Title
Agency of Ottoman Women through Education: Girls' Schools of the Ottoman-Armenian Women's Organizations

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Publication Date
2021

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Agency of Ottoman Women through Education:
Girls' Schools of the Ottoman-Armenian Women's Organizations

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Ceyda Steele

2021

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Agency of Ottoman Women through Education:

Girls' Schools of the Ottoman-Armenian Women's Organizations

by

Ceyda Steele

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2021

Professor S. Peter Cowe, Chair

To understand how establishing Armenian girls' schools advanced women's agency in the late Ottoman Empire requires connecting modernization reforms, romantic nationalism, Ottoman women's emancipation, and the impact of two Armenian spokeswomen, Sibyl and Dussap, on those causes. While embracing markedly divergent feminist ideologies and arguments for elevating women's agency through education, these equally empowering, if dissimilar, figures inaugurated the long-lasting and influential women's organizations: the Patriotic Armenian Woman's Association and the School-Loving Ladies' Society. Additionally, they both were the public activist of the time through their literary works and speeches.

The study first explores four influencers in girls' education: the Armenian Patriarchate, missionaries, the Ottoman State, and women's organizations. It demonstrates that most of these supported girls' learning as the primary means of preparing suitable wives, cultivators of the

Armenian nation's children, and representatives of modernization. Sibyl, both influential literary writer and linguist, and the founder of the PAWA, promoted this traditional viewpoint as the fulfillment of females' nature and the reason for girls' education. In contrast, the more liberal writer Dussap and the SLLS envisioned education as the path for an individual woman to nurture her unique ideas and desires, and not only to nurture a family and the Armenian community, as traditionalists assumed. So training girls in academics and in work skills allows them financial independence, intellectual growth, personal happiness, and a satisfying marriage. Yet both of these pioneering women's associations launched elementary and middle girls' schools as well as teacher training colleges, deployed public platforms increasingly accessible to women (literary publications, the daily press, exhibitions, auctions, meetings), and amplified the agency of Armenian women from all the classes in the urban and rural regions during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Thus, to include Armenian women in the women's emancipation narrative of the Empire, this research links archival and other primary sources, including literature, association records, private correspondence, periodicals and newspapers in Western Armenian, Ottoman-Turkish, English, and Modern Turkish. This work thereby presents a complementary understanding of Armenian women's organizations, girls' schools, and the role of Christian minority women to the historiography of Ottoman women's studies.

This dissertation of Ceyda Steele is approved.

Kathlyn M. Cooney

Domenico Ingenito

Murat C. Yıldız

S. Peter Cowe, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2021

To my only and precious son Atlas…

TABLE OF CONTENTS

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

I have transliterated Armenian proper names according to Western Armenian pronunciation and based on the transliteration system of the *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* (JSAS) for example, I used "Pazmaveb" rather than "Bazmavep'. In transliterating Ottoman Turkish terms and city names, I have used the modern Turkish equivalent rather than English transliteration of Ottoman Turkish. For example, I used "Üsküdar" instead of "Uskudar."

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archives

Atatürk Kitaplığı (AK)
Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (BOA)
Istanbul Armenian Patriarchate Archive (IAPA)
Mekhitarist Library of Vienna (MLV)
Yerevan National Library Archives (YNLA)

Associations

The Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (PAWA)
The School Loving Ladies' Association (SLLS)
American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)
Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU)
The Guardian Women Association (GWA)
The Ladies' Society (LS)
Ardemian Women's Association (AR-WA)
Beneficial Association (BA)
Art-Loving Association (ALA)
Women's Association of Armenia (WAA)
Women's and Young Ladies' Association (WYLA)
Simplicity-Loving Armenian Women's Association (SLAWA)
Krisdinean Graduates' Union (KGU)
Armenian Women's Association (AWA)
Women's Library Union (WLU)
Women's Guardianship (WG)
Women's Association (WA)
Devoted Armenian Women's Association (DAWA)
Armenian Women's Progressive Association (AWPA)
Women's Classroom Association (WCA)
Araks Armenian Women's Association (AAWA)
Patriotic Young Ladies' Society (PYLS)
Armenian Women's Progressive Union (AWPU)
Women's Poor Relief Association (WPRA)
Education-Loving Armenian Women's Association (ELAWA)
Diligent Ladies' Association (DLA)
Armenian Women's Union (AWU)
Ladies' Union (LU)
School-Loving Association (SLA)
Makruhi Balian Education-Loving Women's Organization (MBELWO)
"Tear" Young Ladies' Poor Relief Association (TYLPPRA)
Armenian Women's Education-Loving Association (AWED)
Education-Loving Women's Union (ELWU)
Armenian Women's and Young Ladies' Orphan Care Association (AWYLOCA)
Armenian Alumnae Association (AAA)
Koghtan Young Ladies' Association (KYLA)

Young Girls' Association (YGA)
Dairos Women's Association (DWA)
Guardian Women (GW)
Guardian Women's Association (GWA)
Women's Poor Relief Association (WPRA)
Hripsimian College Young Ladies' Association (HCYLA)
Poor-Loving Women's Organization (PLWO)
Armenian Red Cross Association (ARCA)
Compassionate Women's Organization (CWO)
Benevolent Ladies' Union (BLU)
Armenian Women's Association (AWA)
Young Ladies' Union (YLU)
Subsidiary of The Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (SPAWA)
Hrpsimean Young Ladies' Association (HYLA)
Women's Auxiliary Society (WAS)
School-Loving Auxiliary Society (SLAS)
Armenian Women's Association (AWA)
Auxiliary Association of The Women's Association for Orphan Care (AAWAOC)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

During my graduate studies at UCLA, I have received great support and generosity from faculty members of my department, my colleagues, and my family and friends. This acknowledgment cannot fully express my appreciation of their consistent encouragement and aid, but is only my modest attempt to thank them all.

This dissertation was made possible by various fellowships and grants, including the UCLA Humanities Division's Harry and Yvonne Lenart Graduate Travel Fellowship; UCLA Summer Research Award of the A & A Sanjian Scholarship; Gulbenkian Foundation Short-Term Grant for Armenian Studies; The Olive Tree Initiative summer travel grant; and UCLA Graduate Teaching Fellowships. I am deeply grateful for all of these.

I am also profoundly thankful to all the members of my dissertation committee. Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my advisor, Peter Cowe, whose respect for the discipline of Armenian studies, love of teaching, and clarity of thought have inspired me as a reader, writer and teacher. He guided my research, my understanding of archival materials as contemporary writing, and my critical thinking in blending original sources and current theoretical frameworks. I greatly appreciate his continuous support of my research, and his patience, enthusiasm, and immeasurable knowledge.

I am indebted as well to every member of my committee—Kathlyn Cooney, Domenico Ingenico, Murat Yildiz—for their encouragement and insightful comments. My sincere thanks also go to Hagop Gullijian who, although not an official member of the committee, taught me the crucial appreciation of the power and subtlety of the Armenian language. His enthusiastic teaching of its language and love of its literature motivated my studies. I am also grateful to my other language instructors of the Venice Western Armenian Language summer course, Benedetta Contin, and Sossi Sousanian, for sharing their knowledge and offering a mesmerizing experience of a being part of the Venice Mekhitarish teaching during two

consecutive summers. I greatly appreciate the guidance and sophistication of Archbishop Boghos Levon Zekiyan. In addition I am particularly thankful to have been allowed to conduct research in Patriarchate archives in Istanbul and private archives of the Vienna Mekhitarist Church, and to the many librarians who assisted me in finding materials in Istanbul, Yerevan and Venice.

Very special thanks go to my sister Ayse Tinmaz, my brother Cagkan Tinmaz, and my friends Samet Bila and Tugba Topal for their endless encouragement throughout years. I am extremely grateful to my husband, Parker Steele, for accompanying me on the path to this degree, making many sacrifices and giving me continuing support. I also thank my dearest love, Atlas Troy Steele; my life and my work could not be complete without his presence.

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Introduction

> *Beneficence* is a rose with thorns. Whoever approaches it, will bloody their hands. Surely, when we set out to save our Armenia, we encounter very many dangers out there…. We will pass through seas during wintertime, and storms of hatred and the waves of envy will strive to sink our ship of beneficence.[1]

On 12 April 1879 Zabel Khanjian (1863-1934), founder of the Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (PAWA, 1879-1914), thus defined *beneficence* and its hazards to some 150 auditors at the organization's second meeting in their gathering location, Üsküdar.[2] In so doing she elevated that virtue as an essential element of outreach to other Armenians, particularly girls and women. Indeed, helping the needy had been seen as the loftiest duty of Armenian women since their communal involvements Armenians throughout the centuries.[3] But Khanjian (who early claimed the *nom de plume* Sibyl) warned association members about the struggles they would encounter pursuing the specific goals of advancing the cause of Armenian girls and women, for that new mission would sorely challenge, if ultimately strengthen, them. As members of one of the first women's organizations, they must be readied to confront the opposition and jealousy of those unused to and disapproving of females acting

[1] See the appendices for the original text. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957).

[2] Zabel Khanjian, Զապէլ Խանճեան, Sibil (Սիպիլ) 1863-1934. Founder of *Azganver Hayuhyats Enkerutyun*, 1879-1912. Sibyl, *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965); Zabel Yesayian, "Silihdari Bardeznere," in *Yerger,* ed. Sergo Payazat (Yerevan: Haipethrat, 1959); Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003); Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2000); Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, "Improvising Turkishness: Being Armenian in Post-Ottoman Istanbul (1918-1933)," (Ph.D. dissertation: NYU, 2010); Zabel Yesayian, "Nor Gine [The new woman]," *Dzaghig,* 26 April, 1903, 141; Zabel Yesayian, "Mer Ginerun [To our women]," in *Dzaghig,* 10 January, 1904, 27; Sibyl, "Tartseal Feminizm [Feminism once more]," in *Dzaghig,* March 1904, 122; Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature 1500-1920: with an Introductory History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

[3] Agop J. Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, and Nourhan Ouzounian, *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: Volume III From the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000); Hewsen Robert, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Hoogasian Villa Susie and Kilbourne Matossian Mary, *Armenian Village Life Before 1914* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1982); Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People From Ancient to Modern Times,* vol. 2 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

for themselves and in the public arena. Like plucking a beautiful rose, such beneficence requires navigating a thorny path.[4]

With her privileged upbringing and the advantages of being raised in a cultured, wealthy, Europeanized family in cosmopolitan Constantinople in Üsküdar, she was suited to shape the Armenian community, and particularly the position of its girls and women, through the educational activities of the organization she founded. She delivered powerful speeches to thousands of women at the PAWA's events, co-authored textbooks on modern Armenian grammar and translation, and wrote the first play by an Armenian woman, *The Bride* (1917), in addition to her novel, *A Girl's Heart*, and numerous poems. Schooled in European literature yet remaining loyal to her Armenian legacy, Zabel Khanjian made herself one of the most influential and iconic Armenian writers of the era.[5]

A similar contemporary figure, a profound writer and founder of the most enduring Armenian women's organization, the School-Loving Ladies' Society (SLLS, 1879-1914 and 1918-1952), was Srpuhi Vahanian (Dussap) (1840-1901).[6] She grew up in a wealthy Catholic family in Constantinople, received a French elementary education, and later studied classical and modern Armenian. Her French musician husband, Paul Dussap, encouraged her pursuits in literature and women's organizations. She wrote the first Armenian women's novel, *Mayda* (1883), then two more: *Siranush* (1884) and *Araksiya or the Governess* (1887).[7] Additionally, she penned articles including "The Education of Women," "A Few Words on Women's

[4] Though present in many cultures, her use of "rose" and "thorn" metaphors hearkens back to traditional Ottoman, Persian, and Armenian poetry.

[5] After French primary school in Üsküdar, she attended Holy Cross and then an Armenian *lycée* from 1873-1879. Sibyl, "Dzrinere (Charity Case)," in *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 151.

[6] Արշակ Ալպօյաճեան, Arshak Alpōyachean (1879-1962), *Ուսումնասիրութիւն Սրբուհի Տիւսապի Usumnasirut'iwn Srbuhi Tiwsabi, Սրբուհի Տիւսապ (1840-1901)*, (Վենետիկ: Ս. Ղազար, 1901); Srpuhi Dussap, Սիրանոյշ (Երեվան: Գրաբեր հրատարակչություն, 2011); Srpuhi Dussap, *Արաքսիա: կամ վարժուհին* (Կ. Պոլիս: Շէմս, 1925).

[7] *Mayda* consists of the correspondence between Mayda and Sira, an idealistic feminist.

Unemployment," and "The Principle of Women Working" in diverse newspapers and magazines.[8] These publications on the lack of schooling, freedom, and employment in Armenian women's lives show that, like Sibyl, Dussap viewed communal beneficence as the tool that would enable girls and women to emancipate themselves, accept responsibilities outside the home via activities of women's organizations, and train for employment. Again like Zabel, her deepest wish was to provide girls an education that would elevate their lives and she aimed to do so through the mechanism and might of an Armenian women's beneficent organization.

Yet these two extraordinary women and the two impressively effective associations they established did not spring out of nothing. Since the mid-nineteenth century, hundreds of Turkish, Bulgarian, Greek, and Jewish women worked to advance their community within the Ottoman Empire through benevolent organizations.[9] They actively participated in Ottoman society, politics, and culture, and transformed their own communities precisely by interweaving the communal, nationalist, religious, and feminist thinking of their time by means

[8] These works were mentioned by Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 452-456 for originals see: "Ganats Tasdiaragutiwne," *Tercüme-i Efkâr* in 1880, and "Kani Me Khosk Ganats Ankordzutean Masin," *Tercüme-i Efkâr*, in 1881, and "Ganants Ashkhadutean Sgzpunke," Arevelian Mamul in 1881; Yusuf Ziya Karabıçak, "The Development of Ottoman Government's Policies Towards Greek Associations 1861-1912" (MA thesis, Bogazici University, 2012); Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York: Holmes, 1982); Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003); Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of Welfare: Philanthropy, Voluntarism and Legitimacy in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1918," (Ph.D. diss., Binghamton University, 2001).

[9] Nicole A. N. M. Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the past, sources for the future," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 11:3 (2000), 369-383; Zafer Toprak, "İIttihat ve Terakki ve Teali-i Nisvan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti," *Toplum ve Bilim,* 43–44 (1989); *Osmanlı ve Türk Hanımları Esirgeme Dernegi Nizâmnâmesi* (Istanbul, 1912), a transliteration of this bylaw is available in: Şefika Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminden Türk Kadını* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996), 209–10; Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960) (*Ankara: 1998); Haris Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati, Dersaadet Rum Cemiyeti Edebiyes*i (İstanbul: Türk Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 2004); Benjamin C. Fortna, Stefanos Katsikas, and Dimitris Kamouzis, eds., *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945* (London: Routledge, 2012); Haris Exertzoglou, "The Development of a Greek Ottoman Bourgeoisie: Investment Patterns in the Ottoman Empire, 1850-1914," in *Ottoman Greeks in the Age of Nationalism*, ed. Dimitri Gondicas and Charles Issawi (New Jersey: The Darwin Press, Inc, 1999), 91.

of women's organizational networks.[10] Each of these charitable associations emerged first in cosmopolitan centers like Constantinople, Thessalonica, and Smyrna, and then branched out to the provinces throughout the century.[11] Some of these associations had explicitly religious aims while others targeted humanitarian, philanthropic, pedagogical or even military goals.[12] But they all acted as cultural institutions, launching welfare, artistic, educational, and social enterprises right down to sports clubs.[13] They provided medical services, shelters, and necessities such as food and clothing to the poor and refugees, and some established hospitals, orphanages, and libraries. Others sponsored girls' schools, offered classes, and organized

[10] In the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, women not only in Europe but also in Persia, Egypt and the Ottoman Empire undertook to improve their status in society. These endeavors happened gradually as a result of historical, social, and political events. Such local and global events interwove to reconstruct women's identity. This is one of the reasons that local feminist consciousness among Armenian, Turkish, Russian and Egyptian women overlapped with global social movements, and that women in each locality experienced different expectations, conditions and results.

[11] Journals of Ottoman-Turkish women and analyses of their organizations' literary works have been used as primary sources in studies of their emancipation. Dissertation of Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, "Improvising Turkishness: Being Armenian in Post-Ottoman Istanbul (1918-1933)," (Ph.D. dissertation: NYU, 2010) mentions *Hay Gin*, the longest-running Armenian journal, but does not cover any other women's journasls before 1918. Serpil Çakır's *Ottoman Women's Movement* greatly impacted the field by introducting the study of women's journals and organizations. Serpil Çakır, *Osmalı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994). As feminist researchers such as Lila Abu-Lughod, Kumari Jayawardena argued, the aim of women's studies to homogenize a female identity led it to focus primarily on middle-class Anglo-American women. Similarly, Kemalization of the state brought Turkish scholars to focus exclusively on Ottoman-Turkish women's works, activities and voices while ignoring others. Çakır, in *Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism* noted how Turkish women used the concept of "Ottoman feminism," focusing on Ottoman-Turkish women's literary works in order to connect their continuing struggle for emancipation more tightly to its indigenous roots. Serpil Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism," *Aspasia: The International Yearbook of Central, Eastern and Southeastern European Women's and Gender History*, Volume 1, Berghahn Journals, (2007): 61-83. Additionally, Kurnaz's *Turkish Women During the II Constitution Period* examines Ottoman-Turkish women's periodicals between 1908 and 1918 and associations as well. Şefika Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminden Türk Kadını* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996); For more information see: Lila Abu-Lughod, ed., *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); and Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986), 11.

[12] The Ottoman Ladies' Organization for the Uplifting of the Fatherland (*Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti*, founded in November 1909 in Thessaloniki, was the first to comply with this ordinance. Teali-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti bylaws published in Selanik. For a transliteration see Zafer Toprak, "Ittihat ve Terakki ve Teali-i Nisvan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti," *Toplum ve Bilim,* 43-44 (1989): 183-190, which in turn was reproduced in Serpil Çakır, *Osmalı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994), 324-327.

[13] D. Ananun, *The Social Evolution of Armenians in Russia,* Vol 2 (1870-1900) (Echmiadzin Press, 1922), 162. [my translation] indicates that "All cultural institutions of Armenians were maintained through voluntary public contributions."

workshops. And all such associations presented assembly places to discuss women's education, health, and employment. They used newspapers and journals to express their thoughts on women's education, employment and self-identity, and worked to ameliorate schools, hospitals, and libraries and, not the least, to organized public speeches, meetings, balls, and exhibitions.[14] Thus, for a good while Ottoman women from all ethnic backgrounds had been emerging from their houses, challenging their forced domesticity, and embracing the public space via the activities of women's organizations. So, in addition to advancing public communal institutions and the public visibility of women, these informal networks permitted women of the same ethno-religious background to come together as a social sub-group in urban centers through tea parties, literary events, galas, workshops, and theatrical performances.[15]

The interest of most Ottoman historians in these late-nineteenth-century beneficent women's organizations appeared only after the associations' social, economic, political and spiritual endeavors became recognized as having fueled a broad feminist movement in the

[14] There were particular magazines devoted to publicizing the activities of Turkish women's organizations. The first women's periodical after the Young Turk Revolution, *Kadın* (*Woman*) in 1908 in Thessaloniki, published information on the activities of several women's organizations such as the *Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvâniye* (Women's Charitable Organization), the *Osmanlı Kadınları, Efkât Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (Ottoman Women's Charitable Organization, "Compassion) and the *Kırmızı-Beyaz Kulübü* (Red-White Club). Another, *Kadınlar Dünyâsı*, functioned as a regular bulletin board of *Osmanlı-Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği* and the *Ma'mulât-ı Dâhiliye Istihlâki Kadınlar Cemiyeti* between 1913 and 1914. Some organizations also owned their own publications, for example, *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (*Gazette for Ladies*) was the primary periodical of *Teâli-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti*. Additionally, the *Ma'mulât-ı Dâhiliye and Istihlâki Kadınlar Cemiyeti* (Women's Organization for the Consumption of Locally Produced Goods) published its own periodical. Not only Ottoman-Turkish women but other ethnic groups' women—not Armenians', however—focused on periodicals for their organizations especially after 1908. Some of these ones include *Sıyânet* (Protection) in early 1914; *Çerkes Kadınları Teâvün Cemiyeti* published a bi-weekly and bilingual magazine published both in Ottoman Turkish and Circassian of *Diyâne*. For details see: *Istanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası (1869-1927)* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1993); Adam Seligman, *The Idea of Civil Society* (Princeton University Press, 1992).

[15] Suraiya Faroqhi, and Arzu Öztürkmen, eds., *Celebration, Entertainment and Theatre in the Ottoman World* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2014); Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986); Demetrius Coufopoulos, *A Guide to Constantinople* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1895), 178; Murat Gül, *Emergence of Modern Istanbul: Transformation and Modernization of a City* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2014); Vahé Oshagan, "Cultural and Literary Awakening of Western Armenians, 1789–1915," *Armenian Review* (Autumn 1983): 57–70; Donald Quataert, ed., *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500-1950* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994).

Empire.[16] But since that recognition their role has been studied extensively.[17] Nevertheless, researchers' focus stayed on Ottoman-Muslim Turkish women and later on the Turkish women's movement.[18] As noted, each ethno-religious group in the Empire participated in this phenomenon, albeit from its own perspective, whether Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, or Jewish. Thus, researchers omitting their roles in the Ottoman feminist movement shortchanges the historical narrative.

Fortunately, a growing body of scholarship on women in non-Western countries has begun to distinguish general and specific characteristics of women in cultural subgroups in their local settings.[19] As Nira Yuval-Davis points out, "culture was simply what was distinctive

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[16] Amy Singer, *Constructing Ottoman Beneficence: An Imperial Soup Kitchen in Jerusalem* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 2002); Mine Ener, Amy Singer and Micheal Bonner, eds., *Poverty and Charity in the Middle Eastern Contexts* (Albany, State University of New York Press, 2003); Micheal Bonner, "Definition of the Poverty and the Rise of the Muslim Poor," in *JRAS* 6/3, series 3, (1996): 335-44; Nadir Özbek, "Philantropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," *IJMES* 37, (2005): 59-81. Nadir Özbek, "The Politics of Poor Relief in The Late Ottoman Empire: 1876-1914," *New Perspectives on Turkey,* no 21, (1999): 1-33; Nadir Özbek, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Sosyal Yardım Uygulamaları, 1839-1918," *in Toplum ve Bilim*, (Winter 1999-2000): 111-132.

[17] Serpil Çakır, *Osmalı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994); Serpil Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism," *Aspasia: The International Yearbook of Central, Eastern and South-eastern European Women's and Gender History*, Volume 1, Berghahn Journals, (2007): 61-83; Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi* (Ankara: Imge, 1993); Nazan Maksudyan, ed., *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective to Ottoman Urban History*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 107-135; Oya Dağlar Macar, "Ottoman Greek Education System and Greek Girls' Schools in Istanbul (19th and 20th Centuries)," *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri* 10 (Spring 2010): 805-817; Yusuf Ziya Karabıçak, "The Development of Ottoman Government's Policies Towards Greek Associations 1861-1912," (MA thesis, Boğazici University, 2012); Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans*: *Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[18] Emel Aşa, "1928 'e Kadar Türk Kadın Mecmuaları," (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Istanbul, 1989); Serpil Çakır, *Osmalı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994); Aynur Demirdirek, *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi* (Ankara: Imge, 1993); Emel Doğramacı, *Status of Women in Turkey* (Meteksan: Ankara, 1984); Hasan Duman, *Istanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Arap Harfli Süreli Yayınlar Toplu Kataloğu: 1828-1928* (Istanbul: ICICA, 1986); Robert Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1984); Deniz Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns," in *Women, Nation and the State,* ed. N. Yuval- Davis and F. Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989), 126-149. Deniz Kandiyoti, "End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism and Women in Turkey" in *Women Family and State*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 22-47; Leyla Kaplan, *Cemiyetlerde ve Siyasi Teşkilatlarda Türk Kadını (1908-1960)* (Turkish Women in the Organizations and Political Groups) (Ankara: Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu,1998); Şefika Kurnaz, *Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996).

[19] Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Mona L. Russell, *Creating the New Woman: Consumerism, Education and National Identity in Egypt, 1863-1922* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Madeline C. Zilfi, ed., *Women in the Ottoman*

about others."[20] Indeed, in the late nineteenth century minority women themselves became more aware of the interwoven strands of Imperial and ethnic culture within their own community. The awareness of cultural differences modified the Eurocentric model of feminism (and of feminist research) by allowing more room for specific subgroup norms in the twentieth century. By keeping this more flexible feminist outlook in mind, recent studies have explored practices and positions of Turkish, Armenian, Jewish, Bulgarian, Greek, and Syriac women within their particular communal settings.[21] Mahua Sarkar highlighted that feminism demands recognition of indigenous feminist actions that have remained undocumented or unidentified. By adopting this perspective, the latest works in ethnic Ottoman women's studies can examine

Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Lila Abu-Lughod, ed., *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700–1950*: *A Political History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 25; Deniz Kandiyoti, "Afterword: Some Awkward Questions on Women and Modernity in Turkey," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East,* ed. Lila Abu- Lughod, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Afet İnan, *Tarih Boyunca Türk Kadınının Hak ve Görevleri* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1975); Marc Nichanian, *Writers of Disaster* (Princeton, NJ and London: Taderon Press, 2002), 236.

[20] Nira Yuval-Davis, "Gender and Nation," in *Women, Ethnicity and Nationalism,* eds. Rick Wilford and Robert Miller (London: Routledge, 1998), 23.

[21] Only new works about Muslim women focus on their agency within the structures of religious and social practices. The earlier absence of such stems both from scholars' lack of training in original Western Armenian texts and from their narrow attention to urban intellectual women. Ruth Barzilai-Lumbroso, "Turkish Men and the History of Ottoman Women: Studying the History of the Ottoman Dynasty's Private Sphere Through Women's Writings," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, Volume 2, (2009):53-82; For examples please see: Fatima Mernissi, *Beyond the Veil: Male-Female Dynamics in a Modern Muslim Society* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1975); Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Nilüfer Göle, *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1996); Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 1993); Billie Melman, *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718-1918, Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Basingtoke: Macmillan, 1992); Serpil Çakır, *Osmalı Kadın Hareketi* (Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994); Serpil Çakır, "Feminism and Feminist History-Writing in Turkey: The Discovery of Ottoman Feminism," in *Aspasia: The International Yearbook of Central, Eastern and Southeastern European Women's and Gender History*, Volume 1, Berghahn Journals, (2007), 61-83; Nicole Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the Past, Sources for the Future*," Islam and Christian Muslim Relations 11*, no 3 (2000): 369-383; Aynur Demirdirek, "In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women's Movement," in *Deconstructing Images of The Turkish Women*, ed. Zehra Arat (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 65-82; and Ayfer Karakaya-Stump, "Debating Progress in a 'Serious Newspaper for Muslim Women': The Periodical Kadin of the Post-Revolutionary Salonica, 1908-1909," *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies 30*. no. 2 (2003): 155-181; Dimitris Kamouzis, "Elites and the formation of national identity: the case of the Greek Orthodox millet (mid-nineteenth century to 1922)," in *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945*, ed. Fortna, Benjamin C., Katsikas, Stefanos and Kamouzis, (New York: Routledge, 2012).

particular groups' women, including Greek, Jewish, and Armenian, and can present the uniqueness of each within the tapestry of Ottoman women's emancipation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Following the path of this new scholarship, this dissertation studies Ottoman-Armenian women in that period.

Armenian women's vigorous philanthropic activities enormously improved the lives of urban and provincial Armenian girls and women and of the Armenian nation as a whole. These associational networks built themselves on friendship and kinship, as did those of their Western counterparts.[22] That should not surprise, since the first of these organizations were founded by women of the comfortable middle class, who had received European-style education from private tutors or schools and who answered the customary feminine calling to help the poor and uphold ethno-religious ideals. Indeed, they were among the first bourgeois, nationalist and modern feminists of the Empire, actively participating in literary production and founding women's organizations. The best-known of these pioneers of Armenian feminism, Sibyl and Dussap, inspired generations of girls and women through their novels, plays, articles, and speeches, all of which have received some study.[23] Yet scholars have almost entirely ignored

[22] James F. Macmillan, *France and Women 1789–1914* (London: Routledge, 2000); Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700–1950*: *A Political History* (CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, eds., *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Francisca De Haan, "Writing Inter/Transnational History: The Case of Women's Movements and Feminism," in *Internationale Geschichte in Theorie und Praxis/ International History in Theory and Practice,* eds. Haider-Wilson, Barbara, D. Godsey, William and Mueller, Wolfgang (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017), 501-536; Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement,* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997); Judith Coffin, "Social Science Meets Sweated Labor: Reinterpreting Women's Work in Late Nineteenth-Century France." *The Journal of Modern History* 63, no. 2 (1991): 230-70; Charles Sowerwine, "The Organization of French Socialist Women, 1880-1914: A European Perspective for Women's Movements." *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques 3,* no. 2 (1976): 3-24.

[23] Sevak Arzumanyan, *Zabel Yesayian: Geanke ev Kortse* (Yerevan: Haigagan SSR Kidutiunneri Akademiayi Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 26; Kevork B, Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature 1500-1920: with an Introductory History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000); Arpik Minasyan, *Sibyl* (Yerevan: Yerevani Hamalsarani Hradaragchutiun, 1980); Marc Nichanian, *Writers of Disaster* (Princeton, NJ and London: Taderon Press, 2002), 236. Nishan Parlakian, and Cowe, Peter S., eds., *Modern Armenian Drama: An Anthology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001); Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003); Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Ph.D. diss,, University of Toronto, 2000); Albert Sharourian, *Սրբուհի Տյուսապ (Ծննդեան 120 եւ Մահվան 60-ամեակի առթիվ [Srpouhi Dussap (On the*

their greatest avenue of activism: creating publicly-engaged women's organizations. To date, only the current work explores the implementation of their ideologies by the associations they founded.

Using the example of Ottoman-Armenian women, this study explores the characteristics of two contemporaneous, influential women's organizations and situates their robust promotion of girls' and women's education within the broader context of Ottoman politics, culture, and history. Their activities magnified the impact of the many social, historical and political changes resulting from Westernization in the Empire: the 1839 Tanzimat and 1856 Islahat modernization reforms; the Armenian Constitution of 1863; the first Ottoman Constitution in 1876 and the second in 1908; the return of European-educated intellectuals; daily access to new genres such as novels and plays and to daily periodicals; and the rising ideologies of feminism and nationalism.[24]

Taking advantage of such progressive winds in the Empire, Sibyl and Dussap started collective initiatives through their associations with the support of friends, families, and religious and literary figures. Their voices in articles and literary works on girls' education, employment and emancipation reverberated in and guided the activities of the PAWA and the SLLS. They made characters in their novels represent actual Armenian women and girls aided

occasion of the 120th and 60th Anniversaries of her Birth and Death)], (Yerevan: State University of Armenia, 1963).

[24] Chapter One talks about in detail the historical events impact on the policies of educational activities in the Empire. Sia Anagnostopoulou, *The Passage from the Ottoman Empire to the Nation-States: A Long and Difficult Process: the Greek Case* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2004); Hagop Barsoumian, "The Eastern Question and the Tanzimat Era," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* Volume II, ed., Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Ebru Boyar and Fleet Kate, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Ebru, Boyar, "The Press and the Palace: The Two-Way Relationship between Abdülhamid II and the Press, 1876-1908", *Bulletin of SOAS*, vol. 69, no. 3 (2006); Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimization of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1909* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998); Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: State, Press, and Gender in the Hamidian Era," (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2006); James L, Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

by, and aiding, those associations.[25] Their publications and organizations implanted in the minds of a new generation their ideas and aspirations about the central importance of women's education, how to manage obstacles to it, and the types of education women should receive.[26] Both agreed on the absolute necessity of education for girls and women. Both believed that their organizations' educational work would empower and train girls to expand females' participation in the cultural, religious, and economic forums from which they had been excluded. For both as well, women's schooling and employment—and the wisdom and confidence these would give—were their two dearest projects. But Sibyl and Dussap were not identical, no more than were other Armenian thinkers. Each envisioned the purpose and techniques of female education and empowerment from a wholly different standpoint. And their diverse views, which paralleled an ideological and strategic split within the Armenian community as a whole, stamped the motivations and means their respective associations utilized for girls' and women's instruction.[27]

Sibyl's ideological orientation more closely matched that of most Armenian intellectuals of either gender. This first group certainly advocated the elevation of women through learning, but prioritized women's customary task of strengthening cultural-religious values, and thus fixed their attention on their role in marriage and the family. Many intellectuals, especially romantic nationalists' supporters of the time, explicitly reinforced the PAWA for schooling girls to be future mothers of patriotic sons and to sustain Armenian

[25] Chapter three and four have detailed analysis of their literary works.

[26] The ideal lady Dussap portrayed integrated highly valued characteristics of her School-Loving Ladies' Society teachers, as exemplified by the character of Araksia, herself a teacher.

[27] Divergent viewpoints on "the woman's question" were extremely common among pioneering male and female writers, even of common ethno-religious backgrounds. Madeline C., Zilfi, ed., *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997); Rita Vorperian, *A Feminist Reading of Krikor Zohrab* (UCLA, PhD diss., 1999); Deniz Kandiyoti, "Patterns of Patriarchy: Notes for an Analysis of Male Dominance in Turkish Society" in *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A reader,* ed. Şirin Tekeli (London and New Jersey: Zed Books ltd., 1995).

language and civilization.[28] In contrast, a smaller group of thinkers embraced the views Dussap disseminated in her writings and organization and saw education as a universal human right.[29] These advocates of female instruction believed girls had the same right to education as boys had and regarded it as the primary vehicle that would allow women to play an equal part in public life. This slant also promoted women's employment and self-knowledge as individuals with desires for love, thought, and work. Education should thus prepare girls for jobs and self-confidence, not just marriage and motherhood. Thus, subscribers to the second group's tenets pursued greater gender equality in education and work precisely because they respected women's human individuality over any generic societal role.

Yet, interestingly, despite their differing philosophies both associations used their organizational structure, programs, events, community influence, and press releases so skillfully that they equally achieved their shared aim of creating feminine agency and visibility in the public sphere. Further, both employed primary and secondary girls' schools and teacher-training colleges as tools to inculcate their ideas and advance their political, social, and cultural aims. An examination of their educational enterprises, their bylaws, their school curricula, and their graduates reveals much about the political and socioeconomic environment in which they operated and which they altered.[30] The aim of the present study, then, is to let readers comprehend how the organizations' ceaseless educational activities for girls—though each followed its own way—challenged and reshaped Ottoman-Armenian women's identity, powers, and spaces for action. The study's main research question investigates whether these two organizations achieved these aims by drawing from each other or from other institutions and assesses the degree to which the founders' unique characters or their shared contemporary

[28] Examples include Krigor Zohrab, Hagop Baronian, and Arshakuhi Teodik.

[29] Such as Zabel Yeseyan, and Hayganush Mark.

[30] Bylaws are translated and presented in the appendix and analyzed in the Chapter 3 and four.

political, social, and historical environment more shaped their programs and results.

Therefore, this study first highlights how the two writers' works and the educational enterprises of their respective organizations diverge in tone and substance. It clarifies their contrasting pedogeological approaches and styles of activism. It finds a marked distinction between Sibyl's more popular moderate, even conventional, views and Dussap's more radical ones. Finally, this dissertation pinpoints how powerfully these two differing but parallel organizations transformed women's self-concept from the launching of both of the organizations, the PAWA and SLLS, in1879 to their closing year of World War I in 1915 by sharpening and rewarding their agency—whether to manipulate, or to reject, socio-cultural norms. Additionally, the second chapter of this study uncovers numerous other organizations mushrooming in Constantinople and the provinces and presents them as less-known but still potent venues for women's agency.[31] This work proves that, far from being unworthy of scholarly notice, the energy motivating Ottoman-Armenian women's associations and the effects they generated played an immense part in the wider movement for Armenian women's emancipation.

