivating a new identity and character was a matter of time and of contested methods.

This article identifies a problem area, raising questions and analyzing the role of Turkish intellectual Halidé Edip in the state policy of Turkification of Armenian children at the Antoura orphanage during the Armenian Genocide. It draws comparisons between the three memoirs of Armenian orphans from that orphanage that are known to date, those of Garnik Banean (Karnig Panian as written in his English language memoir), Harutyun Alboyajyan, and Melgon Petrosean and that written by Halidé Edip. As a result, certain essential differences, ploys, as well as facts disguised by Edip have been collected and presented in this article. Therefore, the research carried out identifies the problems areas relating to various aspects of the Antoura orphanage by raising new questions, offering explanations and new approaches as well as highlighting issues that need to be researched further.

Keywords: Armenian Genocide, Djemal Pasha, Halidé Edip, Adnan Adivar, Antoura orphanage, Armenian orphans, Islamisation, eugenics.

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Introduction

“I saw Halide Edip Adivar, the woman who had stayed behind after Jemal Pasha’s visit. She would often lean against the sundial and watch us play. She seemed carefree. Sometimes she journeyed to Beirut and returned a few days later with stacks of books under her arms. Some said that she was writing a book about the orphans; others claimed that at night, she sucked the blood out of the necks of the older boys. We didn’t know what to believe.”¹

The imperial institution instrumental in the Islamisation of Christian children was known as *devshirme* – the blood tax imposed on Christians, consequently producing janissary soldiers to serve the Sultan, who were notorious for their exceptional cruelty and bloodthirsty reputation. Interestingly, although the Janissary corps had already ceased functioning officially (albeit perhaps not yet culturally) since the early 18th century,² the forced conversion of Christian children did not end. The social significance of the conversion institution was enhanced and, during the Armenian Genocide, the forced Islamisation and Turkification of Armenian children was carried out both in a sporadic, commonplace fashion and by the state elite and officials, through intentional selection and usage of them as slaves. Forced conversions and forced marriages to Armenian girls were characteristic in both cases.

Additionally, particular attention was focused on Turkish state orphanages, where Armenian children were collected during the Armenian Genocide. Generally being the majority of the Christian children, they went through a forced erasure of their Armenian identity and the cultivation of a Muslim one. One such place where this happened was the Antoura orphanage, the history and diverse ideological aspects of which will be scrutinised in this article.

The Young Turk government opened orphanages in Aleppo, Beirut, Antoura, Mardin, Urfa, Diyarbakir, Kayseri, Malatya, Ardash and in some other places with the aim of assimilating a part of Armenian orphans. There are also references to Turkish orphanages or conversion and Turkification centres in Ankara, Arabkir, Adana, Marash, Kastamuni, Kharni, Kharberd, Dort Yol, Boghazlyan, Mezre, Sebastia, Samsun and other locations. Armenian children were often transported from place to place, being kept in one place for only a short time so that their relatives would not be able to find them.³ They were distrib-

1 Karnig Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), 94-95.

2 Artak Shakaryan, «Արյան հարկը» Օսմանյան կայսրությանում. ղևշիքն [“Blood Tax” in the Ottoman Empire: Devshirme] (Yerevan: Author’s edition, 2006), 128.

3 Comparing the stories of No. 1778 and 1779 in the list of inmates of the Aleppo rescue home and about the Turkish orphanage in Arabkir, it may be seen that the orphans were not left in the same orphanage for very long, staying there for a month, then being transferred to different villages. See United Nations Archives in Geneva (UNOG), Refugees Mixed Archival Group (Nansen Collection) 496 (1919–1947), Armenian Orphanage in Aleppo, admission files.

uted among Turkish families and Ottoman officials who would choose them and take them away in person.⁴

There are very few studies on the activities of the structures engaged in Islamisation and Turkification under the direct supervision of the Young Turk Party elite, central figures and supporters of the Party during the Armenian Genocide. One or two researchers are carrying out targeted studies on the activities of these orphanages, particularly of Antoura.⁵ One is Narine Margaryan⁶ with her first Armenian-language scientific article dedicated to the topic. Another is the Turkish historian Selim Deringil.⁷

Narine Margaryan provides rich material about official decrees that served as the basis for the Islamisation of Armenian children at state level, the specifics of the state policy, historical events and the pedagogical methods employed, using the Antoura orphanage as an example. She also uses the orphans' stories, details of the punishments administered in the orphanages, as well as describing the activities aimed at the return of the orphans to their Armenian identity.

The object of Selim Deringil's research, as in our case, was Halidé Edip.⁸ In his article

4 Hovakim Hovakimian (Arshakuni), *Պատմություն հայկական Պոնտոսի* [History of Armenian Pontus] (Beirut: Mshak, 1967), 524.

5 Collège Saint Joseph, Antoura – a school founded by French Jesuit clergy in 1834 in the Antoura Valley of Lebanon within their mission building (constructed in 1773). It is considered to be the oldest preserved school in the Middle East. During the Great War, the Turks banished the Lazarist monks and turned the college into a Turkish orphanage under Djemal Pasha's and Halidé Edip's management. The real owners of the school returned after the end of WWI, in the spring of 1919, when the children that were formerly Turkified and then put in care of the Red Cross were being moved to different orphanages – Jebeil, Ghazir, Antelias and Marzvan (Merzifon). The school was reopened and operates to this day as a French Catholic school with preschool (“Maternelle”) and 1-12 school grades. See the school's website at <http://www.college-antoura.edu.lb/>, accessed 19.06.2021.

6 Narine Margaryan, «Հայ երեխաների թրքացման գործընթացն Օսմանյան կայսրության պետական որսանցներում (1915 – 1918 թթ.)» [The Turkification of Armenian Children in the Ottoman Empire's State Orphanages (1915-1918)], *Ts'eghaspanagitakan handes* 4, no. 1 (2016): 25-43.

7 Selim Deringil, “Your Religion is Worn and Outdated,” at <https://journals.openedition.org/eac/2090>, accessed 20.06.2021.

8 *Halidé Edip (Edib) Adivar* (1884-1964), Turkish novelist, political figure; an ideologist of pan-Turanianism – creation of Turan - nationalist and fighter for women's rights. The “Mother of the Turks,” as they often call her in Turkey, was born in Istanbul. Her father, Mehmed Edip was Abdul Hamid II's secretary. Her mother, Fatma Bedirfem Hanim, died when she was very young (see Halidé Edip's only grandson Omer Sayar's (Hikmatullah Zeki Sayar's son) interview, where he says that Halidé came from a Jewish family exiled from Spain that adopted Islam. Her father Mehmed Edip was a manager under Ceyb-i Hümayun, who was in charge of the Treasury at the Sultan's palace, “Bu dünyadan Halidé Edip Adivar Geçti-1,” at <http://www.24saatgazetesi.com/bu-dunyadan-halide-edip-adivar-gecti-1/>, accessed 02.07.2021. She obtained her education, with interruptions, between 1893-1901 – attending one of the Greek schools in Constantinople, learning Greek, as well as at her father's house through private tutors, then by attending the American College for Girls in Istanbul, where she particularly deepened her knowledge of different languages. She was the first unmarried Turkish girl to graduate from this College. Halidé Edip's father was an anti-monarchist and an advocate of Ittihadism and their house was a gathering place for the intellectuals of the time; Halidé Edip later revived this tradition. For her ideas, opinions and approaches in March 1909 when anti-Ittihadist outbursts began, Halidé Edip had to flee for some time and hide in Egypt with her two children. During this time she travelled to England where she was the guest of a British woman named Isabel Fry. It was there that she became acquainted with individuals who had certain social and political influence. She and her sister Nakiye Hanım were appointed superintendents of government schools and orphanages in Damascus, Beirut and Antoura under Djemal Pasha's supervision in 1916-1917. She married her first husband, the teacher-mathematician Salih Zeki Bey (from 1901-1910). Her second marriage was to Doctor Adnan Adivar (from 1917-1964). She joined Atatürk's nationalist movement with her second husband, but assumed an oppositional stance after the proclamation of the Republic and had to live outside Turkey

he wrote about the forced transfer of Armenian children from one group to another, collected studies carried out by genocide scholars around this issue and presented the story of the transformation of Antoura into a Turkish orphanage by Djemal Pasha. He dealt, individually, with the memoirs of the three Antoura orphans and Halidé Edip's frequently contradictory words, as well as the testimonies of contemporaries.

Greatly valuing and appreciating the research efforts made by Narine Margaryan and Selim Deringil, this study aims to contribute to the study of the institutions engaged in Turkification. This article will try, through "micro-queries," to invite the attention of scholars to some of the contextual-ideological aspects of the activities which took place within the Antoura orphanage and to identify issues for further research.

