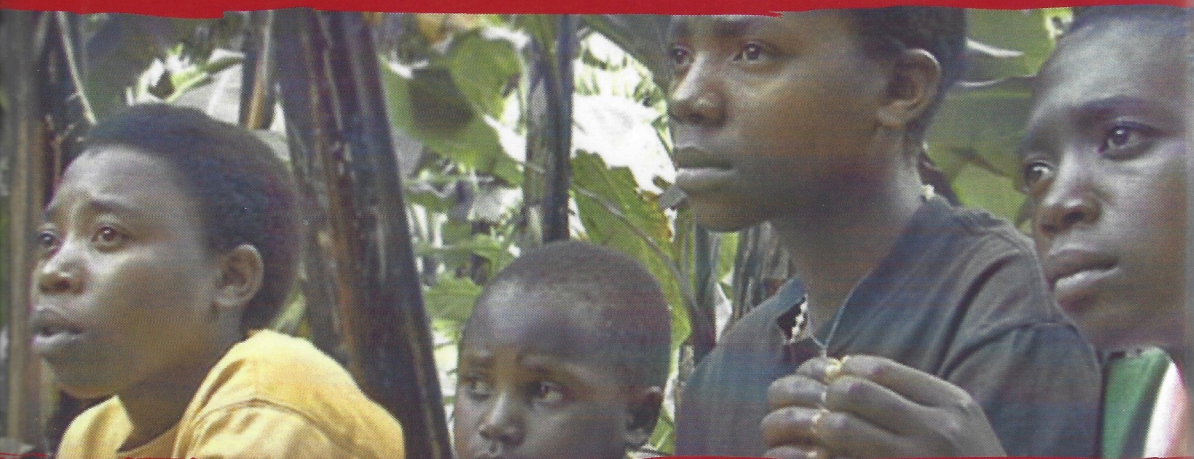


Plight and Fate of Children

During and Following

GENOCIDE



GENOCIDE:

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHIC REVIEW

VOLUME 10

Samuel Totten, editor

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Children: The Most Vulnerable Victims of the Armenian Genocide

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[A]ttempts have been made to discern certain features or patterns that stand out with respect to the genocidal treatment of children. This attempt provides a perspective through which children are viewed as a distinct sub-category within the overall victim population—Vahakn Dadrian in “Children as Victims of Genocide.”

Introduction

As a result of the systematic destruction of Armenian life in the Ottoman Empire during the period between 1894 and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, an estimated 1.5 million people lost their lives and some 500,000 fled the country. The 3,000-year presence of Armenians in their homeland was reduced to a mere 50,000, residing as a more or less accepted minority in Istanbul, with thousands of forcibly or voluntarily Islamized Armenians living discreetly and anonymously throughout Turkey. In this darkest quarter century in the history of the Armenian people, children suffered not only as members of the targeted population but also in their unique predicament of vulnerability and helplessness. It is difficult to place an exact number of how many children lost their lives and/or were abducted and taken into Muslim households or Turkish orphanages never to be found. This number is certainly in the hundreds of thousands, possibly as high as three quarter of a million. By the destruction of the children of the Armenian population, the Young Turks obliterated the natural growth of the nation for many years to come.

In May 1915, Great Britain, France, and Russia issued a joint declaration in which the treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire was defined as “new crimes of Turkey against humanity and civilization” (The Armenian Review 1984, 65). The events of 1915, however, were just the culmination of the genocidal acts against Armenians. What are often overlooked are the pre-1915 massacres: the Hamidian massacres of 1894–1896 and the Cilician massacres of 1909. The survivors of the latter continued living in their ravaged homes and ransacked towns and villages, and rebirth was possible despite continuing discrimination and persecution. The Armenian Church and the Armenian cultural, political, and benevolent associations took charge of rebuilding the nation. Armenian as well as foreign organizations established orphanages to house the orphan leftovers of the massacres. Children grew up in a familiar environment and entered society relatively well-equipped with the necessary survival tools. Hovhannes Mughditchian (1996) remembers one such orphanage in the Monastery of Sis, established in 1898, and Reverent Yeznik Der-Sarkissian, the superintendent, who treated the orphans like the true father they had lost (10). In his memoir, Mughditchian (1996) wrote: “The superintendent of the orphanage, a wonderful man . . . looked after us like an ideal father, and I always remembered him with great affection” (p.10).

Eventually, between 1915 and 1923, a more total destruction occurred in calculated phases. First, Armenian men were conscripted into the Ottoman army and liquidated. Then Armenian community leaders and intellectuals were arrested and killed. Finally, women, children, and the elderly were deported to the Syrian Desert.

The Pre-1915 Massacres

“Fifty thousand orphans made so by the Turkish massacres of Armenians is the official estimate received at the State Department from US Consul Berghotz, at Erzeroum,” reported the *New York Times* on December 18, 1896. According to this report, provisional relief was provided and orphanages were being set up in Urfa, Caesarea, and elsewhere.

The reports of representatives of different countries about the massacres of Armenian people in 1894–1896 raised a wave of Armenian relief efforts across the globe, which resulted in various organizations and committees rushing relief workers and aid to the Armenians.

For example, Clara Barton, the head and founder of the American Red Cross, was permitted to enter the Ottoman Empire in 1896. Barton

remained there for more than five months coordinating the relief work in different provinces of the empire.

Five expeditions of the American Red Cross were also sent to the desolated interior, two of which were headed by physicians. Their objective was to distribute food, medicine, and tools to begin the massive reconstruction of the devastated towns and villages (Barton 1898, 316–17). John D. Rockefeller gave the first of hundreds of thousands of dollars that he and his family contributed to Armenian relief.

Both Germany (Lepsius 1897, 276; Ehmann 1921, 2 and 9) and various Scandinavian countries also responded to the massacres. Danish and Swedish members of “Women Missionary Workers” (KMA) assisted German orphanages in Kharberd (Harput), Marash, Van, and Mush (Azadian 1995, 179–84, 191, and 201). In 1903, the KMA founded “Emmaus,” the first Danish orphanage in Mezre. Karen Jeppe and Maria Jacobsen, two Danish missionaries who were later referred to as “Danish mothers of Armenian orphans,” arrived in Turkey in 1903 and 1907, respectively, and remained with Armenian refugees and orphans throughout World War I as well.

Swiss missionaries opened a number of orphanages for Armenian orphans in Sivas, Bursa, Pardizak, and other cities in Turkey, and assistance was also provided by “Friends of Armenia” from Great Britain (Azadian 1995, 179–84, 191, and 201).

To some extent, the relief work by foreign missionaries and Armenian organizations satisfied the physical needs of these orphans; however, it did not remedy the psychological damage to children who survived the murder of their parents (e.g., such as a young girl who witnessed her parents being murdered and ran away insane; another who surrendered to her Kurdish abductor for a piece of bread to feed her orphaned younger sibling; and a girl, driven into a brothel, who was forced to dance for Turkish officers). Suren Partevian’s *Hayuhin (The Armenian Woman)* is replete with tales of these orphans’ wretched fate.

An article that appeared in *The New York Times* on April 25, 1909, reported the massacres of Armenians in Adana and surrounding towns and villages, and conservatively estimated that some 30,000 had been killed and that some 100 girls were missing. The article referred to the latter as the “victims of Turkish fanaticism in Adana vilayet.”