Sources

By uncovering sources not previously disseminated on schools established by Armenian women's associations, and by analyzing the dichotomous feminist leanings of the two primary organizations in this sphere, this study challenges mainstream researchers in the area of the Ottoman women's movement dismissal of minorities' female education movements as unsophisticated and insignificant. Specifically, it integrates contributions of the PAWA and the SLLS to the broader narrative of Ottoman women's emancipation. By inspecting projects and legal documents of these and similar associations, this work introduces a comparative slant to current Ottoman women's studies.

[31] Most of these organization will appear for the first time in English.

Such a task required analysis of a multilingual collection of sources in Western Armenian, Eastern Armenian, Ottoman Turkish, Turkish, English and, to a lesser extent, French and Greek. Research in Venice, the library of the Mekhitarist monastery of Vienna, the State Archives in Istanbul and Ataturk Library in Istanbul, the National Library of Yerevan in Armenia, and more secluded Armenian Patriarchal archives in Istanbul produced varied sources, including organizational bulletins and minutes; published memoirs, novels, short stories, and scripts; numerous journals; contemporary newspapers, articles, photographs, petitions, and announcements. These less-familiar sources confirm the growing popularity of women's organizations and their power to effect real socio-cultural change throughout the Empire. By bringing these materials,–from divergent locations in Yerevan, Istanbul, and Vienna, into dialogue with one another, this project offers a more textured and multidimensional reading of late-Empire women. Jointly, these records disclose the largely-ignored accomplishments of female players and the liberating impact of the organizational structures they initiated, in which those cultural, social, and political transformations occurred.

Theory

Newly applied to the achievements of Ottoman-Armenian women's organizations, the concept of agency has proved explanatory in this investigation of how these associations empowered members and women in the larger community. Since Anthony Giddens first popularized the term in the late 1970s as indicating the capacity to act within the power structure of one's social environment, scholars in fields as disparate as anthropology, feminist theory, and linguistics have used it to disentangle the interwoven aspects of individual and societal will and doing.[32] The claim of the Marxist Raymond Williams that human beings construct society even as society shapes them broadened usage of the concept.[33] After

[32] See Anthony Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory Action Structure, and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (University of California Press: Berkeley, 1979) and Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the theory of Structuration* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1984).

Williams, some thinkers applied the notion of agency to explain how social reproduction becomes social transformation, and defined their school of thought as practice theory.[34] They viewed agency not only as self-contained but as socially, culturally and linguistically constrained. Certain feminist theorists agreed, observing that individuals and their acts shape, and are shaped by, social structures through connecting those structures with an embedded patriarchy. Indeed, for them agency is even further molded by linked, complicating factors of class, gender, and race that themselves have patriarchal relationships. Liberal theorists as well reminded readers that each individual has a past and obligations which may limit her or his choices.[35] Yet even though agency was found to operate within limiting, controlling, socially constructed networks, it was also found to function as a tool of liberation.

The current study benefits from these earlier ones, and freshly applies the motif of agency to practices and milieus of individuals, groups, and a period rarely associated with it: late-Empire Ottoman-Armenian women's organizations. The two most significant of these, and their founders, tremendously impacted members' and female students' lives. However, it should no longer surprise, they defined and promoted the idea of women's agency quite differently even while they both vastly extended girls' and women's learning opportunities. And the divergences they displayed stem from the very nature of agency itself. Certainly, women, as active, rational subjects, pursue autonomy and self-realization through resisting dominant expectations and institutions that oppress them and through disrupting their hegemonic implications. But as Iris Young and thinkers like her correctly assert, while women

[33] See Williams Raymond, *The Sociology of Culture* (New York: Schocken Books. 1982); and Williams Raymond, *Culture and society: 1780-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1983).

[34] See Sherri Ortner, *Making Gender: The Politics and Erotics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1996) and Sherri Ortner, "Specifying agency: The Comaroffs and their critics," *Interventions* 3, no 1 (2001): 76-84.

[35] Yet at the same time they asserted that these entanglements were not essential to an individuals' identity. See Joel Feinberg, "Autonomy" in *The Inner Citadel: Essays on Individual Autonomy*, ed. John Chritman (Oxford University Press, 1989), 33-34

challenge patriarchal practices and values, they still take those constructed norms into consideration when initiating change.[36] Therefore, the individual ways Sibyl and Dussap reacted to, or against, those norms defined their types of agencies and those of their organizations' members and students. As Yıldız Atasoy stated, some "women also actively adopt dominant norms that systematically constrain their options" and, expectedly, present a more confined agency.[37] Sibyl and her PAWA presented this limited type of agency, managing but hardly rejecting patriarchal cultural and social structures. Indeed, they acted as conservators of their community's religion as well as disseminators of its nationalism. Those embedded elements of patriarchy are visible in Sibyl's perspective on girls' education, in her literary and professional works, and in the structure and strategies of her association.

On the other hand, the feminist theorist Nany Fraser cautions about the tendency to assess agency simplistically, using opposing variables of limiting or liberating. She explains how this reductionism perverts the accuracy of feminist accounts: "Either we limit the structural constraints of gender so well that we deny women any agency or we portray women's agency so glowingly that the power of subordination evaporates."[38] Instead, she suggests a multifaceted understanding of female agency that is "coherent, integrated, balanced."[39] This subtler grasp of agency suggests that socio-cultural factors are adjusted in a way that ultimately benefits women's agency, rather than being buffeted by bigger patriarchal forces without any modifications. Her approach captures Dussap's type of agency well. Her agency was more liberal—more individualistic and less centred on particular norms. Similarly, other Armenian

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[36] Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton University Press: 1990).

[37] Yıldız Atasoy, "Governing women's morality: A study of Islamic veiling in Canada," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, no 2 (2006): 203-21.

[38] Nancy Fraser, "Introduction" in *Revaluing French Feminism: Critical Essays on Difference, Agency and Culture*, eds. Nancy Fraser, and Sandra L. Bartky (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1992), 50.

[39] Nancy Fraser, "Introduction" in *Revaluing French Feminism: Critical Essays on Difference, Agency and Culture*, eds. Nancy Fraser, and Sandra L. Bartky (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1992), 17.

women's organizations created even more types of agencies by giving women in rural localities and women in the cities various spaces for locally relevant action within the larger context of Imperial modernization. Nonetheless—and this may be the truest measure of their agency—Sibyl, Dussap and other women's groups worked with their unique styles of self-directedness towards the same goal of advancing girls' education within the current social and political system.

Therefore, in order to evaluate all these modes of agency, scholars must conceptualize the actors and period accurately. Armenian women's agency or subordination cannot be identified outside of the historical, institutional and cultural gender hierarchies.[40] Their agency was shaped in relation to macro-level structures such as economics, politics, and social movements.[41] At the same time, micro-level structures such as kinship and friendship molded the forms of agency as well. Pierre Bourdieu correctly argued that multiple structures exist within society (family, state, job market, traditions), and the relationship of the actor to these structures through her social status influences her agency.[42]

From yet another angle, though, not only the wider historical events of the Empire, but also the unique characteristics of Armenian community dynamics animated specific social, cultural, political and religious structures. Internal events such as the influence of the Mekhitarist order on educated young men, the grooving numbers of the "Renaissance Generation" returning as European-educated intellectuals from France, Germany and Italy,

[40] Maud L. Eduards displays how "human ability [could]…initiate change and transcend … [when] the given is differently trained and exercised in various socio-political contexts." See for details Maud L. Eduards, "Women's agency and collective action," *Women's Studies International Forum* 12 (1994): 181-186.

[41] Mahmood Saba, "Feminist Theory, Embodiment, and the Docile Agent: Some Reflections on the Egyptian Islamic Revival," *Cultural Anthropology* 16, no. 2 (2001): 202-36; Leila Ahmed, *Women and Gender in Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992). Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim women really need saving? Anthropological reflections on cultural relativism and its others," *American Anthropologist* 104, no 3 (2002): 783-90.

[42] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge University Press, 1977).

expansion of nationalism among the intelligentsia, the flourishing press activities including daily newspapers, magazines, literary works and textbooks, the establishment of the Armenian Constitution in 1863, the provision of education for girls as well as boys—all these profoundly reshaped not only Armenians' identity but also their agency.

Still, it is essential to underline that those traditional everyday practices in dress, manners, gender roles, marriage age, household formation, and family planning did not constrain urban women to the same degree as their countryside peers. And new reforms did not liberate small-town women and girls as immediately as they did those in large cities. The process of Westernization brought sweeping change primarily to the lives and thinking of women in major cities. Historiographical sensitivity to these differences explains why, as noted, women from village and metropolitan areas experienced and expressed agency differently. Even without such historiographical insight, Ottoman-Armenian women's associations consciously expanded their reach to distant girls and women to provide them opportunities to rule themselves, and thereby ultimately bridged the gaps between them. That is, the mental division between the public and the private and the spatial distance between urban and rural both dissolved through the cooperative charitable efforts of Armenian women's associations. It is this type of organization-based agency that requires and receives in-depth examination in this dissertation, as it played a crucial role in the social construction—and the self-construction—of Armenian women.

Therefore, features of Ottoman-Armenian women's agency appear in this work as multifaceted, complex, and surprising. And yet, all its forms connected deeply with the events of the time. Clearly, change is a touchstone in this work: change of historical period, change in women's identity, change in social structures affecting women's agency, change of space in which they practiced agency, and change of power dynamics among socio-political and ethnic groups and between the state and the public. The new sources and their analysis allow scholars

to track the permutations of women's agency through all these changes. Yet the data also confirm that women employed agency—even to alter their and others' lives—within time-bound limits of consistently changing community policies, resources, and values. The current work researches, and honors, both their respect for structures and their drive to deconstruct and reconstruct them.

Outline of the Work

Following this introduction and discussion of sources and theory, the study consists of four substantive chapters, a conclusion, and an appendix with the author's translation of seminal texts- bylaws- of the SLLS and its Auxiliary Union and the Sibyl's influential speech at the PAWA's second gathering. The first chapter, "Institutions: Shaping Educational Strategies," describes the evolving educational venues available to nineteenth-century Armenian girls and women in the Empire. It explores the four main learning institutions of the time: the network of Armenian church schools under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople; missionary schools; state schools; and women's organization schools.[43] Historiography of the late Ottoman Empire provides valuable insights into the endeavors of those different stakeholders and their educational activities in the Empire.[44] A portion of the

[43] Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Betty Anderson, "Liberal Education at the American University of Beirut (AUB): Protest, Protestantism, and the Meaning of Freedom," in *Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean: Late 19th Century until the 1960s,* ed. Christoph Shumann, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 99-122; Paul Sedra, *From Mission to Modernity: Evangelicals, Reformers and Education in Nineteenth Century Egypt* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2011); Amit Bein, *Ottoman Ulema, Turkish Republic. Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011); Selçuk Akşin Somel, "Osmanlı Ermenilerinde Kültür Modernleşmesi, Cemaat Okulları ve Abdülhamid Rejimi," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, no 5 (2007): 71-92; Selçuk Akşin Somel, Gayrımüslim Okulları Nasıl Azınlık Okullarına Dönüştü, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı. Yayınları, 2013); Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990); Kevork A. Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia* (La Verne: the La Verne Leader, 1930); Oya Dağlar Macar, "Ottoman Greek Education System and Greek Girls' Schools in Istanbul (19th and 20th Centuries)," *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri* 10 (Spring 2010): 805-817.

[44] Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (University of Texas Press, 2011); Betty Anderson, "Liberal Education at the American University of Beirut (AUB): Protest, Protestantism, and the Meaning of Freedom," in *Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean: Late 19th Century until the 1960s*, ed. Christoph Shumann, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 99-122; Frank Andrews Stone, *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program, and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984);

chapter broadens that understanding of the Imperial education system, then discusses the propaedeutic ideologies and programs of the two primary Armenian women's associations.[45]

The second chapter, "Defining and Categorizing Women's Organizations," reviews competing definitions of charity and philanthropy, the terms commonly used to characterize such groups, and contextualizes a variety of Armenian women's organizations in Constantinople and the provinces within these customary endeavors. All the organizations divide neatly into three categories—short-lived, long-lived, and auxiliary—and together provide a wide range of data concerning their charity, health, educational and cultural actions. Here the study examines each organization's origin, structure, size, operations, and extension into the provinces; the socio-political environment permitting it to function as a community agent; its role in forming a women's movement; its strategies for supporter outreach; its influence on the general Armenian community; and its collaboration with other entities. It will be seen that each of these associations represents a remarkable and a distinct example of female agency.

Chapter Three, "The Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (PAWA), 1879-1912" presents the founder Sibyl, her works, and her ideology concerning female education, employment, and emancipation. It traces strong affinities between Sibyl's personal convictions and the aims and activities of the PAWA. It also demonstrates how greatly her organization's schools differed from those of the School-Loving Ladies' Society in terms of mission and pedagogy. The chapter also shows how, through its schooling activities for girls in cities and

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Paul Sedra, *From Mission to Modernity: Evangelicals, Reformers and Education in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2011).

[45] Selçuk Akşin Somel, "*Osmanlı Ermenilerinde kültür modernleşmesi, cemaat okulları ve Abdülhamid rejimi*," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar*, 5 (2007): 71-92; Aron Rodrigue, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press , 1990); Kevork A. Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia* (La Verne: the La Verne Leader, 1930); Oya Dağlar Macar, "Ottoman Greek Education System and Greek Girls' Schools in Istanbul (19th and 20th Centuries)," *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri* 10 (Spring 2010): 805-817.

provinces, the PAWA succeeded in combining the imperatives of philanthropy, patriotism, and feminism.

Chapter Four, "The School-Loving (Armenian) Ladies' Society, 1879-1914," examines the second influential figure in the field, Srpuhi Dussap, together with her avant-garde literary works and the instructional activities of the SLLS and its Auxiliary Union. Its members used education to elevate the status of women in the workforce as teachers, school administrators, and nurses, and helped them realize their unique identities—accomplishments differing subtly but deeply from those of the PAWA.

The conclusion, by conjoining cultural and feminist historiographical approaches, summarizes how educational programs of women's associations created new social, cultural, and political norms within the Armenian community that recast the position of its women.

The appendix provides the author's translations of the bylaws of the SLLS and its Auxiliary Union, as well as of Sibyl's famed speech at the PAWA's second meeting.

Chapter 1

Institutions: Shaping Educational Strategies

The historiography of emergence of Ottoman feminism associated with changes in the ways of life, institutions, and laws which began with the acceptance of the Tanzimat (restructuring, 1839).[46] Tanzimat reforms were initiated reorganization of judicial, social, and economic systems. Although the reforms during the Tanzimat period did not exclusively aim to ameliorate the status of women in the Empire, women benefitted indirectly from the political, judicial, economic, social, educational and ideological transformations. Therefore, besides raising the place of the Ottomans in a Westernizing world, the "woman question" appeared for the first time.[47] Deniz Kandiyoti mentions this phenomenon, arguing that the woman question was a part of the ideological means by which the identity of Ottoman society was articulated and debated as a subsection of the larger question of the place of the Empire in a changing world.[48] Therefore, girls' education as part of the question of women functioned as a step towards improving women's overall condition and facilitating their participation in arenas from which they previously had been excluded on social, cultural, and religious grounds.[49] The process started with Tanzimat, but various larger socio-historical events took place afterwards, including the Imperial Reform Edict (*Islâhat Hatt-ı Hümâyûnu)* in 1856, the Treaty of Paris in

[46] Edhem Eldem, ed., *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1999); Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Halil İnalcik and Quataert Donald, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire 1600-1914*, vol. 2 (Cambridge University Press, 1997); Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanli Tarihi,* Vol. VI (*Ankara*: *Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1962*); Kemal H. Karpat, ed., *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000); Madeline C. Zilfi, ed., *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).

[47] Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press:1908-1911* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

[48] Deniz, Kandiyoti, "Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns?," in *Women, Nation and the State* ed. N. Yuval- Davis and F. Anthias (London: Macmillan, 1989), 126-149; Deniz, Kandiyoti, "Afterword: Some Awkward Questions on Women and Modernity in Turkey," in *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, ed. Lila Abu-Lughod (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

[49] Nira Yuval-Davis and Floya Anthias, eds., *Woman-Nation-State* (London: Macmillan, 1989), 7.

1856, the Armenian Constitution in 1863, appearance of the Armenian Renaissance Generation and their impact on the press, the creation of Modern Armenian as a distinct language, the first Constitution in 1876 and the second Constitution in 1908. In addition, bigger societal shifts in the Empire impacted girls' educational activities—the raising power of the nuclear family among new couples, establishment of the new family court, regularization of marriage, the expansion of educational activities, access of the daily press and translated modern Western works, and development of women's organizations—and gradually shaped women's role, marriage, family life, and educational opportunities. All these historical-political events prepared a new identity and platform for women to elevate their status, education level, and employment. On the other hand, two historical events, the Hamidian massacres from 1894 to 1896 and the Armenian massacres of Cilicia in 1909, set back all the advancements of women's organizations and girls' schools, and put girls and women in an even more vulnerable position than before.[50]

Therefore, this chapter first, lays out major social-historical events impacting the evolution of women's and girls' educational strategies of four stakeholders: the Patriarchate, missionary/foreign schools, State schools, and the women's organization's schools. Therefore, the chapter presents the schooling activities from each of these four different views-by starting from the jurisdiction of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople, continuing private enterprises, and missionary organizations' schools, before tracing the development of the Ottoman state school-system, and finally discussing the impact of the voluntary associations on girls' education in the Empire.

[50] Nazan Maksudyan, "The *Turkish Review of Anthropology* and the Racist Face of Turkish Nationalism," *Cultural Dynamics* 17 (2005): 291-322; Nazan Maksudyan, ed., *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective to Ottoman Urban History*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014) 107-135; Lila Abu-Lughod, ed., *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Kent Schull, "Penal Institutions: Nation-state Construction, and Modernity in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1908-1919," (PhD. diss., UCLA, 2007).

From the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries various institutions and individuals as a result of these reforms and social-historical events —including the Armenian Church, *amiras*, intellectuals, writers, missionaries, the state, and voluntarily organizations— asserted that girls needed to be educated.[51] But they did not agree on the precise rationale and mode by which this instruction should be granted. Indeed, debate swirled around four basic questions: the type of instruction they should receive; how best to provide it; what obstacles girls would encounter after receiving it; and ultimate aim of girls' education as cultivators of the nation or as individuals. By exploring these questions, the chapter underscores the point that two women's organizations and their educational activities perfectly typify the Armenian community's hotly debated pedagogical, ideological, and cultural views on girls' education. At the end of the chapter analyzes the two groups' perspectives before exploring each organization's educational activities and concludes that the PAWA adopted the more conventional approach while the School-Loving Ladies' Society tended to the more radical in their educational activities, pedagogical frameworks, and initiatives. The presentation of the two various viewpoints on educational system of girls will not only provide a comparative perspective but will also situate women's organizations as powerful, if divergent, secular institutions.

The Evolution of Armenian Education

The first modern style school was launched a little before the Tanzimat reforms by Mgrdich Amira Mirijanian in 1789 with an allowance from Selim III, the initiator of many nineteenth-century reforms.[52] The first school, the *Lusavorchian Varzharan* (School of the

[51] The term *amira* originates from the word *Amir* in Arabic, signifying a chief or a commander. Barsoumian mentions that *amira* was an "honorific [title] which takes wealth, court position and status into account." Hagop Barsoumian, "The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul," (PhD diss. Columbia University, 1980), 22.

[52] Patriarch Hovhannes Golod in Constantinople founded a seminary in1715 to teach and trains church level his students before the establishment of the first modern school in 1789. Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature 1500-1920: with an Introductory History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 152; Agop J. Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, and Nourhan Ouzounian, *The*

Illuminator), opened in Constantinople in the 1790s. Before the eighteenth century, Armenian educational institutions operated within monasteries and local churches with the primary goal of training future clergymen.[53] The first teachers of the Armenian community were called *badvelis* (pastors), a term later applied to Protestant ministers in the eighteenth century.[54] *Badvelis* came from middle-class families, usually of artisans such as carpenters, tailors, and cobblers. Education primarily meant instruction in *krapar* (Classical Armenian), the Church's liturgical language.[55] The curriculum privileged basic reading and writing along with religious concepts.[56] The Patriarchate provided support and assistance for the traditional church schools, which began inside of the church community and expanded towards neighborhood schools from this period to the beginning of the twentieth century.[57] These *azkayin* (neighborhood) schools launched in all Armenian neighborhoods of the Ottoman capital, such as Uskudar (Üsküdar) and Yenikapi (Yenikapı).[58] Patriarch Garabed Baladsi III issued an encyclical on July 10, 1824, directing all churches under patriarchal jurisdiction to initiate schools with the support of the *amiras (*wealthy upper middle-class community leaders); many of these schools

Heritage of Armenian Literature: Volume III from the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 384-85.

[53] K. A. Nazigian, *Arevmdahay Mangavarjagan Midkn ou Tbrotse (19rt Tari Sgzpits minchev 19rt Tari 50-60-agan Tvagannere)* [*Western Armenian Pedagogy and Schooling (from the 19th Century to the 1850s and 1860s)*] (Yerevan, Louys Press, 1969) 25.

[54] K. A. Nazigian, *Arevmdahay Mangavarjagan Midkn ou Tbrotse (19rt Tari Sgzpits minchev 19rt Tari 50-60-agan Tvagannere)* [*Western Armenian Pedagogy and Schooling (from the 19th Century to the 1850s and 1860s)*] (Yerevan, Louys Press, 1969) 40.

[55] This became a very controversial topic in the nineteenth century when Modern Western Armenian began to develop.

[56] Kevork B. Bardakjian, *A Reference Guide to Modern Armenian Literature 1500-1920: with an Introductory History* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

[57] Richard G. Hovannisian, *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times: Volume I: The Dynastic Periods: From Antiquity to the Fourteenth Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Agop J. Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, and Nourhan Ouzounian, *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: Volume III from the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 384-85.

[58] Azk means nation from which derives the adjective azkayin means "national" in Armenian.

were opened for boys, and some for girls, in both cities and provinces such as Constantinople and Eriza.[59] There were separate institutions for boys and girls, but sometimes co-education was necessary because of the lack of funds and trained teachers.

The first legal recognition of religious/ethnic communities originated with the announcement of *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane- Tanzimat* in 1839, which aimed to decrease the absolute power of the sultan by proving each community legal rights to run its own religious, cultural and educational institutions without challenging the civic affairs of the Ottoman state. These reform activities of Sultan Abdülmecid II impacted all members of the society regardless of status, religion and gender. Thus, the Empire underwent significant changes in socio-economic and political systems as well as in the social position of Ottoman women of any ethnic background. However, as a result of Tanzimat, the Patriarchate's judicial and economic power became limited. The new law required trials in order to determine punishments, and the minority groups had to submit to the same fiscal regulations, which meant the money now had to be spent by registry versus being spent without any check. Therefore, a judicial council and economic councils to collect taxes were established in the Armenian Patriarchate by 1840.[60] A mixed council of sixteen *amiras* and fourteen representatives was composed with the support of Patriach Matevos in 1847, as well as a Civil (Supreme) Council of twenty members (ten *amiras* and ten merchants or businessmen).[61] This council marked for the first time the separations of religious and temporal matters by giving power to the non-clerical authority.

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[59] Agop J. Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, Nourhan Ouzounian, *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: Volume III from the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000),14.

[60] Archbishop Malachia Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Limited, 1955),104-105. (Մաղաքիայ Օրմանեան) (1841–1918) He was the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople from 1896 to 1908.

[61] Hagop L. Barsoumian. "The Eastern Question and the Tanzimat Era," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* Volume II, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul* (Yerevan: American University of Armenia, 2007); Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Istanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013).

Additionally, this imperial reform gave Armenians (as well as the Greek millet) the right to establish their own schools. Besides *azkayin* schools run by the Patriarchate, neighborhood councils created and managed the privately-funded schools of the districts, which appeared more secular in tone as the councils were not comprised of representatives of the clergy.[62]

Many wealthy *amiras* with well-established relations with Ottoman officials supported the Patriarchate's educational initiatives.[63] Their philanthropic contributions to educating children within the church were encouraged by the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople. For example, Janig Amira Papazian founded four schools and permanently supported two of them.[64] Some *amiras* also favored opening girls' schools; Harutyun Amira Bezirjian facilitated the creation of a vocational school for girls at Kumkapı in 1820 and a second one for embroidery at Pera in 1826. Sts. Hripsimiants and Sts. Gayaniants schools were established in Pera by Harutyan Amira Bezijian in 1830. All these three were early examples of girls' schools.[65] Another dedicated to the Hripsimiants' virgins was built in Smyrna in 1840 and at Narlı Kapı on the European side of Constantinople in 1847.[66]

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[62] T. Azadian, *Haruramya Hopelyan Bezdjian Mayr Varjarani: Koum Kapou: 1830-1930* [*Centenary Jubilee of the Bezdjian Mother School: Kumkapı: 1830-1930*] (Constantinople, 1930), p. 6.

[63] This would include Catholic Armenians, such as the well-known Düzians. Hagop L. Barsoumian, "The Eastern Question and the Tanzimat Era," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* ed. Richard G. Hovannisian, Volume II (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul* **(**American University of Armenia: 2007); Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Istanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013).

[64] Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul* **(**American University of Armenia: 2007); Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Istanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013).

[65] Յարութիւն Պէզճեան also known as Kazaz Artin Գազազ Արթին. He is the founder of various schools including Armenian girls' school in Pera, Boğosyan, Varvaryan, Bezciyan, Arakelots Azkayin and the well-known Holy Prgich Hospital. Ara Akinean, *Yaġt'anaki čamban: Vêp Pêzčean Amirayi Keank'ên* (Istanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2004).

[66] Other early girls' schools are Hrpsimiants School in Yerevan (1850), St Nuneh School in Tiflis (1840). George Bournoutian, *A History of the Armenian People,* 2 vols (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1994.)

Figure 1.1. Harutyun Amira Bezirjian (April 10, 1771-January 3, 1834), n.d.

Yet funding a girls' school for each Armenian district of the capital proved to be financially prohibitive: Girls' enrollment was low; monies from sources other than the Patriarchate and the *amiras* were scant; teaching supplies, buildings, and trained female teachers were in short supply. Therefore, organizing the schools as co-educational emerged as a powerful draw for girls' attendance. The first co-ed Nersisian school in Hasköy first admitted students in 1836.[67] The well-known Holy Cross school in Üsküdar opened in the mid-nineteenth century. Co-ed schools became well-established not only in Constantinople but in other big cities with a large Armenian population. For example, during the 1850s a co-ed *azkayin* school operated in the eastern imperial province of Erzinjan, with 100 boys and 40 girls.[68]

[67] Ներսիսեան դպրոց St. Nersis School. Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul* (Yerevan: American University of Armenia, 2007), 96-97.

[68] Giragos S. Ghazandjian, *Kharn Namagner Oughevoroutyan* [*Mixed Correspondence of Travels*] (Constantinople, Sareian Press, 1863) 25-35. This could be the parish school of the city's Saint Nishan Cathedral. G. Ghazandjian mentions the main goal of the school was to provide Christian religious education. He describes the class structure in his book saying that they started their day with reciting of prayers, and this was their duty to attend the church prayers in the mornings and afternoons. They learn to recite many hymns, laments, and sermons. The Armenian population of the Erzinjan sub-district in the second half of the 19th and the early 20th Centuries. For further information visit: Robert Tatoyan, "Erzindjan/Erzincan/Yerzenga Schools," Houshamadyan org, accessed June 26, 2021, https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-erzurum/kaza-of-yerzenga/education-and-sport/schools.html.

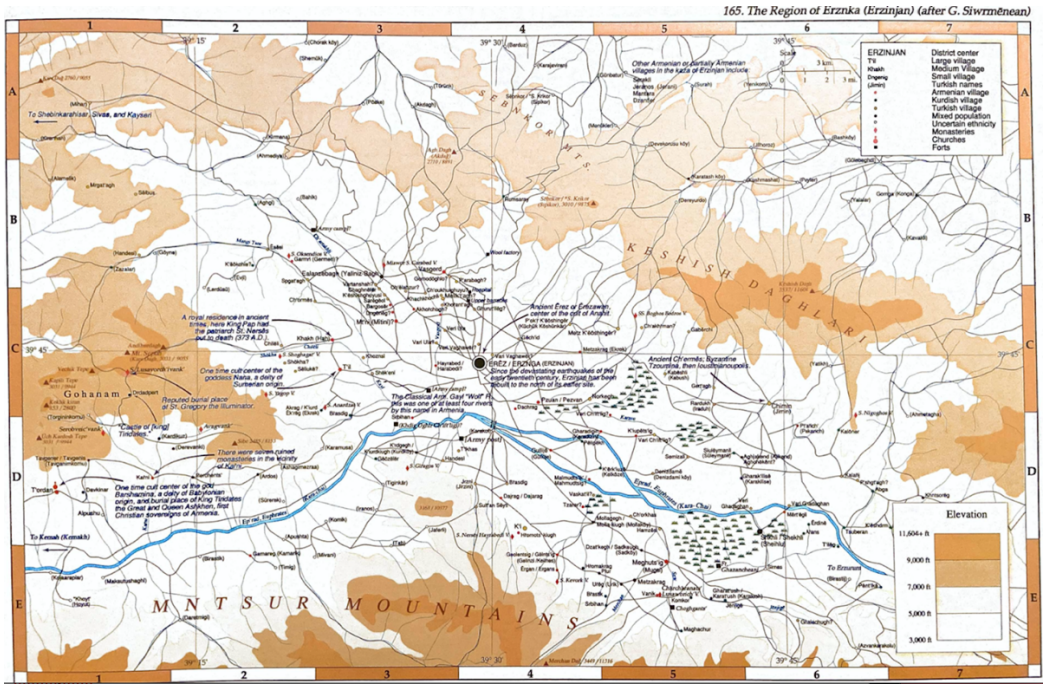

Figure 1.2. Map of Erzinjan. From Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia A Historical Atlas*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001, p. 181.

Clergy and teachers at *azkayin* schools convened the first educational council in 1828 from Constantinople and outside as well, which in 1853 grew into the more formal Constantinople National Educational Council, comprising seven laymen, who were all coming from families of *amiras*, elected by the Diocesan Clergy Conference.[69] This body had varied responsibilities as overseers of Ottoman Armenians' education, including administering reforms of provincial schools, facilitating support for the cultural organizations created to support education, training of teachers, distributing textbooks, standardizing curricula, and designing diplomas.[70] Additionally, it greatly assisted the Patriarchate's schooling activities. Until its establishment in 1853, local councils had managed the district schools in Constantinople. However, after the council's formation, neighborhood commissions had to contact the Patriarchate in Constantinople to settle any disputes.

[69] Its original membership was comprised by Ütüjian, Balian, Bardizbanian, Rusinian, Servichian, and Dadians.

[70] See the National Constitution of Armenians, article 45 for the other similar tasks. *Azkayin Sahmanatroutyun Hayots – Hasdadial 1863 yev Veraknyal* [*The National Constantinian of Armenians – Confirmed in 1863 and Reinstated*] (Cairo: Arshalouys Press, 1901), 33.

In 1845 the Patriarchate surveyed its schools throughout the Empire and arrived at the result that 114 functioned outside of Constantinople. Constantinople's various quarters alone boasted 44 Armenian schools by 1844.[71] Patriarchal schools in the provincial cities offered classes in Armenian literacy, liturgical music, reading and interpreting the Bible, and some instruction in Turkish.[72] On the other hand, education in the villages typically comprised just elementary grammar, the Psalter, St. Krikor Naregatsi's *Book of Lamentations* (which is considered as being second only to the Bible among Armenians), religious instruction, mathematics, and liturgical music, all taught by the village priest or a teacher from the same village who had received a liturgical education in one of the church schools.[73] Yet extensive or not, training in all schools depended on teachers skilled in Armenian and these schools offered seven years of teaching from primary to middle school.[74] Their annual operating cost provided by the local diocese ranged from 10 to 50 Ottoman kurush, depending on the location and size of the school.[75]

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[71] *Arevelyan Mamoul*, no 12, Smyrna, June 15, 1897, p. 429.

[72] Archbishop Malachia Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (London, A.R. Mowbray & Co. Limited, 1955),104-105.

[73] *Krikor Naregatsi* (Գրիգոր Նարեկացի) (951-1003) was an Armenian monk, poet, and saint of the Armenian Apostolic Church and also the Catholic Church. His *Book of Lamentations* (Մատեան ողբերգութեան), a major piece that is a masterpiece of Christian spiritual literature and the most beloved work of Armenian literature. S. Amadian, "The Sub-district of Yerzenga. A Description of Armenian Villages," *Arevelyan Mamoul*, April 1891, 155-159; *Arevelyan Mamoul*, May 1891, 207-210; Robert Tatoyan, "Erzindjan/Erzincan/Yerzenga Schools," Houshamadyan org, accessed June 26, 2021, https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-erzurum/kaza-of-yerzenga/education-and-sport/schools.html.

[74] Senior Priest Boghos Natanian, *Ardosr Hayasdani gam Deghegakir Paloua, Karpertou, Charsandjaki, Jabagh Chouri, yev Yerzengayou Havelvadz Esd Khntranats Azkasirats Khizan Kavari* [*The Tears of Armenia, or a Survey of Palu, Kharpert, Charsandjak, Jabagh Chour, and Erzindjan, with Additions Requested by the Patriotic People of Khizan Province*], (Constantinople: Armenian Patriarchate, 1878), 157-158. Example: Senior Priest Boghos Natanian visited Erzindjan school in May 1878, newly built, spacious, and well-lit two-story buildings with hardworking teachers. Textbooks included a grammar book, the psalter, Acts of the Apostles and the Book of Lamentations.

[75] See the image 0.3 for the charts show the money exchange amounts. Tolga Akkaya, "The Evolution of Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1922" (MA thesis, Bilkent University, 1999), 89; Archbishop Malachia Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (London: A.R. Mowbray & Co. Limited, 1955).

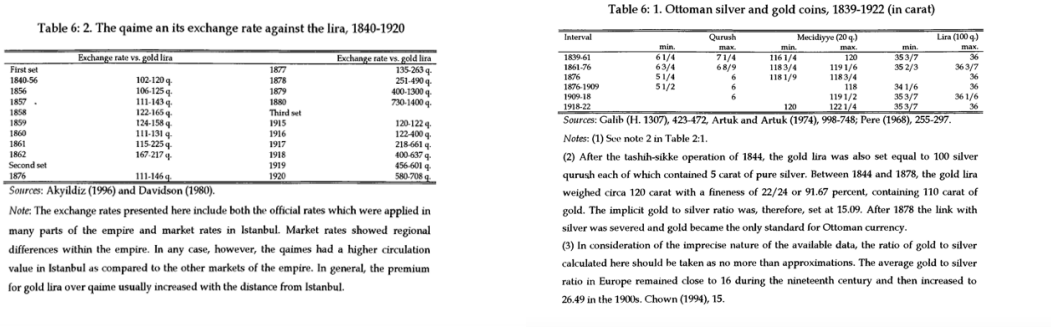

Table 6: 2. The qaime an its exchange rate against the lira, 1840-1920

	Exchange rate vs. gold lira		Exchange rate vs. gold lira
First set		1877	135-263 q.
1840-56	102-120 q.	1878	251-490 q.
1856	106-125 q.	1879	400-1300 q.
1857	111-143 q.	1880	730-1400 q.
1858	122-165 q.	Third set	
1859	124-158 q.	1915	120-122 q.
1860	111-131 q.	1916	122-400 q.
1861	115-225 q.	1917	218-661 q.
1862	167-217 q.	1918	400-637 q.
Second set		1919	456-601 q.
1876	111-146 q.	1920	580-708 q.

Sources: Akyildiz (1996) and Davidson (1980).