Special attention has been paid here to two figures in the Young Turk hierarchy - the erudite pan-Turkist, feminist and writer Halidé Edip who enjoys the reputation of being a heroic woman and an ideological fighter in contemporary Turkey and her second husband, the positivist physician, ideological champion of the philosophy of science, editor-in-chief of the Encyclopedia of Islam, author of publications in various European journals, the modernist Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar.⁹

A point of view has occasionally appeared, saying that these two historical figures did not advocate the policy of genocide carried out against the Armenians, nor participated in violence and persecutions but, on the contrary, even saved Armenian children from death.

until Atatürk's death. She was a member of the National Assembly of Turkey from 1950 to 1954, having been elected by the city of Izmir. She is buried in Merkezefendi Cemetery in Istanbul. Halidé Edip was an influential figure of her time, whose opinion and work were important for the Ottoman Empire and later for the Turkish Republic. Her intellectual world embraced literature, various branches of science (philosophy, sociology and history) and religion, as well as various artistic trends – music and theatre. The outline of Halidé Edip's biography was extracted from her biographical and ideological works: *Memoirs of Halidé Edib* (New York, London: Century & Co, 1926), *The Turkish Ordeal* (London, 1928), *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* (Delhi: Maktaba Jamia Millia Islamia, 1935), *Turkey Faces West* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930).

⁹ *Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar* (1882-1955), Turkish medical doctor, political figure, writer and theoretician, he was engaged in philosophy of science and history. He was an adherent of the Young Turk Party and one of the first supporters of feminist movements in the Ottoman Empire. He was Halidé Edip's second husband (they married on 17 April 1917). He was born in Gallipoli but moved to Istanbul with his father at a very early age, when his father was appointed deputy minister to the Bab-ı Meşihat, [Sheikh ul-Islam's office]. He came from a notable Ottoman scholarly family with its roots going back to Aziz Mahmud Hudayi Efendi, founder of the 17th-century Sufi order called Jelveti Tarikat. He studied at Istanbul medical university, then at the Friedrich Wilhelm University (Berlin's Humboldt University). He left his studies unfinished and returned to Istanbul immediately after the Young Turk revolution took place. He took a leading role in *Hilal-i Ahmer* [Red Crescent] activities, becoming its chief manager; he was awarded the military rank of Major during the Great War and elected Chairman of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* Association after the war. In the last period of Young Turk rule, he was elected a deputy to the Ottoman Parliament and, when the Kemalists came to power in Istanbul in 1919, he and his wife joined the Turkish nationalist movement. He was health minister, interior minister and deputy speaker of the National Assembly of Turkey successively in Ankara before Mustafa Kemal occupied all of Turkey and established his centre of power there. Accused of complicity, with his wife, in plotting to assassinate Kemal Atatürk in 1926, the couple fled Turkey and moved to Europe. They returned to Turkey after Atatürk's death, during İsmet İnönü's presidency. Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar is buried in Merkezefendi Cemetery in Istanbul. He wrote scientific articles and monographs and was the Chief Editor of the Encyclopedia of Islam. His works, including those on philosophy and history of science, oriental mysticism and anthropology (for instance: *Yeni Adam*, *Belphegor*, *Isis*, *Oriente*, *Oriente Moderno*, etc.) were published in Turkish and European journals. See Hakan Arslanbenzer, "Adnan Adıvar: Science historian and liberal politician," *Daily Sabah*, at <https://www.dailysabah.com/arts/portrait/adnan-adivar-science-historian-and-liberal-politician>, accessed 20.06.2020; M. Cavid Buysun, "Doktor Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar," at <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/38327218.pdf>, accessed 20.06.2021.

Science does not tolerate uncertainty, especially in issues concerning genocide studies, and especially when it comes to the problem of saving or not saving people. In this case, at the heart of the “saved or not saved” argument, are Armenian children taken to orphanages opened under the state auspices which were instrumental in Turkification, and that – the practice of moving children from one group to another - also fits into the definition of genocide as formulated by Raphael Lemkin.¹⁰

Attempts were made, during the preparation of this article, because of the paucity of material, to find clues to events linked to one another. This was done by taking contemporary intellectual pivotal trends of thought, the spirit of the age and the philosophy of history which bordered on the veneration of science, into account. In addition, the peculiarities of European-style salons and clubs frequented by the Ottoman elite were considered, as were the concepts and culture that dominated them. Attention was even focused on the image of Halidé Edip presented in the cinema and the overall attitude shown towards her in the West.¹¹

Choosing the content path of this article was a rather complicated problem due to the lack of sources. There are more or less accurate sources and memoirs that may be used for only one of the orphanages engaged in Turkification – the Antoura orphanage in Lebanon. The memoirs of three inmates of the orphanage are well known. One is possibly unpublished, existing as a memoir as a computer file, while the other two have been published.

There are, in addition, Halidé Edip’s English-language memoirs and several other supporting text sources and photographs. However, relying on Halidé Edip’s memoirs would have been at the very least unscientific, as by studying them a subjective, one-sided, negative attitude to events and figures was discovered. In fact, this attitude was not just aimed at Armenians and was imbued with one-sided, subjective, manipulative thoughts and obser-

¹⁰ Edita Gzoyan, «Երեխաների բռնի տեղափոխումը որպես ցեղասպանական գործողություն. ձևավորումից դեպի քրեականացում» [Forcible Child Transfer as a Genocidal Act: from Conceptualization to Criminalization] *Ts’eghaspanagitakan handes* 8, no. 1 (2020): 99-118.

¹¹ See, for instance, the following artistic serial – “The Adventures of Young Indiana Jones” (USA, 1991-1992, directed by George Lukas), part 17, titled “The Masks of Evil.” The general plotline of the serial revolves around Indiana Jones, the son of a family representing the American elite, depicting his encounters with famous people and figures in various countries, thus presenting social, political and cultural aspects, revolutionary characters and events of a given country that distinctly deviated from the usual historical line. Further instances are Lev Tolstoy, Pablo Picasso, the Suffragette movement, the Great War, the birth of jazz and blues in the USA, the Paris Peace Conference in 1919-1920, etc. In this serial, particularly, a reference was made to Halidé Edip as a philanthropist, pedagogue and intellectual saving and taking care of children, including those of Armenian descent, orphaned because of the war. In those 6-8 minutes, Edip’s character has the following role: she hugs and kisses a girl and then tells Jones and his fiancé: “Such a strong little creature! And yet what she needs most – simply to know that she is loved. I brought her with me from Syria. I don’t know whether she’s Turkish, Armenian or Kurdish. At first, she was too shocked even to speak. I believe she saw her parents butchered before her eyes. Now it seems you understand why this terrible war must end.” at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7SoSEgrRyNM>, accessed 25.06.2021. These words uttered in the movie encompassed Halidé Edip’s approaches reflected in her memoirs, particularly about the issue of the Armenian Genocide. She performed extraordinary efforts to present or interpret everything, starting from the massacres at Adana, in a different light, as though the Adana events were carried out by the supporters of the old Ottoman regime and Armenian parties’ ‘efforts’ to martyr their own people and attract attention (see *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 283-284). The Armenian Genocide is also called mutual slaughter, an equal massacre directed by foreign forces (ibid., 266, 428, 447). In this context, Halidé Edip may be considered to be one of the first denialists of state-planned genocidal intent; moreover, her model of denial may be classified as typical of the later period of Armenian Genocide denial.

vations. Hence more and more basic questions began to emerge which particularly focused on the problem that the erudite Halidé Edip, who possessed a unique way of thinking and intellect, also had a well-coordinated work style which used half-truths and concealed events. This took account of her time, future audiences and possible developments into consideration. Therefore, her memoirs, containing multiple inaccuracies and secrets, give rise to a host of “whys” and “hows” and compel the researcher to focus on one key question: what is the truth, what are half-truths and what is fiction in her writing? In addition, Edip’s memoirs have engendered doubts concerning her honesty and impartiality, after the portrayal of the director of Antoura in a less than positive light, to put it mildly, in the memoirs of two former Armenian orphans.

The authenticity and credibility of the memoirs of the former Armenian orphans, written independently of one another, may be used without any doubts, as they completely complement each other; there is no question concerning the level of accuracy of the description of events either. Those memoirs were also compared, based on scholarly objectivity, without provoking any general questions, except for some minor inconsistencies in the descriptions of some events and a discrepancy related to the Armenian names of the head boys (*chavush*)¹² of classes at Antoura.¹³

In this context, certain questions emerged about the specifics of Dr. Adnan Adıvar’s activities, as a darwinist, positivist physician. It is well known that there were two doctors in the Young Turk core leadership raising intellectual and policy questions and making and implementing decisions, who also stood behind medical experiments performed on Armenians. They were Dr. Nazim and Dr. Behaeddin. This was touched upon in Vahagn Dadrian’s article.¹⁴

Behaeddin Shakir, with his medical education, was in charge of the *Hilal-i Ahmer* [Red Crescent] organisation¹⁵ and was provably one of the masterminds behind the Armenian Genocide plan, as well being as the leader of the *Teskilat-i Mahsusa* secret organisation. He could not but have contact with Dr. Adnan Adıvar, who also worked in *Hilal-i Ahmer* and was a notable and honoured figure in Atatürk’s Turkey during that period too. At the same

12 *Chavush*, Turkish. “Headman/corporal” the title corporals of Turkish troops were historically called. The head boys of the classes in Antoura orphanage were referred to by that title too.

13 Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura*, 84, 149, and *Միզոն Պետրոսյանի յուզերը Եղեռնի օրերէն*, ամփոփում և Վարդիվառ Յովհաննէսեանի կողմէ [The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosian from the Days of Yeghern, compiled by Vardivar Hovhannissian]. AGMI Collection, s-8, folder 148, no. 231, p. 15.

14 Vahagn Dadrian, “The Role of Turkish Physicians in the World War I Genocide of Ottoman Armenians,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 1, no. 2 (1986): 169-192.