In the immediate aftermath of the Adana massacres, the Patriarchate of Constantinople sent delegations to the disaster-stricken area to report on the damage and to plan relief work. The literary responses

of Zabel Yesayan and Suren Partevian, members of two separate delegations, depict in striking detail the predicament of orphans, widows, and old men as the remnants of Adana's once thriving Armenian population. Yesayan's (2010) *Averaknerun mej (Among the Ruins)* provides the most dramatic landscape of misery and horror: the burnt bodies of men, women, and children piled up inside the ruins of a church which the Turks had set on fire while the Armenians were praying to God for mercy; mothers gone mad, running around and shouting, still holding the bodies of their children who had already been dead for days; others, in agony, leaving their children at the church door and running away. In a chapter on orphans, Yesayan describes her visit to the German orphanage in Izmir. There a young Armenian girl who had been a resident since the 1895 killings and who served as an aide to the Mother Superior was now receiving the orphans of yet another Turkish debauchery (Yesayan 2010, 57). Yesayan also visited Mersin where hundreds of orphans had been collected by the Patriarchate and housed in a makeshift orphanage next to the church. The goal was to move them away from the disaster area in order to help them heal faster. But as Yesayan (2010) notes, the idea of healing was farfetched; the relative care and comfort given to these children could neither expunge the horrors they had witnessed nor their longing for their murdered parents. Yesayan (2010) reports that some of the children still had stains from the blood of their dying mothers on their ragged clothes. An eight-year-old girl, the victim of an appalling rape, had been turned into a speechless creature. In the ruined city of Adana, there were orphans everywhere, wandering in the streets like wild animals. It was a great challenge to collect them since they fled when pursued, seeing a killer in any male who approached them. But these were the fortunate ones; they at least had a future before them. The tiny barely covered graves just outside the city limits belonged to children who had died of diseases spread by the putrefying unburied cadavers. As one survivor stated, "The real orphanage is beneath the earth" (Yesayan 2010, 97). Yesayan writes about a Turkish woman who had loaded wounded Armenian men and children into a carriage pretending to save their lives, only to push them into the river (Peroomian 1993, 106).

Writing his memoirs on the Cilician massacres, Hagop Terzian (2009), too, described the slaughter of Armenian men, women, and children of all ages, and the public rape of young girls and the amputation of their arms and legs with axes.

The Torturous 1915 Journey toward Death and the Agonizing Survival

After the liquidation of almost all the able-bodied men,¹ the deportation decree was the last blow to the remnants. Armenians were ordered out of their homes and given very little or no time to prepare for the journey. Some families entrusted their young children to Turkish or Greek neighbors. At one and the same time, a warning from the government asserted that anyone sheltering or hiding Armenians would be severely punished, and thus many were leery of accepting Armenian children.

Many children ended up in the street. Ultimately, most were collected and disposed of by the government. Others wandered with their mothers and others in the wilderness, hungry and miserable, begging for a crust of bread, sleeping like stray dogs, and ultimately, if not murdered, dying of starvation, and/or dehydration. Some, miraculously, survived this hardship and somehow reached freedom.

Some families, especially during the first weeks of the implementation of the deportation decree, were given the option of converting to Islam and thereby avoiding exile. But even in their case, they were forced to surrender their children to Turkish orphanages to be raised as Muslims. This practice ceased after Talaat Pasha's January 15, 1916 instruction to the Government of Aleppo not to accept Armenian children in Turkish orphanages and not to feed them, which he considered "an act completely opposite to its purpose," regarding "the survival of these children as detrimental" (Kelly 2005, 231). Some Armenian children escaped from the orphanages; others were killed according to orders from above.

Caravans of the remnants, mostly women, children, and elderly men, were put on the road toward unknown destinations. Some were liquidated on the outskirts of their towns and villages. The rest continued on foot. Gendarmes who accompanied the deportees in order to "protect" them, instead alerted Muslim villagers or criminal gangs (*chetes*) to the approaching convoy and then allowed them to loot, rape, and kill at will. They snatched away small children and sold them for a few coins, mostly to Bedouin Arabs. At night, when the deportees were ordered to stop, gendarmes or bandits would attack them and prey upon young girls, rape them and leave them to die, or take them away and sell them as slaves, or keep them for use as "helpers" around the house. Young boys were snatched away for the same purpose. They too

were raped, since the pedophilic tendencies of those criminals did not differentiate between the sexes. Children who survived the experience of molestation carried the guilt and shame throughout their lives. Oral interviews conducted at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) with such survivors revealed the secret these wretched men and women had tried to hide and their everlasting pain.

From April to October 1915, thousands of skeletal women and children filled the roads, prey to continuous assault, hunger, thirst, disease, and the scorching desert sun. The death march passed along circuitous country roads and through rugged mountain passes crowded with the maggot-ridden corpses left behind by previous caravans. The chosen route avoided villages so that the deportees could not beg for food, water, or help. Even when the route took them past a stream or a well, the gendarmes prevented them from approaching the water. During this torturous journey, the older boys and the men who had not been arrested prior to the deportation were rounded up and shot or bayoneted, often in front of their mothers or wives. Mothers smeared mud on their daughters' faces to make them unappealing to attackers and dressed their young sons in girls' clothing to hide their gender.

Mothers, if they had any cloth, would wrap their children's bare feet, but this ragged covering easily ripped on thorns and stones. Others begged strangers to take their infants so that at least these might yet survive. Still others taught their children the Armenian alphabets, using a stick to draw in the desert sand, in the hope that after their own certain death, their children would keep the memory of their identity. Those who still had their Bibles would read to the children to soothe the pain of hunger and thirst.

Beside the hardships of the deportation route—the hunger, thirst, typhus, and dysentery to which thousands of children fell victim—Vahakn Dadrian (2003), in a striking research paper, "Children as Victims of Genocide," cites other methods by which children were liquidated. Muslim villagers used axes, hammers, clubs, scythes, spades, and saws to kill the emaciated deportees, and especially the children (423). Based on testimonies given before the Turkish Military Tribunal in 1919, Dadrian (2003) delineates the atrocious methods used in Trebizond, for example, poisoning infants; drowning older children who resisted taking their "medicine"; subjecting infants to "the steambath" (suffocation by steam); stuffing dead children into baskets and throwing them into the sea; retaining young girls for use in the governor-general's sex orgies, passing on a few of the prettiest

ten to thirteen-year-olds to his fourteen-year-old son, and killing the rest (424–25). Mass drowning was also a popular method in Trebizond province. Groups of infants and young children torn away from their parents were jammed on board a vessel which was then capsized in the Black Sea. Citing Leslie A. Davis, an American consul in Kharbert (Kharput), Dadrian (2003) recounts that mass murder by butchering helpless women and children, mutilating their bodies and drowning them also occurred at Lake Geoljuk near the city of Kharberd (Harput) on the orders of the governor of Harput province. Dadrian (2003) also quotes US Ambassador Henry Morgenthau who reported that “at Kemach Gorge hundreds of children were bayoneted by the Turks and thrown into the Euphrates” (427). Similar acts were committed on the lower stretches of the river. Dadrian also notes that mass rape was used as a tool for the liquidation of young girls and homosexual rape was inflicted on Armenian boys, both along the deportation route and in Muslim homes where they were kept as adoptive sons or helpers. Dadrian also speaks of the mass burning alive of Armenian orphans and mentions Diyarbekir, Harput, Bitlis, and Aleppo as sites of this most ferocious act.