Note: The exchange rates presented here include both the official rates which were applied in many parts of the empire and market rates in Istanbul. Market rates showed regional differences within the empire. In any case, however, the qaimes had a higher circulation value in Istanbul as compared to the other markets of the empire. In general, the premium for gold lira over qaime usually increased with the distance from Istanbul.

Table 6: 1. Ottoman silver and gold coins, 1839-1922 (in carat)

Interval	Qurush		Mecidiyye (20 q.)		Lira (100 q.)	
	min.	max.	min.	max.	min.	max.
1839-61	6 1/4	7 1/4	116 1/4	120	35 3/7	36
1861-76	6 3/4	6 8/9	118 3/4	119 1/6	35 2/3	36 3/7
1876	5 1/4	6	118 1/9	118 3/4		36
1876-1909	5 1/2	6		118	34 1/6	36
1909-18		6		119 1/2	35 3/7	36 1/6
1918-22			120	122 1/4	35 3/7	36

Sources: Galib (H. 1307), 423-472, Artuk and Artuk (1974), 998-748; Pere (1968), 255-297.

Notes: (1) See note 2 in Table 2:1.

(2) After the tashih-sikke operation of 1844, the gold lira was also set equal to 100 silver qurush each of which contained 5 carat of pure silver. Between 1844 and 1878, the gold lira weighed circa 120 carat with a fineness of 22/24 or 91.67 percent, containing 110 carat of gold. The implicit gold to silver ratio was, therefore, set at 15.09. After 1878 the link with silver was severed and gold became the only standard for Ottoman currency.

(3) In consideration of the imprecise nature of the available data, the ratio of gold to silver calculated here should be taken as no more than approximations. The average gold to silver ratio in Europe remained close to 16 during the nineteenth century and then increased to 26.49 in the 1900s. Chown (1994), 15.

Figure 1.3. Exchange Rates of Kurush and Silver Coin to Gold Coin, Nineteenth-century (left: kurush to gold coin; right: silver to gold coin. From Tolga Akkaya, "The Evolution of Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1922" (MA thesis, Bilkent University, 1999, 89)

Meanwhile, wider historical events took place in the context of the second part of the nineteenth century. Besides Tanzimat in 1839, the Imperial Reform Edict (*Islâhat Hatt-ı Hümâyûnu*) in 1856 promised both Muslim and non-Muslim subjects "perfect security for life, honor and property" and moreover equality for non-Muslims.[76] Additionally, the Treaty of Paris in 1856 required each ethnic group in the Empire to submit a set of rights and privileges as a form of structured law, which had to be approved by the Sublime Porte. These events encouraged Armenians to create the Armenian National Constitution or Regulation in 1863. The Armenian church had traditionally been the voice of the nation in all matters from the very beginning of Christianity until the state approved this code of regulations that was composed of 150 articles.[77] These regulations defined a new power dynamic of the Patriarch and the newly-formed National Assembly in the Armenian community by pushing accustomed traditions toward a more secular level, which eventually impacted the status of women and girls' education. From the Patriarchate's perspective, the main reason for the emphasis on the status of women was that they were seen as natural protectors, teachers, and signifiers of ethnic-religious culture and community. Among these three reforms—Tanzimat, Islahat and National

[76] Both the *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane* and *Islahat Femanı,* see: James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[77] Martayan Hagop, *Extensive Calendar of Holy Saviour Armenian Hospital*, (Constantinople: Martayan Printing House, 1908), 92-93.

Constitution—the Armenian constitution impacted all the Armenian community in a deeper level, but the other two prepared the cultural-political atmosphere to make the constitution valid and acceptable. The constitution made possible the expression of many un-traditional ideas, and at the same time validated the presence of the Armenian community within the Ottoman Empire by securing privileges and rights of individuals.[78]

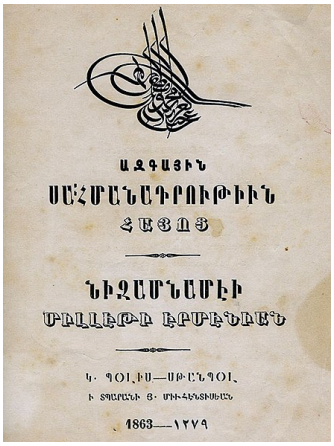

Figure 1.4. Cover of 1863 Armenian National Constitution. Courtesy of the Armenian Patriarchate Library Special Collection.

Another source of social transformation was the impact of the Armenian Renaissance generation on the National Constitution to further girls' education activities. Father Janashian from Mkhitarist analyzes their influence in two significant transformations: First these young graduates of high schools went to Europe to receive education between 1850 and 1885 and, second, they brought back new ideas to the state to change social, administrative and cultural

[78] The Constitution divided into five sections called Chapters, which resembles French Constitution of 1848.The first chapter had eighty four articles about Central Administration including election and resignation of the Patriarch, the duties of the Patriarch's office, Patriarchate of Jerusalem, religious council structure, civil council, the educational council, the judicial council, monastic council, treasury committee, committee on walls, trustees of the national hospital, national Assembly's organization structures. Chapter 2 focused on the operation of the subsidiary bodies and committees. Chapter 3 is about matter of dues. Chapter 4 deals with the administration of provincial. Chapter five delivers for revising the Constitution. Ekmekjian talks about five achievements of the Armenian Constitution. These are security of life, property, and honor, equality before the law, freedom from oppression by corrupt government officials, and end to the abuses connected with the collection of taxes. James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843–1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964) 115-135, A. O. Sarkissian, *History of the Armenian Question to 1885* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1938), 37; H. C. Lockwood, *Constitutional History of France* (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally and Company Publishers, 1890).

lives of Armenians.[79] The main motivation behind the activities of the Renaissance Generation was to help their people as doctors, engineers, lawyers, architects, or writers, after completing their professional training in higher education schools in Europe such as France, Germany, or Italy.[80] They did not only receive skilled jobs, but also brought back revolutionary Western ideas regarding their nation, equality, representative government, universal suffrage, and the education and status of women. They debated and publicized these ideas widely in the press. The impact of the Renaissance Generation on the feminist movement could be explained in various ways. First of all, these male intellectuals transformed the printing press, engaged in debates on women's employment, education and empowerment via their writings, and provided translations of Western novels commonly read by women. They assisted the development of Western Armenian literature from 1843 on, which started with the publication of the Mkhitarist daily newspaper *Pazmaveb* [*Polyhistory*], (from 1843 - today in Venice) and *Masis* in 1852 Constantinople (1852-1908).[81] Their literary and intellectual involvement into the daily press, had tremendous impact on the use of vernacular.[82] They were the establishers of vernacular versus *ashkharhapar* (Classical Armenian).[83] Second, they changed city life by attending or initiating theater performances, balls, exhibitions, and fundraisers with their wives, daughters

[79] James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843–1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 115-135.

[80] Students of Mkhitarist schools, especially, accomplished their education in Venice, Viana, Padua, and Paris.

[81] Oshagan highlights how Renaissance Generation, and the influence of Mkhitarist shaped Armenian community's life. Vahé Oshagan, "Cultural and Literary Awakening of Western Armenians, 1789–1915," *Armenian Review* (Autumn 1983): 57–70.

[82] One of these European educated men was Servichen Serovpe Vichenian (1815-1897), who was one of the first Armenian students enrolling at the University of Paris medical school. He became a first teacher at the Army Medical School, he worked on establishment of Red Crescent (Red Cross), he headed the first Educational Council in 1853 and 1858 he was a member of the National Assembly. Hovhannes Deroyent (1801-1888) worked as a French interpreter for the Turkish government, stated publishing Armenian in 1846 until 1852, wrote in vernacular and defended the Armenian Church.

[83] They read Armenian historians of Khorenats'i, Naregats'i and Shnorhali, and European writers of Corneille, Moliere, Rousseau, Hugo, Lamartine, Voltaire, and Racine that they were impacted the ideas of these intellectuals the most.

and friends. Vahé Oshagan claims the changes in the administration, language and school systems as a result of the Renaissance Generation transformed Armenian community lives during these years impacted the future of the whole generation.[84]

The biggest support for education came from the wealthy *amiras* as before. Between 1850 and 1865, many young Armenian men benefited from these wealthy intellectuals and received a higher education in France. In order have more trained skilled teachers in various fields, managers, and librarians, around 40 male high-school graduates were sent there every year for a university education with private funds.[85] During this period, many students were sent to get a higher education in various fields including banking, engineering, and health fields not only by *amiras*, but also from schools like Sanasarien in Erzurum also sent their most brilliant graduates to France so they would return back to the college and teach to pay off their debt to the school. Sanasarien high school received such a high level of acknowledgment from higher institutions thanks to those teachers educated in the West. After the first school of Armenians started in 1790 as a result of church and community efforts, schooling increased tremendously. By 1866, over 46 Armenian schools (32 for boys and 14 for girls) operated for 4,700 pupils, including 1,472 girls and 142 teachers in Constantinople.[86]

[84] Vahé Oshagan, "Cultural and Literary Awakening of Western Armenians, 1789–1915," *Armenian Review* (Autumn 1983): 57–70.

[85] Vahé Oshagan, "Cultural and Literary Awakening of Western Armenians, 1789–1915," *Armenian Review* (Autumn 1983): 62.

[86] "Western Armenian Education," in *The Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation*, www.genocide-museum.am, accessed July 1, 2021, http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/online_exhibition_13.php.

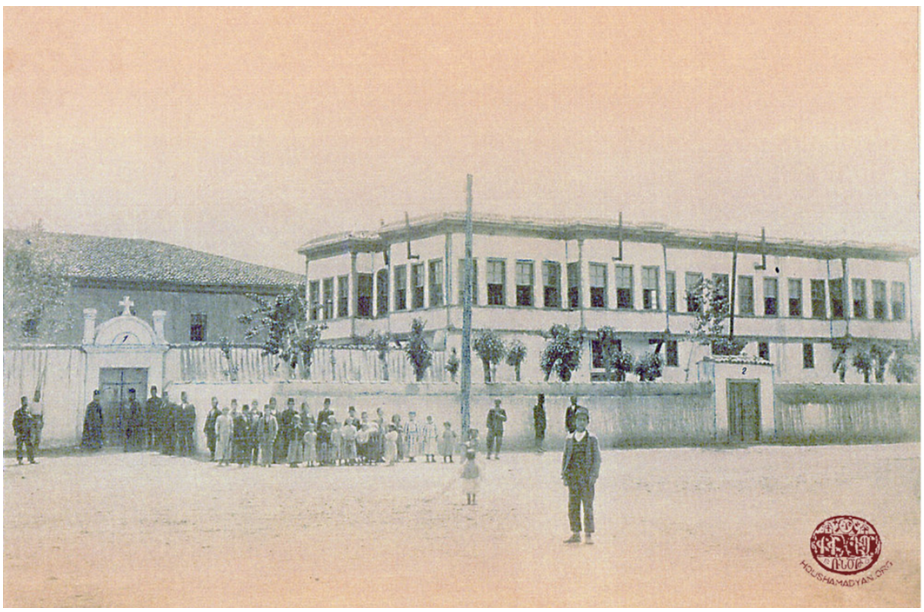

Figure 1.5. Holy Trinity Church (left) and Central School (right), Erzinjan, 1907. From *Erjinjan Illustrated Album*, Constantinople, 1907, prepared for Bishop Maghakia Ormanian.[87]

During the first part of the nineteenth century, educational opportunities for most girls had been provided by the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate of Constantinople and foreign Christian-missionary groups, while wealthy families hired tutors to teach their daughters at home.[88] Basically, all learning institutions depended on churches or individuals, with schools being maintained through both public funding and private monies from *amiras*. Some church schools nestled next to church spaces, just as Holy Trinity Church (almost literally) supported its *azgayin* school in Erzinjan (Figure 2.4, above). After the Constitution, the impact of the Renaissance Generation and the establishment of the educational council, girls' education received more attention. Some Renaissance Generation intellectuals became teachers of newly-established girls' schools. Additionally, women's organizations began appearing in various

[87] The picture shows the Lousavorchian School in Erjincan, which was established next to the Holy Trinity Church. There were other schools existing around the same region also such as the Yeznigian School was operating alongside the Saint Nshan Cathedral, in the 1870s, additionally the Chrisdinian Girls' School established in 1875, and the co-educational Torkomian and Haigaznian schools were active as private institution with tuitions. For further information see: Robert Tatoyan, "Erzindjan/Erzincan/Yerzenga Schools," Houshamadyan org, accessed June 26, 2021, https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-erzurum/kaza-of-yerzenga/education-and-sport/schools.html.

[88] Examples of this kind of educational opportunities for middle- and upper-class girls appear in Sibyl's novel as Bulbul, Aruseak characters and Dussap's novel as Siranush character that will be analyzed in the chapter of three and four.

districts of Constantinople as well as the provinces, imitating their male counterparts' works.

In addition, the approval of the Armenian National Constitution in 1863 proved a major catalyst for the growth of Armenian education. Education was not yet compulsory, but after the Constitution was promulgated, Armenians officially followed the decentralized educational structure permitting churches, individuals, missionaries, and foreign institutions to open and manage their own schools. Basically, these schools had been launching from these groups prior to this constitution, but the new situation in the Empire legitimized them with the constitution's approval.[89] Therefore, expansion of the schools increased gradually in the 1850s and 1860s.

The Armenian Constitution thus systematized governance of Armenian millet schools. As mentioned, the National Education Council acted as overseer and designed a plan to manage the millet schools, acquire mandated textbooks, and engage teachers. Perhaps more importantly, it developed programs for kindergarten, primary, elementary, upper-elementary and secondary levels based on European (and especially French) models.[90] The program formally classified schools and classrooms and specified required subjects and the number and duration of courses for each. The schedule of classes, including recesses, lunch, and holidays, also fell within the Council's purview. In addition, it adopted new methods of assessing students' capacity for improvement, overseeing final examinations, outlining acceptable forms of reward and punishment, and awarding diplomas.[91] Yet local councils in Armenian towns and villages still appointed school boards of trustees, supervised millet schools in their districts, and provided resources gathered from local taxes, church and school properties, endowments,

[89] The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in 1862 created General Regulations for the administration of all Orthodox communities reinforced to run each particular community's internal affairs by themselves. This decentralized educational system allowed the Greek community to operate their own schools, and various other private school that appeared. For example, Greek expatriates were inclined towards opening more vocational schools, or schools for the upper class.

[90] Selçuk Somel Akşin, "Osmanlı Ermenilerinde kültür modernleşmesi, cemaat okulları ve Abdülhamid rejimi," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar* 5:2007, pp. 71-92.

[91] L. Chormisian, *Hamabadger Arevmdahayots Meg Tarou Badmoutyan* [*An Overview of a Century of Western Armenian History] 1850-1878*, Volume A, (Beirut, 1972), 550.

and other gifts before the Armenian constitution in 1863.[92]

The emergence of these new schools after 1863 in various quarters of Constantinople provided opportunities for children of rich and poor families alike. Migration from the provinces to the cities enabled urban and rural Armenian children to attend the same schools provided by the Armenian Patriarchate.[93] Both the economic and structural improvements of the educational, social (press, daily events, lifestyle changes, expansion of public transportation), and political (education committees, Armenian constitution) systems expanded the flow of migration from provinces to Constantinople. As a result of these improved living and working conditions in the city, Constantinople received a great migration from Armenians of the provinces, called *bandukht* ("stranger" or "foreigner," corresponding to the Arabic Gharib terms). The topic of migration and the condition of *bantoukhds* received a great attention from the intellects of the time. For example, Melkon Gurdjian (1859-1915) represented the *bantoukhds*' life in all its facets in his "Letters of the Bantoukhd" series of articles in the weekly *Masis* between 1888 and 1892.[94] The magazine cover of *Geank* published a picture that was representing Armenia as an abandoned countryside (see figure below) and talked about the serious of "Letters of the Bantoukhd" publication in *Masis*.[95]

[92] *Azkayin Sahmanatroutyun Hayots – Hasdadial 1863 yev Veraknyal,* [*The National Constantinian of Armenians – Confirmed in 1863 and Reinstated*] (Cairo, Arshalouys Press, 1901), 41-42.

[93] See for further information regarding migration to Constantinople from provinces: Yaşar Tolga Cora, "Institutionalized migrant solidarity in the late Ottoman Empire: Armenian homeland associations (1800s–1920s)," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Volume 63 (2020): 55-79.

[94] Originally titled "Bandukhdi Namagner" Letters of Bantokhd published by Melkon Gurdjian between 1888-1892 in Masis.

[95] Hoogasian Villa Susie and Kilbourne Matossian Mary, *Armenian Village Life Before 1914* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1982); Hovannisian G. Richard, ed., *Armenian Baghesh/Bitlis and Taron/Mush* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers Inc., 2001); Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* vol. 2 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

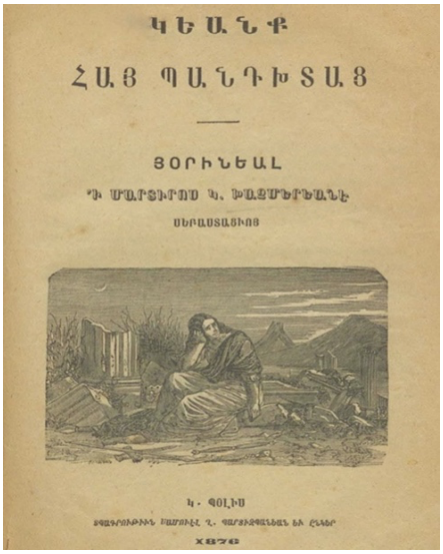

Figure 1.6. *Geank* Cover Advertising Khachmeria's Seires, 1876. Fom Yaşar Tolga Cora, "Institutionalized migrant solidarity in the late Ottoman Empire: Armenian homeland associations (1800s-1920s)," *New Perspectives on Turkey*, Volume 63 (2020)

Although supporters of the romantic nationalism were not pleased about Armenians leaving the eastern provinces in order to improve their life conditions, the Patriarchate needed to provide immediate assistance to those newcomers, especially regarding the education of their children. The Patriarchal schools worked on accommodating the migrant pupils in the neighborhood schools in order to facilitate some interchange among different social classes. While such relations seem very beneficial, nevertheless, certain school practices targeting poor pupils also marginalized them. In her novel *Gardens of Silihdar*, Zabel Yesayan recalls that teachers at Holy Cross School publicly distributed charity to poor children, humiliating the recipients.[96] A young girl in Arpiar Arpiarian's short story, *Faith*, expresses her embarrassment at receiving charity in front of her friends in a girls' school.[97] Such officially condoned, if unintentional, shaming does not seem to have elicited much pity, but rather the opposite. Another example is from Sibyl: When she transferred from her-French school to the azkayin school at Holy Cross, Sibyl learned not to empathize with impoverished students. She explains

[96] Zabel Yeseyan (1878-1943) was a well-known Armenian writer. Zabel Yesayian, "Silihdari Bardeznere" (Gardens of Silihdar), in *Yerger,* ed. Sergo Payazat (Yerevan: Haipethrat, 1959), 500.

[97] Arpiar Arpiarian (1852-1908) was a famous author.

her experience in the following long quote:

> Here and there I saw in the halls very dirty, barefoot children. With matted hair and old clothes, they looked like beggars and were called the charity cases. The schoolmistress rang a bell and called: "Charity cases come for lunch." These charity cases crossed to the nuns' room. "Charity cases, come and take paper and pen." Together all of them stood up, wretched and proud. I didn't know the meaning of the word "charity cases," which made me think it was something bad, giving me the idea that they were guilty and to be blamed. I asked myself what crime these poor children had committed to become charity cases .... There were moments when feelings of sympathy constricted my throat; but these moments in which I pitied them quickly passed. There was something sweet in my tears, but a hard, cruel loathing was around me. With tangled hair and dirty fingernails, these girls, beneath whose clothes hung rags and strands of yarn, were a nightmare to me...Voluntarily, I renounced my walks and games in order to avoid any situation in which I would be approached by these charity cases. Day after day this unconfessed detestation was growing, these passions and fancies were becoming extreme, and tortured me.[98]

Still, although the gap between the cities' wealthy and the needy bled into the schools, children had the same educational opportunities mandated by the Patriarchate.[99] On the other hand, schools had other social-cultural and organizational challenges to meet in order to receive more girl pupils. The biggest problem came ensuring proper segregation between boys' and girls' outside spaces in co-ed institutions. Throughout this period, girls' schools under the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate usually lacked funding to support themselves completely and did not have enough teachers to open classes for girls only, therefore some co-educational schools appeared. For example, a famous neighborhood facility in Üsküdar, Holy Cross School, accepted boys and girls, but both classrooms and playgrounds were segregated. The schools tried to find temporary solutions by separating students' play areas or providing older male and female teachers for girls' classrooms to keep these genders separated in order to protect the virtue and the honor of girls' families as cultural necessity. But those borders might

[98] Sibyl, "Dzrinere [Feminism once more]," in *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 151.

[99] This was true for other big cities, for example in New Julfa girls' school was combined with the boys' school due to the lack of funds to hire teachers. Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2000), she took the original quotes from Tikranuhi Apkariants, "The Education of Women in Nor Jugha," *Artemis 2–3*, (February/March 1903): 55.

be infringed upon: Yesayan writes of a scandal at Holy Cross in which a male teacher kissed his female student, incurring arrest and expulsion from the city.[100] She also records that some girls themselves might remove the lock from the gate separating the playgrounds:

> For the most part the girl pupils were scandalized by our behavior. But they watched [our daring] with longing and approached us, observing our games but never participating. Usually the administration watched this "communication" with indifference, but sometimes they prevented it. Often that happened because there was a suspicion about one of the older girls, or her parents complained. They would prevent us from playing with boys but in a few days, we found a means of reopening the door and playing together.[101]

Because of these kinds of accidents, families hesitated to send their girls to the neighborhood schools. The families did not want to take the risk of ruining the honor of their family name because of their girls' education. Besides these financial and cultural difficulties girls encountered in their education, propaedeutic problems abounded. Private and neighborhood schools alike had to confront substantial differences between girls' and boys' curricula. Dussap focuses on one in her last novel *Araksia, or the Governess*: the superficiality of female education, which deprived girls of learning skills needed to improve themselves in many fields. Girls' learning was "not to truly enrich the mind, but rather to provide superficial polish. Reading and writing Armenian and French is considered sufficient for taking pride that a girl has been granted a reasonable education."[102] Although some of these schools had a co-educational system, they employed a different curriculum since the reason for co-ed schooling derived exclusively from financial and cultural constraints, not pedagogical concerns.

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[100] Zabel Yesayian, "Silihdari Bardeznere" (Gardens of Silihdar), in *Yerger,* ed. Sergo Payazat (Yerevan: Haipethrat, 1959), 526.

[101] Translation is from Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000); Zabel Yesayian, *Inknakensagrutyun, (Autobiography)* (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grakanutiun, 1987), 53.

[102] Translation is from Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000); Srpuhi Dussap, "Araksia Kam Varzuhin, Araksia or the Governess" in *Yerker* (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981), 363.

An additional vast and widely publicized curriculum difference existed among girls' schools of the Patriarchate, the missionaries, the state, and women's organizations.[103] Patriarchal and privately funded schools emphasized Armenian culture, language, and history, whereas the missionary schools taught more universal topics, including basic mathematics, the language of the institution's supporters, handicrafts, and music. Sibyl mentions that, despite her education in a French Catholic school, once at Holy Cross, one of the famous neighborhood schools of Üsküdar, she had to take a basic Armenian class meant for younger children.[104] She relates her conversation with the teacher on the first day of school, revealing the glaring curricular differences between Holy Cross and the French Catholic schools:

> Have you read Christian books? No.
> (Armenian) Grammar? No.
> Geography? No.
> History? No.[105]

[103] Barbara Merguerian, "The Beginnings of Secondary Education for Armenian Women: The Armenian Female Seminary in Constantinople," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* vol. 5 (1990–1991): 108; Paul Sedra, *From Mission to Modernity: Evangelicals, Reformers and Education in Nineteenth Century Egypt* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2011).

[104] Asia site of Constantinople. See Figure 1.4.

[105] Sibyl, "Charity Cases" in *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 150.

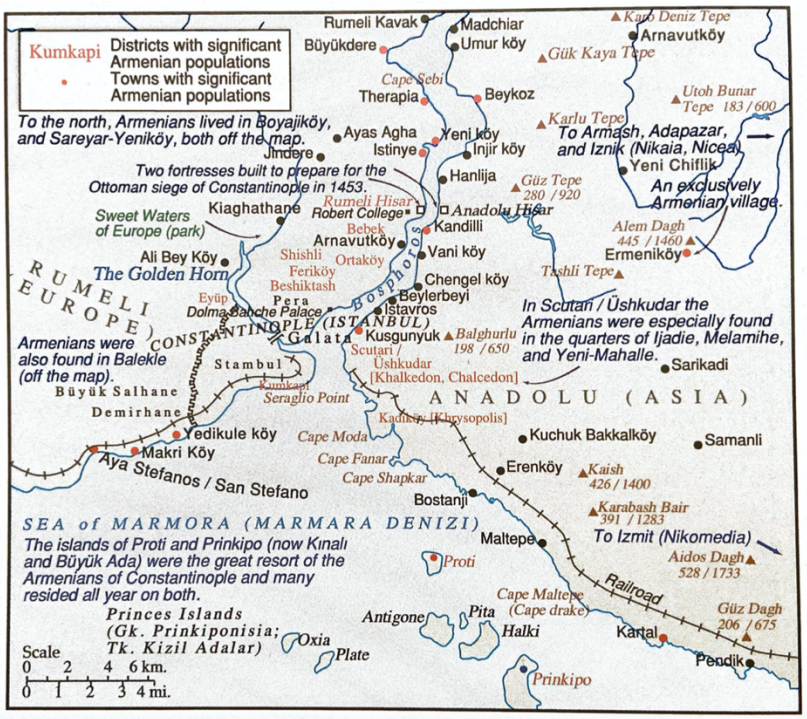

Figure 1.7. Asian Part of Constantinople, Nineteenth Century. From Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 172: The region of Constantinople," in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 185.

Fortunately, urban neighborhood schools improved with experience, as the foundational late-nineteenth-century woman writer and intellectual Zabel Yesayan attests.[106] Unlike Dussap and Sibyl, she came from a middle-class family and thus had a different experience at Holy Cross after transferring from a private school.[107] At Holy Cross she took history, French, Armenian, and basic arithmatic. She was fortunate to have the well-know teacher and author, Hrant Asadur as her teacher, who encouraged Yesayan's literary talent.[108]

According to the Statistical Register that was produced by the Education Council of the Armenian Patriarchate, there were 803 Armenian national colleges with 81,208 pupils and

[106] Zabel Yesayian, "Silihdari Bardeznere," in *Yerger,* ed. Sergo Payazat (Yerevan: Haipethrat, 1959).

[107] Cited by Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), p. 83. In her autobiography Yesayian recounts that on her first day at Holy Cross school she was asked to read aloud in front of the class. She began to read according to the method taught at her first school. These methods included shouting and banging on the desk. Her reading provoked laughter among the other pupils and the teacher explained to her that it was not necessary to shout and bang the desk when reading aloud. Zabel Yesayian, "Silihdari Bardeznere" in *Yerger,* ed. Sergo Payazat (Yerevan: Haipethrat Press, 1959), 490.

[108] Zabel Yesayian, *Inknakensagrutyun* [*Autobiography*] (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grakanutiun, 1987), 53.

2,088 teachers throughout the Empire that belonged to the Armenian Apostholic Chuch in 1901 and 1902.[109] The provinces had 29,371 students (7,772 girls) and 921 teachers from 441 colleges.[110] These numbers of the *azkayin* schools excluded Catholic and Protestant missionary schools, foreign schools, private schools and women's associations' schools, and demonstrated the wide spread of the church schooling system and the support of the community regardless of the financial, cultural and social barriers that these schools encountered. In order to keep education structurally organized for all institutions throughout the Empire, the bylaws of the *azkayin* schools were published in 1890.

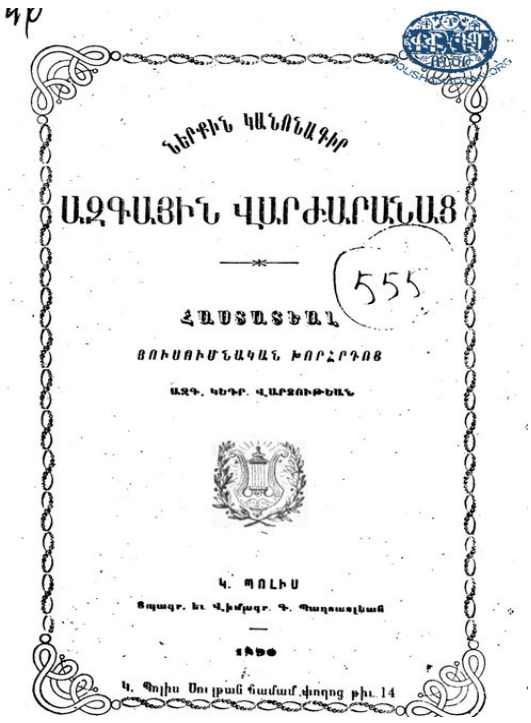
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Figure 1.8. Internal Bylaws of Armenian *Azkayin* Schools (K. Baghdadlian Press, Constantinople, 1890. Courtesy of the Mekhitarist Library Archive, Vienna.

On the other hand, neighborhood school systems, as well as privately-funded educational enterprises, initiated a great leap forward girls' education, despite structural, financial, cultural, and educational difficulties, which was facilitated through the significant

[109] "Western Armenian Education," in *The Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation*, www.genocide-museum.am, accessed July 1, 2021, http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/online_exhibition_13.php.

[110] "Western Armenian Education," in *The Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation*, www.genocide-museum.am, accessed July 1, 2021, http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/online_exhibition_13.php.

expansion of missionary schools after the mid-1850s.[111] Consecutively, aiming to impose their modernization policy throughout the Empire, state bodies undertook the improvement of minority groups' education within a purposively secular framework. Missionary schools, those sponsored by the state, and those established by women's organizations generated greater funds to support their girls' schools, hire teachers, and provide more secular curriculum and also more religious curriculum. As later chapters will show, voluntary associations brought educational activities for girls and women to an even more professional, structured, and financially sustainable level, but the trend had already begun.

Figure 1.9. Co-educational Neighborhood School, Erzinjan, 1886. From Robert Tatoyan, "Erzindjan/Erzincan/Yerzenga Schools," Houshamadyan org, accessed June 26, 2021, https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-erzurum/kaza-of-yerzenga/education-and-sport/schools.html

The Impact of Foreign and Missionary Schools

Ottoman women's studies has generally evaluated Armenian girls' schooling in the context of foreign and missionary educational institutions. Especially some sources incorporated their work within the larger study of Christian missionaries in the Empire, thus as part of Ottoman historiography.[112] However, they were not situated in a comparative

[111] Selçuk Somel Akşin, "Osmanlı Ermenilerinde Kültür Modernleşmesi, Cemaat Okulları ve Abdülhamid Rejimi," *Tarih ve Toplum: Yeni Yaklaşımlar,* 5 (2007): 71-92.

[112] For a study displaying the Ottoman Empire's attitude towards Christian schools, see Selçuk Somel Akşin, "Christian community schools during the Ottoman reforms period," in *Late Ottoman Society the Intellectual*

framework with the other schooling systems in the Empire, such as the Patriarchate, state, or women's associations' schools.[113] As a result of the reforms mentioned previously, to some degree European powers impacted Ottoman-Armenian girls through missionary schools in Constantinople, Smyrna, and the eastern provinces, including Van, Erzincan, Bitlis, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, Kharpert (Harput), Sebastia (Sivas), Mush, and the area of Cilicia.[114] These powers derived mainly from two different religious groups: Roman Catholics and Protestants. Both groups' schools functioned in part to disseminate their religious beliefs and cultural practices, and to shape the gendered behavior of students upon graduation. To extend their proselytizing, both sets of missionaries opened numerous girls' as well as boys' schools, in the provinces mentioned above.

Legacy. ed., Elisabeth Özdalga (New York: Routledge, 2005). But the article focuses on primary and secondary schools and does not discuss vocational schools or the significant contribution of Armenian women's associations in opening schools for girls. Some information regarding Armenian school activities, locations, matriculation and church support is covered in Mutlu Şamil's *Missionary Schools in the Empire*, and Adnan Şişman's *Foreign Countries' Cultural and Social Enterprise in the Ottoman Empire* and *"The Beginning of the 20th Century: Foreign Countries' Cultural and Social Enterprices."* Mutlu Şamil, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Misyoner Okulları* [Missionary Schools in the Empire] (İstanbul: Gökkubbe Yayını, 2005); Adnan Şişman, *XX. Yüzyıl Başlarında Osmanlı Devleti'nde Yabancı Devletlerin Kültürel ve Sosyal Müesseseleri* [The Beginning of the 20th Century: Foreign Countries' Cultural and Social Enterprices] (Balıkkesir: Alem Basım Yayın, 1994); Adnan Şişman, *Tanzimat Döneminde Fransa'ya Gönderilen Osmanlı Öğrencileri* [Ottoman Students Sent to France During the Tanzimat Period) (1839-1876)] (TTK Basımevi: Ankara 2004).

[113] Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008); Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Nearest East: American Millennialism and Mission to the Middle East* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010); Paul Sedra, *From Mission to Modernity: Evangelicals, Reformers and Education in Nineteenth Century Egypt* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011).

[114] See Figure 1.7 for the map of the region. During this period, in order to maintain their dominance among the Armenian community, the missionaries did not only focus on boys' but also girls' schools in the provinces.

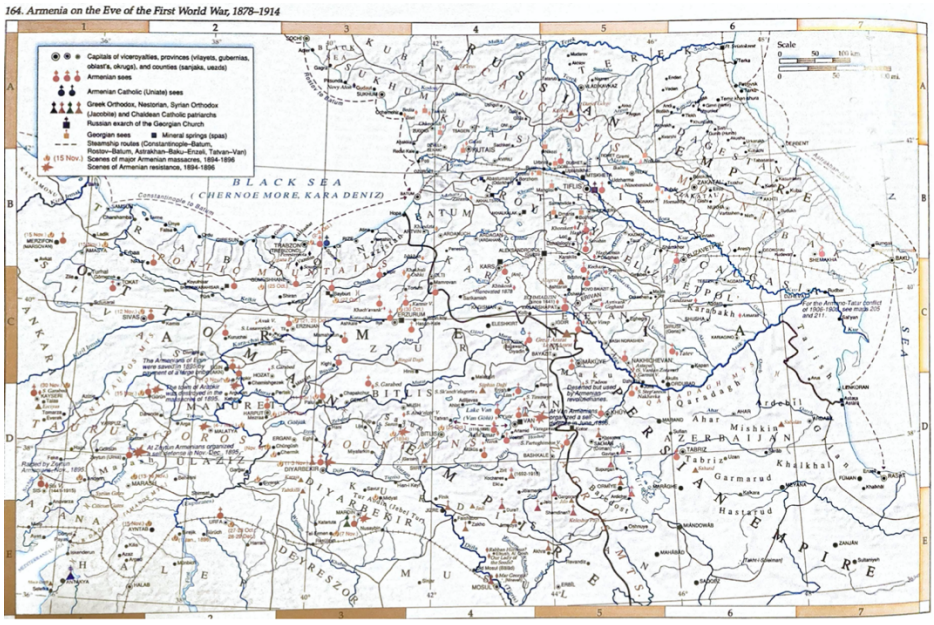

Figure 1.10. Armenian Eastern Cities. From Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 164: Armenia on the Eve of the First World War, 1878-1914" in *Armenia A Historical Atlas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001, 180.