15 *Hilal-i Ahmer Cemiyeti* or *Red Crescent Committee*, was founded on 11 June 1868, as a humanitarian charity organization bearing the symbol of the Ottoman Red Crescent, which was used for the first time during the Russo-Turkish war of 1876-78. It was renamed the *Ottoman Red Crescent Society* in 1877, then the *Turkish Red Crescent Community* in 1923 and Mustafa Kemal renamed it *Turkish Red Crescent Society* in 1935. It was given the name of *Turkish Red Crescent Association [Kızılay Derneği]* later, in 1947. Its current name is *Turkish Red Crescent* [Türk Kızılayı or simply Kızılay]. It is a part of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent movement, with a goal, like the general organisation, to provide medical aid to war prisoners, injured and sick military men and humanitarian aid to vulnerable groups affected by disasters, wars and infectious diseases, both in the past and in the present. Halidé Edip was an active volunteer in the Red Crescent (Chris Gratien, Seçil Yılmaz “Red Crescent Archives (Turkey),” at <http://hazine.info/turkish-red-crescent-kizilay-archives-ankara/>, accessed 20.06.2021, “150 Years – From Hilal-i Ahmer to Kızılay (Red Crescent),” at <https://www.skylife.com/en/2019-06/150-years-from-hilal-i-ahmer-to-kizilay-red-crescent>, accessed 20.06.2021).

time, the Young Turk elite, during the years of the realisation of the Armenian Genocide, never showed a negative attitude towards the Adivar couple: if the latter really were saving Armenian children, then that should have been enough for their alienation and the creating of a negative attitude towards them by the elite circle of the ruling party.

If nothing else, it is proper to find out how and whether they were loyal adherents carrying out orders who enjoyed their leadership's trust. Because to claim otherwise, that they were insignificant figures, is just out of the question. Interestingly, Halidé Edip, in her memoirs published for the first time in English in 1923, in which she devoted 43 pages to the Antoura orphanage (pp. 428-471), generally never spoke of her husband's role, whereas in Harutyun Alboyajyan's memoir, Adnan Adivar was not only present, but also had a very clear role. Using psychology, it was he who persuaded the orphans to move to Antoura and accompanied them from their temporary shelter in one of the Damascus mosques to Jounieh and finally to Antoura in the company of two military officers and several women, probably teachers.¹⁶

The reason behind a more in-depth view of the problem were these very persons, with their roles and specialisms, who had to be concerned with Turkification, whose activities were perhaps broader than just that. However, Adnan Adivar, his activities and his position in the criminal hierarchy of the Young Turks and therefore his participation in genocidal acts against the Armenians and association with the Antoura orphanage, will be dealt with in a separate article.

To clarify the details of the roles specific people had, it is advantageous to raise questions first. This is what this article aspires to do as a minimum when broaching the subject. No attempt will be made in this article to provide answers to all the questions put forward here, only addressing several of them. The work of searching for answers to further derivative questions will be left until later.

Concerning One Peculiarity of the Islamisation of Armenian Children at the Antoura Orphanage: Were They Cultivating “New Janissaries”?

Reading the memoirs of the inmates of the Antoura orphanage reveals the fact that it was organised on military lines and that the children were being prepared for military service. Harutyun Alboyajyan who, apart from relating his memoirs also gave Verjiné Svazlian his biography with some very interesting differences and characteristics. For instance, he called their orphanage in Antoura a “military orphanage”¹⁷ with special rules. This definition is essential for this research. It is therefore expedient to also draw the readers' attention to the conscription activities that took place before the children were moved to Antoura.

According to Garnik Banean's memoirs, the group of children witnessed the honorary reception of a military man at Hama station, the point of departure for Antoura: the name “

¹⁶ Harutyun Alboyajyan, *Իրաչկրոյթյան ճանիխաներով* [Through the Roads of Crucifixion] (Yerevan: VMV-Print Publishing House, 2005), 36-37.

¹⁷ Verjiné Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide: Testimonies of the Eyewitness Survivors* (Yerevan: Gitutyun, 2011), Harutyun Alboyajyan's Testimony (no. 247), 427.

“‘ Mahmud Shevket Pasha’¹⁸ was heard from various directions. The pasha, with a smiling face, passed in front of the orphans, then had a word or two with the high-ranking military officers and the Protestant pastor who were present. The orphans, witnessing all this, stood stock-still.”¹⁹ Judging from this, at first glance it could be thought that the pasha, whose name they were calling, was the same military man who passed in front of the orphans, but Mahmud Shevket Pasha was already dead by that time. Calling his name out could indicate something else. It could be, for instance, that the orphans were taken to be prepared for a military education, particularly in military aviation, the founder of which, Mahmud Shevket Pasha, was the Ittihadists’ guardian but had been assassinated in the Ottoman Empire by then. He was a great military authority and uttering his name would have been a sign of remembrance and a sign of belonging. Perhaps it was that being a child, the name had been stamped on Banian’s memory, i.e. a name to be voiced while another was remembered, as Mahmud Shevket’s name was also chanted in glorifying songs sung by the Antoura orphans.²⁰

Harutyun Albojajyan relates that the very first and only lesson in the orphanage was military marching drill. Other lessons were added later, when the number of children increased; they started to have lessons facilitating Turkification, such as the Turkish language and literature, Islam and its history.²¹

Melgon Petrosean conveys a detail which is important for the inference that boys in the Antoura Turkish orphanage were being specially prepared for military service; this, at any rate, applied to healthy children. He wrote that they “... were doing military exercises so that we all could be soldiers to go to Harbiye Mekteb-i,²² the military school.”²³

That this result had been partially achieved was shown by the following reflection by the same inmate:

In spring 1918 they tightened up much more; they separated 50 boys from the rebellious and those more or less big than us and one or two teachers and took them to

18 *Mahmud Shevket Pasha* (Mahmud Şevket Paşa, 1858-1913), was of Chechen origin. He was a graduate of the *Mekteb-i Harbiye* [Military Academy] and was an Ittihadist figure and considered to be the founder of Ottoman military aviation (1911). He was the commander of the Third Army stationed in Thessaloniki after the 1908 revolution and suppressed the counterrevolution. He banished Abdulhamid II from Constantinople on 31 March 1909, holding him in Thessaloniki. He was appointed Ottoman Grand Vizier from January 1913 but was killed by a relative of the assassinated Nazim Pasha as a revenge for the assassination of the latter six months later: “Mahmud Şevket Paşa” at <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Mahmud-Sevket-Pasa>, accessed 15.06.2021.

19 Garnik Banean, *Յուշերն մանկությունն և որբությունն* [Memoirs of Childhood and Orphanity] (Antelias-Lebanon: Armenian Catholicosate of the Great House of Cilicia, 1992), 129. It is noteworthy that a number of very important passages were omitted from the English edition of Garnik Banean’s memoirs, one of which was this one, where the memoirist mentions Mahmud Shevket’s name. Considering this fact, this and several other passages will be quoted from the Armenian edition in translation.

20 *Ibid.*, 155. “Mahmud Şevket paşa, Sen binlerde yaşa,” which can be translated in English as follows: “Mahmud Shevket pasha, Live forever and ever!”

21 Albojajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 40, 44. Along with those mentioned, the children also had lessons in geography, arithmetic, etiquette, medicine, biology and zoology, music and singing and physical education. *The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 14, also, Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura*, 89, 92.

22 *Harbiye Mektebi* (Ottoman: *Mekteb-i Erkân-ı Harbiyye-i Şâhâne* or *Erkân-ı Harbiye Mektebi* or, shorter: *Harbiye Mektebi*), the Ottoman Empire’s military academy. Its foundation date is considered to be 1834. It was an educational institution preparing career officers for the army of the Ottoman Empire. At present, officially it is called *Kara Harp Okulu*, but it is colloquially known as *Harbiye Mektebi*, preserving its historical name.

23 *The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 14.

Polis [Armenian abbreviation for Constantinople-Sh.Kh.]. We learned that they were kept in confinement in one of the districts in Polis under strict control. We learned this news from an escapee from there, a boy from Ainteb who was called Mehmet.²⁴

Harutyun Alboyajyan also maintained that Antoura inmates had been moved to Constantinople, mentioning a lesser number, 20-30 boys; but it is hard to say whether the two orphans speak of the same transfer or those transfers to Constantinople were regular practice. The text clearly indicates that the transfer took place before the autumn of 1918: *“In those days a Turkish naval officer visited our orphanage with his bodyguard Rejab Onbashi [corporal], who was a very resourceful man. They came to take 20-30 orphan boys from the orphanage to study at maritime school. After making their choice and staying for 10-15 days, they went away. As the political situation was unstable, several of the leaders of the orphanage left. Among them was Reshad Bey.”*²⁵

In any case, it is clear that at least some of the children, who were fit for the task, were being prepared for military service, perceived as them being “new janissaries”. This was because, among other things, of the roles and titles given to the children: chavush, oghlu/oghlan, etc., which were also common in the janissary corps, which in their time, besides being the core of the military system, also possessed the fundamental attributes of an order (“bektashi” order of dervishes).²⁶

In other words, a group of Antoura orphans had, nevertheless, been used in the Turkification process undertaken by the Turkish government to achieve a certain goal. It is important to know what happened to them: did the Armenian rescue services or individuals searching for orphans returned them to their Armenian identity after the war, or were they permanently lost to the Armenian nation; perhaps it was both, which is also probable.