Foreign Relief Work and Establishment of Orphanages

In early September 1915, a cable was sent to the Department of State at Washington from Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, who was in Constantinople, stating that the annihilation of the Armenian race in Turkey was rapidly progressing (J. Barton 1930, 4). This message was transmitted to James Barton, Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) in Boston, an organization that had been sending missionaries to the Middle East since the mid-nineteenth century. Members of ABCFM had many stations all over the Ottoman Empire, had established many schools, orphanages, and hospitals in the region, and had provided aid for Armenians after the Hamidian massacres of 1894–1896 as well as after Adana massacres of 1909. Beginning in October 1, 1915, the Armenian Relief Committee began to contribute relief to the latest group of Armenian victims of the Turks in the Ottoman Empire. In his book *Story of Near East Relief*, James Barton provides detailed information about the activities of the committee that evolved into the Near East Relief (NER) and was chartered by act of Congress in 1919.

Other groups of Americans also reached out to the Armenians. For example, one group of affluent people (including Cleveland H. Dodge,

President Woodrow Wilson's friend and the Chairman of the Board of Trustees of Robert College at Constantinople; James L. Barton, Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM; Charles R. Crane, President of the Board of Trustees of the Constantinople College for Women; Samuel T. Dutton, Treasurer of the Constantinople College for Women and the Secretary of World Peace Foundation, among many other prominent individuals) met in New York and also organized a committee for the purpose of raising funds for suffering Armenians and sending aid to Constantinople for relief purposes. It was to be done with the active cooperation of Ambassador Morgenthau and the missionaries who were already stationed in various parts of the Ottoman Empire.

The American relief work generally fell into four categories: general relief (organized via a fundraising campaign in which ordinary people from the United States, and later Canada and many other countries, contributed funds to help thousands of refugees and orphans in the Near East), special relief (which was coordinated by many volunteers sent to the field, and resulted in the NER building hundreds of miles of roads, repairing damaged buildings and building new ones, and establishing new industries), medical work (which was accomplished not only by sending physicians and medicine overseas but by also establishing new hospitals and training hundreds of nurses), and helping orphans. Initially, the relief workers provided clothing and bedding for the orphans, especially needed in the cold winters. At the same time they began establishing hundreds of orphanages all over the Ottoman Empire, where the Armenian orphans were not only sheltered but also were educated and trained to become self-supporting by the age of sixteen. Many of the orphans had been so badly scarred mentally and emotionally that they had forgotten their names, their language, and where they came from. The NER had child welfare professionals who were working in orphanages or clinics to treat such problems.

The committee spearheaded a nationwide publicity campaign and fundraising for the Armenians in need. From 1915 until 1930, this organization raised and donated more than \$116,000,000. With these funds the NER cared for one to two million refugees, mostly women and children. The NER also actively cooperated with ABCFM, Rockefeller Foundation, American Red Cross, and with other committees established all over the world.

The Scandinavian missionaries who were already in Turkey and were running orphanages and hospitals in the interior of the Ottoman Empire also actively cooperated with American relief workers. Some

of them even took over the American operated orphanages when the United States entered World War I and most of the Americans had to leave.

Turkish Orphanages as Centers of Turkification

The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide adopted by the United Nations General Assembly defines a number of acts that constitute genocide, including “forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.” Turkish orphanages set up for Armenian children would have met this definition. Recently, the location and files of the state orphanage at Antoura (1916–1919) in Mount Lebanon were discovered, bringing to light the fate of Armenian orphans and the brutal methods and punishments meted out, such as starvation and the *bastinado* (the beating of the soles of the feet with a rod known as “*falakha*”). The transgression that merited the most severe and most frequent beatings was speaking Armenian (Fisk 2010). Karnig Panian, a survivor, noted the following in his memoir: “after cruel treatment or through physical weakness, many children died. They were buried behind the old college chapel. At night the jackals and wild dogs would dig them up and throw the bones here and there . . . At night, kids would run out to nearby the forest to get apples or any fruits they could find—and their feet would hit bones. They would take these bones back to their rooms and secretly grind them to make soup, or mix them with grain so they could eat them as there was not enough food at the orphanage. They were eating the bones of their dead friends” (quoted in Fisk 2010, n.p.).

Harutyun Alboyajian, another inmate of Antoura orphanage, remembers the day that the orphans woke up to see all Turkish guards and soldiers and officers gone. That was a day or two before Beirut was liberated. The only Turk who stayed behind, the pharmacist, spoke to the orphans, admonished them to forget the Turkish names given to them in the orphanage and return to their original names. He also confessed to the children that he was instructed to poison their last supper and kill them all before leaving the orphanage. But he did not do that (Svazlian 2011, 426–28). Another survivor, Hampartzoum Chitjian, notes that his father had been tortured and forced to turn over his four sons to a Turkish orphanage (which were euphemistically called *mekteb*, meaning school) in their hometown of Perri. In his memoirs, *A Hair's Breadth from Death*, Hampartzoum (2003) describes the hardship of life in the prison-like orphanage where 150–200 boys,

aged four to fourteen, lived starving and sick. He notes that he and the other incarcerated children were sent out to pillage Armenian homes, all of which were vacant as a result of the deportations, on the behalf of the Turkish government (100–103). The Turkish *mullahs* gave the orphans Turkish names, forbade them to speak Armenian, and forced them to convert to Islam. A year later, they separated the older boys who resisted conversion and killed them all. Hampartzoum miraculously escaped. A blind Turkish beggar picked him up and took him to his shack. Hampartzoum met many Islamized boys working as servants in Turkish homes. Fortunately, for him, his master did not force him to convert.

Massis Kodjoyan (Svazlian 2011), a five-year old, was snatched by a Turk on the deportation route from Bayburt (Babert) to Sebastia (Sivaz) and was used as a shepherd. For three years, Kodjoyan lived in Turkish houses until he was taken to a Turkish orphanage in Sivaz where he lived for a year. The orphanage suffered a typhus epidemic and more than half of the orphans died. The healthy ones were transferred to another Turkish orphanage. After the war, when the search for Armenian orphans was underway, he refused to leave. He had become a true Turk. However, a surviving sister found him and forced him to leave the orphanage and flee. Massis and his sister finally reached Yerevan (Svazlian 2011, 202–4).

Armenian Children in Postwar Constantinople

In early 1919, the surviving Armenian remnants, mostly widows and children stranded in the interior, began to find their way to Constantinople, which was under Allied occupation. The French, British, and later Italian military presence in Constantinople made the city safe for Armenian survivors to return. Armenian intellectuals and community leaders who had somehow managed to avoid arrest and execution also began to return to the city. Postwar Constantinople promised to become a safe haven for the revival of the massacred nation, as schools and hospitals were reopened. Several committees and organizations were formed to attend to the needs of the refugees and to collect the Armenian orphans still wandering in the interior or held captive in Muslim households or housed in Turkish orphanages. American and European missionaries also launched an extensive search to recover Armenian orphans. In an essay titled “The League of Nations and the Reclamation of Armenian Genocide Survivors,” Vahram L. Shemmasian (2003) examines the gathering of the remnants of the Armenians

and discusses the work of the American Red Cross, the Armenian National Movement, the Armenian General Benevolent Movement, among others. Shemmassian (2003) writes of the *Official Journal of the League of Nations* (1921) reporting on the seizure of Turkish orphanages by the Allied police "in which the names of Christian children have been struck out and Moslem names super-imposed" (86). The same report further stated that it would be impossible to check all Turkish orphanages across the empire, unless "systematic means of examination" were devised (quoted in Shemmassian 2003, 87). And that was of course, next to impossible. Shemmassian (2003) cites Emma Cushman, who had formerly been a NER worker providing assistance to Armenian deportees during the war, as reporting that Turks had managed to bring about a change in the Armenian children's minds, not only brainwashing them, luring them with cheap toys and clothing but also threatening them, making the child believe "that he is protected by the Turks from a much worse fate" (88).