Roman Catholic nuns administered girls' day schools and a secondary school from 1839 in Karin (Erzurum).[115] Catholics expanded on the west coast, notably in the port cities of Smyrna and Salonika, and in larger eastern provinces such as Erzinjan and Mush. The Assumptionists, Brothers of Christian Schools (*Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes*), the Jesuits, Lazarists, Franciscans, Capuchins, Carmelites, the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul (*Soeurs de la Charité*), Sisters of Nôtre Dame de Sion, and the Dominicans—all these orders taught in the Empire.[116] Roman Catholics employed French in their education because, as noted, most of the missionaries to the Porte were French nationals, a point which attracted students from wealthy and middle-class Armenian families, who adopted Catholicism and became more Europeanized among Armenian community especially in the larger cities. Not surprisingly, Roman Catholic nuns operated the first French school for girls established in Constantinople

[115] Barbara Merguerian, "The Beginnings of Secondary Education for Armenian Women: The Armenian Female Seminary in Constantinople," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies,* vol. 5 (1990–1991): 108.

[116] Nazan Maksudyan, "The Turkish Review of Anthropology and the Racist Face of Turkish Nationalism," *Cultural Dynamics,* 17 (2005): pp. 291-322.

in the 1830s.[117] In fact, French schools dominated in urban centers, counterbalancing the influence of the American Protestant missionaries in rural regions. Since learning French and getting French education was a symbol of higher position in society, wealthier families in the cities chose Catholic missionary schools.[118] Catholic schools in larger cities such as Constantinople, Salonika, and Smyrna offered a markedly broader curriculum and a higher level of primary education including science, geography, drawing, singing, narration, Bible, Armenian, and French or English. However, not every Catholic school had the same curriculum. The ones in the provinces focused on home economics comprised of weaving, sewing, needlework, crochet, knitting, embroidery on fine silks, rug-making, quilting, hemstitching linen handkerchiefs, and lace work.[119]

In contrast, the influence of Protestant missionaries on girls' education started later, after the 1860s. Only with the formation of the Women's Board of Missions in 1868 did American Protestants begin funding education for Armenian girls. They provided educational supplies and skilled teachers and made school conditions attractive to Armenian girls already associated with the Protestant or Catholic communities; others converted on acceptance to the schools.[120] At first, Catholic schools vastly outnumbered those of their Protestant counterparts,

[117] Also, not surprisingly, the Catholic missionaries' educational activities formed part of the French expansion into the Empire which had been significant already from the 17th century. They received funds from the French state and from the papacy. See for further details: Merguerian, Barbara. "The Beginnings of Secondary Education for Armenian Women: The Armenian Female Seminary in Constantinople," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* vol. 5 (1990–1991): 108; John P. Spagnola, "The Definition of a Style of Imperialism: The Internal Politics of the French Educational Investment in Ottoman Beirut," *French Historical Studies*, 8/4 (Autumn 1974): 563-584.

[118] Turkish Foreign Office used French as their official language. French was the main language of international diplomacy at the time. İlhan Başgöz, *Türkiye'nin Eğitim Çıkmazı ve Atatürk* (Istanbul: Pan Yay, 2016).

[119] Missionary boy schools focused on tailoring, shoe making, carpentering, bookbinding, cabinet making, ironmaking and later on gardening, silk raising, and agriculture workshops. Nazan Maksudyan, ed., *Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective to Ottoman Urban History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014), 107-135.

[120] Betty Anderson, "Liberal Education at the American University of Beirut (AUB): Protest, Protestantism, and the Meaning of Freedom," in *Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean: Late 19th Century until the 1960s*, ed. Christoph Shumann (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2008), 99-122; Paul Sedra, *From Mission to Modernity: Evangelicals, Reformers and Education in Nineteenth Century Egypt* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2011). Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008); Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Nearest East: American Millennialism and*

with 19 French girls' schools in the second half of the nineteenth century compared to the single Arnavutköy Women's American College opened by U.S. missionaries in 1871.[121] However, the Protestant presence gradually increased over the century, especially with the support of American institutions. The establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1810 led to the launch of their Ottoman outreach in 1819.[122] Their income derived from private fundraising, subscriptions, and donations. American missionaries mainly targeted remoter areas of Eastern Anatolia, offering the needy a practical education and health care.[123] Training in various trades figured large in the curriculum, along with an elementary education and religious teaching.[124] Thus American missionary schools focused on vocational training in crafts such as carpentry and ironwork to produce self-supporting graduates.[125] Cyrus Hamlin (1811-1900), founder of Robert College, claimed that "the object of the missionary must always be to help the needy to help themselves."[126] These

Mission to the Middle East (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010). Paul Sedra, *From Mission to Modernity: Evangelicals, Reformers and Education in Nineteenth Century Egypt* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2011).

[121] Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi* (Istanbul: Alfa Yay, 1999), 48.

[122] American missionary activities spread out during the Armenian massacres in the eastern provinces of the Empire between 1894-1896, additionally the victims of Crimean War of 1854-56 and Russian Ottoman war 1877-78 did not get enough attention from the State and these refugees called Muhacir entered from the Black Sea were left out. The missionaries became responsible of these refugees' education and converted most of the Muslims to the Christianity due to political and administrative reasons.

[123] Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, 2000); Hans Lukas Keiser, trans. Atilla Dirim, *Iskalanmış Barış Doğu Vilayetlerinde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938* (İstanbul: İletişim, 2005). Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008).

[124] Nazan Maksudyan talks about education in the missionary orphanages, which gives us some understanding of missionaries' educational institutions, she cites this information in the work of Nazan Maksudyan, "Being Saved to Serve: Armenian Orphans of 1894-1896 and interested relief in Missionary Orphanages," *Turcica*, 42 (2010), 47-88.

[125] Especially after the massacres, missionaries focused on industrial workshops in orphanages and asylums for widows. The orphan girls and boys went through this education of industrial training to be able to earn their future. Miss Nason, "Work for Orphans," *Missionary Herald 93*, March 1897, 112.

[126] Details of American missionaries' existence in the Middle East. See Keith Maurice Greenwood, "Robert College: The American Founders," (MA thesis, Johns Hopkins University, 1965); and Cyrus Hanım, *Among the Turkish* (New York, R. Carter & Brothers, 1878), 198.

missionaries shaped girls' lives as well by teaching them social skills for family life: cleanliness, nutrition, table manners, dress, and childrearing.[127] Even the school day had a strict schedule from morning to night to keep girls in order and teach them Western manners—consistent with the missionaries' goal of turning them into neat, studious, well-mannered wives and mothers.[128] Many teachers noted in their memoirs that these schools took dirty, untidy, parasite-infested, ill-mannered children and transformed them into clean, bright, hardworking church followers.[129] In her letters (as the situation was the same among Catholic girls' schools) Theresa Huntington Ziegler, a missionary among the Kharpert (Harpoot) Armenians from 1898 to 1905, mentions the girls' requisite hairstyle and garb: Each student had to comb and braid her hair according to school standards and to wear something white around the neck and sometimes on their dress sleeves to symbolize the value of cleanliness and proper attire.[130]

[127] See for more information about the Protestant Church's impact on modernizing communities in the Middle East in general. Marwa Elhaskry, "The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut," *Past and Present*, 196/1 (2007): 173.

[128] The lifestyle of these Anatolian girls explained in detail, which provides us such an insight of their living and social life. See for further information: Nazan Maksudyan, "'Being Saved to Serve:' Armenian Orphans of 1894-96 and Interested Relief in Missionary Orphanages," *Turcica* 42 (2010): 47-88.

[129] This goal was much bold in the orphanages of the missionary schools. as by Nazan Maksudyan talks how the female and male kids after their education in these schools go back to their villages and work as teachers or artisans, and they carry the Christian values and faith and elevate their community's moral and mental levels. Nazan Maksudyan, "'Being Saved to Serve:' Armenian Orphans of 1894-96 and Interested Relief in Missionary Orphanages," *Turcica* 42 (2010): 47-88.

[130] Theresa Huntington Ziegler, *Great Need Over Water*, ed. Stina Katchadourian (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Gomidas Institute, 1999), 121. A part of the day in school mentioned as the pupils "assemble at 8 o'clock every morning for the opening service. Reverently they read a psalm, sing a hymn, and stand in prayer (…) in the kitchen peeling potatoes and cutting up the beans for the plain but wholesome meal." Miss Susan Newham, "Bardezag, Western Turkey," *Missionary Heralds 94*, December 1898, 497-503.

Figure 1.11 Middle-school Girls in Catholic school Uniforms, Late Nineteenth Century. Courtesy of the Mekhitarist Library Archive, Vienna.

On the other hand, the schools in Constantinople differed greatly in terms of the background of the students and the curriculum. Florence E. Fensham (1861-1912), longtime dean of the American College for Girls there, mentions the large number of Armenian girls among her students who were not only very pious but intellectually curious as well.[131] Her comment highlights the familiar socio-economic gap between urban and provincial families. Additionally, the colleges of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) opened in cities taught various foreign languages to some degree and many modern courses, while Protestant schools in the provinces followed a limited curriculum.[132] For girls, these schools blended academic subjects in Armenian with practical skills of housekeeping, hygiene, knitting, and sewing.[133] They also emphasized teaching behavior and manners that fulfilled American and European ideals of feminine propriety, which was common for all the missionary schools for girls.

The missionaries certainly did not aim to incite children to revolt against current politics

[131] Alice Stone Blackwell, "Armenian Virtues," *Armenia A monthly Magazine*, Vol IV, no 4 (August 1910): 9.

[132] The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was founded in Boston in 1810. The organization serves as the first Protestant mission aimed at spreading the evangelical message overseas. The ABCFM sent its first missionaries to the Ottoman Empire in 1820.

[133] Alice Stone Blackwell, "Armenian Virtues," *Armenia A monthly Magazine*, Vol IV, no 4 (August 1910): 116.

or society through their education and training. Indeed, they carefully avoided teaching English at primary and secondary levels to discourage especially male students' post-graduation migration to larger cities for better employment, notably as translators for companies. Through their purposively tailored curricula, Protestant missionaries hoped to fuel and harness native agency in the provinces by encouraging students' strong support of their church but did not aim to train a new generation in the ideas of freedom or nationalism.[134] Yet many male graduates went to the United States for higher education and never returned. On the other hand, their teaching of modern languages, science, and other subjects still stimulated certain students, mostly male, in the direction of liberation. The *Ceride-yi Havadis* newspaper reports in 1882 that missionary schools introduced radical changes in the lives of their students:

> Protestant missionaries cannot be touched by law nor by military force, because they are quiet men elevating the people by schools and moral teachings. Yet whoever reads their books or attends their schools is a changed man, unsettled in faith and discontented with his surroundings.[135]

Not only the state, but also conservative Armenians of Apostolic persuasion saw these newly introduced religious perspectives as a threat for girls. Losing the opportunity to educate their apostolic girls could cause them to lose future generations of Armenians. Indeed, as a result of the missionary activities diverse Christian norms emanating from the Apostolic, Catholic, and especially the American-tinged Protestant communities had begun to enter Armenian society. The missionary schools were chosen by wealthy Armenians in the cities as a symbol of higher status, but also by poor Armenians in the villages as their salvation. Moreover, their pedagogies, structures, and funds made these missionary schools more powerful than their Patriarchate counterparts in the cities and especially the provinces.

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[134] Richard Edward Antaramian, "In Subversive Service of the Sublime State: Armenians and Ottoman State Power, 1844-1896," (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2014); George Bournoutian, *A History of the Armenian People,* 2 vols. (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1994), 7.

[135] *Missionary Herald, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, Volume 78, (Cambridge, 1882): 266.

Besides Patriarchate, privately funded, and missionary schools, the Porte initiated its own school system for girls of ethnoreligious minorities. In this way the Ottoman state introduced secular education for all minorities while trying to develop modern curricula based for the first time on European models. Yet the state's solution for girls' schools was not the most suitable, and problems soon emerged in their secular schooling structures.

The Ottoman State Educational System

The state initiated various reform activities to centralize and improve children's education regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. A series of initiatives gradually repaired the flaw in the first Tanzimat Constitution of 1839, which lacked any article treating education. After 1846 the Temporary Assembly of Education prepared a report to guide reorganization of the educational system, but it was only in 1857 that the Ministry of National Education was established with the manifest goal of coordinating government schools through secularizing public education, adopting it as the state's responsibility, and freeing it from the religious model of the *madrasa*.[136] Schools would now be organized into three categories: primary (*sibyan* schools and *rüşdiyes*), secondary (*idadis* and *sultanis*) and higher (*darülfünun*). Article 27 of the regulations proclaimed the opening of a middle school for girls (*inas rüşdiyes*).[137] This was one specific school of that type, which would open in various districts and regions of the Empire, mostly in cities. Certainly, primary school education continued through the *sibyan mektebi*. Boys and girls from the age of five or six up to ten or eleven had initially attended those classes together until 1858, when the Ministry of Education segregated pupils in co-educational schools by gender. The purpose of these schools was to teach the basic principles

[136] Although the new Ministry of education provided secularization of the schools, both new and old school systems continued to exist until the Republic Era. Please see for details; Carter Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History in Turkish* (Princeton Press, 1989),142; Benjamin C., *Imperial Classroom*: *Islam*, the *State*, and *Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, *2002),* 113-115.

[137] "Düstur," *Ottoman Code of Public Laws*, Series 1, Vol. 2, 189-219.

of Islam, reading, writing, the Qur'an, and basic mathematics. They were located next to a mosque or *vakif* (pious) foundation and welcomed all neighborhood children, regardless of religion, free of charge.[138]

In the attempt to forge a new society based on Western values, a series of state-sponsored reforms, such as opening secular schools for Muslim and Christian girls, was introduced for all ethnic groups in the Empire.[139] The first attempt to centralize oversight of education was the establishment of the Ministry of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*) in 1857.[140] Its specific intention was to direct the development of secular government schools and to supervise non-Muslim community and foreign (mostly missionary) schools.[141] On the other hand, to expand opportunities for girls from various ethnic backgrounds certainly required new norms including classroom structures that offered teachers' training. Only after the Ottoman state publicized the Regulation of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiyye Nizamnamesi*) in 1869 did its officials have a formal document to consult. The most important part of this regulation was its scope. Among the regulations the Ministry of Education launched in 1869, Article 27 required two girls' *rushdies* in each city with both Muslim and non-Muslim residents: one for Muslim girls and the other for non-Muslim girls. Additionally, the regulations of 1869 extended *rushdie* courses initially lasting two years to four. After the acceptance of the regulation, the first middle school (*rushdie)* for girls opened on December 19, 1873, in Constantinople, and such schools expanded to larger cities such as Smyrna and Salonika from 1882 to 1890. The curriculum of these girls' *rushdies* included introductory knowledge of

[138] *Islâm Ansiklopedisi*, Vol: 7 (1957): 657.

[139] Including teaching science, reason, liberalism, and secularism.

[140] The state reformed religious-based educational institutions to a secular level by making them as part of their agenda. Selçuk Somel Akşin, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001).

[141] Selçuk Somel Akşin, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 8.

religion; Ottoman, Arabic and Persian grammar, the sciences (based on Islamic sources); Ottoman history and geography; sewing and drawing.[142] The state's rationale for opening the first girls' school, *Kız Rüştiyesi*, was obvious as stated below:

> Women should be educated in the same way as men with a view to enabling them to help and comfort their husbands on whose shoulders rests the responsibility of earning the family's living. Moreover, education will greatly help women towards a better understanding of religious and secular considerations, and encourage them to obey their husbands, to refrain from going against their wishes and, above all, will protect their honor.[143]

Based on this quote, the state's perspective represented the traditional approach to girls' education. Thus, the Porte understood the role of its schools as training girls to be the most suitable wives and mothers of future generations—to be perfect citizens who would raise their children in accordance with the nation's needs and desires. Yet these *rushdiyes* did not receive enough support and therefore could not prepare girls for that task despite the number of district girls' *rushdiyes* opened. This deficiency could be because of the lack of focus on the religious aspects of the courses for girls. Through their schools the state had tried to build a system of secular schooling by introducing an updated curriculum superior to previous religious models. Yet they, too, permitted girls' education to wither for lack of funding. Ironically, although the Armenian institutions had a mostly religious focus, they nevertheless registered more success in integrating spiritual instruction into a general education. Moreover, Armenian families felt more comfortable sending their children to schools receiving Patriarchal support, which generated both wider funding from community and church along with a higher enrollment rate. Even in the provinces those schools made a deep impression. For example, neighborhood and private schools in Erzinjan tallied 600 male and 450 female pupils and employed 20 male and 14 female teachers in 1886.[144] In contrast, only 207 students (only female) attended the

[142] "Düstur," *Ottoman Code of Public Laws*, Series 1, Vol. 2:189 - 219.

[143] Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi,* Vol. VI (*Ankara*: *Türk Tarih Kurumu* Basımevi, 1962), 172.

[144] *Masis*, (National and Political Weekly at the time), Constantinople, September 27, 1886, no 3,841, page 139.

capital's *inas rüşdiyes* in 1870s.[145]

Later, as part of the modernization process, the state continued actively supporting Muslim and non-Muslim girls' education, and established various elementary, middle, and high schools.[146] Especially a historical event of the first Ottoman parliament in 1876, during the period of Abdülhamid II (1876 to 1908), created more radical societal changes. During this period, Abdülhamid II presented himself as the compassionate monarch of all Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman subjects by introducing ethnically mixed educational institutions for all his citizens. Although the socio-historical events previously mentioned in the chapter anticipated such changes among citizens of the Empire, some historical events radically altered the politics of the state. Especially, as a result of the outbreak of war with Russia in 1878, Abdülhamid II, in order to keep his power, prorogued a Parliament and abrogated the Constitution. Thus, the Russian-Turkish war of 1877-1878 reconstructed the second part of the Abdülhamid II regime, which lasted until the Constitution of 1908. On the other hand, as Özbek points out, under that regime, the centralization increased over time, but did not prevent the creation of civic life, which assisted "organizing popular consent, renewing and reproducing hegemony, and legitimizing themselves" while education for girls flourished.[147] Both Muslim and non-Muslim groups were allowed to establish philanthropic initiatives and schools if they did not pose the risk of creating separatism among different communities.[148] Armenian men's and women's philanthropical societies founded and administered their own school networks for both girls

[145] Cemil Öztürk, *Türkiye'de Dünden Bugüne Öğretmen Yetiştiren Kurumlar* (Marmara Üniversitesi Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Yayınları, 1998), 156.

[146] Selçuk Somel Akşin, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 39.

[147] The separations of Montenegro, Serbia, Greece, Romania and Bulgaria took place during this period as well. Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism and the Hamidian Regime, 1876- 1909," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37 (2005): 63.

[148] Foreigners and non-Muslims were allowed to establish charitable organizations or e.g., organizations for educational purposes.

and boys through their various fundraising activities and membership fees, though some organizations were launched solely to finance girls' schools.[149]

The state continued its attempts to reorganize schooling systems and introduced *idadis* (high school) education. After four years of *rushdiye* education, *idadis* provided three further years, a structure inaugurated in 1880 during the reign of Abdülhamid II.[150] The program offered Turkish, literary composition and syntax, French, Ottoman law, logic, economics, geography, history, science, algebra, geometry, accounting, bookkeeping, surveying, physics, chemistry, and art.[151] Desiring to educate all citizens in a common cultural atmosphere, the state required all candidates to take a placement exam but invited both Muslims and non-Muslims to the *idadis*.[152] The first *idadi* for girls opened in a rental house on Babiali Road on the European side of Constantinople on March 13, 1880. Two years later, it closed due to lack of enrollment; only three girls seem to have signed up for classes.[153] This paltry attendance reflects the unpopularity of its higher level of girls' education among Muslim families.

Even though the government had opened new schools, it did not increase their number or enrollment nor sustain their physical space and essential equipment.[154] At the same time the

[149] Chapter 2 talks in detail about women's organizations based on their aims as essentially charitable or educational. Some of the organizations that launched to provide assistance to the girls' schools include Ladies' Society (Տիկնանց Ընկերություն- Dignants' Ĕngerutyun) in Üsküdar (1866), Guardian Women Association (Խնամակալուհի Տիկնանց Ընկերություն-Hnamagaluhi Dignants' Ĕgerutyun) in Hasköy (1869), The Association of Contribution (Նպաստամատույց Ընկերություն - Nbasdanaduyts' Ĕgerutyun) in Üsküdar (1874), Armenian Women's Association (Հայաստանի Կանանց Ընկերոհիթիին – Hayasdani Ganants' Ĕgerutyun) in Kharpert (1879), Prudent Armenian Women Association (Պարզասեր Հայուհեաց Ընկերություն – Barzaser Hayuheats' Ĕngerutyun) in Samatia (1879).

[150] Faik Reşit Ünat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış (A Perspective to the Development of Education System)* (Ankara: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1964), 124.

[151] Yücel Gelişli, "Education of Women from the Ottoman Empire to Modern Turkey," *SEER: Journal for Labour and Social Affairs in Eastern Europe* 7, no. 4 (2004): 121-35.

[152] Articles 33 and 34 of the "Regulation of General Education covers Girl Idadis," in *Düstur*, Vol: 2, 189-219.

[153] Mahmut Cevat bin eş-Şeyh Nafi, *Maârif-I Umûmiye Nezâreti Târihçe-I Teşkilât Ve Icrââtı: XIX. Asır Osmanlı Maarif Tarihi* (İstanbul: Amire, 1919), 195.

[154] After having visited all the *vakf* (endowment) schools in Istanbul in 1916 as an inspector, Halide Edip explained in her yearly report that the schools needed bigger buildings, the teachers needed better books and more equipment, and the students needed qualified teachers. The situation of these schools was much more

lack of curriculum development and religious backing for the secular *rushdiyes* dissuaded families from enrolling their daughters. Atıfet Celal, a wealthy Ottoman bureaucrat's daughter, states that students would gain no benefit from them because of the badly prepared curriculum.[155] Other problems also plagued girls' education: shortage of facilities, qualified teachers, and instructional equipment. Economic difficulties, especially in the provinces, resulted from lack of interest on the part of the state as well as the Armenian communities. Yet during the same period, the girls' high schools established by women's organizations to train teachers flourished. Opening primary and secondary schools for girls had created a need for women teachers. Some families avoided sending their daughters to schools with male instructors—even the aged men of sterling reputation, Muslim and non-Muslim, the state had appointed to those positions.[156] The government also was pressured by intellectuals to increase the number of qualified teachers and administrators in girls' schools. Atıfet Celal emphasizes their importance: "What schools need the most, more than desks and arithmetic tables, is teachers."[157] She suggested hiring skilled teachers from other countries as an immediate short-term solution.

In response the state decided to invest locally and opened a Women's Teacher Training College (*darülmuallimat*) in the Ayasofya district in 1870 to prepare both Muslim and minority teachers, as many women's organizations did later in the century. In Articles 68 to 78, the Regulation of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiyye Nizamnamesi*) in 1869 also structured

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abandoned in the 19th century when they launched for the first time. Her visit was not only to point out the negative aspects of each school, but also provide solutions to solve these problems. Therefore, she suggested that the formation of a commission should deal with these issues in order to solve and be more organized.

[155] Cemil Öztürk, *Türkiye'de Dünden Bugüne Öğretmen Yetiştiren Kurumlar* (Marmara Üniversitesi Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Yayınları, 1998), 247; "Terbiye-i Nisvaniye," in *Demet*, 16 September of 1324, 27-28.

[156] Yayha Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (History of Turkish Education)* (Istanbul: Alfa Yay, 1999),12-32.

[157] Cemil Öztürk, *Türkiye'de Dünden Bugüne Öğretmen Yetiştiren Kurumlar* (Marmara Üniversitesi Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Yayınları, 1998), 247.

opening *Darülmuallimat* (girls' teacher training schools) with ten articles from 68 to 78. The first *Darülmuallimat* opened with the help of Minister of Education Saffet Pasha in Constantinople, 26 Nisan, 1870.[158] The Women's Teacher Training College for girls launched with 50 students.[159] Staffed by a principal, two women classroom teachers, embroidery instructors, and two secretaries, its courses used the language and adjusted to the religious background of the non-Muslim students. The students had taken a qualifying exam, and now received a state stipend of 30 kurush for primary school teachers-in-training and 60 kurush for would-be middle school teachers. Saffet Pasha delivered an address on the importance of the school and women's education, in which he portrayed Islam as a supporter of girls' education and invited Turkish women to value it.[160] Again, his approach shows the traditional supporters' educational strategies. These *Darülmuallimat* schools only launched in the cities, but the state could not manage opening any teacher training schools in the provincials up until 1913, when the Tedrisat-ı İbtidaiye Kanun-ı Muvakkati (Temporary Law of the Schooling System) was accepted after the second proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy.[161] Another advancement of girls' education after the second constitution was allowing girls to attend college. Although the 1869 Regulation of General Education established the first *dar'ülfünun* (university) with departments of law, literature, philosophy, natural sciences, and mathematics,

[158] Ceylan-Dumanoğlu, and S., Yetişgin, "Taşrada darülmuallimatların açılışı ve tarihsel gelişimi," *Turkish History Education Journal,* 8, no 1 (2019):174-198.

[159] Colleges of Teacher Training, Colleges of Nurses Training and vocational high schools were opened exclusively for females. Cemil Öztürk, *Türkiye'de Dünden Bugüne Öğretmen Yetiştiren Kurumlar (Teacher training Institutions from Yesterday to Today)* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Yayınları, 1998), 30.

[160] Cemil Öztürk, *Türkiye'de Dünden Bugüne Öğretmen Yetiştiren Kurumlar (Teacher training Institutions from Yesterday to Today)* (Marmara Üniversitesi Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Yayınları, 1998), 32.

[161] Ceylan-Dumanoğlu, and S., Yetişgin, "Taşrada darülmuallimatların açılışı ve tarihsel gelişimi," *Turkish History Education Journal,* 8, no 1 (2019):174-198.

girls' attendance became possible only in 1914.[162] The first university for girls, Inas Dar'ülfünun (Female University), opened in Constantinople.[163] The curriculum lasted three years, while those who planned to teach at a university had to complete a fourth.[164]

Since Tanzimat, the state aimed to improve the educational system and to centralize it within itself by opening middle and even high schools for both Muslim and non-Muslim girls. Yet in reality, the schools overseen by the Ministry of Education provided few opportunities. Constantinople had only three girls' high schools, and Anatolia had only a few teacher-training colleges at the founding of the Turkish Republic on October 29, 1923.[165] Göçek mentions the enrollment at various schools in the Empire:

> In 1896, for instance, within the Ottoman domains, 83,000 (predominantly non-Muslim) students were being educated in the foreign and minority middle schools, while the comparable sultan's schools were providing an education for only 31,000 students; moreover, 19,000 students were attending foreign and minority high schools that year, when only 5,000 enrolled in the sultan's schools.[166]

Indeed, attendance at the newly opened state schools remained chronically low throughout the period as *rushdiyes* and *idadis* attracted few families. In contrast, non-Muslim, foreign and Church-supported Armenian neighborhood girls' schools enjoyed higher enrollment rates even before the 1880s. These numbers one more time make clear the state schools' lack of success rates. The Patriarchate schools received three times and the missionary

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[162] The university started the activity of education in 1863 when Dervish Pasha as a professor teaching physics to the Public, but only became a formed university standard after the regulations. Yayha Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (History of Turkish Education)* (Istanbul: Alfa Yay, 1999), 12-32.

[163] Female students were able to attend classes of Mathematics, Literature and Natural Sciences, but only after 1917 they were allowed to become students in the medical, pharmaceutical and chemistry departments. Inas Dar'ülfünun was closed in 1921, when the female students boycotted their lectures to attend male classrooms. However, for the following academic year female students were able to attend law and medicine departments in the general Dar'ülfünun. Yayha Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi (History of Turkish Education)* (Istanbul: Alfa Yay, 1999), 12-32.

[164] Faik Reşit, Ünat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış. (A Perspective to the Development of Education System)* (Ankara: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1964), 106.

[165] İlhan Başgöz, *Türkiye'nin Eğitim Çıkmazı ve Atatürk* (Istanbul: Pan Yay., 2016), 103-105.

[166] Fatma Müge Göçek, "Ethnic Segmentation, Western Education, and Political Outcomes: Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Society," *Poetics Today* 14:3 (Fall 1993): 507-538.

schools received four times more students regardless of their minority status and Christian focus. Lack of attendance even by Muslim girls requires further examination.

It is important here to include the significance of Armenian women's voluntary associations in girls' schooling, which increased dramatically at this time since the state, the missionaries and the church schools could not provide enough support for educating Armenian girls. The women's organizations had existed since the eighteenth century, but only after the 1870s did they fully embrace an educational mission. Many women's organizations took over the educational endeavors of district or provincial girls' schools, but two Armenian women's associations in particular had a tremendous impact on girls' education, as chapters 3 and 4 detail. This chapter can now contextualize the role of such voluntary organizations in the Empire's schooling system and analyzes two different viewpoints regarding girls' education before investigating the educational activities of the PAWA and the SLLS.

Voluntary Associations and Their Educational Activities

In the absence of a unified educational system in the mid-1850s, different schools and pedagogical approaches characterized instruction in the Armenian community. Some intellectuals called for a centralized system for all Armenian children, but this ideal seemed unattainable in the face of the state-tolerated foothold already possessed by the Armenian Church. On the other hand, the state presented a unified schooling system, and Catholic and Protestant missionaries' schools in the cities and provinces focused on their missionary goals.[167] So visionary educators and associations concentrated their efforts on improving the quality of instruction by setting up cultural organizations that could aid the schools in the district or provinces. Some of these organizations only gradually entered the educational sphere through members' growing perception of its glaring needs: providing education for poor

[167] Some of the literary figures include Raffi, and Krigor Zohrab (later of his life).

children, modernizing the curriculum, and training high-quality teachers. Other organizations had begun with a focus on charity, and later gravitated to educational activities. Still others sprang up solely and specifically to support education and even run their own schools.

The largest educational association was the United Association of Armenians, established 1 June 1880.[168] The new body dedicated itself to upholding educational initiatives, especially the extension of a network of Armenian schools in the provinces of Van, Bitlis, Erzurum, Diyarbakir, Kharpert (Harput), Sebastia (Sivas) and in Cilicia.[169] The United Association established 24 new schools, and by the late 1800s, its network embraced some 50 institutions, but focused exclusively on boys' education.[170]

In the same period Armenian women increasingly undertook civic action, exercising the greatest agency they could within the limits of their culture and resources. They did so by creating or joining voluntary organizations, some of which targeted the inferior quality and accessibility of girls' education. The first Armenian women's association was founded in 1847 in the Hasköy district of Constantinople. Although its name is unknown, the *Hayastan* newspaper reported that "the aim of the association is facilitating girls' education and assisting girls' schools."[171] The second Ottoman-Armenian women's association, established in 1859 as the Charitable Ladies' Association, shared the same goals and labored for 17 years primarily to fund the Hripsimiants' Middle School in Ortaköy.[172] From 1879 to 1910 the Patriotic

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[168] It was merger of three Constantinople organizations: the Araradian, Scholastic-Oriental, and Cilician Educational.

[169] *Miatsyal Ungeroutyounk Hayots (1880-1908), Yeramsia Deghegakir, 1098 Okosdos 21-1911 Okosdos 31* [*United Association of Armenians (1880-1908), Three-year Report, August 21, 1908-August 31, 1911*] (Constantinople, Nshan Babigian Press, 1911), 9.

[170] *Miatsyal Ungeroutyounk Hayots (1880-1908), Yeramsia Deghegakir, 1098 Okosdos 21-1911 Okosdos 31* [*United Association of Armenians (1880-1908), Three-year Report, August 21, 1908 -August 31, 1911*], (Constantinople, Nshan Babigian Press, 1911), 11. Sanasarian secondary school in Garin opened in 1881 in order to support of the organizations.

[171] "Charitable Ladies' Association," *Hayastan*, Number 32, p. 1847.

[172] Charity Ladies name was used as Ladies' Charity and Caring Ladies in the *Masis* publication from 1867 and 1876. *Masis*, no 811, 1867, and *Masis*, no 1912, p. 1876.

Armenian Women's Association advanced girls' learning.[173] The last, but longest-running, organization pursuing the same cause, the School-Loving Ladies' Society, remained active from 1879 to 1952.

These women's organizations focused on education of girls and women are significant in their lack of political and religious aims, since they were free of ties to the state as well as religious institutions, whether the Patriarchate or foreign Christian schools. These organizations paid for educational activities through fundraisers and donations, especially sponsorship by benefactors, frequently appealing to the community for donations via announcements in the local press.[174] The schools they launched regulated their own admissions, students' duties, teaching methods, reward and punishment policies, and examinations. Thus, they offered a system independent of those of the neighborhood, missionary, and government schools. The success of their schools derived from their careful pedagogy, efficient administration, and the enormous devotion of their supporters. These organizations' common aim was to improve the quality of girls' education by deploying the most up-to-date practices. The schools provided a first-rate and broad primary to secondary education, offering classical and modern Armenian, Turkish, and French; Armenian literature, Armenian and Ottoman history; arithmetic, accounting, bookkeeping, natural sciences, and geography; ethics; physical education; drawing, calligraphy, singing and instrumental music.[175] Association schools also

[173] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957).

[174] An example advertisement to receive membership or donation was published in the newspaper: "A pound per year of your contribution could provide a child from the villages an education, which would change the life of an entire family" *Arevelyan Mamoul*, March 1886, page 117.

[175] Some example organizations include the followings but see Chapter 2 for details: Guardian Women Associationin Selamiye (1866) The purpose of the association was to contribute to the college of Saint Khachi (U. Խաչի-Hacı). Zhamanag, 1867, 132; Women's Guardianship Տիկնանց Խնամակալություն in Pera (1886) established workshop in Naregean college (Նարեկեան -Neregyan) of Pera for providing workplaces for the poor ladies and orphans. Number 1912. Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera District Section*,"* in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 124-125; The Faithful Armenian Women's Association in Balat (1908) established in order to supervise the College of Salmatomruk (Սալմաթոմրուք- Salma Tomruk). Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Balat section*,"* in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 526.

attracted interest by teaching girls some bankable skills as teachers, nurses, caregivers, and translators—the most honorable professions for women at the time.

Advancing girls' job prospects had always been hard. Most graduates of the state teachers' colleges were unqualified to teach because the curriculum they had mastered was outdated. In contrast, the organizations' teacher-training schools prepared girls to become fully qualified teachers. Their tutoring centers gave candidates opportunities to teach their peers pedagogy, home economics, geography and history.[176] In addition, even girls attending neighborhood schools could tutor their neighbors' children at the tutoring centers the organizations had created.

On the other hand, such events as the 1894-1896 Hamidian massacres suddenly halted works of women's organizations, and all the organizations in the provinces and many in the cities closed down. This period of unworkable environment stayed until the second Constitution of 1908. After the coup d'état of the Committee of Union and Progress (İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti), the Union and Progress reinstated the constitution with the slogan of "liberty, equality and fraternity," some women's organizations, such us the PAWA and the SLLS, resumed their schooling activities immediately, and other new ones launched.[177] Nicole Van Os indicates the importance of Ottoman women's appearance in the public sphere during the Second Constitutional Monarchy Period:

> Women thought that they could contribute to the advancement of the Ottoman government concerning both economic and military (social as well) issues individually or via forming associations, and they expressed their demands explicitly. Although the first aim of these efforts had nationalistic concerns, they facilitated changing women's status in society.[178]

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[176] Various tutoring centers were opened by the branches of female organizations including various districts of Constantinople Ortaköy, Üsküdar, Yenikapı. See Chapter 2 for details.

[177] Şükrü Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Şükrü Hanioğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902-1908* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Nader Sohrabi, *Revolution and Constitutionalism in the Ottoman Empire and Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[178] Nicole A. N. M. Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the past, sources for the future," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 11, no 3 (2000): 369-383.