Narine Margaryan provides a quotation from such a testimony in her article: an Armenian child, Khoren Glchyan, not an Antoura inmate, reported that he was taken to the *Harbiye Mekteb-i*: *“Khoren Glchian was taken from Aleppo to the Harbiye central military school in Constantinople. Here they were all given copper seals with their new Turkish names on them. He got a seal bearing the name “Ali Oghlu Islam,” which he had to wear around his neck as instructed by the management.”*²⁷

The Turkish military authorities forcibly transferred the Armenian children of one of the Aleppo Armenian orphanages, among whom was Khoren Glchyan, to the *Ingliz bahche*. They gave Khoren’s mother the same answer as they did to the Protestant pastor who was the principal of Banean’s Hama orphanage: *“...go home, mother, take care of yourself, your son will go to Istanbul to become a man.”*²⁸

Feeding and entertaining the children on the way, they took them to Haydarpasha station

24 Ibid., 16.

25 Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 49.

26 Georgii Vvedenskii, *Янычары: история, символика, оружие* [Yanissari: History, Symbols, Weapons] (St. Petersburg: “Atlant” publishing house, 2003), 21.

27 Margaryan, “Turkification of Armenian Children,” 33. In this passage, the word “seal” is most probably used to mean a badge, which was used both in the military and police system, as well as in prisons.

28 Khoren Glchian, *Վերապրող որբի մը յուշերը* [Memoirs of an Orphan Who Survived], (handwritten memoir), AGMI collection, s-8, no. 44, p. 21:

in Constantinople, then to the *Harbiye Mektebi*, where thousands of orphans had already been gathered.²⁹ Therefore, one of the above-mentioned questions has been answered by Khoren Glchyan: the selection and transfer of Armenian children was a regular occurrence as shown by the number of children collected there. It is a fact worthy of special note that, according to Khoren Glchyan, both Talaat and Enver Pashas visited the *Harbiye Mektebi* in 1917, when he was seven years old.³⁰

However, the writer of this memoir testifies that afterwards the children did not stay long in the *Harbiye Mektebi*, the whole orphanage being moved to *Buyuk Ada* [Big Island] on the Sea of Marmara, with the children being housed in a building previously owned by Greeks. Here the lessons and discipline were raised to a higher level; they even started giving money to the children.

According to the memoir, an Armenian Catholic priest named Father Hovhannes Nalbandyan came to their orphanage after the end of the war with a special document-order issued by the British mandatory authorities, to separate the Armenian children and return them to their nation. This was done with some difficulty, because the Armenian children who remembered their nationality were afraid to confess they were Armenians.

Glchyan reports that about 200 Armenian children, with the signatures and mutual consent of the Turkish and Armenian representatives, were released from Turkish orphanage and placed for a time in the school attached to the Convent of the Immaculate Conception in Constantinople.³¹

Garnik Banean, already more mature, provided just such a description in a single paragraph:

Antoura with its regime, its understanding of pedagogy, its cruelty of giving the orphans nothing to eat for a long time was forcing us to become thieves, raiders and street swindlers. Only whatever was happening, was not in our hands. It was the state of things in life severing us from humanity and maiming our souls. So, if it were not for our conscious or instinctive opposition and if we were Turkified one day, we would have added over a thousand of thieves, rogues and unspeakable people to the Turkish nation, very convenient for forming new janissary regiments.³²

We believe that Turkification was only an intermediate, though important phase and that the ultimate goal was to turn the orphans into servants of the state by erasing their Armenian and Christian identities which, in case of some of the children, as we saw above, was most likely achieved. The prospect of making military men of the boys stemmed, initially, from a lack of manpower. Men were needed who would be capable of mastering the use of military machinery that was being developed and updated during the war. Hence the remnants of the exterminated Christian nations of the Ottoman Empire – those children with their intellectual abilities– could be guided in that direction.

²⁹ Ibid., 22-23.

³⁰ Ibid., 24-25.

³¹ Ibid., 30-31.

³² Banean, *Memoirs*, 215.

By an interesting coincidence, one of Halidé Edip's books, published over a decade later, titled *Turkey Faces West* could be singled out for the ideas expressed in it about the janissary tradition being quite democratic. One of these ideas ran as follows: "To combine love of order and discipline with democratic principles demanded the association of every race of the empire in this important class [the military class - Sh.Kh.]. They [the Turks - Sh.Kh.] accomplished this by conscripting a certain number of children from all the subject races... though the Christian historians have spoken of the system as the 'Blood Tribute.'"³³

Edip was against calling the system "blood tribute" following the words used by Christian historians and added that it should not be viewed from the ethical standpoint, but from the perspective of whether it was worthwhile for the state or not. She had one answer: it was worthwhile before the institution of bourgeois favouritism had it pushed into the background and it was dissolved.³⁴ These ideas naturally show the attitude and approach that Halidé Edip, the erudite writer had when she cooperated with the Young Turk elite when participating in the Turkification of the Armenian Genocide orphans. At least the sacrificing of ethics for the sake of expediency, which the Young Turks practiced with respect to the Armenians by carrying out the Genocide from 1915 to 1923, may be seen. Moreover, we believed that if, at the time of publication of the book, the transfer of children from one group to another was criminally punishable under the international law, Edip positioning herself as an advocate of the values of the Western Enlightenment and deeply concerned about her image and reputation, would have passed over and avoided expressing these ideas. We think that she was indeed taking care of her reputation by leaving out, from her memoirs, many undesirable episodes related to the Turkification of Armenian children in which she and her husband had both been involved. This was because their international reputation also was needed to pursue the important goal of them appearing to be enlightened and progressive to the West.

It would not be surprising, if one day it turned out that, for instance, the Armenian woman called Sabiha Gökçen-Khatun Sebiljian had also been in Antoura or in an orphanage like it, where all those instruments of Islamisation and Turkification were used. By an interesting coincidence, she had been prepared for a military career, and Turkologist Ruben Melkonyan even characterized her as a "janissary."

... if we put aside unnecessary sentimentality, we could say that Sabiha Gökçen or Khatun Sebiljian with her biography and career as a combat pilot, no matter how rude it sounds, qualifies as a 'janissary'. She was Turkified and Islamised in early childhood; given a military education and was brought up with a mentality of being the daughter of the "Father of the Turks." The supposed flashes of national self-consciousness that various sources testify about have always been subordinated to the image of the first Turkish pilot, in other words "janissary."³⁵

This notion of being the "daughter of the Father of the Turks" also has its counterpart in the concept of the Janissary corps. That is, the janissaries being the property of the Sul-

33 Edip, *Turkey Faces West*, 20.

34 Ibid., 21.

35 Ruben Melkonyan. *Բարանցուցիւած հայերի խնդիրները շուրջ* [On the Issues of Islamized Armenians] (Yere-

tan, acting to protect him and his power and being directly subordinate to him, perceived themselves as the “Sultan’s children” and the Sultan as their father; they were ready to die for him.³⁶ It was an elite military corps made up of children of Christian origin specifically trained since childhood, converted to another religion and at the same time brought up with ruthlessness and inhumanity.

Thus, in this context, it is believed that the negative traits listed in the last passage quoted from Garnik Banean’s memoirs (“thieves, raiders and street swindlers...”) were being nurtured on purpose: they may be called both new Janissarism or psychological experiments and torture. The Antoura management was inciting the children to develop resilience and fight for survival through starvation and thirst, being provoked into stealing and banditry, using physical torture (*falakha*; beating, mostly on the head) as well as psychological impact, changing their psychology, outlook and mentality by means of images, for instance by using the theatre.³⁷

By starving the children, for example, the issue of Islamisation was addressed in the following context:

We ate flour soup the next morning; before we left [the dining room-Sh. Kh.] they announced that those who chose to adopt the “*hakk din*” (the Turkish faith) had to choose a name and be registered. They would then have a meat meal privately in the afternoon, with as much bread as they wanted, etc... We were like skeletons eating the soup made of flour mixed with water, and when we smelled the meat, some registered while we, with our fellow-villagers, waited in a corner for the flour soup.³⁸

The purpose of feeding children with flour mixed with water was obvious: offering good food instead of physical exhaustion and recurring unpleasant fare on condition that children agree to convert to Islam. Here too are the direct signs of efforts to break their will, urging them to satisfy their instincts and physical needs.

Aram Antonyan also testified in his book that Armenian children were really made into new Janissaries:

van: Noravank, 2009), 26-27:

36 Vvedenskii, *Yanissari*, 12, 13.

37 See Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 46, where the author referred to a performance of a play titled “Joseph the Handsome,” put on in pure Turkish at a girls’ orphanage in Beirut (the name of the orphanage was written as “Nkhatkhana” in the text, possibly being the result of misreading the handwriting, because an orphanage with such a name could not be found) that the orphans playing in the orchestra watched regularly on their visits to Beirut. Alboyajyan said that it was strange that a biblical episode was performed by the Turks. As it turned out, the actresses were Armenian girls who had been Turkified and “adopted” by Halidé Edip in Constantinople and had moved to Beirut with her (*ibid.*, 48). We believe that this biblical plot was not chosen at random, as the story was about a youth who achieved certain success after being betrayed and abandoned by his brothers, after deprivation, captivity and slavery, which could fit into the general logic of Turkification – exciting the orphans with parallels of their possible future in their minds. At the same time, it is thought that the author of the play the orphans watched was Halidé Edip herself and that Alboyajyan watched Edip’s play “Shepherds of Canaan”: see Halide Edib, *Kenan Cobanları* (Istanbul: Orhaniye Matbaası, 1918). It touched upon concepts of feminism as well as the lives of the Jewish patriarchs, thus Turkish society was quite astonished by this new theatrical fashion – and not necessarily in a positive way: see Selahattin Çitçi, “Halide Edip Adivar’ın feminist ve semitik bir operası: Kenan Çobanları,” *Turkish Studies International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic* 4/3 (2009):655-668.