Cushman presented the following statistics to the League of Nations, which was discussed by the League's Council on August 30, 1921: "The total number of Armenian orphans reclaimed since the Mudros Armistice of October 30, 1918 was 90,819. Of these 12,480 were rescued in areas in Asia Minor that were not occupied by the Allies. 11,339 in the areas occupied by the Allies, and 67,000 in Armenia, Georgia, Egypt, and Cyprus. Still, 70,350 Armenian orphans were believed to remain in Turkish institutions and homes, with 60,750 in unoccupied areas and 12,600 in the occupied areas" (quoted in Shemmassian 2003, 88). The Council received the report favorably and made recommendations and allocations. However, with the advance of Mustafa Kemal's National Army, the entire operation was jeopardized (92). That said, the League of Nations began to change policies and approaches toward Mustafa Kemal's new Turkey but still continued to support the Commission's activities and the ongoing retrieval of women and children. The Constantinople branch of the Commission of Inquiry was shut down in 1926. The branch in Aleppo remained in operation and, in fact, continued its work into the 1930s without the help of the League.

Catholicos Zaven Der Yeghiayan's (2002) memoirs, *My Patriarchal Memoirs*, provide ample information based on reports coming to the Patriarchate on the lot of the children during and after the genocide. The Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople attests that as the deportees reached major towns along the way toward the desert,

they were stopped in front of each town's main government building. There, the boys and girls were separated. That accomplished, the rest of the caravan was forced back on the road again. Then the town folk were invited to come and pick any child or children they wanted (Der Yeghiayan 2002, 88). Many of these children, especially in remote areas in the interior, remained in Turkish, Kurdish, or Arab houses and were never discovered. Some Turks, however, brought these children to Constantinople to sell to rich Turks, to turn them over to Turkish orphanages, or even to turn them over to the Patriarchate.

On his return from exile after the Armistice, Patriarch Zaven Der Yeghiayan reorganized the Patriarchate and oversaw the refugee relief work. In his memoirs, he writes about Armenian organizations, such as *Vorpaknam Engerutyun* (Orphan Care Society) and *Daragrelots Engerutyun* (Deportees' Society), two organizations which merged together in 1919 forming the *Hay Azkayin Khnamagalutyun* (Armenian National Trustship). With financial support from the NER, these organizations supervised a number of orphanages in and around Constantinople such as the Kuleli Central Orphanage with about 1,000 orphans, the Beylerbeyi orphanage with some 250 orphans, the Yedi-Kule Surp Prgich National Hospital Orphanage with 300 orphans, and another twelve orphanages or so, each with 100 to 500 orphans (Der Yeghiayan 2003, 178–79). Boys were taught trades, such as shoe making and carpentry, and girls handicraft and needlework in order to prepare them for life outside these institutions. Because of the meager means available to provide for these orphans, efforts were made to find surviving relatives who could take them into their care, to wed older girls and boys and send them off, and to marry the girls off to lonely male survivors.

Zaven Patriarch attests that some Turks, fearing that they would be punished by the Allies, voluntarily delivered the children they were keeping to Armenian churches or Armenian neighbors. Others threatened the children they were keeping that if they revealed their identity they would be murdered.

According to Zaven Patriarch, there was a close collaboration with the British authorities, represented by Commander Smith, and Arakel Chakerian, an Armenian professor of chemistry in the Turkish University in Constantinople, who had dedicated himself to reclaiming Armenian women and children from Turkish homes and orphanages. In his report presented in April of 1919, Chakerian noted that 750 orphans had been retrieved. He had also found a book entitled

Kadenlar Islam Jemiyeti in which the names of Islamized Armenian orphans were registered (Der Yeghiayan 2002, 181).

Altogether, with the help of the Allies, it had been possible to reclaim about 4,000 orphans in Constantinople and its surroundings. The task was more difficult in the interior, where even after the defeat of Turkey, the Allied armies did not penetrate. Arshaluys Mardikian, a young Armenian girl whose ordeal was recorded and published under the title *Ravished Armenia: The Story of Aurora Mardiganian, The Christian Girl Who Lived through the Great Massacres* (1918), attested that after the war, Dr. MacCallum, in Erzerum, bought thousands of young Armenian girls from their Turkish captors for an equivalent of \$1 a piece. Turks preferred to sell them rather than lose them without collecting money, knowing that the Russians would liberate the girls if they found them. The money to buy the girls was supplied by the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (Mardikian 1918, 198).

With the escalation of the threat of Mustafa Kemal's nationalist movement sweeping the country and the potential for a new wave of persecutions, many orphanages, especially those established by the missionaries, were moved outside of Turkey—mostly to Syria and Lebanon, some to Greece, and a few to the United States. The Turkish government forced the missionaries to pay a price for each orphan before giving them permission to leave the country. Bertha Nakshian Ketchian (1988), who as a young girl attended the school established in an orphanage for boys in Mezireh, notes in her memoir (*In the Shadow of the Fortress: The Genocide Remembered*) that in 1922 when the American missionaries were leaving Turkey, the Turkish government made them pay "five gold pieces per person to the Turkish government for permission to allow the Armenian orphans to be taken out of the country" (123).

The Continuing Psychological Impact

The wretched orphans who survived the unspeakable hardship of the Armenian Genocide continued living with their morbid memories and unhealed wounds, the lifelong psychic imprint of their tragic childhood experience. A mental picture of the traumatic experience could be triggered unbidden by a smell, sound, sight, or touch, and the subconscious would begin to override the conscious and take the victim back to his or her traumatic experience. In their adult lives, most of the orphans never had access to psychological therapy to

help them facilitate psychological reconciliation. An Armenian boy who had been deported with his mother and had witnessed her die of thirst in the wilderness told his story to Major Stephen Trowbridge in Antoura orphanage and said: "Sir, may you never see anyone die from thirst" (Trowbridge 1918, 10).

As Hagop Oshagan observed, this was the generation "released from orphanages directly into the life outside, only to become orphans once more among life's deprivations" (quoted in Perroomian 2012, 146). The orphans tried hard to forget, or as psychologists would have it, to reconcile the thoughts, images, and memories associated with their traumatic experience with the schemata of their cognitive-world models. As Mardi Jon Horowitz (1986) has established, such trauma-related memories can break through the victim's defenses and intrude into their consciousness in the form of flashbacks, nightmares, and unwanted thoughts. Donald Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller (1993) report on a female survivor telling them, "Sometimes my husband wakes me up and says 'What's wrong? What's happening?' I yell in my dreams" (157). Another woman witnessed a Turk attempting to kill her mother by pushing her into an oven: "So poor woman, until she died, she used to scream in her dreams" (Miller and Miller 1993, 157).