As she mentioned, after the Constitution of 1908, the external and internal political, military and economic developments and struggles offered both Muslim and non-Muslim Ottoman women living within the Empire ample opportunities. During this period organizations became more legitimate under the state requirements, developed branches, used the press, and staged events to reach out to more followers. This is the period when women's demands, especially the immediate need for girls' schools, were passionately announced. Ottoman females from all ethnic groups became more active than before as the press raised and discussed daily the questions of women's independence, women's right to work outside the house and the importance of women's education. Many new organizations were established and some of the previous organizations, such as the PAWA and the SLLS, re-opened after the second Constitution. The engagement of women's organizations in the schooling activities of girls advanced greatly in this period.

However, the period continued, if in a different direction, for some Armenian women's organizations that slightly changed their targets and structures after the 1909 Adana massacres. These enormities in southern Anatolia started in Adana and extended to various locations including Hacın, Hamidiye, Tarsus, Misis, Erzin and Dörtyol on 13 April 1909. The disruptive killings in these locations included burning of the Armenian part of the city of Adana, with its houses, schools, and orphanages and wherein perished 21,000 Armenians as asserted by Hagop Babikian, a member of the investigation committee sent by the Ottoman parliament.[179]

[179] Cemal Pasha, who was the governor of the city that was appointed by Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) mentioned in his memoirs that seventeen thousand Armenians were massacred. This number also includes Greek, Assyrians, and Armenians. See the publications of *İttihad*, 6 July 1909 and *Tasvir-i Efk*âr, 8 July 1909 and for further information please see: Zabel Yesayan, "Giligio Vorpanotsneri [Orphanages of Cilicia]," *Arakadz* 13, 17 August 1911, 196-197; Cemal Paşa, *Hatıralar*, ed. Behçet Cemal (İstanbul: Selek Yayınları 1959), 344; Marc Nishanian, *Writers of Disaster: Armenian Literature in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: London: Gomidas Institude, 2002); Krikor Beledian, "L'experince de la catastrophe dans la literature armenienne," *Revue d'histoire armeienne contemporaine* 1 (1995): 127-197; Sona Zeitlian, "*Hay Knoç Dere Hay Heghapokhakan Sharzman Meç* [*Armenian Women's Role in the Armenian Revolutionary Movement*]" (Los Angeles: Hrazian Sarkis Zeitlian Publizations, 1992) 147-149. Nazan Maksudyan, "Hearing the Voiceless-Seeing the Invisible: Orphans and Destitute Children as Actors of Social, Economic, and Political History in the Late Ottoman Empire" (PhD. Dissertation, Sabancı University, 2008); Nazan Maksudyan, "This Time Women as Well Got Involved in Politics! in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women's Organizations and

Armenian women sought to act immediately in order to provide for the needs of orphans, women, and sick and injured survivors, and swiftly directed their efforts to establishing orphanages and schools.[180] Armenian women's educational activities turned into ensuring safe spaces for orphans during the period, lest the Armenian community lose two generations of Armenians—those killed and those lost through assimilation. Therefore, as did Sibyl, many organizations now concentrated on educating orphans rather than simply giving temporary relief and aid. Their mobilizations of civic activities were much more needed than ever before in Anatolia, and various new organizations formed to help those regions, relocated orphans to the cities; the SLLS opened an orphanage in Kadıköy in 1910 while others opened local orphanages to educate girls in Hajin, Van.[181]

As revolutionaries grew bolder, massacres were perpetrated and Armenian intellectuals went to prison or into exile, while all the diplomatic and peaceful efforts failed to advance women or Armenians in general in the Empire. The revolutionary movement provoked such revengeful actions by the Young Turk regime towards Armenians that they nearly wiped out the Armenian population in the Empire. Armenians certainly were perfectly sincere when they welcomed enthusiastically the beginning of a new era in the Empire, as the former revolutionary societies lay down their arms and vowed hereafter to rebuild the common country of the Ottoman Empire. However, many made the mistake of showing their joy too exuberantly, and were sorrowfully disappointed by subsequent events, through which the Turks alienated

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Political Agency," in *Ottoman Women's Movements and Print Cultures*, eds. S. Aprahamian and V. Rowe (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, forthcoming).

[180] During the massacres of 1895-96 "approximately 100,000 Armenians were killed, hundreds of town quarters and villages were looted and gutted, many villages were forcibly converted to Islam and a new Armenian exodus resulted from the bloody pogroms." Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., "The Armenian Question in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1914," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* vol. 2 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), p. 222.

[181] School-Loving Ladies' Society SLLS (Դպրոցասէր Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն) in Ortaköy, 1879-1914.

Christians, whose hearty cooperation might have helped regenerate the Empire.[182] The numbers of Armenian schools including all the ones opened by the Patriarchate, missionaries, and women's organizations, once reached approximately 2,400 (over 1,996 for Armenian Patriarchate alone) with 173,022 pupils, and 1,251 schools with over 76,548 pupils opened in the Eastern provinces.[183] However, today, only 18 Armenian schools remain in Turkey, all of them in Istanbul.[184] These numbers alone show the level of destruction, dislocation and loss of Armenians from the lands of Anatolia. Most of the organizations closed their operations down with the outbreak of World War I in 1915, but the SLLS opened briefly after 1923 with the republic's formation before relocating their centers to other parts of the world.

The challenge in studying the educational activities of women's organizations is not only the historical-political changes throughout the period but also their lack of centralization, continuity, and traceable correspondence. The larger organizations created their own bylaws to run their schools, but others did not have any written document for managing their district facilities. Those which documented their operations exhibit resemblances regarding committee protocols, financial strategies, and educational aims. Yet the perspectives behind their pedagogies make each organization unique. Therefore, it is essential to understand the viewpoint of a given organization on girls' education—a strategy which will also clarify why and how that organization formed and which kind of instruction it offered girls. Examining all the available materials from various organizations shows that two fundamental approaches

[182] A. D. Hagopian, "The Situation in Constantinople, Armenia A Literary Magazine," Vol V., No. 8 (March 1912): 236.

[183] "Western Armenian Education," in *The Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation*, www.genocide-museum.am, accessed July 1, 2021, http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/online_exhibition_13.php.

[184] Pangaltı Mihitaryan Elementary and High School (Sisli), Ortaköy Tarkmancas Elementary School (Ortaköy), Aramyan Uncuyan Elementary School (Kadıköy), Bomonti Mihitaryan Elementary School (Şişli), Karagözyan Orphanage for Boys and Elementary School (Şişli), Feriköy Merametciyan Elementary School (Şişli), Bezciyan Elementary School (Kumkapı), Levon Vartuhyan Elementary School (Topkapı), Anarad Higutyun. Elementary School (Kocamustafapaşa), Sahakyan Nunyan Elementary and High School (Kocamustafapaşa), Dadyan Elementary School (Bakırköy), Kalfayan Orhanage for Girls and Elementary School (Üsküdar), Yeşilköy Armenian Elementary School (Yeşilköy,), Yesayan Elementary and High School (Beyoğlu).

dominate general community debate and specific commitment of other such organizations introduced below and detailed in chapters three and four. As noted, however universal the aim of educating girls was among these associations, two very different approaches sharply distinguish the two chief women's organizations active in the field.[185] It will be useful now to analyze each stance and to trace which philosophy drew the assent, or the ire, of the two main voluntary organizations and of Patriarchate neighborhood schools, missionary schools, and state schools.

The First View: Educating Girls to Advance the Nation

Armenian church schools and missionary schools, especially in the provinces, and those of the PAWA and many smaller district or provincial schools, embraced the more conventional approach, which saw girls' education as the means of creating good wives and mothers and thus ensuring cultural stability and national advance.[186] They held that teaching girls did not contradict, but in fact strengthened, women's core social roles by making them more productive, caring, and supportive partners and parents. And, as noted, this camp believed that better-trained mothers would elevate the nation since its fate rested in the hands of each new generation, which such women would most competently raise. That is, raising well-informed, intelligent, and patriotic Armenians demanded mothers who shared those merits: Nations whose mothers could convey knowledge to and foster talents in their children would progress, while nations whose women were sequestered and ignorant would stall or fall backward. It is hardly surprising, then, that the nationalist movement also fostered girls' education, and for the

[185] The immense involvement of several philanthropic societies in establishing girls' schools and teacher training colleges has received little study. To fill this gap the next chapters, focus on the schooling activities of the two primary female organizations along with their various other activities to empower women.

[186] Such as Armenian Women Forward Looking Association - in Samatia (1908); Araks Armenian Women's Association in Kharpert (1908); Armenian Women Forward Looking Association in Balat; Hripsimean College Ladies Association in Ortaköy (1879). See Chapter 2 for details.

identical reasons.[187] Indeed, this perspective became so mainstream that those dismissing the value of female education drew censure as traitors to the nation. Writers in this group argued that female and national advance were intertwined, as mothers transmit to the child its first identification with the homeland as a beloved object deserving defense.[188]

Partisans of this vision felt that women's education must include Christian teachings and should focus on primary and middle-school training in domestic skills.[189] Yet they also believed that not only religion, but the rudiments of the arts and sciences should inform their instruction. That is, Armenian women should pursue literacy and a wide-ranging curriculum, but still behave like proper Christian ladies who knew their place and duties as housewives and as promoters of Armenian, rather than European, values. Further, on the domestic front, women's knowledge of household management, hygiene, and ethics would make their maternal wisdom and modeling even more effective—the highly-valued virtues that missionary girls' schools focused on.

Not surprisingly, this group of thinkers found traditional Armenian family culture especially suited to feminine nature in general, and fully expected that even educated Armenian ladies would whole-heartedly maintain its customary social, cultural, and religious values.

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[187] Aron Rodrigu, *French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey, 1860-1925* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990); Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003); Mona L. Russell, *Creating the New Woman: Consumerism, Education and National Identity in Egypt, 1863-1922* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Michelle Campos, *Ottoman Brothers: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Early Twentieth-Century Palestine* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2011).

[188] Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: State, Press, and Gender in the Hamidian Era" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 2006); Haris Exertzoglou, "The Cultural Uses of Consumptions: Class, Gender, and Nation in Ottoman Urban Center During the 19th Century," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35 (2003): 77-101; Kumari Jayawardena, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986), 11; Madeline C. Zilfi, ed., *Women in the Ottoman Empire: Middle Eastern Women in the Early Modern Era* (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[189] Lila Abu-Lughod, ed., *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003); James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843–1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964); Haris Exertzoglou, *Osmanlı'da Cemiyetler ve Rum Cemaati. Dersaadet Rum Cemiyeti Edebiyes*i (İstanbul: Türk Vakfi Yurt Yayınları, 2004); Benjamin C. Fortna, Stefanos Katsikas, and Dimitris Kamouzis, eds., *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945* (London: Routledge, 2012).

Although their European style education that which introduced them Western ways, their true female nature as Armenian women prohibited them to adopt the Europeanised lifestyle and manners and to be corrupted by them.

Also, not surprisingly, though, holders of this view preferred a limited curriculum for girls, since their feminine nature does not require working outside the home unless absolutely necessary. Thinkers in this group believed that the employment limitation of women who had to work to teaching or nursing did not derive only from their religious and cultural duties but also from their very nature. Their gender, then, required them to step back from pursuing educational equality with men. Krigor Zohrab (1861-1915), early a strict opponent of women's education but later a supporter of this first viewpoint, describes women's essential nature as lacking physical and intellectual powers, and as being fully realized only through their assistance to men:

> First of all, it is necessary to admit that the female is a complete stranger to that wide world of civilization that the male has built with his blood and sweat. As of yet, the female has no part whatsoever in those amazing discoveries that the human genius produces. When distances are eliminated, when mountains are being split, when continents are turned into bodies of water, when the world is transformed to the point that even its creator does not recognize it, has the female ever been part of those achievements?
>
> When nations are born, governments formed, laws created, powers organized, wars waged, revolutions taken place, is woman more than a spectator? And this is not the history of one day, one year, or a century. From the origin of man to date, it is a history of millions of years. This is reality.
>
> The situation of women, which has been stable for such a long time, is the consequence of their nature and their feminine condition, and not due to their oppression by the male who, by nature, is destined to work and dominate, whereas the female has no other role in human life except to be a wife and a mother; her existence is justified by these two functions only; whereas the male, besides being a father and a husband, has a higher and nobler mission; he is the promoter of progress and perfection.[190]

This rationale for women's education based on a traditional definition of femininity

[190] Zohrab's change of mind associated with the maturation of his daughter Clara Zohrab. Cited by Rita Vorperian, "A Feminist Reading of Krikor Zohrab," (PhD diss., UCLA, 1999), 103-104. Arshag Alboyajian, *Fading Faces-Krigor Zohrab: His Life and Work* [Anhedatsigh Temker-Krigor Zohrab: Ir Geanke yev Ir Kordze] (Constantinople: V & H Der Nersesian Bros. Press, 1919), 44.

sounds sexist to modern ears, but it is important to recall that these were also the early supporters of women's education for the purpose of training better wives, mothers, and nurturers of the nation. Therefore, many intellectuals shared Zohrab's rejection of women's full education, employment, and empowerment because of women's inherent inadequacies compared to male superiority.[191] Stamped with patriarchal Christian norms, such thinkers remained loyal defenders of the old unreformed East and its traditions.[192] For them, no new identity or agency of Armenian women could fortify the Armenian home or nation but could only fray its family and community life.[193]

Some supporters in this group were more progressive than others. For example, one of the earliest outspoken promoters of girls' education, the writer and pedagogue Mesrop Taghiadian (1790-1860), criticized the lack of education for girls in his 1848 speech in Calcutta.[194] He asked, "Isn't it shameful that your daughters only learn how to clean a house or to make a dress to go from house to house carrying their child on their back?" and urged, "establish schools for girls everywhere, and they will give us knowledgeable, virtuous, and God-fearing girls!"[195] Like nationalists and others sharing this view, seen often in the press, he contrasts Armenian women's restricted lot to the agency of women elsewhere: "English and

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[191] Krikor Zohrab, *Voice of Conscience: The Stories of Krikor Zohrab* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1983). Zohrab Krikor, *Yerker* [*Works*] (Antelias: Printing House of the Catholicossate of Cilicia, 1983).

[192] Their familiarity of Western culture was mostly literary familiarity with the Western genres, such as novel, theatre, and travel writings. Therefore, their interactions with the West through literary works made them face superior and constructed European or Western identity versus family orientated, traditional Armenian identity.

[193] This approach resembles to Tanzimat intellectuals' representation of Turkish women figure. According to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, the approach of Tanzimat intellectuals defining a new Ottoman identity had dilemma. It is because "they are both not familiar with the West, and they were too much attached to the East". Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Şark and Garp Mücevherlerin Sırrı Derlenmiş Yazılar, Anket ve Röportajlar* (Istanbul: YKY, 2001), 34.

[194] He completed his higher education in Calcutta, India and taught at the oldest Armenian college of Mardasirakan Chemaran (The Philanthropic College). He witnessed the liberation of Armenia from Russian rule to under the Christian state of Russia in 1828, which made him believe education of the young generation was the necessary for the prosperity of Armenia.

[195] Victoria Rowe, in her *A History of Armenian Women's Writing*, uses the original text of M. Taghiadian, *Travel Notes, Articles, Letters and Documents* (Yerevan: Publication of Haypetusmmankhrat, 1975), 273.

French women are fluent in six or seven languages, they write large books and print them, they learn sewing, tailoring, and commerce, play musical instruments, dance, etc."[196] If Armenian ladies are in fact the educators of future generations, they ought to receive instruction equal to that of their European counterparts. Taghiadian concludes that nations whose women were adorned with knowledge and talents were elevated and happy, while nations whose women were imprisoned and ignorant were backward and miserable. His speech, "Discourse on Girls' Education," explains the core argument for this first view: that informed females will contribute to the economic, social, and practical wellbeing of the Armenian nation.[197] That is, preparing future mothers, especially of sons, would generate brave, and hardworking patriots.

Some intellectuals in this first group actually considered women's lack of physical strength not as a reason against their receiving instruction equal to that of men but as all the more reason for it—and for an even greater education. According to them, Armenian women had to be as strong as men though they did not have the same bodily power. For example, Mesrop Taghiadian highlights the need for women's education as they represent half the population: "Armenian women form more than half the population; therefore, they need to receive education not only equal to that of men but greater, so that they compensate for their lack of physical strength and thus strike a balance."[198] As he mentioned, bridging this gap was possible only by providing an equivalent or better education to girls. To apply his ideas, he planned a girls-only St. Sandukht School in Chichra, Bengal, but finances persuaded him to accept boys as well.[199] His wife, Shushan, instructed the girls and he taught the boys. Taghiadian has a special position among this group of intellectuals. Although he must be

[196] Cited by Rita Vorperian, "A Feminist Reading of Krikor Zohrab" (PhD diss., UCLA, 1999), 32.

[197] Cited by Rita Vorperian, "A Feminist Reading of Krikor Zohrab" (PhD diss., UCLA, 1999), 120.

[198] Cited by Rita Vorperian, "A Feminist Reading of Krikor Zohrab" (PhD diss., UCLA, 1999), 31. The original text is from M. H. Santrosyan, *Mesrop Taghiadyan Mankavarzhe [Mesrop Taghiadyan the Pedagogue]* (Erevan: Publication of Haypetusmmankhrat, 1959), 118.

[199] It is close to Calcutta.

considered as tending to the first view, he seems to advocate education as a means of liberating girls and women from their natural weakness rather than solely as a strategy for improving family and national life. Still, his rationale stands on an assumed general female nature rather than on the individual woman's human desire for self-discovery and self-directed actualization.

Another important Armenian movement in this period made the patriotic justification for female education more mainstream and impacted girls' education: the *Zartonk* movement (Awakening) of 1850 to 1860.[200] Schools, along with the press, operated as tools of enlightenment, facilitating the movement's development. The press especially aimed at building a modern Armenian society, language, and culture through immersion in Armenian history and language. All publications, including poetry, prose, and academic literature, gradually began to appear in the vernacular instead of classical Armenian to reach Armenians at all social levels.[201] Similarly, schools enabled the transition from the older literary language to the modern standardized literary form of Armenian (*ashkharapar*) encouraged by nationalists. At this time various modern Armenian grammar books began to spring up. Together with her husband Hrant Asadur, Sibyl, founder of the PAWA, produced a grammar of Modern Western Armenian. Intellectuals like Krikor Odian (1834-1887) and Nahabed Rusinian (1819-1876) joined her in that endeavor.[202]

The press also drove this shift which, as Vahe Oshagan comments, helped establish the

[200] Vahe Oshagan, "Cultural and Literary Awakening of Western Armenians, 1789-1915," in *Armenian Review* 36 (Autumn, 1983): 57-70. *Zartonk* was an influential movement to create a modern Armenian society, language and culture through rediscovery of pre-Ottoman Armenian history and language. All publications including poetry, literature, academic began to appear in the vernacular Armenian instead of the classical (*krapar*) in order to reach Armenians from all social levels. Classical Armenian gradually became a dead language, similar to Latin, used only in Church and liturgy.

[201] Classical Armenian (*krapar*) gradually became a dead language, similar to Latin, only used for the Church and liturgy.

[202] See Chapter 3 for the details of these grammar books. James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843–1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 160.

vernacular and inspired a national identity and literary spirit.[203] Krikor Zohrab, one of the prime proponents of *ashkharapar*, insists:

> We believe that from now on there can be no discussion about a choice between *krapar* and *ashkharapar*. To tell the truth, *krapar* should not be a problem any longer. Efforts to embellish the modern idioms with the assistance of the classical are hopeless. Modern Armenian is a distinct language with no connections whatsoever to classical Armenian; even a comparison between the two languages is pointless. Modern Armenian obtains its characteristic strength from the vernacular and does not need to derive it from a dead language that has only historic value, nothing more.
>
> Subsequently, our vernacular will progress, as do all other languages, not by a return to the classical, but commensurate with the intellectual capabilities of the people speaking that language. Languages are similar to people; they have their own destiny, and they should. This is the rule of evolution; modern Armenian was not advanced through the attempts of literati. The latter have no power over it; involuntarily, they are merely exposed to it. People imitate the language from the everyday accounts of life, based on their spirit, necessities, thoughts and pleasures.[204]

As a result of the *Zartonk* movement, the project of privileging the modern over the classical Armenian language began to bolster calls for girls' education; now, preparing future mothers to speak the new "mother tongue" and promulgate the revived culture became a central program. In response, during this time the Armenian Constitution of 1863 made special provisions for women's issues and girls' schooling. Education for girls and women had become generally supported as females were now viewed as the prime transmitters of culture. Consequently, nationalist thinkers encouraged girls' and women's use of *ashkharapar* as befitted the main disseminators of religion, culture, and national ideologies orally and in writing. Of course, the project of teaching *ashkharapar* to girls sparked nationwide debates in the press on larger matters such as the freedom, equality, and education of women. Besides the language question, the position of women in general started receiving more attention, touching on women's rights, equality in family life, and involvement in the workforce.

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[203] Vahe Oshagan, "Cultural and Literary Awakening of Western Armenian, 1789-1915," *Armenian Review* 36 (Autumn 1983): 60. Nadir Özbek, "Philanthropic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism and the Hamidian Regime, 1876- 1909," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 37 (2005): 59-81.

[204] Krigor Zohrab (Գրիգոր Զոհրապ), (1861-1915): Krigor Zohrab, *Collected Works*, Volume 2 (Erevan: Haypethrat, 1962) 312-315.

Significantly, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, all ethnic groups in the Empire discussed these same fundamental topics in their periodicals, just as did *Masis*, *Arevelk*, and *Artemis*. Consequently, this perspective became translated as promoting production of better Christian of Muslim or Jewish women as wives, mothers, and enlighteners of their own ethnicity and nation. Girls' schools were seen as essential for reaching the goal of creating a national consciousness, if a conservative one, which Patriarchate and missionary schools pursued as well. The next chapter examines in detail Sibyl's interpretation of this perspective as an influential writer, intellectual, and founder of the PAWA by focusing on the role of her organization on the education of Armenian females.

The Second View: Educating Girls to Make Strong and Equal Individuals

State schools and those opened by some Armenian voluntary organizations, notably the School-Loving Ladies' Society, incorporated the educational program and tactics of a second group. Though both groups promoted education for girls and women, they diverged on its proper type, extent, and rationale. As discussed, conservative, nationalist, and some ecclesiastical advocates considered it primarily as a boon for the Armenian family and nation. The smaller second camp, in contrast, endorsed it as the first step towards elevating women's status as individuals and independent agents in the public sphere. That is, they acknowledged and welcomed precisely what the first, more mainstream sector denied and feared.

This smaller group viewed girls' and women's education as a way to bolster their confidence in their own capacities, including their abilities to guide and inspire other women, rather than only husbands and children. Consequently, they portrayed girls and women as active, ambitious, unique personalities rather than as exemplars of the traditional Armenian ideal of quiet, passive femininity.[205] They asserted their entitlement not just to learning but also

[205] Srpuhi Dussap, "Mer Gin Kroghner [Our women writers]," *Masis*, October 1905, 473; Srpuhi Dussap, "Mayda," in *Yerger* (Yerevan: Sovedagan Krogh Hradaragchutiun, 1981); Lerna Ekmekçioğlu, "Ardemis: An Armenian Women's Journal Published in Egypt, 1902–1904," *Journal of Armenian Studies*, vol. 8, no.1 (2004):

to gainful employment—some even added, to sexual enjoyment—to be equal to that of men. Finally, they realized that only education could give women entrée into public life, where they could advocate for and achieve genuine parity. Hence, women's schooling had to match men's curriculum and funding levels.

The difference between the two groups agitating for girls' education is stark. The first saw it as a technique to hone women's natural familial and national utility; the second saw it as the key to their individual intellectual, emotional and economic emancipation. That is, one conceived of the educated woman as a means to an end largely outside herself, while the other saw her primarily as an end in herself. This distinction cut to the core debate on the essence and rightful role of the Armenian woman—the underlying *why* that overshadowed all discussion of girls' schooling.

The consequences of these distinct views cut deep as well. An educated or even vocationally trained woman could earn her keep independent of her father or husband. She might aspire to a higher degree or a more lucrative job. She could hold her own in public forums on her status. So, education not only permitted social and financial freedom, but also an individual's choice of pursuing happiness in a manner that might not accord with a traditional role. Members of the School-Loving Ladies' Society explicitly argued that young girls and women should learn not just how to be good wives and mothers but also how to be productive players in society. Therefore, they insisted that their curriculum parallel that of boys. Although they skillfully retained Patriarchal support, schools established by associations with this perspective sought to eliminate the clergy's influence.[206] In order to create a secular curriculum,

20; Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2000).

[206] See: Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 and Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957). Ladies' Auxiliary Society in Topkapı 1910, School-Loving Auxiliary Society in Pera (1913), Armenian Women Association in Pera (1920).

courses at private and such association schools emphasized European sciences and humanities, and taught French, which helped students access modern literary forms such as the novel and short story. In addition to academic topics (philosophy, natural history, psychology, pedagogy, hygiene, and anatomy) these facilities offered practical ones like accounting, mathematics, the sciences, and foreign languages, especially French.

Some intellectuals in agreement with these ideas wrote comprehensively in the press.[207] They found a full curriculum neither a threat to womanhood nor compensatory for it.[208] To become as skilled and sophisticated as men, girls should study every branch of science, including basic chemistry and geometry, and learn something of all earthly events, even if they would not work professionally in those fields.[209] A woman should enjoy reading and even have a library of her own—an activity as important for her as keeping the house in order. There were many women's organizations that supported opening libraries in the cities and provinces.[210] She should also read newspapers to learn about national and international affairs and sometimes express her own opinions and concerns on topics of interest to her.

Most of these thoughts were tremendously avant-garde for the time and putting them forth required strong support from well-established institutions or well-known writers such as Dussap, Zabel Yeseyan (1878-1943), and Hayganush Mark (1884-1966). As one of their most

[207] Nicole A. N. M. Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the past, sources for the future," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations* 11:3 (2000): 369-383.

[208] Sibyl, "Digin Dussap Ir Srahin Mech [Mrs Srpuhi Dussap in her salon]," in *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965),183; A.S. Sharuryan, *Srpuhi Dussap* (Yerevan: Yerevani Bedagan Hamalsarani Hradaragchutiun, 1963).

[209] Zabel Yesayian, "Mer Ginerun [To our women]," *Dzaghig*, 10 January 1904, 27; Yusuf Ziya Karabıçak, "The Development of Ottoman Government's Policies Towards Greek Associations 1861- 1912," (Bogazici University, MA thesis, 2012).

[210] See the Chapter 2 for details of each organization: Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 and Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957). The Library Association of Women in Kharpert (1897-1898); The Women's Classroom Association in Van (1908); The Association of Armenian Learning Ladies in Karin (1909); Education-Loving Women's Association in Kuruçeşme, Bebek (1914); Armenian Ladies' Education-Loving Association in Kadıköy (1913).

dedicated advocates, Dussap publicized and explored from different angles each of these tenets of the second group in her novels. Her leading work, the long-lived School-Loving Ladies' Society, richly deserves the detail it receives in Chapter 4. In order to promote and endorse its commitments, this organization masterfully created bylaws, constructed facilities, and trained teachers to staff its own schools with its own curriculum. Before closely examining the educational activities of the PAWA and the SLLS, the next chapter discusses philanthropical organizations as a category and the various other organizations established to support women and girls in the Armenian community.

CHAPTER 2

Defining and Categorizing Women's Organizations

Definition of Philanthropy

Modern theorist today describe beneficence to explain the impulse behind charitable or philanthropic activities. David Smith explicates philanthropy and charity as a dedicated "allocation of one or more of the following: [money, goods, other property, or services] to one or more individuals or nonprofit groups outside the family."[211] In contrast, Amy Singer focuses on the differing motivations behind the acts, viewing a religion-inspired approach as "charity" and one aiming to improve the community or obviate the need for charity as "philanthropy."[212] Smith defines these acts not from a traditional religious perspective, but rather as a socio-cultural praxis by taking the family as the source of either charitable or philanthropic activities, while Singer emphasizes broader social and community aspects of the process yet, like Smith, differentiates those which are religiously-motivated as charity and socially constructed actions as philanthropy. For their part, women's organizations in the Ottoman Empire in the ninetieth century used the terms "philanthropy" and "charity" interchangeably to refer to an act of beneficent provision, which was mostly religiously-driven and directed toward their community, whether to describe their activities or to name their organizations.[213] Indeed, Armenian women's organizations, among many other women's organizations in the early nineteenth century, embedded these two concepts in their projects without distinguishing charity from philanthropy.

In order to understand this complex relationship between in-group religious giving and universal humanitarian aid, we need to explore how the background of early charity initiatives

[211] David H. Smith, Robert A. Stebbins, and Michael A. Dover, *A Dictionary of Nonprofit Terms & Concepts* (Indiana University Press, 2006).

[212] Amy Singer, *Charity in Islamic Societies* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 2-9.

[213] For example, the The Ladies' Union and the Guardian Women's Association, and etc.

in Armenian history and the perceived boundaries of the Armenian community shaped women's organizations in the late Empire. Charity had always been a supreme virtue for Armenian Christians, as is documented from the second half of the fourth century in the activities of the Armenian Chief Bishop Nerses the Great who strenuously promoted many benevolent institutions such as hospitals, asylums, and orphanages, building on the initiatives of the neighborhood hierarchy.[214] Over the centuries, Armenian kings, queens, and nobles displayed an equal enthusiasm for charitable acts.[215] And for centuries Armenian women had integrated charity into their pious practices.[216] Therefore, when more systematically-organized activities began in the early nineteenth century, a base in religious charity was already well established. The support of church and religious leaders continued in throughout the century. For example, Holy Father T. Nerses bishop Varjapetyan encouraged Srbuhi Mayrapet Kalfayan to launch an orphanage during their conversation:

> You have the title of Superior *(Mayrapet*, Armenian Nun), which is a sacramental title and expresses your "practical and humanitarian manner." The ladies with this title in Europe take care of the ill, educate boys, help the miserable and poor, and so are called "Sisters of Charity." Why do not you follow the same example? Look what cholera has caused! [during 1860-1870]. How many poor are there on every step, who are in need of a mother's care, love and help? So, take action by relying on Jesus and believing in the kindness of your nation.[217]

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[214] Nina Garsonian, trans., *The Epic Histories Attributed to P'awstos Buzand* (Cambridge: Mass., 1989); Peregrine Horden, "The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam." *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35, No 3 (2005): 361-89.

[215] An important example of this activity is Queen Zabel's (Զապել, 27 January 1216/ 25 January 1217-23 January 1252) hospital in Sis, the capital of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia in 1241. For more information see: George, Bournoutian, *A History of the Armenian People,* 2 vols. (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1994); Agop J., Hacikyan, ed., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: Volume III from the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000)*;* Susie Villa, and Mary Matossian, *Armenian Village Life Before 1914* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1982).

[216] Before the 19th century, charitable activities composed first as a result of merchants attempts, and their roots go back as far as the end of the seventeenth century in Calcutta. Agop J. Hacikyan, ed., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: Volume III from the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000); Anahit Harutiunian, *The Age of Notable Women: Public Activities of Armenian Women in the 19th Century and In Early 20th Century* (Yerevan: Spiritual Armenia, 2005).

[217] Author's translation from the original text of Srpuhi Mayrapet, *Kalfayan Girls' Orphanage Booklet of 60th year* (Գալֆեան Աղջկանց Որբանոցի Խոսգիւղ), *[Kalfayan Agchiklari Urpanatsi 1866-1926]* (Constantinople: Patriatchate Press, 1876). Srpuhi Mayrapet already had an experience of 10 years, she managed

This citation shows how charitable endeavors emerged from the religious upbringing, and position of being Mayrapet provided Srpuhi an opportunity to engage in charity to assist her community. As Bishop Nerses mentioned, during the nineteenth century ladies in Europe ran these kinds of philanthropic activities as part of their religious positions, and religious leaders were ready to support Armenian women doing the same community-focused works. Indeed, Srpuhi Mayrapet answered the Holy Father, saying "[Since] I have no education, I cannot educate children, and I have no money for large material assistance, but I have what I received from God—goodwill and health, which I am more than ready to devote to my nation: Placing my hands on my conscience, I give the holy oath in front of you three holy fathers to remain loyal to the oath till my death."[218] The answer of Srpuhi Mayrapet illustrates that she relies on divine religious values and she is ready to devote her time, energy and goodwill for her community. Indeed, thanks to her devotion, her orphanage became one of the longest lasting in the Empire, from 1866 to 1926. Although Srpuhi Mayrapet ran an orphanage, not a women's association, many other women established organizations with the support of their local church or religious leader in order to provide assistance to the needy with food, money, or clothes and to educate children.[219]

The religious support for philanthropy appeared not only in the case of Armenian women but among women from all ethnic groups in the Empire, including Greek, Bulgarian, Jewish, and Turkish. For example, Greek Orthodox women's associations in the Empire had similar ties to the Christian norms, so they launched organizations from the 1860s focused

to visit and earn the blessing of Holy Catholicos of all Armenians. She was almost a public figure by her activity and her establishment among Armenians in Constantinople.

[218] Author's translation from original text of Srpuhi Mayrapet, *Kalfayan Girls' Orphanage Booklet of 60th year* (*Գալֆաեան Աղջկանց Որբանոցի Խոսգիւղ), [Kalfayan Agchiklari Urpanatsi 1866-1926]* (Constantinople: Patriatchate Press, 1876).

[219] See the second part of the chapter of organizations for examples. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 and Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957).

purely on charity.[220] Similarly, the first Bulgarian women's philanthropic associations, created in the 1850s, which aimed to improve girls' education, had strong connections to the Bulgarian Orthodox Church.[221] Likewise, Jewish women's organizations in the Empire remained focused on welfare projects. Efi Kanner claims that the absence of political activism in the Jewish community directed their emphasis purely toward community and charity. Kanner further observes that in the Empire "Jews did not suffer the persecutions they had experienced in the West. Hence, like the Greek Orthodox, they were attached to imperial legitimacy, perhaps more so given the contemporary rise of anti-Semitism all over Europe."[222] This dissertation accepts her observation as explanatory of the fact that Jews in the Empire did not attempt to develop a women's movement and only engaged in philanthropic activities during the late nineteenth century for charity purposes. Similarly, Turkish women's organizations were created solely to pursue religious aims of ameliorating the condition of the needy and sick at the beginning of this period, but reshaped their agenda after the second Constitution.[223] Therefore, early examples of female organizations of all ethnicities in the Empire focused on eleemosynary

[220] Yusuf Ziya Karabıçak, "The Development of Ottoman Government's Policies Towards Greek Associations 1861-1912," (MA thesis, Bogazici University, 2012); Dimitris Kamouzis, "Elites and the formation of national identity: the case of the Greek Orthodox millet (mid-nineteenth century to 1922)," in *State-Nationalisms in the Ottoman Empire, Greece and Turkey: Orthodox and Muslims, 1830-1945*, ed. Benjamin C. Fortna, Stefanos Katsikas, and Dimitris Kamouzis (New York: Routledge, 2012); Oya Dağlar Macar, "Ottoman Greek Education System and Greek Girls' Schools in Istanbul 19th and 20th Centuries," *Kuram ve Uygulamada Eğitim Bilimleri,* 10 (Spring 2010): 805-817.

[221] Achieving independence from the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the ecumenical Patriarch by establishing an autonomous Bulgarian Orthodox Church was a crucial moment for Bulgarians in the Empire in 1872. Bulgarian nationalists' struggle against the domination of the Greek elite and the patriarchate in the Orthodox Millet impacted the creation of separate organizations. For example, by 1870, twenty-five Bulgarian women's educational organizations had been established as a result of educated females' efforts. On this see: Krassimira Daskalova, "Bulgarian Women's Movement (1850s–1940s)," in *Women's Movements: Networks and Debates in Post-Communist Countries in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, ed., Edith Sauer, Margaret Lanzinger, and Elizabeth Frysak (Cologne: Böhlau, 2006), 413–37.

[222] Efi Kanner, "Transcultural Encounters: Discourses on Women's Rights and Feminist Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, Greece, and Turkey from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Interwar Period," *Journal of Women's History*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (2016) 66-92, p. 78.