38 *The Memoirs of Melgoun Petrosian*, 13.

... The later instructions specified that only children under five were only to be spared. They would be converted to become Turks and raised as Turks in private orphanages. They would then one day serve to make up for the human losses the Turks suffered that were caused by the war, and *graft a race so endowed with high qualities, the Armenian race, onto the Turkish race. Just like in the past with the Janissaries*³⁹ [The italics used in this and other quotations have been inserted by the author – Sh.Kh.].

This section is closed with this remark by Aram Antonyan, highlighted by us, is materially significant. First, the revival of the idea of the “new Janissaries” (seconded by Antoura orphan Garnik Banean in the abovementioned passage), which seemed to have gone down in history, and second, “...*graft a race so endowed with high qualities, the Armenian race, onto the Turkish race ...*,” which shall be dealt with next in this article.

The “New Man” (*Yeni Adam*) of Pan-Turkism and Eugenics⁴⁰

Conflicting with Banean’s foregoing question-provoking report is a corresponding episode from Halidé Edip’s memoirs. Banean reported that before being moved to Antoura, their group of Armenian children had found refuge in a Protestant pastor’s orphanage in Hama. However, their happy life in the orphanage, which was apparently a private one, in other words outside the supervision of major humanitarian organisations, quickly came to an end, as military officials dispatched by Djemal Pasha arrived and demanded that the pastor hand the orphans over to them to be transported to Antoura. This was grave news and there were no possibilities for refusal for the Armenians; it became clear to them that the orphans were going to be Turkified. An interesting detail particularly attracted attention: “*Djemal Pasha is the military commander in this area. The visiting military officers said that Djemal Pasha would like to collect all the Armenian children into his care, to educate them, bring them up and make them worthy human beings and eventually give them back to their people at the end of the war.*”⁴¹

Banean’s testimony is at odds with the words attributed to Djemal Pasha in Halidé Edip’s memoirs, the dialogue taking place between the two of them. It is deemed necessary to quote the passage completely, as each sentence is relevant to this study:

You have been as good to Armenians as it is possible to be in these hard days. *Why do you allow Armenian children to be called by Moslem names? It looks like turning the Armenians into Moslems, and history some day will revenge it on the coming generation of Turks.*

39 Aram Antonian, Մեծ ոճիւրը [The Great Crime] (Yerevan: Arevik, 1990), 178-179.

40 *Eugenics* – a doctrine concerning the improvement of the hereditary traits of the human race with the objective of actively influencing human evolution, perfecting human nature, enhancing the inheritance of talent and restricting the transmission of hereditary diseases to future generations. The term “*eugenics*” was first used by Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin, in 1883. This teaching especially enjoyed popularity in social and political circles during the first few decades of the 20th century. It subsequently developed a negative connotation resulting from its use by Nazi Germany and identification with the latter among other ones. Nevertheless, the term *eugenics* has its modern substitutes and further developments.

41 Banean, *Memoirs*, 122.

You are an idealist, he [Djemal Pasha - Sh.Kh.] answered gravely, and like all idealists you lack a sense of reality. *Do you believe that by turning a few hundred Armenian boys and girls Moslem I think I benefit my race?* You have seen the Armenian orphanages in Damascus run by Armenians. There is no more room in those and there is no more money to open another Armenian orphanage. This is a Moslem orphanage, and only Moslem orphans are allowed. *I send to this institution any wandering waif who passes into Syria from the regions where the tragedy took place. The Turks and the Kurds have that orphanage. When I hear of wandering and starving children, I send them to Aintoura. I have to keep them alive. I do not care how. I cannot bear to see them die in the streets.*⁴²

Edip replied, as written in her memoirs, that she did not want anything to do with such an orphanage. Djemal Pasha then said that she would want everything to do with it if she saw their misery and suffering...

A question: in that case why, according to Banian's testimony, did they move hundreds of orphans to Antoura from the Protestant pastor's orphanage, where they already had found refuge, instead of the thousands of homeless orphans wandering about under the walls of the orphanage, if the reason was the purely philanthropic urge to collect wandering children?

This passage naturally raises a few more questions in connection with the following point attributed to Djemal Pasha by Halidé Edip: "Do you believe that by turning a few hundred Armenian boys and girls Moslem I think I benefit my race?" Why would the Islamisation and Turkification of just the Armenians be referred to as beneficial in such a defensive question? This therefore alluded to eugenics, echoing what Aram Antonyan said: "...graft a race so endowed with high qualities, the Armenian race, onto the Turkish race. Just like it once was with the Janissaries."⁴³

The subject had at least been discussed in those days as well; it could, however, have been Edip's attempt at self-justification.

This begs another question: who was such philanthropy for, as it was definitely not for the Armenian race? Beatings and torture and other forms of abuse were used, as testified by the orphans, at the Antoura orphanage to ensure the erasure of Christianity and the forced forgetting of the Armenian language. It is believed, therefore, that the human beings they wanted to shape the Armenian children into were intended to fulfil the ideas of Ottoman Turkey and for the future. "*Djemal pasha had ordered that we should be given proper care and attention, since he appreciated the Armenians' brains and talents and hoped that, in case of victory, thousands of Turkified Armenian children would, in the coming years, ennoble his nation and we would become his future support.*"⁴⁴

It was this vision, this idea conveyed by the military personnel who came to the pastor's orphanage to fetch the orphans: "... Djemal Pasha will run [it] as a school, not an orphanage and educate and prepare decent people for the homeland."⁴⁵

42 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 428-429.

43 Antonian, *The Great Crime*, 178-179.

44 Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 426.

45 Banian, *Memoirs*, 127.

This quite neatly fits in with the idea of a new Pan-Turkic country, Halidé Edip's New Turan [Yeni Turan], a new homeland [Yeni Yurdu], a new nation, the new man [Adnan Adivar played quite an active role in the *Yeni Adam* [New Man] magazine of this genre published in Republican Turkey] and the close links with the new culture, the realisation of which was one of the ideological aims of the Young Turks and related circles.⁴⁶

It is a well-known fact that during WWI the warring parties, including Germany and Austria-Hungary, carried out medical experiments, as did Ottoman medical establishments and various international relief organizations operating within the Ottoman Empire. In this regard, Harutyun Alboyajyan conveyed the following:

The next day all the orphan boys were given a piece of bread, and we again hit the road. We reached the station shortly after. There was this most sumptuously dressed officer at the station, whose name was Adnan Bey... Adnan Bey said that we should now go to an orphanage, where we would be very well taken care of; we would have whistles at the end of our spoons to express our wishes. Adnan Bey was a doctor, the husband of one of the progressive Turkish women, Halidé Khanum. Apparently, he was telling very good things about the orphanage, so that we would not put our minds to running away, but we had no place to escape.⁴⁷

A whistle has always been an interesting children's' toy: it is convincing that, in this episode doctor Adnan Adivar has been using a psychological mechanism for the children to go with him or them, as it was very important for the children to follow them for some reason. At the same time, we cannot forget that, for example in Nazi Germany, doctor Josef Mengele⁴⁸ used to bribe children with sweets then subject them to medical experiments. What attracts attention at this point is Adnan Adivar's profession, his presence and role, combining all this with another fact: the presence of the second Antoura director, Lutfi Bey who succeeded Naid or Nahid Bey⁴⁹. The second director referred to in the orphanage's inmates' memoirs, Lutfi Bey was, according to them, also a physician. Our research was then

46 For this ideology of "new," as well as about Halidé Edip's participation see, for instance, Umit Kurt, Dogan Gurpinar, "The Young Turk Historical Imagination in the Pursuit of Mythical Turkishness and its Lost Grandeur (1911–1914)," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 43, no.4 (2016): 564-565, 568-569, 573.

47 Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 36-37.

48 *Josef Mengele* (1911-1979), an SS officer and physician in Nazi Germany, known by the nickname of "the Angel of Death." He is best known for performing medical experiments on people at the Auschwitz concentration camp, often resulting in death. Josef Mengele was also part of the medical staff selecting the victims to be killed in the gas chambers. Mengele had a doctorate in anthropology and medical science, possessed in-depth knowledge of then-current genetic/racial theories and conducted tests and experiments in person. He lived in disguise in various countries after the war and was buried under a pseudonym. See, for instance, Gerald L. Posner, John Ware, *Mengele: The Complete Story* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000).