Mushegh Ishkhan (1974), a survivor-writer, recalled in his memoirs the nightmares he used to experience, and how he would jump up in his sleep, screaming, "The Turks, mother, Turks are coming to kill" (25). Leonardo Alishan (1992), a renowned American-Armenian writer-poet, writes about his grandmother, Gayane, who never recovered from the ordeal she experienced during the deportations. She was in and out of mental hospitals all her life. On her deathbed in a London hospital in 1977, the nightmarish scene of Turkish horsemen dashing in the night into the deportee camps and picking up young girls visited her again.

Many survivors have tried to deal with the traumatic experience by themselves, and their reactions or responses vary. Miller and Miller (1993) created a typology of the different ways survivors have struggled to deal with the trauma of genocide: "Avoidance and Repression, Outrage and Anger, Revenge and Restitution, Reconciliation and Forgiveness, Resignation and Despair, and Explanation and Rationalization" (159–60).

No matter how hard these survivors try, they are tainted for good, and life is not for them to enjoy, even if the New World provides them with opportunities and a comfortable family life. "I can feel them

now, those steady cutting slashes with the whips the Turks use on convicts whom they bastinado to death" (110), commented Aurora Mardiganian (1918) (see Slide 1997). Remembering another harrowing scene of torture, rape, and murder, she adds, "I saw terrible things that night that I cannot tell. When I see them in my dreams now, I scream; so even though I am safe in America, my nights are not peaceful" (Mardiganian 1918, 110) (see Slide 1997). Antony Slide (1997), who wrote a commentary on Aurora Mardiganian's life story, attests that because of the sexual violence suffered by her, for long years she would not let a man touch her (17). Virginie (Jiji) Mesropian (2007) was so severely affected that she chose never to marry: "I wanted to be alone, to suffer alone, without fear of leaving an orphan child behind" (n.p.). She was six years old when she witnessed the brutal murder of her parents and brother. She found herself in a pile of corpses, and from her "hiding place" she saw how men were dragging the corpses and throwing them into the fire. She spotted her father and brother among them.

Critical Challenges Facing the Field

One of the nascent subfields in Armenian Genocide studies is the study of the experiences of the children of the genocide, tens of thousands of them—victims as well as survivors. As for the survivors, whether they were dispersed or continued to live in Turkey, Islamized or discreetly clung to the faith of their ancestors, they were deeply affected, as were the outlook and mentality of their offspring.

Although scholars and researchers have recently tried to unearth data on the destiny of the multitude of Armenian orphans, it is still impossible to estimate their total number. The body of evidence is incomplete in regard to how many, exactly, were killed or how many were kidnapped by Turks, Kurds, and Arabs to sell or to Islamize and retain in their own households. Those who were too young to be conscious of their origins were permanently absorbed into Turkish society.

Unlike more recent genocides whose study is facilitated by oral interviews of survivors, this is no longer possible in the case of the Armenian Genocide. The survivors are gone. The sole resource in this area consists of audiotaped interviews held at the University of California, Los Angeles, and elsewhere, and videotaped interviews held by the Zoryan Institute, almost all in Armenian. The project of digitizing and translating the brief summary of the interviews is underway at UCLA.

Avenues for New Possibilities of Progress

Overall, the increasing interest in and activism for the international recognition of the Armenian Genocide and for the exposure of Turkey's denial and distortion of the event have led the current generation of Armenians to focus more attention on the traumatic Armenian past. Indeed, with the initiative of the children or grandchildren, hitherto forgotten eyewitness accounts and memoirs of the survivors, mostly in Armenian, have been translated in English and published. Examples of these books are included in the accompanying annotated bibliography. Institutions, such as the Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute (Yerevan, Armenia), Gomidas Institute (London, UK), and the Armenian National Institute (ANI) in Washington, DC, have recently released a large number of photographs, survivors' stories, and short testimonies, and have published survivors' biographies and memoirs. They have also collected and published old diaries and eyewitness accounts of American and European missionaries and relief workers, some for the first time. Some of these titles are also included in the accompanying annotated bibliography. The Gomidas Institute has also recently prepared a list of orphans, including their name, age, birthplace, father's name, and the orphanage where they were housed.

The general progress in genocide studies has also been influential, along with the elaboration of the specificity of features particular to victims and to perpetrators of gross violations of human rights and genocide. This has drawn scholars and researchers to investigate hitherto neglected areas in the field, among them children as victims of genocide. Another impetus in this subfield is the recent change of atmosphere in Turkey, where the silence surrounding the Armenian issue has been broken by the published confessions of those who had an Armenian grandfather or grandmother who was abducted or taken in by Turks.

Conclusion

Children occupy a special place in the world's effort to protect human rights today. In its Convention on the Rights of the Child, the United Nations states that the "child, by reason of his physical and mental maturity, needs special safeguards and care, including appropriate legal protection, before as well as after birth."

Recognizing children's special need for protection, the Convention specifies basic rights that every child should enjoy. Nevertheless,

throughout history, children have fallen victims of genocide, massive violations of human rights, and war crimes.

Eyewitness accounts of the survivors, testimonies, and reports of foreign witnesses, journalists, diplomatic representatives, news accounts, as well as diaries and memoirs written and published during and after the massacres and deportation of Armenians, confirm the severe persecution of Armenian children in the Ottoman Empire from the late nineteenth century to the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and beyond.

Hundreds of thousands of Armenian children were tortured, raped, slaughtered, starved to death, or absorbed into Turkish society. Thousands of them escaped the persecution, or survived the deportation and terror of genocide with the assistance of various organizations and/or individuals who sometimes had to risk their lives to do so. However, being separated from their parents and siblings and sent in caravans far from home, and standing as witnesses to all those horrors at such a young age, was an incredibly traumatic experience for the children. Even though some were sheltered in orphanages or found new families at the end, for most of them any recovery or reconciliation they experienced—if, in fact, they did so—took a very long time.

Note

1. First, there was the general conscription of the male population between the ages of twenty and forty-five, enforced on every Armenian male (August 1914), then the mass executions of the Armenian soldiers beginning in November. This was followed by the arrest of notables and their murder in the provinces (beginning in October 1914) and the sporadic murder of other men (beginning in December 1914). In January 1915, the expansion of the conscription took place, taking those aged from eighteen to fifty-two (January 1915), followed by the search for weapons and mass arrest of Armenians (beginning in March 1915), and the arrest of civic and religious leaders and intellectuals in Constantinople (April 1915).

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Annotated Bibliography

Diaries

- Jacobsen, Maria. *Diaries of a Danish Missionary, Harpoot, 1907–1919*. Princeton, NJ and London: Gomidas Institute Books, 2001, 266 pp.

This is an eyewitness account of the Harpoot (Kharbert) deportations and caravans of deportees that passed through the city. Maria Jacobsen tells about the Turkish families who took in Armenian children and gave them Turkish names. She speaks of the orphanage set up by the missionaries and how they were forced by the government to close the orphanage down.

- Sarian, Hrant. *Le Journal de mon Pere*. 2008. <http://choisy.pagesperso-orange.fr/index.htm>.

This diary by Hrant Sarian was translated from Armenian into French by his daughter, Louise Kiffer, and posted online, together with the Armenian original, in 2008.