[223] Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi,* (İstanbul: Metis, 1994), 43-78; Şefika Kurnaz, *Meşrutiyet döneminde Türk Kadını* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996) 193-234; Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını 1839–1923* (Ankara, T.C. Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Başkanlığı, 1991)

activities such as providing food, clothing, and support to the poor and received their respective religious institutions' support for their community-based activities.[224] Beyond that religious orientation, the lack of involvement in the politics of women's status shaped the intentions and acts of all known early women's organizations in the Empire, as Jewish women's groups exemplify.

In contrast, as the century progressed, the examples of Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian, Jewish, and Turkish women's organizations began to serve broader community-based goals by extending their purposes beyond the purely charitable. Indeed, the most active and impactful Jewish organization, the Alliance Israélite Universelle (AIU), sought to educate women in order to train future modernized, but religiously and socially traditional mothers of their nation—a goal shared by many Armenian, Bulgarian and Turkish women's associations as well.[225] Thus, the philanthropy of women's organizations in the Empire in the nineteenth

[224] Examples include a Greek-Ottoman: The Women's Sisterhood Society for the Protection of the Poor (Beyn-el İnas Fukaraperver Uhuvveti) (1907-1914), and The Sisterhood of Saint Eleftherios of the Ladies at the Parish of Saint Constantine and Saint Helen in Pera (1887-1910), Ottoman-Macedonian: The Assumption of the Virgin Mary Organization of Ottoman-Macedonian women (1885-1903), Bulgarian: The Ladies' Committee in Sofia, the Philanthropic Association of Bulgarian Women (1904-1910), Ottoman-Turkish: Osmanlı Kadınları Şefkat Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi, (17 November 1908-1914). For further information on these organizations, See Nadir Özbek, "Philanthrophic Activity, Ottoman Patriotism, and the Hamidian Regime, 1876-1909," *IJMES 37*, No 1 (2005): 59-81; Gülhan Balsoy, *The Politics of Reproduction in Ottoman Society, 1838-1900* (London: Pickering and Chatto Publishers, 2013); Francisca de Haan, Krasimira Daskalova, Anna Loutfi, eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Women's Movements and Feminisms in Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe: 19th and 20th Centuries* (Budapest: New York: Central European University Press, 2006), 66; Henry Brailsford, *Macedonia: Its Races and Their Future,* (London: Methuen, 1906), 148-155; Nicole A.N.M. van Os, "Nurturing Soldiers and Girls: Osmanlı Kadınlar Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi," in Papers of *VIIIth International Congress on the Economic and Social History of Turkey*, ed. Nurcan Abacı (Morrisville: Lulu Press, 2006): 213-218.

[225] Alliance Israelite Universelle is a Jewish education association was founded in Paris in 1860. Pamela Dorn Sezgin, "Jewish Women in the Ottoman Empire," in *Sephardic and Mizrahi Jewry: From the Golden Age of Spain to Modern Times*, ed. Zion Zohar (New York: New York University Press, 2005); Stanford J. Shaw, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Yahudiler* (Kapı Yay., İstanbul, 2008); Okçay, Hale, *İzmir Yahudi Cemaati Kadın Kimliği* (Ankara: Phoenix Yay, 2013); Lamdan Ruth, "Communal Regulations as a Source for Jewish Women's lives in the Ottoman Empire," *The Muslim World*, Vol. 95 (2005): 249-263; Rena Molho, "Salonika: Female Education at the end of the Nineteenth Century," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* (Jewish Women's Archive, 1999); Mehmet Aydın, "XIX. Yüzyılın Sonunda Osmanlı Devletinde Alliance Israelite Universelle (A.I.U.) Okullarının Açılması," *Türk İslam Medeniyeti Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi*, no 7 (2009): 7-24; Esther Benbassa and Aron Rodrigue, *Türkiye ve Balkan Yahudileri Tarihi (14.-20. Yüzyıllar),* çev., Ayşe Atasoy (İletişim: İstanbul, 2003); Neslihan Ünal, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yahudi Kadınları (Jewish Women in the Ottoman Empire)," *Journal of History School (JOHS)*, Issue XXIX, no10 (March 2017):153-179.

century—Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, Jewish and Turkish alike—derived from their religious roots and ideals, such as helping the poor, supporting schools, houses of worship, hospitals, and orphanages, or creating reading rooms for neighborhood girls and women, but expanded as a result of the political-historical events of the time.[226] In order to understand the identity boundaries of those communities and how this definition evolved in response to those events in the multiethnic, religiously pluralist Empire, it is important to define the term *millet* \ and citizenship law.

The Ottoman State was built on the structure of Islamic Law (*Şeriat*), under which Christian and Jewish populations were regarded as "people of the book" (*Ehli Kitap*) and were acknowledged as separate communities, known as millets (from the Arabic *milla*, religion).[227] In the Empire, non-Muslim communities were placed in three categories: The Greek Millet (*Rum Milleti*, embracing Orthodox of many ethnicities including Bulgarian, Romanian, Serb, Albanian, and Arab, and distinguished by acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon of 451); the Jewish Millet (*Yahudi Milleti*) and the Armenian Millet (*Ermeni Milleti*, which included the Armenian Apostolic and the West Syrian church, both of which rejected the Council of Chalcedon and created a new group). Thus, religious confession, not ethnicity, defined the millet. Based on this confessional understanding, the Ottoman administration used the term millet to classify all subjects of the Empire by religious affiliation regardless of their ethnic diversity. Indeed, there were three types of Armenian millet: Armenian Apostolics, Catholics

[226] The philanthropic Society of the Jewish Ladies of Pera (Musevi Kadınlar Cemiyeti Hayriyyesi) Vahan Kurkjian. "The Armenian Benevolent Union," *Armenia A Literary Magazine*, Vol V., No. 8 (March 1912): 232-233.

[227] Religion, confession, rite. In the Qurʾān, *milla* is largely identical with *dīn* and is in fact only to be translated with "religion". These communities were also considered as Ehli Zimmi, i.e., people 'protected' by the Islamic authority, and each member of these communities was called a zimmi. M. O. H. Ursinus, "Millet," in *Encyclopedia of Islam,* ed., P. Bearman, The Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs (Brill Academic Publishers, 2005).

and Protestants. Therefore, the concept of Millet did not identify the ethnicity, but religious orientation.

The Empire conceptualized its separate millets in this way from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century. However, like most developments in the Empire, this legal definition of minority groups altered in the nineteenth century. At the state level, the citizenship law *(vatandaş kanunu)* of 1869 defined anyone born in the Empire as an Ottoman citizen in order to regulate the core requirements for acquiring nationality, such as birth, descent, and naturalization through residence or marriage.[228] A woman's position was defined through her husband's, so by the Law of Nationality she received her husband's citizenship.[229] Karen Kern argues that the state aimed to create an Ottoman nationalism through regulating marriage-based citizenship for women. Thus, women became symbolically more important for the nation to maintain state power at this stage.[230] This law, as Kemal Karpat and Bruce Masters stated, hoped to provide another nationality concept for individuals, because a long-lasting millet structure was impossible to alter for the Empire. Thus, it continued in parallel with the new law.[231] This citizenship idea suggested that "the country belonged, or should belong, to its citizens and that their ownership of the state was based on their citizenship status as 'Osmanli'

[228] Will Hanley, "What Ottoman Nationality Was and Was Not," *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies*, no. 2 (2016): 277-98; Karen M. Kern, *Imperial Citizen: Marriage and Citizenship in the Ottoman Frontier Provinces* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2011).

[229] Karen M. Kern, *Imperial Citizen: Marriage and Citizenship in the Ottoman Frontier Provinces of Iraq*, H-Empire, (Syracuse University Press, 2011).

[230] Karen M. Kern, *Imperial Citizen: Marriage and Citizenship in the Ottoman Frontier Provinces of Iraq* (Syracuse University Press, 2011); Beth Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007); Frances S. Hasso, *Consuming Desires: Family Crisis and the State in the Middle East* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011).

[231] Kemal, Karpat suggested understanding of national identity "drew its essence from the religious-communal experience in the millet, while citizenship was determined by territory." Kemal H. Karpat, "Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982), 141.

or Ottomans, regardless of religious affiliation of Millet."[232] This law aimed to build an Ottomanism when it was introduced, and was not planned to serve each ethnic groups' nationality/ethnicity-focused ideas. However, distinguishing citizenship based on a particular nation was not a useable solution for the multiethnic Empire. In fact, the state hereby attempted to halt the secular nationalist movements already being articulated in the Empire. Ethnic groups began reconfiguring their identity as a nationality, not a religious community, from the mid-1850s.[233] For example, a secularized version of Armenian identity distinction from that of the millet emerged as a result (or a related manifestation) of the 1863 Armenian National Constitution. That move, and political-historical events mentioned in the first chapter, lessened their Armenian's connection with the confessional millet and helped them define their identity based on their ethnicity, not religious orientation. As noted, there were three groups of Armenian millets—Apostolic, Protestant and Catholic—but only one ethnically-homogenous Armenian nation.

Women's place in the millet system was more limited, so their early endeavors remained mostly devoted to charity in church-affiliated women's groups. The millet hardly prioritized women's empowerment or girls' education until the acceptance of the Armenian National Constitution and the establishment of an education council in 1869. That is why women's voluntary organizations gradually developed over the nineteenth century: to supplement the limited provisions for them undertaken by the millet. The ideologies of nationalism and of feminism, rising movements in Europe as well as the Empire, together with historical events, impelled women to add to their traditional charitable goals the dual mission of elevating the future of the nation and the present status of women. Thus, these novel self-

[232] Kemal H., Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford University Press, 2001), 315.

[233] Bruce Alan Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 140.

supportive aims did not abandon, but enriched, the religious inspiration of the associations' customary outreach to those in need.

Women and women's groups engaged in these activities represented the same socio-economic, religious, and ethnic community, and aspired to advance that community's welfare beyond their own localities by initiating a new platform for their own agency. As part of the nineteenth-century drive to modernize, together with the legal transformation of minority groups, women's organizations increasingly separated from their churches and established themselves as independent organizations (*'ngerut'iun*) or societies (*miut'iun*) to uplift their own ethic group, improve women's lives, and expand their virtuous purposes. Therefore, the activities of Armenian women's organizations experienced enormous growth in this period and should not be defined purely in terms of their religious aspects, but also as community forces fueled by the nationalist movement and the state's secularizing reforms, including the new citizenship law and the establishment of an overseeing Ministry of Education.[234] Thus women's organizations engaged in both religious and community-based beneficent projects. Smith and Singer pointed out the importance of community influence on organizations, and Armenian women's societies certainly remained oriented to community needs, connecting with, assisting, and elevating their constituency. At the same time, though, the modes they adopted came after the mid-nineteenth century to involve more professionalized and much more public social platforms, marked by elected administrations and keenly-considered bylaws, than did the previous church-supported charity groups. The earliest women's organizations in this form began to appear between 1863 and 1869. Additionally, thanks to their position as cultural ambassadors, they became an educational institution for the community. They did not provide teaching alone, but also offered training to all women of the community in accordance with the

[234] Armenian the term *Azk* refers both to the millet and to a nation, the compound adjective mi'azgayin can mean both international as well as inter-millet.

updated norms, preparing them for new lifestyles, family structures, and a developed job market. Fr. Eprem Boghosian of the Mkhitarist Congregation of Vienna, who published the most comprehensive work on the history of Western Armenian cultural associations, describes the philanthropy and the works of these associations more fittingly.[235] From his perspective, the role of organizations in maintaining, cultivating, and conveying the Armenian community's unique ethno-religious and cultural identity was tremendously important in the nineteenth century, as it was for other ethnic groups in the Empire.[236] He argues for the importance of culture for these associations in his preface of his book which includes numerous men's and women's organizations in the Empire:

> The word culture has a versatile meaning. It means the refinement and perfection of men from an intellectual, moral and aesthetic point of view. The meaning of the word in our upcoming study is taken in the context of its intellectual-educational meaning. Therefore, the cultural associations mentioned in it refer to the concept of scholarship, or better, to educational projects.[237]

Since mothers were viewed as educators and socializers of their children, women's organizations appeared as propagators of culture and education *par excellence*.[238] In a broader sense, these associations functioned as cultural centers for the nation. Thus, in his understanding, culture broadens to embrace the community's intellectual, moral and aesthetic dimensions, not only religion or ethnicity. He defines associations as cultural spaces where they operate educational projects. Moreover, rather than categorizing these educational endeavors in terms of their targets, he lists them geographically based on their locations in

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[235] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 3.

[236] For the impact of the Zartonk movement, the renaissance generation, and the Armenian Constitution on this identity, see the discussion in earlier chapters.

[237] Rita Vorperian, "A Feminist Reading of Krikor Zohrab," (PhD diss., UCLA, 1999), 30. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 3.

[238] Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 1985), 109.

Constantinople and in the provinces. Parallel to Fr. Ephrem's view, some twentieth-century researchers on Ottoman women's emancipation explore women's organizations in the Empire not only with regard to their religious or community aspects. They also analyze the activities of the women's organizations of the period within larger agendas, including concern for the poor, fervor to raise up the nation, or finding an outlet for their energy and a path to jobs and professions, regardless of whether the organization focused on classic religious charity or a more secular social philanthropy.[239] This type of classification characterizes such well-known researchers as Serpil Çakır, Şefika Kurnaz, Deniz Kandiyoti, and Anahid Harutiunian.

Çakır, who wrote extensively about Ottoman-Turkish women's associations, ranged them according to their aims and organizational titles into eight categories: charitable; emphasizing women's education; supporting women's self-sufficiency through workplaces and training; assisting the needy; working directly with political parties; advocating feminism; supporting national defense; and pursuing a political aim.[240] Similarly if more broadly, Kurnaz groups organizations by four aims: supporting the state and army; charitable or philanthropic; pursuing economic aims; and advocating educational, cultural, artistic and feminist aims.[241] At the same time Kandiyoti groups organizations into two wider categories: primarily philanthropic, and committed women's rights.[242] Harutiunian, who wrote widely about Eastern Armenian women's organizations, divided the Western Armenian women's civic movement

[239] Beth Baron, "Women's Voluntary Social Welfare Organizations in Egypt," in *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History*, ed. Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Invild Flaskerud (New York: Berg, 2005), 85-102.

[240] Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis, 1994), 43-78.

[241] Şefika Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminden Türk Kadını* (Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1996), 193-234; Şefika Kurnaz, *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını (1839–1923)* (Ankara: Aile Araştırma Kurumu Başkanlığı, 1991).

[242] Deniz Kandiyoti, "End of Empire: Islam, Nationalism, and Women in Turkey," in *Women, Islam and the State*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1991), 22-47.

into two: one based on nationalist identity, and one on social needs.[243]

All these historiographical groupings aimed to distinguish organizations by their goals. Yet I believe framing Ottoman-Armenian women's associations within these narrow categories does not do them justice. Most organizations actively embraced multiple aims, which furthermore constantly evolved in response to events and community needs. In fact, many such institutions deliberately adopted a spectrum of projects and changed their goals over the course of their existence. Certainly, others were exclusively geared to a given cause such as health, education, or art.[244] But even these should not be typecast lest scholars dismiss the subtler shifts in their activities. As a result, I take into consideration Nicole Van Os's definition of Ottoman women's organizations, as a well-known researcher who traced nineteenth-century Ottoman-Turkish women's organizations. She presents a more structurally-oriented paradigm for these groups. She defines associations as "women joining forces or planning to join forces in a structured way for a period of time to work on a defined project."[245] My categorization of Ottoman-Armenian women's organizations into three groups is inspired by her definition. Associations in the first group established themselves for short-term advocacy of one particular focus, while those in the second group formed completely independent organizations in order to advance long-term goals. Finally, in the third group some focused on only one area but generally worked on various projects, such as a ladies' auxiliary of an existing organization or a peripheral branch supporting an established women's association. After setting up the

[243] Anahid Harutiunian, *Age of Notable Women: Public Activities of Armenian Women in the 19th Century and in the Early 20th Century* (Yerevan: Spiritual Armenia, 2005), 12. She provides very valuable, but short data on women's associations, their operation, and their activities. However, the compass of her work is limited, and she errs in her stance that the woman's question developed primarily as part of the struggle for national political independence. In a similar approach, Tucker categorizes women's societies in Iran into two groups A) organized for national political purposes and B) In support of girls' schools, women's clinics, and orphanages. Nashat Guilty and Judith E. Tucker, *Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Restoring Women to History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 92.

[244] See the second part of the chapter for the names and details of the organizations.

[245] Nicole A. N. M. Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the past, sources for the future," *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 11:3 (2000): 369-383.

parameters to categorize these groups, I list them chronologically rather than differentiating them according to city or province.

The current chapter considers numerous Armenian women's organizations as short-lived, long-lived, or an auxiliary or branch. It provides, as fully as sometimes spotty data permit, their names, locations, timespan, focus, activities, and information on any published bylaws or statutes in the contemporary press or appeals for fundraising events, organized lectures, handicrafts training classes, and gatherings. Although I explore the bylaws and actions of the two main originations (the PAWA and the SLLS) in the following chapters, the present chapter aims, even if partially, to introduce other Armenian women's organizations to the field of Ottoman women's studies and to invite further scholarly engagement.

Women's Organizations:

Short-Term, Long-Term, and Auxiliary or Branch Associations

Certainly, all organizations were committed to a goal before setting up a structure, but the goals varied. Some of adopted temporary ones, others extended their aims and locations over a more prolonged timespan, while branches' or auxiliaries' contours replicated mostly those of the main organizations they supported. After these groups decided on their function, they structured the administrative units and assigned roles to those who would oversee the organization. There was no minimum or maximum number of administrators or participants to be considered an organization. Indeed, groups as small seven and as much as 35 ladies in the committees existed. In small organizations, every member played a role as president, vice president, secretary, treasurer and member at large; in larger established organizations, there was an executive committee with an elected president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and accountant, with bylaws defining the duties of each member and fixing election and other

protocols.[246] However, many short-term organizations did not produce detailed bylaws revealing the inner workings of management, geographical range, and fundraising goals, but merely announced their main project of founding an organization. On the other hand, there were some organizations that published bylaws after launching, perhaps aiming a longer existence, but lasted only for a short period of time.

One important organizational task each organization did have to master was to attract funding for their activities. They collected monies through private donations; subscriptions to newsletters or brochures; membership fees; and selling tickets for events such as lectures, theater performances, gallery exhibitions, auctions, balls, or fairs. Most short-lived organizations stated their membership fees with announcement of their inception in the newspapers. Therefore, information exists about the fees but not about other funding sources. Fortunately for researchers, they sometimes publicized donors' names and their gifts in the press in order to attract other community members to their group. That is, documentation of income varied among the three categories. Some, mostly the long-lasting ones, regularly availed themselves of daily periodicals such as *Masis*, *Zhamanag*, and *Arevelk* to keep in the public eye, and after passage of the *Cemiyetler Kanunu* (the law of Associations) in 1909, all organizations had to be registered and to publish the location of their headquarters and described their organizational structure.[247]

All these details impacted the longevity of each organization and let us categorize it. Yet, more importantly, deploying fundamental research questions allow researchers to

[246] Further research is required to uncover the bylaws of many short-term organizations. Here, some of the main organizations' bylaws are translated.

[247] The first statutes of women's organization appeared in Turkish women case only after this law, *Teâli-i Osmanli Hanımlar Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Ladies' Organization for the Uplifting of the Fatherland). But in Armenian women case, the first by laws of Armenian Patriotic Women's Association, which is composed of 17 articles, was published in the *Punch* in May of 1879 and in the *Efk*âr in 1879, number 567. Similarly, during the same year of 1879, School Loving Ladies Association published the *Main Statute* consisting of 38 articles and *Internal Charter* consisting of 38 points, both of which were published in the first year's report in *Masis* on September 1st of 1879).

contextualize their profound effects within Imperial modernization and Ottoman women's emancipation: How can we define an Ottoman-Armenian women's organization? What were their activities? What goals did they strive to accomplish? What structure did they establish to do so? How successful were they? How long did they last? How did they engage their members? What financial and cultural limitations did they face? To what degree did they cooperate with men's or other women's organizations? Did they branch out to different districts or provinces? How dependent were they on the support of the Armenian Patriarchate and the Ottoman state? Did they organize a general assembly to oversee the organization and publish bylaws? What did they have in common? What socio-cultural events helped them act as agents for their community? How did they manage their organizations in a way that served their feminist perspectives? What role did they play in ameliorating the status of women in the late Empire? Did they collaborate with other ethno-religious groups? What means did they exploit to access their audiences, or members? Elucidating these will indicate not just to which category an association belonged, but where it belonged in the wider sweep of Ottoman and feminist history.

Short-Term Organizations

Groups with short-term aims, such as providing food, clothing, medical care, or other help to widows and orphans, shared the characteristic of being limited, temporary, and small operations. Most began as a group of friends in the same quarter of Constantinople or graduates of the same school coalescing around the same concerns. Groups in this category, usually purely charitable associations, kept their care of the poor or sick at a neighborhood or provincial-district level. Ladies' church groups often gathered around such goals according to the calendar—Easter, Christmas, school semesters—so by design could not extend their existence. The aim accomplished, the organization lost its *raison d'être* and dispersed or had to hit upon a new project. Although these goals are perennial, these groups' informal structure,

narrow aims, inconsistent member commitment, limited funds and location and, sometimes, closure by state authorities permitted them only a short existence.

Long-Term Organizations

Associations targeting extensive aims compose the second category, whether those missions were single (education, job training, arts) or serial (building orphanages, improving schools for poor girls, training their graduates as nurses and teachers, enlightening all women). The scope of their goals and the range of their locations were equally expansive. For example, they assisted girls' schools in various Constantinople districts and spread to other cities, towns, and villages. Their timeframe was also broad, not seasonal like that of the first group. Therefore, organizations embracing these larger goals required persistent members, efficient structure, considerable funds, and community support. To sustain a more durable existence they composed formal bylaws and a hierarchy defining each member's role; realized continuous funds from membership fees, subscriptions to monthly brochures, and vibrant fundraisers; and won the approval of community luminaries. Some reached out even to the United States Armenian community. They brilliantly and continuously deployed the press to inform and inspire support from the public. Furthermore, they asked for the backing of the most honored icons—the Patriarchate, any millet church, wealthy *amiras*, and well-known artists.

Auxiliary or Branch Organizations

Established as an auxiliary or affiliated district or village branch supporting a larger women's association, their longevity varied based on their goals and structures. Previous studies have not treated them as forming a separate category.[248] Yet they should be classified as such for two reasons: All auxiliary organizations share unique characteristics, and distinguishing them clarifies which organizations spearheaded programs and which merely assisted. Some auxiliary groups used titles varying slightly from that of the main organization

[248] Such as works of Serpil Çakır, Şefika Kurnaz, Anahid Harutian.

and researchers had difficulties identifying which constituted a separate group or an auxiliary of the same organization. Some auxiliaries supported the core organization in different districts, while others picked only one area from the main organizations' portfolio and devoted itself intensively there. For example, an SLLS auxiliary created a separate committee and bylaws to manage only one particular girls' school.

The goal and structure of organizations led them to stay short-term, long-term, or as an auxiliary/branch. Long-term ones burgeoned to hundreds of members and followers, especially if they had clear aims and highly visible accomplishments. For example, from the outset the long-term PAWA, the SLLS, Guardian Ladies, and Armenian Women's Union promoted unmistakable respective ambitions. Right after their meeting to distribute committee responsibilities, they trumpeted their aims in the newspapers, then published their bylaws. This certainty let them accelerate membership growth, acquire donors, and run their organizations smoothly.

In contrast, some organizations, like the Women's Classroom Association, survived but briefly, mainly because they lacked precisely that widespread support and business-like structured their long-term counterparts energetically fostered. The details of each short-term organization, below, illustrates the value of my categorization, which introduces many overlooked groups into the scholarly domain.

Details of Short-Term Women's Organizations

The Guardian Women Association (Խնամակալ Տիկնանց Ընկերություն - Hnamagal Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Selamiye 1866)[249]

The *Zhamanag* newspaper announced the establishment of the Guardian Women's Association in April 1866.[250] Its sole purpose was to contribute to the Holy Cross College (U.

[249] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Selamiye District (Սելամիէ) of Selamsiz (Սելամսըզ) section," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), p. 324.

[250] "The Guardian Women Association," *Zhamanag*, 1867, p. 132.

Իսաչ- Saint Hac) by supporting the women's education, taking its example from the benevolent operations of Armenian women of Ortaköy and Hasköy (Khaskiugh).[251] Indeed, the District Council of Selamiye (Սելամիէ) felt so pleased with its operations that it decided to leave management of the school council of the S. Khach College to the Guardian Women completely in 1867.[252]

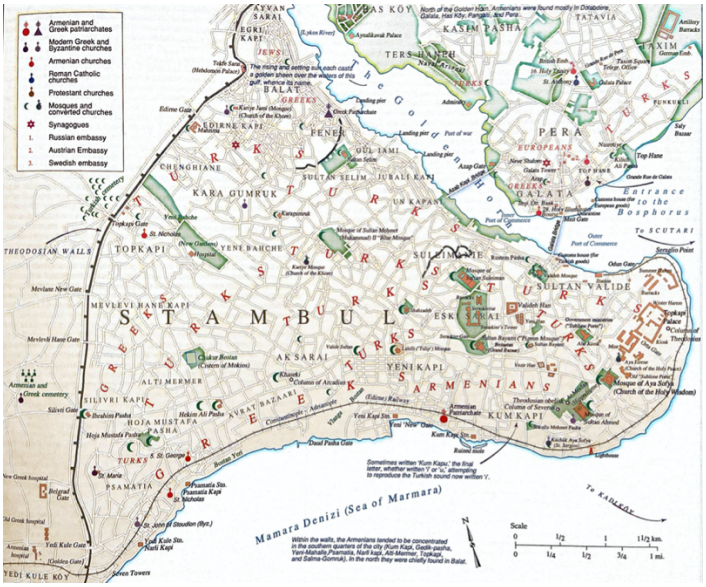

Figure 2.1. European Part of Constantinople. Fom Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 171: The city of Constantinople in 1875," in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 185.

The journals *Masis* and *Punj* noted its beneficial work and mentioned that the organization made various improvements in the school's educational program for women, including creating funds to provide educational materials, hiring teachers, and promoting girls' schooling in the community.[253] *Masis* also informed readers that to support the accomplishments of the Guardian Women, the Aratatian Association (Արարատեան) was

[251] "The Guardian Women Association," *Zhamanag*, 1867, p. 132.

[252] See Figure 1.9 for the different districts in the European side of Constantinople.

[253] "Schooling Activities of the Guardian Women Association," *Masis*, 1868, no 867, p.234; *Punj*, 1873, p. 845.

established in 1868.[254] *Masis* also reported that residents of Selami were very pleased with the organization's efforts until it closed in 1872.[255] This organization's importance lies in being a very early example of women's collective support for the educational activities of their district school.

The Ladies' Society (Տիկնանց Ընկերութիւն- Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Üsküdar (1866)[256]

The association was founded in April or May of 1866. Although women of the district encouraged others to establish the association, and cared for the school by gathering the required resources, it lasted only for four years due to limited involvement.[257] The Armenian magazine *P'unj* gives the following introduction: "The co-educational college of Üsküdar was in a terrible condition lately until the women of the district made their contribution to the college's success."[258] After *P'unj*, *Masis* mentions their aim was to improve their district's college, which would positively impact Armenians' future.[259] Although, the association's works helped to ameliorate the college, it did not last long term because of the lack of structure and lack of attendance of ladies in this early period.

The Guardian Women's Association (Խնամակալուհի Տիկնանց Ընկերութիւն - Khnamagaluhi Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Hasköy (1869)[260]

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[254] "Schooling Activities of the Guardian Women Association," *Masis*, 1868, no 867, p.234.

[255] *Punj*, 1873, p. 845.

[256] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Üsküdar" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 422.

[257] *Punj,* 1866, p. 124.

[258] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Üsküdar" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 422.

[259] "The Ladies' Society," *Masis,* 1866, no 744.

[260] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Hasköy (Հասպիիղ)" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 462.

The Nersisian Young Ladies' College of Hasköy (Ներսիսեան օրիորդաց Վարժարան) established this association. *Zhamanag* praised it and implied that in the future the nation would have educated women and educated wives—unfortunately not common yet, which shortage is the primary reason for its ignorance and misery.[261] This announcement indicates the Armenian community's realization of the need for girls' education to improve the nation's status. Although the *Arevelk* magazine mentions that this association had been established previously in 1869 with the name "Sgsnag Panaser" (Սկսնակ Բանասէր), no information exists regarding its earlier format.[262]

The Ardemian Women's Association (Արտեմեան Տիկնանց Ընկերութիւն - Ardemian Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Eyüp (1869)[263]

This name appears for the first time in August 1869 in *Zhamanag*. The purpose of the association was "to contribute to the education of the pupils of the Apostolic College in Eyüp."[264] No further information is available regarding its activities or closure.

The Beneficial Association (Նպաստամատոյց Ընկերութիւն - Nbasdamaduyts' Ĕngerutiun) in Üsküdar (1874)[265]

The association was founded in 1874 in Yenimahalle by a student of Zabel Khanjian. Members were Zabel Khanjian herself, Ardemis Dudian, Agivline Luftian, Mari Chbukchian, Satenig Hachian, and Diruhi Kalfayian. Its aim was to provide stationery supplies to the poor girls of the district high school, which those women also attended, and the organization ceased

[261] *Zhamanag*, 1869, p. 143.

[262] *Arevelk*, 1898, p. 3854.

[263] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Eyüp - Էյուպ" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 494.

[264] *Zhamanag*, 1869, no 145.

[265] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Üsküdar" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 411.

operations in 1876 after the founders and members graduated.[266] Its importance was as the first organizational experience of its founder, Zabel Khanjian or Sibyl, who established one of the longest-running Armenian women's organization, the PAWA, explored in a later chapter.

The Art-Loving Association (Արուեստասէր Ընկերութիւն - Arovesdaser Ĕngerutiun) in Ortaköy (1877)[267]

Founded on May 1, 1877, and announcing itself in *Masis* on November 7, 1879, the association was composed of the teachers and students of T'arkmanch'ats' College (Թարգմանչաց Վարժարան), together with the students' mothers, to advance Armenian arts and crafts. Two branch associations dedicated to the same cause appeared later that year in Haskoy and in Samatia.[268] *Masis* published notice of an external session its General Assembly had planned for 6 o'clock on Sunday, November 11.[269] The Art-Loving Association inspired Sibyl, who told of a theatrical performance arranged by this organization in her novel, *A Girl's Heart*.

The Women's Association of Armenia (Հայաստանի Կանանց Ընկերութիւն - Hayasdani Ganants' Ĕngerutiun) in Kharpert (1879)[270]

The Women's Association of Armenia, mentioned in an 1881 *Masis* report, was established in 1879.[271] An anonymous correspondent wrote that in 1879, old and new

[266] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Üsküdar" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 411: Zapel Khanjean Զապէլ Խանճեան, Ardemis Dudean Արտեմիս Տուտեան, Agivline Luftean Ակիւլինէ Լութֆեան, Mari Chbukchean Մառի Ճպուքճեան, Satenig, Hachean Սաթենիկ Հաճեան, Diruhi Kalfayean Տիրուհի Գալֆայեան.

[267] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 276-277.

[268] *Masis*, 7-19 November 1879, no 2281.

[269] *Masis*, 7-19 November 1879, no 2281.

[270] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kharpert Խարբերդ section" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 127-128.

[271] *Masis*, 1881, no 2837.

associations aimed to open a college.[272] However, their names were not preserved; *Masis* noted elsewhere that many women's associations in Kharpert around the year 1879 had not been listed.[273] It is significant as an early example of a woman's organization in the eastern part of the Empire.

The Women's and Young Ladies' Association (Տիկնանց և Օրիորդաց Ընկերութիւն - Dignants' Yev Oriortats' Ĕngerutiun) in Kadıköy (1879)[274]

An Armenian Lady from Pera addressed a letter to *Masis* on April 6, 1879:

> Armenian youth with a new, energetic spirit coalesced around the idea of opening schools in Armenia and Cilicia. It is for the noble purpose of morally reviving Armenia. The purpose is to brighten Armenia's dark horizon, to educate ignorant Armenians and to establish in our homeland the roots of such noble values, which are the fundament of civilized nations. When all Armenian youth makes every possible effort toward this great endeavor, sacrificing much time and effort, when our sisters and brothers from different regions are able to receive an education, we local Armenian women are perhaps an insensitive and indifferent audience in the midst of this salvific and sacred endeavor. Is this not to our shame? Are we not ashamed every time we come face to face with this? Yes, we too have sacred duties to implement: We have a duty to support national advancement, we have a duty to support Armenia's moral rescue: Recognize our calling, make efforts and implement those conscientiously…. I am inviting all women of Constantinople to follow their brothers' example, by uniting in support of this association whose title is to let the light of education shine in Armenia.[275]

A few days later, on 18 April 1879, the editor of *Masis* wrote, "We are glad to hear that the Armenian women and ladies of Kadıköy established an association to support the Cilician Association. It is delightful that the invitation of an Armenian woman of Pera in the magazine, encouraged so many women …."[276]

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[272] *Masis*, 1879, no 2289.

[273] *Masis,* 1879, no 2289.

[274] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kadıköy" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 431-434.

[275] *Masis*, 1879, no 2294.

[276] *Masis*. 1879, no 2295.

Although this is a separate association in name, not an auxiliary or branch of a larger organization, its main purpose was to support the Cilician Association, which had garnered a wide reputation. The association established by women in Kadiköy was named the "Women's and Young Ladies' Association" and was established on April 20, 1879. Consequently, the statement reported in the newspaper of the association being named the "Armenians' Association" is incorrect. The Women's and Young Ladies' Association of Kadiköy operated independently for a while before joining the larger organization of the PAWA's main Üsküdar group in June 1879 and agreed to operate as a branch of the PAWA until the main organization lasts.

The Simplicity-Loving Armenian Women's Association (Պարզասէր Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն - Tarzaser Hayuhiats' Ĕngerutiun) in Samatia (1879)[277]

Inaugurated on July 15, 1879, and announced in *P'unj* on July 25, the organization in the Samatia quarter drew inspiration from the PAWA's Üsküdar association, and set two meetings in the Nunian College (Նունեան Վարժարան).[278] Its founders were graduates of the College and resident in the district.[279] The Board of the Simplicity-Loving Armenian Women's Association invited all patriotic Armenian women to join, declaring its main purpose as contributing to the nation's moral progress. The association published 13 articles regulating itself in the *Tercüman-ı Efkâr*.[280] The first and most interesting article mandates those members don the particular (and plain) uniform they designed, consisting of a dress and hat. They promised the outfit would change slightly every two years and would use one specific cloth and style of buttons agreed on by the Board of Directors. Article 2 set monthly membership at

[277] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Samatia, Սամաթիա" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 580-584.

[278] *Punj*, 1879, p. 1393.

[279] "The Simplicity-Loving Armenian Women's Association," *Masis*, no 1397.

[280] *Tercüman-ı Efkâr*, 1879, p. 631.

one silver coin. The income generated from membership dues was largely to be used for the nation's moral progress, but Article 3 does not contain any concrete details. However, as per Article 4, no one would be admitted to the association without paying the membership fee. Only members could wear the uniform, stipulated Article 5. *Masis* admired the association's project of "keeping Armenian women modest, in spite of their love of and addiction to excessive dressing."[281] The renowned Article 5 remained in force until March 1881, when participants at a general meeting convened to discuss the uniform deleted the requirement from the bylaws, while preserving the article stating, "only simplicity as a basic principle."[282] No information is available on the organization's demise.

[281] *Masis*, 1881, no 2471.

[282] *Manzume-i Efkâr*, 1881, no 4599.