49 *Naid or Nahid Bey*, a military man, was referred to only in Harutyun Alboyajyan and Melgon Petrosean memoirs. According to Alboyadjian he was a military officer from Marash who, after some time, was transferred to Palestine (Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 43), while Petrosean only mentioned the name (*The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 12). A Young Turk activist was found with this name who was a European-educated military man named Mehmet Nahid Kerven, but he wasn't from Marash. See "Mehmet Nahid Kerven," at <https://www.bu.edu/ckls/home/mehmet-nahid-kerven/>, accessed 02.06.2021. The identification of the first director of Antoura might well prove helpful in answering many Antoura-related questions.

centred on one individual, Dr. Lütfi Kırdar⁵⁰ who, it is believed, was the abovementioned Dr. Lütfi. This person later held high level government positions in Republican Turkey, becoming Health and Social Security Minister, as well as being the mayor and governor of Istanbul.

It is believed that it was not merely by chance that physicians were present before the transfer of the children and before they met Adnan Adıvar, about which the same Harutyun Alboyajyan said that when their caravan of deportees stopped at a *caravanserai* in the city of Homs, which was already full of deportees, a doctor appeared:

...we were approached by a well-dressed Arab or Turkish official. Before approaching, he was looking around carefully. He spoke Turkish very well. He approached me and asked whether I would want to be his son, but I resented bitterly and said that I would not leave my mother. He took out a purse of gold from his bosom and showed it to my mother. There were other boys next to us, who wanted to go with him, but he absolutely wanted to take me. He said that he was a doctor and would give me a good education if my mother and I agreed to his offer. So, every day he was coming for me and urging me to agree to go with him. Seeing that he could not persuade me, he started to threaten us that he would take me with the help of the police. I found a way out; the moment I saw him coming from a distance, I hid so that he would not see me...⁵¹

The doctor's interests might not have been limited to just one child. His field of operations was definitely wider and, from the same passage, it may clearly be seen that he was cooperating with the chief of police. He probably had permission for his activities from state bodies too. It is impossible not to pay attention to the presence of physicians in various episodes recounted in the Antoura orphans' memoirs.

Passages concerning eugenics may be seen in the memoirs of the Armenian inmates of Antoura:

Far from being for philanthropic reasons, Djemal Pasha's decision of placing the Armenian orphans in "caring hands" was a brutal and mean trap, *a shameless attempt* to Turkify the orphans and thus *ennoble the Turkish blood*. The Turks are well familiar with the Armenians. Having fed on the Armenian bread, Armenian labour for centuries, today also, in these hapless days of the Armenians, he has been putting into operation the devilish plan of assimilating the Armenian children.⁵²

50 *Lütfi Kırdar* (1887-1961), Turkish physician, public and political figure, Health and Social Security Minister (1957-1960) and mayor of Istanbul in Republican Turkey. He was born in Kirkuk (now in Iraq). He studied intermittently in the department of medicine of Istanbul University from 1908 and graduated in 1917. After the Great War, he joined the Turkish Red Crescent organisation and participated in the Kemalist movement as the head of the military medical service. Upon the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, he left for Vienna and Munich, retraining as an ophthalmologist. Returning a year later, he assumed various government positions before dying of a stroke in 1961 while defending himself against accusations before a military tribunal ("Lütfi Kırdar," at <https://www.beyaztarih.com/ansiklopedi/lutfi-kirdar>, accessed 02.06.2021, also, "Lütfi Kırdar," at <https://www.biyografi.net/kisiyrinti.asp?kisiid=1415>, accessed 02.06.2021).

51 Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 26.

52 Banian, *Memoirs*, 126.

or:

Halidé Edip would look at the boys and rejoice in her heart, as in several years these boys would be Turkified and ennobling the Turkish blood.⁵³

The same was reported by Harutyun Alboyajian in his testimony given to Verjiné Svazlian and quoted in the previous section; however the focus of this section is on another matter, therefore the part of the passage presented in italics is also different, in line with this section's subject:

Djemał pasha had ordered that we should be given proper care and attention, since he *appreciated the Armenians' brains and graces and hoped that, in case of victory, thousands of Turkified Armenian children would, in the coming years, ennoble his nation* and we would become his future support. Towards that aim Djemał pasha had teachers brought from Constantinople; he had brought physicians, because most of the orphans fell ill with scurvy and died.⁵⁴

At the same time the medical and sanitary situation in Antoura gave rise to many questions:

The number of children getting sick was increasing among the orphans, the completely vacant hospital during the first days was starting to feel cramped and nobody knew how professional was the physician at the orphanage, he would examine the patients coming to him, give them medications, and yet instead of getting better, they would shut their eyes not to open them again. Eight to ten of them have already died in a few weeks.⁵⁵

Consequently, the propensity of the Young Turk Pan-Turkic ideologists and elite for relevant medical, biological, anthropological, genetic and racial theories, as well as for medical services used and perhaps, also, the likelihood of experiments being carried out at the Antoura orphanage. To this aim can serve, for example, examination of bone remnants of the buried orphans of Antoura orphanage. This must be studied in the usual way to perhaps reveal many new aspects and phenomena of the Young Turks' overall genocidal ideas and to complete existing ones.

53 Ibid., 168.

54 Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 426.

55 Banian, *Memoirs*, 146.

The Veil of Secrecy and Hoax: Halidé Edip's Memoirs Versus Those of the Armenian Orphans

Halidé Edip may rightly be considered as one of the first revisionists of the Armenian Genocide; in fact her model may be classified within that of the denialism of the Armenian Genocide, typical of the modern period, in which the actual reality of the massacres is not being rejected time and again, but interpreted as a mutually administered, equal massacre, a conflict in the war⁵⁶ and never as a state, planned genocidal policy. *"They were Turks, Kurds and Armenians. Each child had a drama and each had its parents massacred by the parents of the other children, and now we're all stricken with the same misery and disaster. Each child had a Turkish or Moslem name."*⁵⁷

The following "confession," made by Edip, is noteworthy in the context of being concerned about Antoura and the orphans' living conditions: *"The two months from September to November, 1916, were to me the most painful during the war. I was in utter despair; the great calamity and hopeless misery which overwhelmed my country seemed to be everlasting. The war seemed endless and human suffering unlimited. I was unable to write a line, and if there had been a monastic life for women in Islam I should have entered it without hesitation."*⁵⁸

Garnik Banean contradicted this account of Halidé Edip, saying:

I saw Halide Edip Adivar, the woman who had stayed behind after Jemal Pasha's visit. She would often lean against the sundial and watch us play. She seemed care-free. Sometimes she journeyed to Beirut and returned a few days later with stacks of books under her arms. Some said that she was writing a book about the orphans; others claimed that at night, she sucked the blood out of the necks of the older boys. We didn't know what to believe.⁵⁹

Even if this is about various periods of Halidé Edip's life, such contradictions should be brought together to reveal their links and address them in the context of her image, role and relation to the orphans of the Armenian Genocide.

Halidé Edip never referred to her husband's involvement in persuading the children to move to Antoura as already noted above; however, she mentioned his name twice in the section about Antoura: once relative to her decision to marry him and the marriage itself (which took place on 23 April 1917 in Brusa),⁶⁰ and for the second time, about his arrival to Syria in June 1917 *"Dr. Adnan, who was inspecting the hygienic conditions of the Turkish armies, came to Syria in June, and we traveled home together."*⁶¹

As seen from Halidé Edip's memoirs, she stayed in Antoura until the last moment; par-

56 Edib, *Turkey Faces West*, 142-144, 165-166, 174.

57 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 428.

58 *Ibid.*, 431.

59 Panian, *Goodbye, Antoura*, 94-95.

60 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 450.

61 *Ibid.*, 452.

ticularly illustrative is the following passage where she explicitly indicated that the incident occurred during one of her last visits:

In connection with another Kurdish child I have another dramatic but happy picture fixed in my mind. *It happened in one of my last visits to Antoura. After the announcement that the parents able to prove their identity could take their children away*, some Armenian women had appeared. But as there are very few Turks and Kurds in Beirut and Lebanon, none of these nationals had turned up to claim their children.⁶²

Such an order to return the children might have been - and was - issued at the end of the War, (at the end of 1918), as Patriarch Zaven recalled, when the Turks lost their positions in the Middle East and were defeated.⁶³ Therefore, returning children could seem to be an extremely humanitarian act, whereas it had been imposed on the Ottoman authorities and the military. As she stayed at the orphanage till the end and at was at least privy to the events that took place there, it is very suspicious that she hid many details or used manipulative stories to present them as a normal state of affairs.

The reasonable doubts raised about the veracity of Halidé Edip's memoirs reaches its culmination with the description of the closing events of Antoura as a Turkish orphanage. She presented everything as if it was the result of her exhortations: she particularly presented the arrival of the Red Cross workers and assuming the management of the orphanage as an expression of her humanitarian attitude: *"I requested Dr. Bliss and Mr. Dodge to come and see me and begged them to take Antoura under the auspices of the Red Cross as soon as the clashes broke out in Beirut. For four months, the children were provided for thanks to Major Kemal, and the director had to stay with some of the staff members until the last minute."*⁶⁴

This notion prompts some questions, if not enigmas and one of these was the following: the memoirs of the orphans read that the Turks left abruptly with only the orphanage's pharmacist staying behind, whose name was given by both Melgon Petrosean⁶⁵ and Harutyun Alboyajian, as being the military doctor Riza Bey, who had been ordered to poison the children before leaving:

... Unexpectedly, the pharmacist of the orphanage, Riza Bey (a military doctor with the rank of colonel) entered the dining room. Walking along the room, he approached Enver, the chavush of the highest grade and said: "Enver chavush, son!" Enver chavush stood up. Riza Bey asked: "Enver, son, what is your Armenian name, do you remember it?" "Yes, I do, Toros." Thus, repeating the same thing with everyone, he approached and asked me the same question; I told him that my name was Harutyun.