Hrant Sarian was born in 1901 in Adabazar. He provides an amazingly detailed description of the places and hardship of the family's deportation route to Arifiye, toward Birejik and on to Eskishehir and down to Hama. He ran away the night the Arab who had taken Hrant as a helper brought a mullah to circumcise him and force him to convert to Islam. He walked for weeks, begging for pieces of bread as he traveled from one village to another. All along the way, Arabs beat him. In various villages he came across many Armenian girls whom Arabs had taken as their wives. It was these girls who gave him bread and tried to help him when they found out that he was Armenian. He finally made it to Aleppo and found his brother and sister in an orphanage. After the war, Hrant reached Constantinople and was admitted to the Katekiugh orphanage. His diary stretches over the years up and until 1923.

Eyewitness Accounts

- Barton, James L. *Story of Near East Relief (1915–1930). An Interpretation*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, 479 pp.

James Barton was one of the founders of the Near East Relief organization and Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. In his book, Barton tells the story of the relief work of US citizens in the Near East—work in which he was personally involved. Separate chapters of the book depict the conditions of the Armenian children, their training in

orphanages and schools, and their transition from life in the orphanages to independence.

Chambers, William Nesbitt. *Yoljuluk: Random Thoughts on a Life in Imperial Turkey*. London: Simpkin Marshall, Ltd., 1928, 125 pp.

William Chambers describes the missionary activities in the Near East and three main tragedies he personally witnessed during his forty-five years of service: the 1895 massacres in Erzerum, the 1909 massacres in Adana, and the 1915 deportation of Armenians from Adana. He was a missionary with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and was personally involved in sheltering and hiding Armenian children in his home.

Clark, Alice Keep. *Letters from Cilicia*. Chicago, IL: A. D. Weinthrop & Co., 1924, 201 pp.

Alice Clark was an American relief worker sent to the Ottoman Empire by the Near East Relief organization. Her book is comprised of excerpts from the letters written by Clark to Clark's family in the United States, and excerpts from her diary kept between February through June 1920 when the city of Hadjin was besieged by the Turks when postal and telegraphic communication with the rest of the world was cut off. She started her work in Hadjin in 1919 and sheltered and took care of many Armenian children and women—the remnants of Armenians after the genocide.

Kerr, Stanley Elphinstone. *The Lions of Marash: Personal Experiences with American Near East Relief, 1919–1922*. Albany: State University of New York, 1973, 318 pp.

Stanley Kerr was a relief worker and was sent to the Middle East by the Near East Relief organization. He worked in Aleppo, then in Marash and helped to reclaim Armenian women and children from Muslim households and to provide humanitarian assistance for hundreds in need. In his book, Kerr tells about German missionaries and their assistance to Armenian orphans during World War I, about American aid after the armistice, and the establishment of orphanages all over the Near East. He provides detailed information about German, British, and American orphanages in Marash.

Lovejoy, Esther P. *Certain Samaritans*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927, 302 pp.

Esther Lovejoy was a member of American Women's Hospital and also worked with Armenian orphans and refugees after the genocide. She provides information on the cooperation between members of different American organizations in assisting Armenian orphans, both in the Ottoman Empire and in the Republic of Armenia. In doing so, Lovejoy examines the experience of Armenian children during the massacres and later in the orphanages.

Knapp, Grace H. *The Tragedy of Bitlis*. London: Sterndale Classics, 2002, 109 pp.

Grace Knapp retells the accounts written down by Ms. McLaren and Ms. Shane, two American missionaries who witnessed the atrocities committed in Bitlis. Additionally, she added her own eyewitness accounts in Van. The last chapter deals with the aftermath—the surviving refugees from Bitlis and Van in the Caucasus.

Kunzler, Jakob. *In the Land of Blood and Tears, Experiences in Mesopotamia During the World War (1914–1918)*. Arlington, MA: Armenian Cultural Foundation, 2007, 187 pp.

A missionary and a medical doctor stationed in Urfa since 1899, Jakob Kunzler witnessed caravans of widows and orphans continuously arriving in Urfa on their way to the desert. He did everything possible to assist the refugees and alleviate their deplorable situation. He opened an orphanage and tried to gather Armenian children from the streets and Moslem households. After a short visit in Switzerland, Kunzler and his wife returned to Urfa in 1920 and engaged in the difficult work of transferring 8,000 orphans to the safer Syrian towns.

Lambert, Rose. *Hadjin and the Armenian Massacres*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911, 106 pp.

The author, a missionary stationed in Hadjin, records the accounts of the 1909 massacres in the city and the Armenian defense of the city.

Parmelee, Ruth M. *A Pioneer in the Euphrates Valley*. Princeton, NJ and London: Gomidas Institute, 2002, 68 pp.

Herein, Dr. Ruth Parmelee, an American medical missionary in the Ottoman Empire during World War I, presents her testimony about the Turkish atrocities against Armenians in the region of Kharbert.

Ross, Frank A., Luther C. Fry, and Elbridge Sibley. *The Near East and American Philanthropy: A Survey Conducted under the Guidance of the General of the Near East Survey*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929, 308 pp.

Frank Ross, Luther Fry, and Elbridge Sibley conducted this survey in the Caucasus, the Balkans, Turkey, and in Iraq, Palestine, and Syria. Essentially, they provided detailed information about the socioeconomic conditions in those regions and the conditions of orphans and refugees in need.

Memoirs and Autobiographies

Balakian, Grigoris. *Armenian Golgotha, A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1918* New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishing, 2009, 509 pp.

Arrested in Constantinople and exiled on April 24, 1915, Grigoris Balakian, a priest, began a four-year ordeal on the unending road of exile. His eyewitness account is one of the most poignant testimonies of the bloodiest scenes of atrocity committed against Armenian men, women, and children.

Bedoukian, Kerop. *The Urchin: An Armenian's Escape*. London: Butler and Tanner Ltd., 1978, 186 pp. (Also published as *Some of Us Survived*. New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979, 242 pp.)

Kerop Bedoukian was nine years old when the deportation of Armenians in Sivaz began. His memoir is dedicated to his mother and sister who shared his horrifying ordeal, and protected and helped him escape to freedom.

Chitjian Hambartzoum, Mardiros. *A Hair's Breadth from Death: The Memoirs of Hambartzoum Mardiros Chitjian*. London: Taderon Press, 2003, 433 pp.

Early on, as the deportation started in their hometown, Ismayil, Chitjian Hambartzoum's father returned home from his weeks of incarceration and torture with blood stains on his coat. He was virtually forced to hand his four sons over to the Turkish religious school (*mekteb*). Hambartzoum the oldest was fourteen. The boys never saw their father again. Two of them were able to escape later and reached freedom after years of hardship.

Der Yeghiayan, Zaven. *My Patriarchal Memoirs*. Barrington, RI: Mayreni Publishing, 2002, 304 pp.

This work, by Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople Zaven Der Yeghiayan is important not only in terms of the plethora of documentations on the deportation and massacres, the process of collecting and sheltering Armenian children, and the list of orphanages that were established, but also in terms of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople's own eyewitness accounts on the route of his exile in 1916. He served as the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople from 1913 through 1922.

Kouymjian Highgas, Dirouhi. *Refugee Girl*, Watertown, MA: Baykar, 1985, 178 pp.

Dirouhi Kouymjian Highgas, born in Konia, was a little girl in 1915 when her father was arrested and the family was deported. As an unusual case, the family was reunited with the father and they all went through months of hardship in Arab villages until the father died of typhus. She describes the lot of the Armenian children during the deportation and how her parents tried to hide her so that the gendarmes would not take her away.

Martin, Ramela. *Out of Darkness*. Cambridge, MA: Zoryan Institute Publications, 1989, 220 pp.