Figure 2.2. Sahahyan Nunyan Armenian School of Samatya, Fatih, Istanbul, 2019

The Kristinean Graduates' Union (Քրիստինեան Սանուհեաց Միութիւն - Krisdinean Manuhiats' Miutyun) in Eriza (1879)[283]

Founded on June 1, 1879, by alumnae of the K'ristinian College (Քրիստինեան Վարժարան) in Eriza, the association aimed to take care of poor girls' needs for paper goods and a yearly wardrobe, and to open a museum in the college.[284] The annual membership fee was set at one kurush. The report from 1882 indicates that 102 members paid fees and 12 benefactors donated canvas, fuel and clothing, so the association was able to cover the needs of 20 impoverished girl students that same year.[285] This organization imitated the structure, focus and goals of larger organizations, but reduced their scope to providing continuous support for a limited number of girls. Like most organizations in the eastern provinces, there is no extant information on the school's educational format or closure.

[283] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Eriza (Երիզայի)" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 111.

[284] *Hayrenik*, 1881, no 730, p.20.

[285] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Eriza (Երիզայի)" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 113.

The Armenian Women's Association (Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն - Hayuhiats' Ĕngerutiun) in Baghesh (Bitlis) 1895[286]

This organization was inaugurated with the encouragement of Kevork Mardirosian, the local bishop, who yearned to open a regional women's college. The city's district authorities appointed Iskuhi Ivtujian as chairwoman of the association, whose members sent the local school lecturer to Mush for training and planned to launch the college on her return. The relatively costly annual membership dues of 10 kurush highlights its members' wealth. Yet no information exists to indicate how long (or even if) the planned college subsisted. The lack of data on the organization and the absence of even one teacher bespeaks the instability marking short-term organizations.

The Women's Library Union (Տիկնանց Գրադարանի Միութիւն - Dignants' Kratarani Miutyun) in Kharpert (1897-1898)[287]

This group constituted itself to fund a library for children in the National Orphanage of Kharpert (Խարբերդի Ազգային Որբանոց) and in 1898 donated its annual income of 1926 kurush to the Orphan-Caring Association (Որբախնամ Միութիւն), an auxiliary which existed for two years to support the larger one running the regional orphanage.[288]

The Women's Guardianship (Տիկնանց Խնամակալութիւն - Dignants' Khnamagalutyun) in Pera (1886)[289]

On 21 April 1886, Mrs. Anna Yesaiants', Mrs. Z. Sarkis Hamamjian, and Mrs. Mannig

[286] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 52; *Hayrenik,* 1895, 1309-1313.

[287] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kharpert (Խարբերդ)" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 134.

[288] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kharpert (Խարբերդ)" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 134.

[289] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera District" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 114-115.

Taudian established the Women's Guardianship Executive Body to support the "young ladies of Pera College." The Guardianship extended its scope of activities from education to care of the poor and formed the Caregiving Association (Ազատախնամ Ընկերութիւն) on April 6, 1888, to provide them food, clothing, doctors' visits and medication as needed. They also set up a workshop at the Naregian College (Նարեկեան Վարժարան) of Pera to employ indigent young ladies and orphans. Twenty years after its dissolution, a men's organization, the Yeseyian Alumni Union (Եսայեան Սանուց Միություն) of 1908, was created with the parallel mission of assisting poor boys of the National College of Pera.[290]

The Women's Association (Տիկնանց Ընկերութիւն - Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Üsküdar (1908)[291]

This organization formed with the specific purpose of supporting victims of the fire that engulfed Üsküdar in 1908. *Masis* honors its contributors: "First and foremost we should mention the Üsküdar Women's Association, whose representatives Mrs. Boyajian, Mrs. Halebian, and the nurse Mrs. Ophella made significant efforts right from the first day of disaster."[292] The first two women came from families well known in the district, but the designation of the last as a trained nurse is striking for its rarity at the time.

The chair of the association, Mrs. Arshaguhi T'eodig, also worked strenuously with the PAWA to create girls' orphanages in the provinces after the Cilicia massacres and later in the city of Adana in 1909.[293] The Association organized an exhibition in October 1908, where

[290] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera District" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 124-125.

[291] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera District" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 384.

[292] H*ayrenik*, 1908, no 44, p. 880.

[293] *Masis*, 1908, no 115, p. 98.

Arshag Ch‘obanian presented his composition, “Poems of Akunc People.”[294] The organization closed in 1914 immediately before the outbreak of World War I. Its reestablishment on October 18, 1920, as the Women’s Union of Üsküdar (Սկիւտարի Տիկնանց Միություն) awaits further investigation.[295]

The Devoted Armenian Women’s Association (Անձնանուէր Հայուհեաց Միութիւն - Antznanver Hayuheats‘ Miutyun) in Balat (1908)[296]

The association’s establishment on September 16, 1908, was announced in the *Surhantag* magazine:

> The supervisor of the Salmat‘omruk‘ College (Սալմաթոմրուք) sent an invitation for women of the district to form the Devoted Armenian Women’s Association. Fifty women responded personally to this invitation and organized a meeting on Wednesday in the hall of the college, headed by Mrs. Hrip‘sime Arapian. The latter supported the main purpose of the devoted Armenian Women’s Association and encouraged others to unite for this purpose despite any obstacles. The excited audience promised to make every effort for this endeavor to ensure the association’s success. The General Assembly consisted of twenty members.[297]

No further data are accessible regarding the organization’s efforts or the reason for its closure.

The Armenian Women’s Progressive Association (Առաջադիմասէր Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն - Arashatimaser Hayuhiats‘ Ĕngerutiun) in Samatia (1908)[298]

This organization formed In October 1908 with the purpose of developing women’s thought, and the very next month it presented free lectures on November 16, 1908, in the

[294] *Masis.* 1908, no 115, p. 98; Արշակ Չոպանեան; (1872 – 1954), was a short story writer, poet, literary critic, playwright, and novelist.

[295] *Jogovort’ Tayn’* (*Nation’s Voice - Ժողովուրդի Ձայնը),* 1920, Number 618; Teodik, Arshakuhi, *Amis Me i Kilikia (A Month in Cilicia)*. Constantinople: V and H der Nersesian Press, 1910, p. 304.

[296] Eprem P. Bogosyian, “Balat section” in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 526.

[297] Eprem P. Bogosyian, “Samatia (Սամաթիա)” in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 584. The original text is from *Surhantag Journal*, 1908, no 83.

[298] Eprem P. Bogosyian, “Samatia (Սամաթիա)” in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 584.

Nunian College.[25] Its intellectual rather than philanthropic orientation resembles that of Samatia's Simplicity-Loving Armenian Women's Association in the same district, and further research may clarify the connection between these two organizations and memberships.

The Women's Classroom Association (Կանանց Լսարանական Միութիւն - Ganants' Lsaranagan Miutyun) in Van (1908)[299]

Also called the Armenian Women's Classroom Association of Van, the organization was called into existence in March 1909, especially to support the development of Armenian women in the eastern provinces. It supported the local Sandukhtian College and opened a few lecture rooms.[300] Nevertheless, the association later changed its purpose and committed itself primarily to protecting girl survivors of the Cilician massacres and worked to provide an orphanage in the region.

The Arak's Armenian Women's Association (Արաքս Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն - Araks Hayuhiats' Ĕngerutiun) in Kharpert (1908)[301]

Aiming to further women's physical, educational, and moral development, this association began in 1908 with seven committee members and 100 participating members. It taught poor women how to read, write, sew, iron and make handicrafts, wisely providing class time childcare free of charge.[302] In 1911, the association opened its own kindergarten to instruct the children of mothers attending classes.[303] This organization, like others, clearly formed and

[25] *Zhamanag*, 1908, n. 26, p.12.

[299] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Samatia (Սամաթիա)" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 584.

[300] *Azadamard*, 1910, n. 235, p.87.

[301] E Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kharpert (Խարբերդ)" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 135.

[302] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kharpert (Խարբերդ)" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 135.

[303] "Kharberd," *Eprat*, 1913, p. 298.

was broadly supported as a result of the Second Constitution's push to advance women's status in the provinces.

The Arshaluys Armenian Women's Association (Արշալոյս Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն - Arshaluys Hayuhiats' Ĕngerutiun) in Kharpert (1908)[304]

Established with the same goal of training women that motivated the Araks Armenian Women's Association, this association emerged in late 1908, near the same time. And in 1911 it also provided a kindergarten to facilitate mothers' attendance at classes.[305]

The Patriotic Young Ladies' Society (Ազգանուէր Օրիորդաց Միութիւն - Azkanuver Oriortats' Miutyun) in Üsküdar (1909)

A goodly number of young women in the Üsküdar region launched this association to assist a district school, whose name is now unknown. The committee members, who might well have been graduates of the same school, included Anna Nakashian, Anna Vervain, Armine Melik'ian, Arpine Adzemian, Yevkine Mehderian, and Emma Asadur. They worked mostly on organizing fundraisers for the school. One of these, publicized in the newspaper, was a lottery event in Pera, and the 1,672 gold coins garnered from it enriched the college. That handsome amount indicates the young women's success at raising monies and, doubtless, at assembling a large number of ladies from the community to attend the event. Their continued support of the school sustained the group until 1911.[306]

The Armenian Women's Progressive Union (Հայուհեաց Յառաջադիմասէր Միութիւն

[304] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kharpert (Խարբերդ)" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 134.

[305] *Eprat*, 1911, p. 298; *Eprat*, December 18, 1910, p. 387. The association took part in the funeral of Mateos Izmirliyan Catholicos of all Armenians.

[306] Father Eprem talks about a two-year report of this organization that he was able to find in the archive of the Viana Mekhitarist monastery. That report would give scholars better knowledge of these women's works and bylaws. Two year's Report (Yergamyan Degegakir - Երկամեայ Տեղեկագիր), 1911. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 386.

- Hayuhiats‘ Yarashatimaser Miutyun) in Balat (1909)[307]

The organization, established on November 15, 1909, offered free sewing and design classes for the poor of the district, which adult women could attend if they passed an entry exam.[308] Sewing schools were more widespread in such provincial institutions. The image below displays the large number of girls and women, together with a few boys, from the town of Urfa. The age of the female attendees can be traced by their different attire.[309]

Figure 2.3. Sewing School for Armenian Women, Urfa, around 1910.
Courtesy of the Mekhitarist Library archive in Vienna.

The Women’s Poor Relief Association (Աղքատախնամ Կանանց Միութիւն - Aghkadakhnam Ganants‘ Miutyun) in Karin (1909)[310]

This organization started in June of 1909. It was mentioned by name only in the newspaper *Yaraj* (Յառաջ, *Ahead*).[311]

The Education-Loving Armenian Women’s Association (Կրթասէր Հայուհեաց

[307] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *“Balat,”* in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 528.

[308] *Hayranik*, Constantinople, 1909, p. 1525.

[309] “Western Armenian Education,” in *The Armenian Genocide Museum-Institute Foundation*, www.genocide-museum.am, accessed July 1, 2021, http://www.genocide-museum.am/eng/online_exhibition_13.php.

[310] Eprem P. Bogosyian, “Karin,” in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 93.

[311] “The Women’s Poor Relief Association,” *Yaraj,* 1911, no 3.

Միութիւն - Grtaser Hayuhiatsʻ Miutyun) in Karin (1909)[312]

The association was founded at the beginning of 1909.[313] In June of that year the newspaper *Yaraj* mentioned its name and location, but its operations and closure details are unknown.

The Diligent Ladies' Association (Ջանասէր Հայուհեաց Միութիւն - Tsanaser Hayuhiatsʻ Miutyun) in Karin (1909)[314]

The district college held the first gathering of the Diligent Ladies' Association in Karin on June 18, 1909.[315] Five hundred members attended, discussed the organization's regulations, and elected the Administrative Body with the assent of some 200 voting women. Its first project was a sewing school, which had 40 pupils by October of that year, 15 of whom learned free of charge while 25 received scholarships.[316] The association also opened a women's reading room and, in October 1909, a laundry, complete with faculties for washing, ironing, and dry cleaning.[317]

The Armenian Women's Union (Հայ Տիկնանց Միութիւն - Hay Dignantsʻ Miutyun) in Şişli (1909)[318]

The association was established on May 1, 1909, to care for victims of the massacre in

[312] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Karin," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 85

[313] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Karin," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 93; Ahead, 1911, no 3.

[314] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Karin," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 94.

[315] "The Diligent Ladies' Association," *Yaraj,* 1909, no 7.

[316] "Sewing School," *Yaraj,* 1909, no 37.

[317] "Women's Reading Room," *Yaraj,* 1909, no 53.

[318] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera district of Şişli," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 156.

Cilicia, and proposed a two-pronged approach:[319] First, it would give orphaned girls of the region a basic education and skills in different branches of handicrafts so they could make a living. With this in mind, the AWA established a workshop-orphanage in Şişli. Yet in addition to the orphans, the workshop also accepted poor women from the city, as long as they could participate in afternoon classes. Second, the AWA would support area residents with clothing, food, stationery supplies, and blankets. To fund those activities, the association instituted a monthly membership fee of one kurush. Ten percent of those funds retained in their bank account for emergencies or to support other respected institutions. Father Eprem records that the organization composed regulations consisting of 17 articles. The association also set up a Founders' Assembly and Board of Directors; all members present at the first meeting elected the Founders' Assembly for a two-year term.[320] No further information is easily accessible, but detailed analysis of contemporary local newspapers and journals might unearth the bylaws.

The Ladies' Union (Տիկնանց Միութիւն - Dignants' Miutyun) in Kadıköy (1909)[321]

This second Armenian women's association established in Kadıköy was founded to support orphans of the Adana massacre of that year. From the first fundraiser it garnered 10,309 kurush, and in January 1910, a second fundraising event organized at the initiative of Mrs. Fuliane Durian earned another unspecified amount.[322]

The School-Loving Association (Դպրոցասիրաց Ընկերութիւն - Tbrots'asirats' Ĕngerutyun) in Karin (1911)[323]

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[319] Teodik talks about this organization in her book about Cilicia. See Arshakuhi Teodik, *Amis Me i Kilikia [A Month in Cilicia]* (Constantinople: V and H Der Nersesian, 1910), 77.

[320] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera district of Şişli," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 158.

[321] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kadıköy" in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 435.

[322] "Mrs. Fuliane Duryan (Ֆուլիանէ Դուրեանի)," *Zhamanag*, 1910, p. 381.

[323] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 97.

This organization coalesced in early October 1911 to uphold colleges opened by the Patriarchate and other organizations in the region.[324] Its General Assembly confirmed the association's regulations, which, however, it never published.[325]

The Mak'ruhi Balian Education-Loving Women's Organization (Մաքրուհի Պալեան Կրթասիրաց Տիկիններու Ընկերութիւն - Makruhi Balian Grtasirats' Diginneru Ĕngerutiun) in Beşiktaş (1912)

This organization dedicated its charitable efforts to memorializing the young wife of the well-known architect Sarkis Balian Bey, Mak'ruhi Balian, who died prematurely.[326] A school honoring her memory was built in the Beşiktaş quarter in 1866.[327] Although the opening date is somewhat earlier, activities commenced in 1912. Its published aim was "to establish a moral connection and relation in females of the quarter and contribute to the pupils of the college."[328] Additionally, the organization provided food and clothing to many poor boys and girls.[329] Mrs. Hayganush Mark delivered a speech at the association's invitation: " Honor to those women who were able to evoke a strong and energetic spirit, which raised up the novel, lofty ideas of contributing and donating, and who are able to immortalize them through the

[324] Ahead, 1911, n 91, p.5.

[325] Ahead, 1912, n. 180, p.13.

[326] Sarkis Bey was the son of Garabed Amira Balyan and the brother of Nigogos, Agop and Simon. Sarkis bey was married to Makruhi Hanım, the daughter of Chief Gunpowder Marker Arakel-Sisak Dadian Bey. After his wife died in 1863, he built the Makruhian School in Beşiktaş in his wife's name in 1866. He also built the Arshaguniats Armenian School in Dolapdere in 1875, and a school in Van. He also provided these schools with financial assistance for many years. His activities are the valuable examples of wealthy educated Amira families supporting of the early schooling activities. For details see: Alyson Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan Family and the History of Ottoman Architecture* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

[327] The Besiktas Church of Surp Asdvadzadzin (Holy Mother of God) (1838) Serkis Balyan established a school next to the church with the same name of his deceased wife of Makruhi. For further information regarding the church and school see: Alyson Wharton, *The Architects of Ottoman Constantinople: The Balyan Family and the History of Ottoman Architecture* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

[328] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 176-177; *Petak Journal*, Constantinople, 1913, no 1-2, p. 144.

[329] *Zhamanak*, 1913, no 1326, p.32.

endeavors they have undertaken."[330] The Mak'ruhi Balian Education-Loving Women's Organization is one of those devoted associations which was able in a modest way to unite all the women's associations and provide its contribution and support in its surroundings, preferring the most sacred and cherished charities of all—that work of education and unity. The organization selected a powerful figure like Hayganush Mark to give a speech in order to maximize its public exposure.[331]

"Tear" Young Ladies' Poor Relief Association ("Արտօսր" Օրիորդաց Որբախնամ Միութիւն - Ardosr Oriortats' Vorpakhnam Miutyun) in Üsküdar (1913)[332]

The only information available regarding this group refers to a play performed for it by the Felegian (ֆելէկեան) Troupe in in the Uskudar Tepe Theater (Սկիւտար Թէփէի Թատրոն) at 9.30 p.m. on Wednesday, September 4, 1913. *Jamanag* had reported in August that "*Sister T'ereza* (Քոյրն Թերեզա), a beautiful comedy, will be performed in support of the 'Tear' Young Ladies' Poor Relief Association."[333]

The Armenian Women's Education-Loving Association (Հայ Տիկնանց Կրթասիրաց Միութիւն - Hay Dignants' Grtasirats' Miutyun) in Kadıköy (1913)[334]

This organization's purpose was to provide stationery supplies and copybooks for indigent pupils at the Aramean College of Kadıköy (Արամեան Վարժարանին աղքատիկ աշակերտութեան).[335] On December 11, 1913, *Jamanag* announced and celebrated its

[330] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarish Publication, 1957), 176-177; *Petak Journal*, Constantinople, 1913, no 1-2, p. 147.

[331] Hayganush Mark (Հայկանուշ Մառք), (1884–1966) was an Armenian feminist a writer, a poet, and a journalist. She started an Armenian-female magazine *Dzaghig* (Flower) in 1905.

[332] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 388-389.

[333] *Zhamanag* 1912, no 998, p.9.; *Zhamanag* 1913, no 1647, p.25.

[334] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Kadiköy section," *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 436-437.

[335] Zhamanag Heratayn, (Ժամանակ Հեռաձայն - Nation's Voice) 1914, no1707, p.8.

inauguration: “The wish of all of the people came true and Armenian women and young ladies of Kadıköy established an association—Armenian women of high class with great spirit united for the endeavor and founded an organization.”[336]

The Education-Loving Women’s Union (Տիկնանց Կրթասիրաց Միութիւն - Dignats‘ Grtasirats‘ Miutyun) in Kuruçeşme, Bebek (1914)[337]

Women of the three nearby quarters of Arnavutköy, Kuruçeşme and Bebek formed an association to educate impoverished students at the local college. Participants in its first meeting contributed 20 gold coins, indicating that they belonged to the upper class. Indeed, the organization’s locale was also home to the wealthiest families of Constantinople. The collected funds secured clothing for poor babies and children and a banquet for soldiers.[338] Although *Jamanag* mentioned that the organization had formulated its regulations, which were sent to the Patriarchate for approval in June 1914, no data is available on either those or the organization’s activities.[339] Yet they should have been, since the Ministry of Police report in 1893 on non-Muslim associations (*Milel-i Gayr-i Muslime*) made their legal approval by the state necessary instead of just the customary Patriarchal blessing.[340] Previously the state had lacked information on their actual expenditures or transactions. This report covered the activities of both men’s and women’s organizations and the funds they collected to help schools, the needy, and places of worship and argued for the need to ensure access to detailed

[336] Zhamanag Heratayn, (ժամանակ Հեռաձայն - Nation’s Voice) 1913, no 1644, p.11.

[337] Eprem P. Bogosyian, “Kuruçeşme, Bebek region,” *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 286.

[338] Eprem P. Bogosyian, “Kuruçeşme, Bebek region,” *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 287.

[339] *Jamanag*, Constantinople, p. 1832.

[340] Nazan Maksudyan talks about this information she found in the archival of BOA in her fortcoming work: Nazan Maksudyan, “This Time Women as Well Got Involved in Politics! in Nineteenth Century Ottoman Women’s Organizations and Political Agency,” in *Ottoman Women’s Movements and Print Cultures*, eds. S. Aprahamian and V. Rowe (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, forthcoming).

information on those societies' income, expenses and actions. This development was short-lived, however, and after the promulgation of the Second Constitution no changes were introduced until the Law of Associations (*Cemiyetler Kanunu*) of August 16, 1909.

The Armenian Women's and Young Ladies' Orphan Care Association (Հայ Որբախնամ Օժանդակ Տիկնանց և Օրիորդաց Միութիւն – Hay Vorpakhnam Ojantag Dignants' Yev Oriortats' Miutyun) in Beşiktaş (1918)[341]

Although this and a few of the following associations are of later vintage, they are included here to illustrate the impact of the historical-political situation on organizations' aims and structure. This organization sought to protect, educate, and train local orphans. The founders first employed the simple name "Orphan Care," but renamed the group as the "Armenian Women's and Young Ladies' Orphan Care Association" on November 26, 1918.[342] It labored to support orphans and displaced Armenians after the genocide of Young Turks regime until 1922.

The Armenian Alumnae Association (Հայ Շրջանավարտուհիներու Միութիւն – Hay Sh'rchanavarduhineru Miutyun) in Kadıköy (1919)[343]

In May 1919, Armenian former pupils of American Ladies College in Constantinople established the Armenian Alumnae Association to collect money for Armenian orphans.[344] By the end of its first year it had gathered a total of 75,000 kurush, which it allocated among

[341] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Beşiktaş region," *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 177.

[342] Zhamanag 1918, no 3369. The name of the administrative structure was given in the magazine as follows: Mrs. Evgine Avakian (Main chairperson), Mrs. Adrine Kalajean (Assisting Chairperson), Mrs. Fortine Karakean (Treasurer), Lady Asdgig Iknadisean (Chairmen), Lady Meline Arisean (Auxiliary Member), Lady Azniv Bardikbanean (Auxiliary Member), Mrs. Mooniver Unjean (Auxiliary Member).

[343] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 394.

[344] "American Ladies College in Constantinople," Zhamanag, 1919, p. 3529; "Armenian Alumnae Association," Zhamanag, 1919, p. 3535.

orphanages of Arnavutköy, Ortaköy, Üsküdar, Kadıköy, and Gedikpaşa. Additionally, it provided funds for the Red Cross Hospital in Kadikoy, which was under the supervision of the Red Cross Association of Üsküdar and kept only 50 gold coins for its own expenses.[345] Active until 1922, it held its meetings in the Yesayian College in Pera, one of the Armenian schools that still exist in Istanbul.[346]

Figure 2.4. Entrance to Yesayan Elementary and High School, Beyoğlu, 2020.

The Koghtan Young Ladies' Association (Գողթան Օրիորդաց Միություն – Koghtan Oriortats' Miutyun) in Balat (1919)[347]

Established on the initiative and under the leadership of a teacher, Miss Eliz Karakashian (Էլիզ Գարագաշեան), the organization set out to organize regular gatherings for local women to socialize and attend lectures on the arts and theatrical performances. Other than its lasting for two years, no source material on it is available.

The Young Girls' Association (Աղջկանց Երիտասարդաց Միութիւն - Aghchgants'

[345] "Red Cross Association," *Zhamanag*, 1919, p. 3539.

[346] Jogovurti Tayn' (Ժողովուրդի Ձայնը Nation's Voice), 1922, N. 1064. Yesayan Elementary and High School in Beyoğlu is present today.

[347] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Balat section," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 515.

Yeridasartats‘ Miutyun) in Topkapı (1919)[348]

This association sought, as did others, to aid those orphaned and displaced by the Armenian genocide of the Empire. *Jamanag* publicized its first report: “An exhibition in support of orphan care organized by the Young Girls’ Association is to take place tomorrow, Sunday 1 (February 1919), in Topkapı. The subject of the auction is a handmade silk flag.”[349] The auction generated 200 gold coins, which were donated to the Central Commission of Orphans and Displaced Persons (Որբերու եւ Տարագրեալներու Կենդրոնական Յանձնախումբ).[350]

The “Dairos” Women’s Association (“Տիրոս” Տիկնանց Միութիւն – Dairos Dignants‘ Miutyun) in Kadıköy (1920)[351]

The Armenian magazine *Jamanag* wrote in September 1920:

> The “Dairos” Women’s Association, which was formed in Kadıköy with the validation of national power, had the purpose of educating young ladies of the district…as well as to gather various resources for them to access a higher education so that they are able to spread knowledge across the homeland, and to provide them with linen and medicine for our soldiers.[352]

Thus, indicative of women’s groups’ validation of national power, this organization was established not just to educate local girls but to provide linens, clothes, and uniforms for soldiers. Indeed, it prepared 480 pieces of linen for soldiers, which it transferred to the Patriarchate for proper allocation.[353]

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[348] Eprem P. Bogosyian, “Topkapı section,” in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 548.

[349] “The Young Girls’ Association,” *Zhamanag*, 1919, p. 3432.

[350] *“*Central Commission of Orphans and Displaced Persons,” *Zhamanag*, p. 3446

[351] Eprem P. Bogosyian, “Kadıköy section,” in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 443.

[352] *Zhamanag Herataynʼ Nationʼs Voice*, 1920, no 595.

[353] *Zhamanag Herataynʼ Nationʼs Voice*, 1920, no 735.

Details of Long-Term Women's Organizations

The Guardian Women (Խնամակալուհի Տիկնանց – Khnamagaluhi Dignats') in Ortaköy (1859)[354]

Shortly after the founding of the Hrp'simiants' College (Հռիփսիմեանց վարժարան) (1859) in Ortaköy, this association emerged to uphold it. Its name, "Women's Guardianship" or "Guardian Women," stands out by the absence of the typical term "Association."[355] The *Masis* newspaper notes the school's importance both for its development and for being one of the first ladies' colleges of the period.[356] The GW's hand in this success is undeniable, as it constructed a new building for the college and largely operated the school by arranging courses and hiring teachers.[357]

This same group of women also established the Women's Association for Poor Relief in Ortaköy in 1864. In 1876, the head of the association was Mrs. Nazli Vahanean, the mother of Srpuhi Dussap, "who shared her knowledge and skills with Hripsimiants' College."[358] Dussap also organized various GW fundraisers. Dussap's experiences, and her being privy to her mother's leadership of an organization that kept a college of Hripsimiants' smoothly afloat for 17 years, prepared Dussap well to guide an organization advancing girls' education.[359] It should not surprise, then, that the SLLS college became the longest-running girls' school in the

[354] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Ortaköy section," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 189.

[355] "Women's Guardianship," *Masis* 1867, no 811.

[356] *Masis*, 1874, no 1603.

[357] Father Eprem mentions that he coincided with the news about this organization in the pages of La Turque magazine of Constantinople, which mentioned about this unique success and accomplishment of the association. Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Ortaköy section," in *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 189.

[358] *Masis*, 1876, no 1912 and Masis 1867, no 811.

[359] *Masis*, 1876, no 1912.

Western Armenian community. Thus, the Hripsimiants‘ College’s dedicated GW had a tremendous impact on Dussap, and other contemporary Armenian women’s, who run the SLLS with Dussap later on. The truth is without their experience at the Hripsimiants‘ College, which enjoyed a smooth run of seventeen years until 1876, they would not organize more structurally organized organization of SLLS and run the college of SLLS from 1879 to 1923 in the Empire lands

The Guardian Women’s Association (Խնամակալ Տիկնանց Ընկերոիթիւն – Khnamagal Dignants‘ Ĕngerutiun) in Yeni Mahalle, Beşiktaş (1860)[360]

Founded in December 1860 and operating until 1866, the organization met the first Thursday of every month at St. Savior’s Hospital (U. Փրկչի Հիւանդանոց).[361] Supporters regularly gathered at the hospital to care for and clothe the poor. According to available information, the idea of forming such an organization emerged from the PAWA, whose members regularly nursed the destitute sick in that hospital. On 29 December of the same year, the editor of *Masis* wrote: “With deep gratitude the holy Patriarch and the Political Assembly accepted the patriotic women’s humanitarian and pious offer, which will bring great honor to the whole Armenian nation.”[362] Some of its funds derived from the usual sources, donors and membership dues, but in addition some members sewed and tailored dresses to expand the organization’s budget. Certain members donated linens and sent their housemaids to the hospital to remake beds with the new bedclothes. Meanwhile, members visited the children’s wards with gifts to cheer them up. As a result of their continuous ministrations, by the

[360] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 689-692.

[361] “St. Savior’s Hospital’s assistance organization,” *Masis*, 1860, no 458, p.34.

[362] “St. Savior’s Hospital’s assistance organization,” *Masis*, 1860, no 458, p.34.

beginning of 1865 the hospital was famous for its cleanliness, neatness, style of uniforms, and handsome decor.[363]

Since the first condition for hospital sanitation was the availability of clean underwear, while asking for the records of elderly, female, and other patients, members checked the list of all available underwear for each demographic. Unfortunately, neither fresh clothing nor a single item of underwear was available for patients, many of whom were not wearing even a T-shirt. The same dire conditions pertained to sleeping arrangements: Two or three leprous boys shared the same bed. Realizing the shortage of crucial provisions, the association immediately offered to prepare 100 beds, 100 pillows, 100 blankets, 500 bedsheets, 400 sheets for the blankets, 660 T-shirts, 100 *entari* (unisex Eastern foot-covering) for the elderly and 50 for women. These donations of clothing, beds, and linens were explicitly connected with the association's community orientation. They spent their yearly income of some 30,000 to 40,000 kurush mainly on clothing, dresses, and bed linen. In May 1862, *Masis* reported that the Guardian Women collected 42,000 kurush to renovate beds for the poor of the hospital.[364] Similarly, an income of 30,500 kurush during their fourth year was expended on bed linen, clothing, and socks. *Masis* states that benefactors as far away as Manchester in the United States sent large amounts of bed linen and socks—evidence of the reputation the organization had built for itself among overseas Armenian communities through its publications.[365] Even this incomplete information demonstrates that its pointed mission, well-regulated structure, and robust works places the GW in a more structurally-organized category of institution, regardless of its short existence.

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[363] *Masis*, 1865, p 687. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 694.

[364] *Masis* 1860, p 464; 1864, p. 641.

[365] *Masis* 1865 p. 687; Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 694.

The Women's Poor Relief Association (Աղքատախնամ Ընկերութիւն Տիկնանց – Aghkadakhnam Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Ortaköy (1864)[366]

Launched on March 20, 1864, the organization proposed taking care of the poor.[367] *Masis* announced it approvingly: "Even if compassion vanished totally from the face of the earth, it would find refuge in ladies' hearts. That has always been our belief; therefore, it is with great joy that we heard that fifteen days ago women with a big heart founded an organization in Ortaköy with a noble purpose: to take care of the poor in the area.[368] *Masis* detailed its mission: "to provide medicine to sick community members, offer financial assistance to the elderly and the poor, deliver financial and moral support to widows and mothers, and, finally to ameliorate the condition of the poor to the degree possible."[369] The newspaper continues with useful data on its bylaws comprised of 16 articles. The disciplined nature of these bylaws reveal that the organization's aims were longer-term than those of other bodies focused on local charity:

- The monthly membership fee is five kurush.
- Members who participate in the organization via the membership fee or any other kind of donation are considered honorary members and do not have right to become involved in activities.
- The Association's Administrative Body consists of twelve women elected by the Founders of the Association.
- The Board of Directors has the right to elect men, who can contribute to the Association's activities.
- Once a year, at the General Meeting, the Board of Directors presents the annual accounting report and the list of donations and charitable endeavors conducted during the year.

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[366] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Ortaköy regio*n,*" *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 192. Its chairperson was Nazli Vahan (mother of Srpuhi Dussap), and its headquarters was in the Hrpsimyants' College. Father Boghossian claims that the Women's Association of Caring the Poor sprang from the earlier Charity Ladies because they shared the identical chairperson and headquarters.

[367] *Masis*, 1864, n. 634, p.23.

[368] Anahit Harutiunian, *The Age of Notable Women: Public Activities of Armenian Women in the 19th Century and in Early 20th Century* (Yerevan: Spiritual Armenia, 2005) p. 33. The original quota is from *Masis* 1864, April 4, n. 634.

[369] *Masis* 1864 n. 640, p. 16 (author's translation).

- The Board of Directors accepts all decisions made by members present during its meetings without delaying proceedings for the vote of members in absentia.

Twelve members were chosen from among the Founders to form the Board of Directors overseeing operations. Their names were published in *Masis* as well, together with information regarding finances, fundraising events, and outreach activities.[370]

The association lasted for 10 years, quite a long time given that most organizational activities required only a few months to complete. During that time, the organization provided free housing for nine families; paid a doctor for 527 house calls; distributed 3308 doles of bread and many packets of clothing; gave monetary assistance to eight families; renovated three houses gratis; distributed rice, butter and eggs at Easter; donated dowries for poor young fiancées, paid craftsmen for needed home repairs; and paid off widows' debts.[371] Its tenth-year cash inflow reached 22,759 kurush, while its outflow was 18,085 kurush.[372] The only fundraising activity they promoted in the newspaper was an 1866 theatrical performance by the Ortaköy youth group; the famed writer and intellect Mgrdich Beshigtashlian pronounced a rousing speech at its conclusion.[373] His involvement indicates the extent of men's support for women's efforts to improve the lives of all Armenians by all means possible.

The Hripsimian College Young Ladies' Association (Հռիփսիմեան Վարժարանի Օրիորդաց Ընկերութիւն – Hripsimian Zarjarani Oriortats' Ĕngerutiun) in Ortaköy (1879)[374]

[370] *Masis* 1864, p. 640, p. 16.

[371] Masis, 1864, n. 678

[372] Masis, 1873. n. 1374. The annual report of the Association as of 1872 mentioned in Masis also gives information regarding funds of Cash inflow – 24,077 khurush and Cash outflow – 20,908 khurush.

[373] Masis, 1866, n. 728 – Menq. Havadis. 1866, n. 634.

[374] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Ortaköy region," *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 277.

Formed by students of the Hripsimian College in Ortaköy, the organization was first announced in March 1880 on the pages of the *Tercümen-i Efkar* noting a fundraising event.[375] It is often hard to find organizations' published regulations but, luckily, details on the HCYLA's rules appeared in print. On January 20, 1883 *Masis* also reported that "the National and Hripsimiants Association held a ball at the Verdi Theatre in Pera," and the following day *Masis* remarked on its tremendous success.[376] Yet Fr. Eprem cites what is in fact another 1882 organization also named the Hripsimiants' Association (Հռիփսիմյանց Ընկերութիւն) in Pera, that organized this event, which could be graduates of the Hripsimian College, who gathered in Pera in order to create a support group to create funds for the school .[377]

The Poor-Loving Women's Organization (Աղքատասէր Տիկնանց Ընկերութիւն – Aghkadaser Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Pera (1875)[378]

This association was actually established on March 1, 1875, by another organization, the Sublime Women and Graceful Girls, associated with the Armenian Catholic Church.[379] It strategized completion of its ambitious purpose, "to alleviate the misery of the poor of our nation," by educating unmarried women who could then find work.[380] The organization promulgated 6 basic and 42 administrative regulations. The first 20 members, called "founders," elected a 9-person administrative body that included a president, vice president,

[375] Tercümen-i Efkar, Constantinople 1880, no 816, p.20.

[376] Masis 1883, n. 3387 and n. 3388.

[377] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 113.

[378] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera district," *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 95.

[379] Regulation, G. P. 1880, p. 5. Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera district," *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 95.