62 Ibid., 467.

63 Archbishop Zaven. *Պատրիարքական յուշերու վաներագիրներ եւ վկայութիւններ* [My Patriarchal Memoirs: Documents and Testimonies] (Cairo: Nor Astgh, 1947), 254.

64 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 469.

65 *The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 12.

Then he asked the chavushes and orphans to take their seats. He said that no one from the management of the orphanage was there, no soldiers either. He himself might not have been there as well, but in that case, the orphans would not have been there too. *Later we learned that while running away the Turks had ordered the pharmacist Riza Bey to poison the orphans during their last supper and then leave.* But Riza Bey refused to agree to such a crime.⁶⁶

Edip did not present the Antoura closure in a complete way; it is true that the Red Cross mission arrived when the Turks left, but many questions were left unanswered or were omitted.

It is not thought that Halidé Edip might simply have been unaware of all this and that inhuman orders and atrocities had been issued and carried out only by the military leadership headed by Djemal Pasha, because at the time of publication of the memoirs in 1926 Edip at least should have been aware of what had happened about seven or eight years earlier. In addition, the last quotation from her book, which was cited above, was immediately followed by the following continuation, indicating that she had been very well informed of the details of further developments: *“I also begged them to pass the Armenian children to the Armenians through the Red Cross, and the Moslem children to the Red Crescent in Constantinople, if the necessary moment came. They promised, and they kept their promise. They sent up Mr. Crawford in the name of the Red Cross when the Allied armies entered. This was my last service to Antoura.”*⁶⁷

She finished her memoirs with a tale about Antoura, indicating that they stayed in Syria until 4 March 1919.⁶⁸ Did this abovementioned notion - “... [to hand over - Sh.Kh.] *the Moslem children to the Red Crescent in Constantinople*” - not serve to gloss over the fact that several dozen children were moved to Constantinople and kept in a secret place as reported by the orphans, among whom were some who were Armenians, of which one escaped, as mentioned above? Moreover, why did Halidé Edip, who recommended herself as a philanthropic and impartial intellectual, conceal those facts, if she honestly did not have anything to do with them? Perhaps she had feared for her own life; after all, she would have been relating things that would have given rise to multiple moral issues and, if she had divulged everything, might have lost her her position and authority. Finally, it could have ended with her disclosing military secrets. Selim Deringil quoted a passage from Halidé Edip to Ismail Hakki Bey, the *mutasarrif* of Lebanon, which is another piece of evidence of Halidé Edip’s complicity. It said:

In the eventuality of the situation [of the war] going against us, *it would be a political and humanitarian error to abandon such a large group, whose parents were killed by*

66 Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 50, see also, Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 429: “He [the pharmacist Fevzi of the Antoura orphanage-Sh.Kh.] did not continue, but later we learned that they had asked the pharmacist to poison our last supper, but he had refused to obey their order. And really, soon they came with Arab Sheriff, put handcuffs on his hands and took him away. We all were sad and silent. When they were taking him out.”

67 *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 469.

68 *Ibid.*, 471.

Turks, [ebeveyni Türkler tarafından öldürülmüş] to the foreigners. To abandon the orphanage would be an error enabling them to use it as political and humanitarian evidence against us. For this reason, I am in favor, for now, of immediately transferring Antoura to Istanbul [...]. The children can be moved to Istanbul in relative safety only if you provide transport for the staff. If Antoura is indeed to be abandoned I request that you leave Mount Lebanon.⁶⁹

With all this in mind Halidé Edip could confidently be called an accomplice, as she could have concealed, but avoided, the urge to present all this under a manipulatively positive light, which was something she didn't do in her memoirs or decades later. She never edited her own work in any way, even though she was active in politics and society until her death in January 1964. Therefore, her memoirs are - and at the same time cannot be - a source concerning the Antoura orphanage, state Islamisation and the Turkification policy as they raise a host of questions and issues and contradict the orphans' memoirs.

The methods of persuasion chosen by the teacher of religion or hoja to coerce the orphans, which might have been of service in previous times, are also interesting. Moreover, the words used were diametrically opposed to what Halidé Edip was trying to communicate to us through Djemal Pasha's words. There is no doubt about Islamisation being on firm foundations, nor was there any doubt about the desire to create Turks from Armenian children and speaking Armenian had been forbidden too. But Halidé Edip's diplomatic efforts to conceal those facts are of interest too.

Thus, Melgon Petrosean, compared to Garnik Banean for instance, had some knowledge of Turkish and remembered some of the phrases used to convert Armenian children by the teachers at the Antoura orphanage: *“My dear children, in olden times you have been children of Turks, the infidels converted your mothers into “gavurs” forcibly, you should go back to your mother religion. Your religion is old and outdated like the fire worship. Your prophet Jesus is also worn out and like a worn-out shirt we throw it away and put on another.”*⁷⁰

Ziya Gökalp⁷¹ was, in the later years of the Ottoman Empire, the father of the idea that Christianity was an old and outdated religion and that Islam was new and innovative, tending towards novelty and modernity and containing layers of thought that were in line with Western thinking. Halidé Edip followed that ideological line both virtually and in her writings, as was well known. In this sense, the Islamisation of Christians, unified with the approaches developed by the ideologists of pan-Turkism, was used for the first time and at least the ideological line is noticeable. This, then, is another point that adds doubt to Halidé Edip's direct quotation above, stating that she was against the idea of the Islamisation of

69 See No.68 reference of the article: Deringil, “Your Religion is Worn and Outdated.”

70 *The Memoirs of Melgon Petrosean*, 12-13. The expressions were in Turkish and we express our deep gratitude to AGMI researcher, Turkologist Dr. Elina Mirzoyan for converting the Turkish text in Armenian script into literary Turkish.

71 This was briefly touched on in our following article: Shushan Khachatryan, «Երիտուրքերի գաղափարախոսական ուղենիշները: Կրոնը՝ քաղաքականության, քաղաքականությունը կրոնի մեջ» [The Young Turks' Ideological Guidelines: Religion in Politics and Politics in Religion] *Ts'eghaspanagitakan handes* 4, no. 1 (2016): 125-126.

children, as Christian religious identity was regarded as an impediment to the establishment of pan-Turkism. In other words, future studies must allow for the following question: was the Islamisation carried out at Antoura orphanage by its staff headed by Halidé Edip done for the sake of religion, as carried out in the Ottoman Empire in previous centuries, or did it have political, civilizational, cultural and ideological foundations conspicuous in pan-Turkist writings and its ideological line? It is believed that the second was a link in the chain dependent on the first, as Islam was only one element of a synthesis - the primary link - but not the ultimate aim. There was an urge to create a new cultural environment, a new cultivated and cultured man within the substantial solidity of pan-Turkism. Armenian children were Turkified in this sense.

This phenomenon, fitting into the concept of pan-Turkism, has been studied many times on various occasions by different specialists, but needs further, extensive coverage and detailed elaboration in the context of the Antoura orphanage and the subtext of the Turkification of Armenian children, which has been outlined in this article and is its subject. It is necessary, at the same time, to draw parallels with the phenomenon of the Sunnification⁷² of non-Muslim and non-Sunni groups carried out in previous centuries under the vertical subordination of the leadership of the Ottoman Empire and recently conceptualised with the much-cherished agenda of religious and ideological homogenization of the Ottoman Empire. This is the context in which studies should be made as to which generalities exist and what differences there are and whether the above phenomenon was the precursor of pan-Turkism and if the genocidal mentality cultivated against Armenian Christians also has its roots in this pan-Sunnitisation phenomenon.

Conclusion

The aim of this question-posing research is to open up the field for various sub-studies, where the future work of various specialists able to take advantage of an important area of the philosophy of Islamisation and Turkification of Armenian children at the Antoura orphanage and generally during the Armenian Genocide may be seen. The foregoing indeed only contributes to the number of questions and problems requiring clarification, but this is the true purpose of this article.

The name for what Halidé Edip did at the Antoura orphanage is *genocide*. Research carried out concludes that Halidé Edip's character should first and foremost be the subject of a psychological study. A female leader having influence not only on political leaders, but also on the masses, who was one of the future-builders of Turkey was an unprecedented event in Ottoman history. She was rushing, with her right foot to the West and her left to the East to Turkify orphaned and homeless Armenian children. She also had her right hand on the concept and implementing of the ideas of modernizing Turkey, while her left was conceiving and realising the ideas of the erasure of the identity of Armenian children.

She would put on a smiling face when associating with the elite of Western cultural life,

⁷² For this phenomenon see Derin Terzioğlu, "How to Conceptualize Ottoman Sunnitization: A Historiographical Discussion," *Turcica* 44 (2012-2013): 301-338.

while scowling at influential ladies and gentlemen and playing a painful role in the life of the world-famous genius Komitas Vardapet, even denying that he was an Armenian. What did she hate so much in Armenians? What was the reason for her obviously metaphysical hatred? If a professional interdisciplinary group could be tasked with answering these questions, there would be a new set of phenomenological explanations as to why the Armenian Genocide was planned. Historical examination of this woman's character may lead to errors being committed but that is up to the court of psychologists, scholars of religious and cultural studies, anthropologists and others.