Born in the Pilibisian family in Malatia, Ramela Martin was a little girl during the years of deportation and massacres of 1915–1917. She lost her mother during the deportations and struggled all alone until she found her way to an orphanage, where she witnessed children dying from hunger and illnesses.

Meymarian, Euphronia Halebian. *Housher: My Life in the Aftermath of the Armenian Genocide*. London: Taderon Press, 2004, 102 pp.

Born in 1908 in Aintab, Euphronia Halebian Meymarian survived the terrors of the Adana massacres and the genocide. Her family survived only because her father worked for the Ottoman army and knew the right people to ask for assistance. After they escaped the massacres, they settled in Lebanon in 1920. In addition to the latter, Meymarian also describes the life of Armenian children in the American orphanage in Jbeil and other orphanages founded in Beirut and the adjacent settlements.

Minassian, John. *Many Hills Yet to Climb: Memoirs of an Armenian Deportee*. Santa Barbara, CA: Jim Cook Publisher, 1986, 255 pp.

John Minassian was born in Sivas. He survived the deportation to write a detailed account of the Armenian suffering, the demise of his young siblings and the children to whom he provided care while working in different orphanages.

Muggerditchian Shipley, Alice. *We Walked Then Ran*. Phoenix, AZ: A. M. Shipley, 1983, 290 pp..

Alice Muggerditchian Shipley was born in Diyarbekir and was raised in Harpout. She was eleven years old when the deportations began. Her father was in the service of the British government and had to escape to Egypt to avoid arrest. Alice's mother and her three daughters suffered through the deportation and were on the run to avoid the government's pursuit to kill them in retaliation for their father's escape.

Muggerditchian, Hovhannes. *To Armenians with Love: The Memoirs of a Patriot*. Hobe Sound, FL: Paul Mart, 1996, 214 pp.

Hovhannes Muggerditchian was newly married and a young teacher when the deportations began. His newborn baby perished during the deportation. After great hardship, Muggerditchian reached Aleppo to find his wife whom

he had lost track of for some eight months. This memoir is significant for the description of orphanages in Aleppo and the deplorable state of Armenian children who died by the hundreds of starvation and diseases.

Mardiganian, Aurora. *Ravished Armenia, The Story of Aurora Mardiganian, The Christian Girl Who Lived through the Massacres*. New York: Kingfield Press, Inc., 1918, 175 pp.

This is the story of a fourteen-year-old girl who was kidnapped and abused physically and sexually throughout her years of captivity. She relates her harrowing experiences and those of other children. A film by that same name was produced and shown in the United States and Europe. Today, only a twenty-minute section of the film survives.

Nakshian Ketchian, Bertha. *In the Shadow of the Fortress, The Genocide Remembered*. Cambridge, MA: Zoryan Institute Publications, 1988, 151 pp.

Herein, Bertha Nakshian Ketchian remembers her childhood in Husenig, in the province of Kharbert. She describes women, children, and old men during the death march, young women being kidnapped, children taken away by Arabs and Kurds, and women hurling themselves from cliffs. She remembers her grandmother trying hard to keep the family together. Bertha ended up in an orphanage after the remnants of the family returned to Kharbert.

Surmelian, Levon Z. *I Ask You Ladies and Gentlemen*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1945, 316 pp.

This autobiography is one of the first English-language works on the Armenian Genocide. The tragedy of 1915 is described through the eyes of a young boy.

Tavoukdjian, Serpouhi. *Exiled: Story of an Armenian Girl*. Takoma Park, MD: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1933, 126 pp.

Serpouhi Tavoukdjian was born in Ovajik, a small town near Ismid. When Turkey entered World War I, Serpouhi was ten years old. Her father, Aaron, was conscripted and the rest of her family was forced into exile. She witnessed the starvation and suffering of her family members during the deportation. She was then taken into an Arab family, given a new name, and tattooed. Finally, with the assistance of the American Red Cross, Serpouhi found her father, but before long they both became refugees and were separated again. Serpouhi was first sheltered in American orphanages in Constantinople, and then in Greece.

Biography

Ahnert, Margaret Ajemian. *The Knock at the Door: A Journey through the Darkness of the Armenian Genocide*. New York: Beaufort Books, 2007, 215 pp.

Margaret Ahnert wrote this book based on the stories and recollections of her mother, Ester. Ester was from Amasia and was fifteen in 1915, and thus related stories to her daughter not only about her experiences during the massacres and deportation but also about her family and her childhood before the genocide. During the genocide, Ester was deported, taken to an orphanage, and eventually forced into an marriage (which was abusive) against her will.

Alamuddin, Ida. *Papa Kuenzler and the Armenians*. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1970, 168 pp.

Ida Alamuddin, daughter of Jacob Kuenzler, a Swiss missionary who served in Turkey for twenty-five years, provides detailed information about the "Father

of the Armenian Orphans” as Jacob Kuenzler was called in the Near East. She describes the evacuation of thousands of Armenian orphans in Turkey, their transfer to Lebanon, and the life of orphans in the orphanage in the village of Ghazir, run by Kuenzler, where the children were taught trades and prepared for their future.

Bagdasarian, Adam. *Forgotten Fire*. New York: DK Publishing, Inc., 2000, 273 pp.

Twelve-year-old Vahan's childhood abruptly ended when he watched, horror stricken, the execution of his two older brothers by gendarmes in their own garden in Bitlis. The book is based on Adam Bagdasarian's great uncle, Vahan's life story. Members of the family and fellow deportees are vividly portrayed throughout the story.

Kherdian, David. *The Road from Home: The Story of an Armenian Girl*. New York: Greenwillow Books, 1979, 238 pp.

David Kherdian tells the story of his mother, Veron, who was born in Azizia to a well-to-do family. At the age of sixteen, she was deported with her family and survived unspeakable hardship.

Kricorian, Nancy. *Zabelle*. New York: Avon Books, 1999, 241 pp.

This is the story of Zabelle Chahasbanian, from her childhood in Hadjin to her immigration to the United States, with frequent flashbacks into the darkest years of her life during the deportations.

Najarian, Peter. *Daughters of Memory*. Berkeley, CA: City Miner Books, 1986, 157 pp.

Some women survivors of the genocide living in the United States get together every so often and share their horrible experiences during the deportations of 1915. Peter Najarian's mother was one of them. These are stories that Peter overheard in his childhood years.

Soghoian, Florence M. *Portrait of a Survivor*. Hanover, MA: The Christopher Publishing House, 1997, 147 pp.

Florence Soghoian has written the story of her mother, Shnorhig, who was deported from Zeitun at the age of seven. Her father was a soldier in the Turkish army and was away. They never heard from him again. Her family members were separated from one another and died one by one, eventually leaving Soghoian to fend for herself on the streets of Marash. Ultimately, she was taken to an orphanage and later reunited with her mother, the only other survivor of their large family.

Tashjian, Alice A. *Silences: My Mother's Will to Survive*. Princeton, NJ: Blue Pansy Publishing, 1995, 98 pp.

This is the story of Iskouhi Parounagian of Sivaz, the author's mother. Still in her teens, Iskouhi lost her mother to the hardship of the death march. Orphaned and alone, she wandered for days without food until a Turkish woman picked her up and took her home. But sheltering Armenians was dangerous, and Turks who did so faced jail, if not death. Eventually, Iskouhi was put out, but the Turkish woman was kind enough to accompany her until she could join a caravan of Armenians. Then another ordeal began.