At the same time, without repeating what kind of research problems have occurred, it is relevant to highlight that each person, place-name, profession and every action relating to Antoura must be made the subject of examination and thorough collation. The Antoura orphanage may be called a touchstone not only the issues of forcible Turkification of Armenian children, but also generally of the revelation of many aspects of the Armenian Genocide. The mere existence of this orphanage with its methodology, staff and ideology combines, within itself, the implementation of Pan-Turkism, assimilation, as well as the new methods and scientific theories of nation-building that were employed by Young Turk officials and theorist-adherents. The names of Antoura inmates, their stories and the staff of the orphanage should also provide subjects for study, particularly focusing on the collection of the memoirs or testimonies of inmates still unknown to us and the biographical and ideological details of the Turkish staff. To keep things in order, an appendix containing relevant tables is attached to this article.

It should be noted that the issue of the existence of the Antoura orphanage is broader and fits into the framework of contemporary scientific and anti-scientific theories as well as in ideologies and philosophical-political phenomena. In this sense the involvement of Halide Edip's second husband Adnan Adıvar in the establishment of the Antoura orphanage that has been concealed so far will be the subject of our next study when a sufficient number of relevant sources have been identified.

Appendix

Table 1. Antoura Orphanage Staff

Position	Name [+Profession]					N
General Inspector	Halidé Edip					1
Directors	Naid/Nahid Bey [military]	Lutfi Bey [Physician]	Reshad Bey	Abraham Bey Romashvili		4
Overseers-Controllers	Favzi/Fevzi Bey [military, Internal Affairs Mudir]	Mukhtar Bey				≈ ⁷³
Teachers	Nejmeddine [Hodja/mullah, teacher of religion]	Nabihe Hanim [Turkish teacher]	X [Rules of etiquette and Medicine teacher]	Aishe [A teacher who praises the fruits of Turkey and teaches geography]	X [Arab music teacher]	≈5
Pharmacist / Physician	Riza Bey [doctor with military rank]	X ⁷⁴	X			≈1
Office Staff	X Arabs					X
Accountant	Muhasabaji Bey					≈1
Storekeeper	Shukri					≈1
Responsible for the Canteen and Cleanliness	Emine Hanim					≈1

73 The approximately symbol ≈ was used as it is not clear whether there have been others or not, or because the orphans mentioned others in their memoirs but their number is still unknown to us.

74 The X indicates that there was a reference in the text also to other people occupying the given position, but no name or exact number has been indicated.

Carpenter	Josef (Arab)					≈1
Guard						≈30
Total						≈47

Table 2. The Antoura Orphanage Curriculum

N	Subject
1	Marching drill
2	Religion and history of religion
3	Turkish
4	Writing exercise
5	Music
6	Etiquette
7	Medicine
8	Arithmetic
9	Natural science or “Talks about wildlife, domestic plants and animals in Turkey” ⁷⁵
10	Geography

Table 3. Armenian Children in the Antoura Orphanage According to the Memoirs Written by G. Banean, H. Alboyajyan and M. Petrosean

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
1	Melgon Petrosean (1905-1990) ⁷⁶	8	Nezhip [=Nejip/ Nejep]	Sarılar, Amanos	

⁷⁵ Banean, *Memoirs*, 135:

⁷⁶ Fabrice Grognet, “Les mémoires d’un père en héritage,” *Hommes & migrations* 1281 (2009): 174-179, at <http://journals.openedition.org/hommesmigrations/404>, accessed 09.09.2021.

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
2	Harutyun Alboyajyan (1904-1994)	534/535 ⁷⁷	a. Saleh, b. Shukru	Finticak	
3	Garnik Banean (1910- 1989)	551	Ahmed	Kyurin	
4	Toros Karapetyan or Big Toros ⁷⁸		Enver chavush / küçük Enver	Kyurin	According to M. Bedrosian he only one circumcised willingly and the 10th grade chavush
5	Vardan		Djemal chavush /küçük Djemal	Kyurin	Chavush of M. Bedrosian's class
6	Hrand?		Talaat chavush / küçük Talaat		
7			küçük Hasan		
8	Hovsep		Mahmud cha- vush		Trumpeter
9			Izzet chavush		

⁷⁷ In Harutyun Alboyajyan's memoirs, 534 (Alboyajyan, *Through the Roads of Crucifixion*, 40), and in Verjiné Svazlian's miscellanea, 535 (Svazlian, *The Armenian Genocide*, 439).

⁷⁸ *Küçük Enver* or *Enver chavush*, real name Toros Karapetyan, was referred to in the memoirs of all the three orphans. The most detailed account of him was given by Harutyun Alboyajyan, as they stayed in touch with each other even after the Antoura orphanage was closed and later the orphans were repatriated and settled in Soviet Armenia. Toros Karapetyan apparently was one of the most important figures in the Antoura orphanage. A small personal investigation revealed the names of his grandchildren and great grandchildren, and it is hoped that it will be possible, in the near future to contact them to find more details about his persona and stay at the Antoura orphanage, thus make new discoveries about it.

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
10			Shekir chavush		Chavush of H. Alboyajyan's class
11	Nshan		Midhat	Sis	
12	Manuel				Leader boy cursing the Turkish flag, related to G. Banean
13	Mkrtich				Leader boy cursing the Turkish flag
14	Gevorg		Muhamed	Sis	
15			Yusuf	Adana	
16	Serob				
17	Murad [?]		Murad [?]		
18	Grigor				Orphanage storekeeper, Karnig Banean's cousin
19	Mihran				One of the leaders of K. Banean's secret group
20	Galust			Sebastia	Brother of the next two
21	Poghos			Sebastia	

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
22	Hovhannes			Sebastia	
23	Vagharshak			Erzurum	
24			Sarı	Marash	The only com- pletely Islam- ized
25			Aysha		M. Bedrosian's sister
26			Lutfia		M. Bedrosian's sister
27	Abraham		Ibrahim		Blind from forced looking at the sun.
28	Toros Tadevosian/ Zhamkochyan or Lit- tle Toros		Ahmed ⁷⁹		
29	Arshak	549	Ahmed ⁸⁰		
30	Hovhannes Karapog- hosian ⁸¹				
31-32	Tadevos and Sedrak Khashkhashians				

79 An orphan by the name of Ahmed was referred to in both Garnik Banean's and Harutyun Alboyajyan's memoirs; the latter mentions his Armenian name, while Garnik Banean twice referred to an orphan by the same name with his number mentioned as 549 in one place and his Armenian name in another. Not being sure about the particulars of the number given by Banean or whether the reference was made to the same person or not, it was preferred to footnote it.

80 See the previous footnote.

81 There is Hovhannes Karapoghossian's brief unpublished memoir mentioning about the Antoura orphanage: *Through the Valley of the Shadow of Death: Autobiography by John Jacob Karaboghossian*, 36 pp. AGMI collections, s-40, no. 1316:

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
33	Minas				Nicknamed “kyalaji”
34			Mustafa		
35	Hrach				
36	Tovmas				H. Alboyajyan’s friend
37	Karapet				H. Alboyajyan’s brother
38	Taguhi Gyrjjan				H. Alboyajyan’s friend
39			Emmi oghli		
40			Izyat	Adana	After Antoura orphanage he was studying at the Maritime College
41	Verjiné Gyulumian				
42	Vertahim Svazlian				
43	Hovsep				M. Bedrosian’s relative
44	Panos				M. Bedrosian’s relative
45			Mehmet	Ainteb	One of those who were locked in near Constantino- ple, who had escaped from there

N	Baptismal Name Surname /Other Notes	Orphanage Number	New Turkish Name	Birth- place, Or- igin	Other Avail- able Data
46-48	Three boys from the same village as Melgon Bedrosean with who the latter fled from Antoura orphanage				
49	Garnik Banean characterized him as a spirited boy making anti-Turkish speeches				
50-51	Harutyun Alboyajyan’s two cousins who died early				
52-54	Three Armenian boys helping intendant and physician Riza Bey, one of whom was called Arif [Hovhannes Karapoghosian’s name was Arif]				
55	A boy from Adana who was beaten for trying to escape, he limped afterwards				
56	A boy who developed mental problems because of forcible conversion and died				
57	An 8-year-old kid subjected to beating for wearing a cross				
[+50]	In the spring of 1918, some 50 boys and several teachers were moved to Istanbul and kept in confinement under strict control in one of the districts there. Here is where Mehmet from Aintab escaped from				

Table 4. The route taken by Garnik Banean and other children in his group to Antoura, starting from conscription to transportation

Hama [Armenian Reverend’s orphanage]	Homs	Baalbek	Beirut	Antoura orphanage
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Table 5. The route taken by Harutyun Alboyajyan and other children in his group to Antoura, starting from conscription to transportation

Mismiyah	Dera	Mismiyah	Damascus Mosque*	Jounieh*	Antoura orphanage*
*Accompanied by Adnan Bey					

Table 6. The route taken by Melgon Petrosean and other children in his group to Antoura, starting from conscription to transportation

Hama	Baalkek	Rayak	Beirut	Antoura orphanage
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