Therhault, Kim, S. *Rethinking Arshile Gorky*. University Park: The Pennsylvania University Press, 2009, 243 pp.

This biography of an orphaned boy who became a famous painter demonstrates the traumatic effects of the genocide and a lifelong psychological state that resulted in the demise of a great talent.

Secondary Material

Balakian, Peter. *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*, New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2003, 475 pp.

Using archival materials and eyewitness accounts, Peter Balakian presents the history of the Armenian Genocide, motivations of perpetrators, and the suffering of victims. He provides valuable information about the Armenian children, including their experiences during the deportation and forcible conversions and absorption into Muslim families. In addition, Balakian describes the relief efforts of various American organizations and particularly the Near East Relief organization for Armenian children during and after the genocide.

Dadrian, Vahakn N. "Children as Victims of Genocide: The Armenian Case." *Journal of Genocide Research*, September 5, no. 3 (2003): 421–37.

Vahakn Dadrian raises the issue of children victims of the Armenian genocide, who are generally subsumed within the entire victim population and not treated as a separate and distinct subject of study. Based on the records of foreign representatives and eyewitnesses, as well as Armenian survivors, he delineates the various methods of liquidation used against Armenian children during the genocide: drowning, burning alive, poisoning, wholesale rapes that preceded killing, and burying alive.

Daniel, Robert L. *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820–1960*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1970, 322 pp.

In exploring various relief efforts of several American philanthropic committees and organizations for people in need in the Near East, Robert Daniel describes the establishment of schools and orphanages for Armenian children by American missionaries all over the interior of the Ottoman Empire, beginning from the mid-nineteenth century. Daniel particularly zeros in on the work of the Near East Relief organization and assesses its relief and rehabilitation activities for the Armenian children in the post-genocide period.

Miller, Donald E., and Lorna Touryan Miller. "Women and Children of the Armenian Genocide." In *The Armenian Genocide, History, Politics, Ethics*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian, 152–72. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

This chapter focuses on eyewitness testimonies of two survivors of the Armenian Genocide, a young girl and a mother of two children. The authors discuss the experiences and suffering of Armenian women and children based on these two stories, and in doing so examines three categories of suffering: physical, emotional, and moral.

Morianan, Suzanne Elizabeth. *The American Missionaries and the Armenian Question: 1915–1927*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Dissertation Services, 1994, 609 pp.

In her dissertation, Suzanne Moranian provides detailed information about the American response to Armenian Genocide, the deportation and massacres of Armenians, and the activities of American missionaries in the Near East. In doing so, she examines: the fundraising campaigns to help hundreds of thousands of Armenian orphans and refugees in the Near East; the establishment of orphanages, kitchens, and hospitals; the relief efforts of missionaries for Armenian children; the children's experiences in orphanages; and health care and training to help the Armenian children to become self-supporting.

Morianan, Suzanne Elizabeth. "Bearing Witness: The Missionary Archives as Evidence of the Armenian Genocide." In *The Armenian Genocide, History,*

Politics, Ethics, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian, 103–28. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992.

Morianan recounts missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire, especially during the massacres and deportations, and cites their reports. She describes how difficult it was for the missionaries to witness the deportations, knowing that the deportees “faced almost certain death.” Anna Birge remembers women and children jammed into cattle cars going south without food and water: “One woman gave birth to twins in one of the cattle cars, and upon crossing a river, the woman hurled herself and her two infants into the water.” Toward the end of the genocide the Turkish Government exempted the Armenian Catholics and Protestants from deportation, but most of them were already gone.

Peroomian, Rubina. *And Those Who Continued Living in Turkey after 1915*. Yerevan: Armenian Genocide Museum Institute, 2008 and 2012, 277 pp.

Based on Turkish and Turkish-Armenian literature, memoirs, eyewitness accounts, and interviews, Rubina Peroomian discusses the details of the surviving children, many of them Islamized, living in Turkish, Kurdish, and Arab households as helpers, adopted sons and daughters or concubines, and wives. In doing so, she discusses how many were beaten, tortured, or sexually abused. She also discusses the impact of the generation of captives on their offspring, the generation that constitutes a part of the Turkish society today.

Peroomian, Rubina. *The Armenian Genocide in Literature, Perceptions of Those Who Lived Through the Years of Calamity*. Yerevan: The Armenian Genocide Museum Institute, 2012, 474 pp.

Peroomian discusses the autobiographies of the child survivors of the Armenian genocide, the literature of the orphan generation, and various memoirs by survivors. It includes sources in Armenian, English, and French.

Peterson, Merrill D. *“Starving Armenians”: America and the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1930 and After*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004, 199 pp.

Using archival materials and eyewitness accounts, Merrill Peterson presents the history of the Armenian genocide, including the plight of Armenian children during the massacres and deportation. He explores the American response to these atrocities and the unprecedented philanthropic campaign of the Near East Relief organization to help hundreds of thousands of Armenian children in distress.

Sarafian, Ara. “The Absorption of Armenian Women and Children into Muslim Households as a Structural Component of the Armenian Genocide.” In *In God's Name: Genocide and Religion in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Omer Bartov and Phyllis Mack, 209–21. New York: Berghahn Books, 2001.

Ara Sarafian examines the issue of absorption of the Armenian women and children into Turkish society and Muslim households as a genocidal act and a major element in the genocidal policy of the Ottoman Empire. As evidence for the assimilation policy of the Ottoman government, the author refers to American consular and missionary sources.

Shemmassian, Vahram L. “The League of Nations and the Reclamation of Armenian Genocide Survivors.” In *Looking Backward, Moving Forward: Confronting the Armenian Genocide*, edited by Richard G. Hovannisian, 81–112. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2003.

This chapter focuses on the reclamation efforts of Armenian women and children in Syria and Lebanon during 1918–1920. Vahram Shemmassian

provides estimates of the number of captive survivors, presents information about the agencies and individuals involved in rescue, and discusses the obstacles that occurred on the way to emancipation. Finally, the author estimates the quantitative accomplishment of such recovery operations.

Shirinian, George N. "The Armenian Massacres of 1894–1897: A Bibliography." *Armenian Review* 47, no. 1–2 (2001): 113–64.

This compilation of material on the historical background, documents, memoirs, and eyewitness accounts is a valuable contribution to the research and understanding of the Armenian massacres of 1894–1897.

Peterson, Merrill D. *"Starving Armenians": America and the Armenian Genocide, 1915–1930 and After*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2004, 199 pp.

Introduction

The history of children in the Holocaust is one of particular tragedy. While the vast majority of children were murdered, those who survived were often separated from their families and placed in institutions or foster homes. The Nazis viewed children as a valuable resource and sought to exploit them for their own purposes. The fate of children during the Holocaust is a story of loss, suffering, and resilience. It is a story that reminds us of the importance of protecting the most vulnerable members of society.

Defining the Problem

One of the issues that arises when studying the experiences of children during the Holocaust is the definition of who was a child. While the category is clearly defined in legal terms, it is more complex when it comes to the lived experience of children. Children were often separated from their families and placed in institutions or foster homes. The Nazis viewed children as a valuable resource and sought to exploit them for their own purposes. The fate of children during the Holocaust is a story of loss, suffering, and resilience. It is a story that reminds us of the importance of protecting the most vulnerable members of society.