[380] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 96 mentions that he used the Regulation that was published and available in Vienna Mekhitarist library, G. P. 1880, pp.14-15.

treasurer, and secretary. Taking seriously its service to unmarried women, it composed two unexpected rules: First, only girls and married women could be members, while widows could enter only in an honorary capacity; and second, members under age 21 could not participate in its General and Administrative Assemblies.[381] Uncommon as well, the membership fee was only 0.5 kurush, half the amount charged by most organizations.

The association allotted a quarter of its collected membership fees directly to the poor and kept the remainder for its activities. It contributed generously to the Orphanage of Saint Jacob of the Pangaltı district and to the National Ladies College (Համազգեաց Օրիորդաց Վարժարան.[382] On Easter of 1879 it donated 452 items of linen.[383] Another, probably smaller organization, the Vartuhian Association (Վարդուհեան), donated its entire 1880 membership fee collection to the Poor-Loving Women's Organization, on condition that it use the funds for the education and upbringing of poor Armenian girls.[384] By February 1881, the larger organization had collected 1200.76 Turkish lira in membership fees, and published the amount along with its membership list. The list includes a large number of Armenian Catholic women accepted as founders and honorary members.[385] The exact date of its last activities is unknown, but Mrs. Arshakuhi Teodik notes that it operated as late as 1911.[386]

[381] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 97.

[382] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 97.

[383] *Masis*, 1879, Number 2294.

[384] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 97.

[385] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 97.

[386] Teodik, Ամէնուն Տարեցոյցը. *Everyone's Yearbook*, 1910.

The Armenian Red Cross Association (Հայ Կարմիր Խաչ Ընկերութիւն – Hay Garmir Hach Ĕngerutiun) in Pera (1876)[387]

During the Ottoman-Serpentine War of 1876, Catholic Armenian women established the Armenian Red Cross Association on the European model of the same. *Masis* writes that the founders came together from famous Armenian families to help care for fighters, as had their Western counterparts. *Luys* also announces the organization's establishment, but prefers to use the group's Armenian title, the Humanitarian Association of Armenian Women (Մարդասիրական Ընկերութիւն Հայ Տիկնանց) rather than its European-styled one: "Such a patriotic and humanitarian endeavor of Armenian women deserves great appreciation and gratitude, and brings a great honor to the Armenian nation."[388] However, the Armenian Red Cross Association moniker drew the immediate attention and adherence of Armenian women, especially of the upper class, which therefore used more widely. This enthusiasm may have emanated from their desire to be part of a larger, Europeanized structure and to assist the wounded and sick soldiers who were devoting themselves to the lofty duty of defending the Empire. Losing no time, the association immediately publicized the materials needed and where the supplies would be collected. Cleverly, it also mentioned that contributors' names would be published later.[389]

The Compassionate Women's Organization (Գթասէր Տիկնանց Ընկերութիւն – Ktaser Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Pera (1881)[390]

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[387] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Pera district," *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 97-102.

[388] *Luys* 1876, April, p.12.

[389] Masis, in 1876, Numbers 1847 and 1854. – The foundation of International Red Cross Associations took place in Geneva in 1863-1864 with the view of taking are of the wounded soldiers during wars.

[390] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 109.

This organization was established twice by Armenian Catholic women. *Masis* noted its first inauguration on July 24, 1881, after which it functioned for two years with the aim of assisting poor women throughout Constantinople. Its second founding occurred in 1891, after which it continued operations until 1898.[391] During that phase it enlarged its goal and sphere of operations, now supporting girls' education and establishing a school in the Kharpert province in 1892. Although little information remains from its first period, during the second the organization formalized its structure, holding regular meetings and compiling an annual report each February. One of its most interesting rules required participants to offer a sung liturgy for deceased members on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. The association pledged the money it collected to educating widows and orphan girls, contributing to provincial colleges, and opening workshops and orphanages.[392] Its uniqueness lay in spreading their charitable actions throughout Constantinople rather than limiting them to one quarter: for its members, there could be no discrimination in care for the sick and the poor based on city, district, or other locality. The *Hayrenik'* (Հայրենիք) magazine of Constantinople mentions a fundraising concert organized on March 5 of 1892.[393] The satirist Harutiun Alpiar (1864-1919) notes that members were so proud that each of them contributed her greatest effort to the endeavor.[394]

Details of Auxiliary Unions and Branch Associations

The Benevolent Ladies' Union (Աղքատասէր Տիկնանց Ընկերութիւն – Aghkadaser Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Constantinople (March 31, 1875)[395]

[391] Masis, 1881, no 2949, p44.

[392] Masis 1892, no 2340, p.56.

[393] Hayranik, 1892, no 157, and February 165.

[394] Յարութիւն Ալբիար; (1864-1919) was borne in Smyrna. He was a journalist and satire writer. His collection works of *Fantazio* published in 1913.

[395] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 95.

Charged with the goal of relieving the poor of the community, the ladies' auxiliary of the elite men's Armenian Benevolent Union concentrated on training poor girls in employable craft skills. Importantly, the members of the auxiliary benefitted hugely from the reputation, funds, and achievements of the main organization. Another branch appeared in Van in 1916.

The Armenian Benevolent Union followed the course of action adopted by the Universal Israelite Alliance. Keeping aloof from politics and independent of denominational affiliation, its efforts solely pinpointed the relief of human suffering and the improvement of people's living conditions. To help it attain these ambitious ends, the auxiliary outlined various immediate programs:

- To found or subsidize elementary and industrial schools, libraries, reading rooms, hospitals, sanatoria, orphanages, and similar institutions.
- To assist every Armenian in need, regardless of religious affiliation.
- To aid Armenian farmers with seed, livestock, tools and land.
- To send immediate relief to localities suffering famine, fire, epidemics or other disasters.

In 1912, the union had 80 branches worldwide, with a total membership of some 5,000. So wide was its reach that its finances are most easily described in United States tender: Meeting admission fees ranged from 50 cents to $50 and monthly membership fees ranged from 25 cents to $60. Its capital fund had mounted to $110,000 by the end of 1911, and total disbursements for relief reached $90,000. All admission fees, together with one sixth of the monthly membership dues, were reserved for a capital fund, while the remaining five sixths of the monthly dues, together with incidental donations, trusts, bequests, and dividends and interest on stocks it owned, went to relief work.

The Benevolent Ladies' Union had assumed the responsibility of maintaining 20 schools in rural districts of Armenia and Cilicia as well as a normal school in Van, which were all under the direction of the United Society of Constantinople. It also ran an industrial school and orphanage in Dört Yol, Cilicia. As its benefits extended to all Armenians in need,

irrespective of denomination or political affiliation, official hierarchs and prominent leaders of the Armenian National Apostolic Church, the Protestant Church, and the Catholic Church unanimously endorsed it.

The Armenian Women's Association (Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն – Hayuhiats' Ĕngerutiun) in Sebastia (1883-1884)[396]

Established in 1879 in Constantinople, the organization served as the harbinger of many similar ones. It actually formed twice, mirroring the pattern of the Compassionate Women's Organization in Pera. Although the year of its original foundation is no longer known, the latter, 6 May 1884, was reported on the eighteenth of the month by *Masis* in a report on Sebastia:

> Another branch of the Women's Association of Constantinople was founded a few days ago and held its first meeting. Members were elected, and the founders were recorded, but this is its second inauguration. Apparently, in contrast to its earlier iteration, the current one is to benefit the future generation.…We hope that young ladies and women from Sebastia will make every possible effort toward the success of this newly-established association.[397]

Also, in contrast to its earlier manifestation, the second sought to receive public recognition by announcing its existence, aims and the particular reason it should receive contributions from the Armenian community as a way to resist proselytizing incursions of the Evangelical Church. Its Board of Directors consisted of 12 upper-class members. *Masis* wrote in June 1884:

> Protestant missionaries were visiting Armenian houses and under the pretext of teaching science, were preaching the gospel and inundating Armenian women with Protestant ideas. Hence, the Armenian Women's Association has been established to try to remove these foreigners by creating colleges in districts and providing necessary books to college lecturers and poor girls.[398]

For all these reasons, then, the association took on women's care and education. To

[396] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Sebastia (Սեբաստիայ) section," *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 2 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 334-339.

[397] *Masis*, Constantinople, 6 May 1884, n. 3698

[398] *Masis*, Constantinople, June 1884, n. 3723. A loyal male member was presented to the Advisory Meeting.

promote adult education, it opened colleges in central houses of districts, where female lecturers taught basic skills to married and unmarried women three times a week. From the very month of its establishment, the association registered positive results, reportedly schooling 500 girls and women from the main districts in 1885.[399] Membership numbers extended to approximately 400, who convened yearly to elect the Executive Body. The July 1885 entry on Sebastia in *Hayrenik* (*Homeland*) underscores the organization's focus on grown women:

> Although it is unforgettable how many colleges were opened, they only served the cause of [elementary] education, and adult ladies were deprived of this enlightenment. On 6 May of last year, the Armenian Women's Association was founded with a view to contributing to [adult] female education.

Besides meeting the needs of its older learners, the article details, the Armenian Women's Association (AWA) cooperated with stakeholders in the region, donating a painting to a preliminary facility supervised by the Senek'erimian Association (Սենեքերիմեան Ընկերութիւն).[400] Encouraged by its wide acceptance, the AWA requested that the Senek'erimian Association transfer its three women's colleges to its oversight on payment of what was a large sum in 1885. Within two months of accepting this offer, observed the journalist, the AWA was instructing female pupils much more systematically than had the Senek'erimian Association.[401] Further reports from 1888 show the AWA advanced its activities and others of 1891 reveal it still functioned and employed many women lecturers.[402] The year of its dissolution is unknown.

The Young Ladies' Union (Օրիորդաց Միութիւն – Oriortats' Miutyun) in Pera (1908)[403]

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[399] *Hayranik*, Constantinople, August 1885, p. 21; *Arevelk*, Constantinople, 1881, p. 141.

[400] *Hayranik*, Constantinople, August 1885, p. 21; *Arevelk*, Constantinople, 1881, p. 141.

[401] *Hayranik*, 1888, p. 362, and 372.

[402] *Hayrani*k, 1891, p. 62.

[403] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 123.

This auxiliary of the PAWA of Üsküdar was set up at the end of 1908. Sibyl's speech at the opening of a musical-theatrical fundraising spectacle on 26 April 1909 applauded the young women's elevated calling as loyal recent graduates of the PAWA school who chose the colorful and luxurious environment of Pera as a location to pursue their goal of aiding their provincial sisters. Sibyl's speeches typically hammered home the similarity and sisterhood of rural and urban girls. She also relayed that the PAWA had received numerous requests for schools from various regions, but answering those demands required meeting additional needs for supplies, including clothing and educational materials, in the provinces. Thus, she praised the activities of these brave ladies, enthused with the hope of serving their homeland and helping feed and educate the exhausted, indigent women of the provinces.[404]

The Subsidiary of The Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (Մանսաճիւղ Ազգանուէր Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն – Mandachugh Azkanuver Hayuhiats' Ĕngerutiun) in Pangaaltı (1908)[405]

Pupils of the Nigoghosian College (Նիկողոսեան Վարժարան) in Pangaaltı formed a subsidiary of the PAWA in 1908 and sent it 100 kurush monthly.

The Hripsimian Young Ladies' Association (Հռիփսիմեան Օրիորդաց Միութիւն – Hripsimian Oriortats' Miutyun) in Karin (1909)[406]

The Hrpisime College of Karin (Erzurum) opened in 1881.[407] For almost 30 years it remained unknown, and apart from one school performance, seemed unable to claim any important activity.[408] Only its dissolution and the transfer of its holdings of 10 kurush to the main

[404] Teodik, Arshakuhi, *Amis Me i Kilikia.* [A Month in Cilicia] (Constantinople: V. and H. Der Nersesian, 1910).

[405] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 149; Surhandak (Սուրհանդակ), 1908, no 115.

[406] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 94.

[407] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 93; *Efk*âr, (Էֆքեար) 1871, no 1586).

organization in Constantinople in 1911 marks its existence.[409] The image below documents the existence of a Hrp'simian School in 1902. The school's possible affiliation with this association's members is a matter for future researchers to pursue. Most probably, the graduates of the schools in Sebastia and Karin ran the organization.

[Figure 2.5 The graduates of Hripsimian College, Sebastia, 1902. (Courtesy of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul Library Special collection)]

The Women's Auxiliary Society (Տիկնանց Օժանդակ Միութիւն - Dignants' Ojantag Miutyun) in Topkapı (1910)[410]

The main rationale for establishing the Women's Auxiliary Society was the initiative of the quarter's Armenian Women's Progressive Association to extend its operations. The Women's Association provided the pupils with handicraft materials, and generated income by selling their works at auction.[411]

The School-Loving Auxiliary Society (Դպրոցասէր Օժանդակ Միութիւն – Tbrotsaser Ojantag Miutyun) in Pera (1913)[412]

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[408] Ahead, Յառաջ, 1911, no 1.

[409] *Kortz Tibilisi* (*Work Tiblis - Գործ Թիֆլիս)*, 1908, no 24

[410] Eprem P. Bogosyian, "Topkapı Թոփքապու section," *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 547.

[411] "A new organization, the Women's Auxiliary Society," *Zhamanag*, 1910, no 121

[412] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 135. *Zhamanag*, Constantinople in 1913, no 1432.

This branch of the association launched at the beginning of 1913 to fundraise for the School-Loving Association founded in 1879.

The Armenian Women's Association (Հայ Տիկնանց Ընկերութիւն – Hay Dignants' Ĕngerutiun) in Pera (1920)[413]

Little information is available regarding this organization's purpose and activities other than as an auxiliary union of the larger Armenian Women's Association (AWA) established in 1909 to train victims of the Cilician massacres in handicrafts. The only data extant relates to an AWA workshop for girls in Pera, which lasted until 1920 and was probably created to facilitate the mission of the main organization.[414] The auxiliary's first endeavor had been to set up a sewing school in October 1909, enrolling 40 pupils, 15 of whom studied free of charge while 25 received a pension.[415] The union also ran a reading room for women and opened a laundry in October 1909 to wash, iron, or dry-clean clothing.[416] Although its timespan is unknown, participation in its events and its well-structured administrative body indicate that the organization worked actively and seriously to improve the lives of women in the region.

The Auxiliary Association of The Women's Association for Orphan Care (Կիներու Օժանդակ Որբախնամ Միություն – Gineru Ojantag Vorpakhnam Miutyun) in Rumeli Hisar (1919)[417]

An auxiliary of the organization established by widows of Rumeli Hisar, the association was established in January 1919 to defray the cost of caring for two orphans.

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[413] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 137.

[414] *Ahead*, 1909, n 11, p. 7.

[415] *Ahead* 1909, n 11, p. 37.

[416] *Ahead*, 1909, n 11, p. 53.

[417] E Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 299.

Summary

During the nineteenth century, Armenian women's time-honored activity in community- or religiously based charity and in broader humanitarian philanthropy persisted. Yet their projects grew both more focused and more inclusive as women extended their agency within the community—specifically for girls and women—and throughout the nation in response to genocide and war.

This survey of short-term, long-term, and auxiliary women's organizations presented that these groups exhibited those shifts despite the range of interests animating them, from the arts to hospital care to poor relief to supporting soldiers to women's work skills to girls' education. As this survey of organizations illustrates, women in districts such as Uskudar, Balat, and the provinces of Karin and Harput were exceptionally energetic launchers of organizations. The greater density of the Armenian population and its greater number of middle- and upper-class families in such locales partly explicates their greater organizational productivity.

There is a recognized gap in establishing associations between 1893 and 1908. Granted the period's repression, massacres, and widespread instability, it is not surprising that no name of any such creation has survived, and that all those detailed above ceased their activities. No short-term organization reemerged after this hiatus. Only those with a robust structure in a well-established neighborhood such as the PAWA and teh SLLS managed to regroup and recommence their endeavors, including their own fundraising events such as theatrical performances, auctions, and lectures to supplement the core income from dues and donations. Similarly, many of the names selected for the organizations echo each other or were duplicated by associations in different locations, such as the Women's Union of Kadıköy (1909) and the Guardian Women's Association of Hasköy (1869).

Although it lies beyond the timeframe of this dissertation, I have included a few women's organizations begun after 1915 to demonstrate just how far those transformations reshaped the associations, and to mark how deeply community and larger political factors amplified their members' expression of agency. Most dramatically, mass killings of Armenians by the political authorities of the Empire turned organizations' concern for locals' living conditions and for women's education into an impassioned engagement in meeting the crushing needs of orphans. Measuring the extent and effects of this reorientation demands dedicated research.[418]

Yet in whatever directions these changes took the many groups, the agency of their members, and of the girls and women benefitting from their work, blossomed in novel ways. And just as important, over this period both the Armenian community and the Ottoman State came increasingly to value these members' (and their objects') competence and energy. The Armenian community reassessed women as forces for modernizing and unifying the particular Armenian millets into a single ethnically-homogenous culture. Similarly, the Porte began to see women as a prime means of unifying its own vaster collection of millets into a single Westernized Empire of equally-Ottoman citizens. That is, both Armenian and Ottoman nationalists had come to appreciate women as the chief propagators of culture and, as such, deserving of the education and public freedoms they had been claiming.

For, indeed, this new respect emerged from nationalists' theorizing about women's utility in nation-building. Nowhere were women's finally-acknowledged capacities being displayed and exercised more visibly and powerfully than in Armenian women's organizations. Their thoughtful structure, skillful use of media, clever fundraising, effective teaching and nursing, and forays into the wider discourse on women's rights may have surprised, but

[418] Nazan Maksudyan, "Being Saved to Serve:' Armenian Orphans of 1894-96 and Interested Relief in Missionary Orphanages," *Turcica* 42 (2010): 47-88; Nazan Maksudyan, "State 'Parenthood' and Vocational Orphanages (Islâhhanes): Transformation of Urbanity and Family Life," *History of the Family* 16, no. 2 (2011): 172–81.

certainly impressed, observers (and likely even participants). Significantly, in addition to raising the civic presence of women as organizers and activists, the associations modeled both class and national unification: Members from different socio-economic backgrounds collaborated on massive education and welfare projects that themselves unified urban and rural Armenian (and sometimes, even other) women. Their agency created a sense and a practice of sisterhood, and that sisterhood engendered even greater agency.

Chapter 3
Sibyl and the Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (PAWA)
Ազգանուէր Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն
Azkanver Hayuhiats' Ĕngerutiun
1879-1893 and 1908-1915

I called, "Liberty!"
May lighting spark, fire, iron, thunder on my head
May the enemy conspire,
So, until death on the gallows
Until the pillar of dishonorable death
I must shout,
I must call, continuously, "Liberty!"[419]

One hundred and fifty women heard Sibyl (1863-1934) pronounce these fiery lines at the second gathering of the PAWA on 12 April 1879.[420] As founder (with eight classmates) and General Assembly secretary of one of the two largest women's organizations, Zabel "Sibyl" Khanjian delivered such speeches regularly. These addresses contained telling details about both the PAWA and her ideas on women's education.[421] Not only her speeches, but also her background and both her literary works and textbooks display her approach toward Armenian women's empowerment, cultivation, and employment. Therefore, this chapter first presents Sibyl as a literary figure along with her major literary works consisting of the novel *A Girl's Heart* (*Ahchigan me Sirte*) and the play *The Bride (Harse)*, and then highlights the connection between her views and her organization's educational strategies and projects. The chapter also assesses how contemporary socio-historical events impacted Sibyl and the PAWA, whose years of operation fall into two phases. Finally, the chapter analyzes similarities and

[419] "Liberty," *Punch*, 1879, no 1373. Author's translation; see Appendix 1 for the Armenian original.

[420] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 339.

[421] Agop J., Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, and Nourhan Ouzounian, "Sibyl (Zabel Asatur)," in *The Heritage of Armenian Literature V. III (From the eighteenth Century to modern times)* (Detroit-Michigan: Wayne University Press, 2005), 541-542; Victoria Rowe, *Education is the Key: Sybil and Mariam Khatisyan A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880-1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003), 75-130; Zülal Kılıç, *Bir Adalet Feryadı: Osmanlı'dan Türkiye'ye Beş Ermeni Yazar 1862-1933* (Istanbul: Aras, 2006), 37-84.

differences between the PAWA's educational activities and those of its counterpart, the School-Loving Ladies' Society, and traces their discontinuities to the distinct characters of the organizations' founders, Sibyl and Dussap.

Zabel "Sibyl" Khanjian Asadur (1863-1934)

Figure 3.1. Zabel Asadur (1863-1934) in her 40s.
From Sibyl, *Yerker* (Erevan: Hayastan Hratarakchutyun, 1965).

A privileged, articulate orator promoting Armenian women's emancipation, Sibyl was also a well-known poet, the first female Armenian playwright, a linguist, teacher and, most importantly, founder of the PAWA. Initially, the young Zabel attended Mrs. Karus' French College while pursuing private lessons at home, but then transferred first to Üsküdar Holy Cross neighborhood school, and then the Yenimahalle Lyceum from which she graduated in 1876.[422] Her literary career had begun two years earlier with the publication of her first poem, "Inconsolable Wanderer," while still in high school.[423] immediately after, she signed her second published poem, "The Greeting of Goodbye," with the first of the many pennames, including Alis and Anahit, she adopted before settling on Sibyl in 1892 when writing for the prestigious newspaper *Masis*.[424] After completing her schooling she married Garabed Donelian

[422] Sibyl, "Dzrenere" in *Yerker* (Erevan: Hayastan Hratarakchutyun,1965), 152.

[423] "Inconsolable Wanderer," *Homeland*, 1874, p. 191.

[424] "The Greeting of Goodbye," *Homeland*, 1879, p. 2360.

in 1881.[425] During the first eight years of their married life, Zabel and her lawyer husband spent time in various provincial towns such as Bilecik, Bursa, and Ankara, where she taught in schools. They returned to Constantinople in 1889 with their small daughter, Adrine (1884-1975). These provincial experiences helped her to see what the schooling system needs to run and revealed to her first-hand the dire need for good grammar and language textbooks. After her husband's death, she re-married in 1901, now to the well-known literary figure Hrant Asadur (1861-1928), co-editor of *Masis* with the recognized writer Krikor Zohrab (1861-1915). As Mrs. Zabel Asadur, she remained involved in the educational sphere, teaching in the Yeseyan, and Kentronakan colleges in Constantinople as a highly regarded instructor in modern Armenian language and literature. She had another daughter, Emma (1894-1965), with Asadur.[426] Her experience teaching in the provinces and in colleges in Constantinople had made her aware of the great need for girls to be educated and to learn modern, standardized Armenian. This consciousness prompted her to produce textbooks as well. So, besides her literary works, she composed, in collaboration with husband Hrant Asadur, a Western Armenian grammar book and textbooks that finally guided teaching and translation of the newly-adopted Western Armenian form rather than the Classical Armenian language.[427]

Her works include *Practical Grammar of Modern Armenian* (*Kordznagan Keraganutiun ardi Ashkharhapari*) for elementary, middle, and higher levels, in three volumes, published in 1877, 1899, and 1902; another grammar, *Treasury House of the Armenian language* (*Tankaran Hayeren Lezvi*) published in 1899; and a guidebook for French-Armenian

[425] Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003); Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000)

[426] See for detail information of Sibyl's life: Arpik M. Minasyan, *Sibyl* (Yerevan: Yerevani Betakan Hamalsarani Hratarakchutyun, 1980), 160.

[427] Agop J., Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, Edward S. Franchuk, Nourhan Ouzounian, "Sibyl (Zabel Asatur)," in *The Heritage of Armenian Literature V. III (From the eighteenth Century to modern times)* (Detroit-Michigan: Wayne University Press, 2005) 541-542.

translation, *Practical Course in French-Armenian Translation* (*Kordznagan Tasentatck Franserene Hay Tagmanutyan*) published in 1902. Sibyl's more numerous literary achievements include the 1891 novel, *A Girl's Heart* (*Ahchigan me Sirte*), serialized in *Aravelk* (*Orient*) magazine earlier that year; a poetry collection *Glitters* (*Tsolker*) of 1902; the 1905 short story collection *Women's Souls* (*Gnoch Hoginer*); a play, *The Bride* (*Harse*), of 1917-1918; and a second anthology of poems collected and published posthumously by her students in 1940, *Poems* (*Kertvadzner*), six years after her death in Constantinople in 1934.[428]

Sibyl's perspective on women's emancipation, education, and employment closely directed the actions of the PAWA—so much so that delving into her creative works illuminates the organization's objectives.[429] Better known for her poetry than for her novel, Sibyl's sole play nevertheless holds a special place in Armenian literature as the first published by a woman. In all her works, the traditional motivation for educating girls—to ensure well-informed wives and mothers who would perform their familial duties properly and thereby elevate the nation—animate, in different forms, her novel, *A Girl's Heart*, and her play, *The Bride*. The detailed analysis of these works delivers insight into Sibyl's conception of women's education, empowerment, and employment, which also designed the approach of the PAWA.

A Girl's Heart

Published serially in *Arevelk* in 1891 and printed as a book later the same year, Sibyl's novel interweaves the themes of marriage and women's entry into the public sphere. One female character participates in a woman's organization and in its school. Sibyl shared Dussap's interest in representing provincial women teachers as notably ethical. But her portrayal of typical activities like sewing, cooking, housekeeping, and childcare as women's

[428] She dies six years after her second husband's death, both buried in Şişli Armenian Cemetery.

[429] Arpik Minasyan's work on Sibyl (1980), the only modem study on the writer contextualizes her historically, but not provide a theoretical analysis of her works. On the other hand, she adduces valuable new sources concerning her life and activities in advancing female education.

noblest achievements was all her own. In the novel, the main character Bulbul (*Bülbül* nightingale in Turkish) undergoes a series of wrenching experiences: a loveless marriage, the loss of her mother, and a failed love affair. Tigran, Bulbul's husband and her father's adopted son, had been schooled in Germany but is hardly the progressive intellectual supporting girls' learning or employment. Although, they grew up together in the same household and fell in love, since his education abroad Tigran had become distant and critical. He ridicules Bulbul's every interest: writing a play, attending balls, being a member of the Art Lovers' Association.[430] Thus far Bulbul personifies the PAWA lady, with her education, supportive wealthy father, and involvement in the public sphere. Yet Bulbul slowly realizes the rift that has emerged between them and meditates constantly on how to end this empty marriage without upsetting her father. Soon she falls in love with another man; ironically, Bulbul's play performed at an Art Lovers' Association event, portrays a married woman with a lover. By refusing to stay in the marriage arranged by her father, Bulbul invites misfortunes which crescendo to her end. Sibyl allows her character to find her voice, but punishes her for it: Bulbul's father dies on learning of her divorce; her husband abandons her, forcing her to return to her father's town, Bilecik; there she becomes penniless and has no means of returning to her lover; in the interim the lover marries another girl; and consequently, she leaves Bilecik to seek employment in the city. In this Romantic-style novel, emotion triumphs over reason, but does not lead to a happy outcome.[431] Sibyl uses melancholy aligned with isolation to show the risk

[430] There was an actual Art-Loving Association in Ortaköy, as mentioned in Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 277. This organization was established on May 1, 1877, announcing itself as a new association in *Masis* magazine on November 7, 1879, where it proposed to develop Armenian art. Two branch associations of Art-Loving Association existed dedicated to the same cause, one in Hasköy and another in Samatia.

[431] Examples of Western Romantic works of the time include Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*, poems of Lord Byron, and writings of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe.

of determining your own life.[432] Here it is obvious that Sibyl disapproves of Armenian society which so oppresses women that they are unable to find happiness. Bulbul's actions as a result of cultural upbringing and traditional norms trap her where she is helpless to change her destiny. Here tragedy is caused by harsh social conventions rather than the young woman's own longings. Moreover, her motherlessness and continuing traumas illustrate how a girl might perish without good maternal direction to steer her away from faulty decisions. Bulbul's teacher, Sofia, in contrast, represents a figure similar to one of the organization's teachers. But she cannot guide Bulbul as a mother would. What she can do is prepare her to learn, to love art, and to know and express her feelings.

Another disadvantage Bulbul suffers, lack of work experience, derives from what might have been regarded as an advantage: birth into a family of substance. Although Sofia suggests she and Bulbul go to the provinces together to teach, Bulbul is unprepared for such trying conditions or responsibilities. She dutifully goes to Mush to teach at one of PAWA's schools, but a malaise of the heart, brought on by all her hardships, ends her life.

Sofia's character recalls Dussap's Madam Sira, Mayda's correspondent, who encourages Mayda to survive despite her life's challenges. Sofie herself comes from a good family and has studied but has had to—and thus learned how to—work after her own father's death. Interestingly, Sofia never marries, and thus she possesses the facility to determine her course of action and accept conditions in the provinces in order to school the nations' girls. Although Sibyl saw marriage as a girl's dearest, most proper wish, the figure of Sofia introduces the idea that a lady could also find love and fulfillment teaching other women's children. Indeed, sometimes—as in Bulbul's case—happy romantic love between spouses is impossible. Dussap's subtler insight into women's happiness, though, hones closer to the

[432] Ralph Wardo Emerson's essay, "Self-Reliance" in 1841 presents the worth of the individual's experiences by including the value even of failure that has resulted from one's own decisions. Ralph Wardo Emerson, *Essays* (New York: Charles E. Merrill Co, 1907).

individual: For example, her Siranush persona shows that women benefit society only if they are happy. In contrast, Sibyl seems to counsel that woman in incompatible marriages seek fulfillment by serving the nation—a love far more sublime than individual romance and far more accessible, given contemporary cultural-social restrictions. Yet we see that, while Bulbul considers that approach, she is unable to endure the pressure of devoting herself to the nation's new generation of girls. However, Sibyl implies that this is no easy task to accomplish with a broken heart, the lack of support from family and friends, and without proper training. Sibyl's 1905 *Masis* article reinforces the lesson that helping girls of the provinces in order to elevate the nation is the highest duty, but not easy:

> Let us work so that our provincial sisters receive light; let us work to save our homeland; let us work so that the female gender gains a place, a position, in humanity. Indeed, it is not easy to accomplish this.[433]

Here again Sibyl touches on the difficulty of assisting others as she had in her speech comparing beneficence to a most pleasing rose with vicious thorns. Sofia exemplifies lifelong devotion to this highest duty by choosing the hardest thing to do, but it gives her an aim. Yet her life conditions prepared her for this duty better than Bulbul. Fatherless, she had to work from an early age regardless of her middle-class social position. Thanks to her family's background, she completed a proper education and supported her brother's schooling abroad with her income as a piano teacher in the private school first, then as governess of Bulbul. These experiences prepared her for labor, whereas Bulbul's background left her vulnerable and dependent, like Dussap's Siranush, whose upbringing precluded her from creating a future for herself outside the parameters of acceptable social convention. Elevation through employment outside the home was possible in Sofia's case, but Bulbul could not endure the rigors of job-hunting, the rough provincial environment, or the post of governess in someone else's household. Indeed, she could barely express herself in the interviews at the music school where

[433] Sibyl, "Mer Kin Groghnere [Our Women Writers]," *Masis*, October 1, l905, p. 472.

Sofia taught. Sibyl clearly endorsed girls' education, but still believed marriage and motherhood to be a woman's primary role—and one especially crucial for guiding daughters—which was the accepted perspective in contemporary Armenian society. Consequently, Sibyl did not seek to move her characters far beyond convention, and this was one of the merits which gained her the admiration of her male colleagues. Bulbul could find meaning only within a happy reciprocal relationship with her husband as a cherished, educated, art-loving spouse. These points sound contradictory, but they appear simultaneously in Sibyl's approach towards women, which other well-known women writers of the time, like Zabel Yeseyan and Dussap, criticized. To resolve this apparent contradiction, readers must keep in mind that Sibyl did not see education as one identical path for every woman. Some women, mostly coming from middle- and higher-educated classes, enjoy education but embrace their marital and motherly duties and satisfactions without seeking employment. She believed marriages based on mutual compromise let couples get along wonderfully without traditional constraints. But both education and employment were the most pleasant duties of ladies who were widowed, older, economically insecure, and without a family to give them purpose. So, employment and teaching other girls were excellent options for those women who might have perished without them. A teaching position in an association's provincial school perfectly fits Sofia's situation. Having work experience and not having romantic hopes free her, in a sense, from creating her own family. So the most suitable job for her is teaching in the provinces and devoting her own skills to other girls—"sisters of the homeland," as Sibyl calls them.

On the other hand, Dussap's ideal character, Araksia, enjoys the most desirable relationship with her husband as a lover and a supporter of her work in the school. Araksia proves that ladies could have highly responsible jobs and, at the same time, a very desirable married life. Dussap's ultimate model contrasts with Sibyl's ideal character, Sofia, whose future remains unknown but hardly promises intimate love. Sibyl's other ideal female

character, Aruseak, represents ladies of the middle and upper classes. They come from comfortable or wealthy families with a Western-style education, know French, enjoy art exhibitions, play an instrument. Best of all, Aruseak has a love marriage without the arrangement of family elders; her husband supports her non-traditional interests and is loving and responsible for the family's sustenance. She does not pursue work herself but mentions that ladies should be able to work—if they have approval from their husbands. Thus, Sibyl's female characters attain either a successful marriage or a job, while Dussap's may blend the two sources of satisfaction—a happy marriage and a job they love—and neither as a necessity for survival.

Bulbul cannot hope for Sofia's and certainly not for Aruseak's satisfactions. Interestingly, Sibyl traces her desperation less to oppressive social norms or her too-refined upbringing that to her loss of a nurturing mother to guide her through hard life decisions. True, Siranush suffers from her mother's passivity, magnified by the family's status as the special, deeply traditional class of *amiras*. But Bulbul's father supports her interests in art, piano, and writing, and tries to provide her with someone who could fill her mother's position: the governess Sofia. Yet Sibyl highlights the essential importance of mothers by allowing even the wise and good governess to fail in protecting her charge. Short of a guiding mother, an understanding husband would certainly help. But since all the things Bulbul desires are out of reach, she loses her joy in life and, finally, her life itself. Thus, Sibyl finds no substitute for maternal care. For her, then, education is a pivotal duty of ladies, but primarily for becoming a better wife and absolutely necessary nurturer of a new generation. Additionally, Sibyl emphasizes this tragic end to point out to the community that girls might more likely perish without irreplaceable motherly direction than even without paternal support or husbandly congeniality.

Both Sibyl's Bulbul and Dussap's Siranush experience a loveless marriage, in which

the partners do not understand each other, and each heroine shares her pain with the reading public. Both are educated daughters of prominent families, and neither is able to choose the man they will marry. Their powerlessness derives from their lack of agency, which itself stems from the family status, weak or absent mothers, and the social-cultural expectations laid upon traditional Armenian women. Even though Siranush's mother still lives, her passive nature—especially in the context of social norms—will cause her daughter's death. Sibyl, however, contends that her heroine's life would have been different if only she had had the benefit of her mother's wisdom:

> Only a mother could free her from this difficult position, but she had never been acquainted with inexhaustible motherlove. If her mother had been alive, her experience would have composed the basis of the newly-blossoming girl's education and upbringing.[434]

Sibyl thus underscores the indispensable role of the mother in guiding, socializing, and supporting her children. Additionally, she links motherhood to the upbringing not just of a family but of the nation. As Bulbul died because motherless, so would the people as a whole cease without cultivated, educated women. Sibyl connects strengthening maternal qualities to strengthening the nation in general.[435] Since the nation's future lay in the hands of a new generation, its advance required educated mothers to raise this generation to be intelligent, moral, healthy, capable, and patriotic.[436]

Another distinction between the two protagonists, that concerning romance, reveals even more. Bulbul falls in love with another man only because her marriage fails. If Tigran had shared her enthusiasms for art, literature, and culture, Bulbul would have kept her childhood

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[434] Sibyl, "Aghjkan Me Sirte [A Girl's Heart]," in *Yerker* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 307.

[435] Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 1985); Qasim Amin, *The Liberation of Women*, trans. Samiha Sidhom Peterson (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 1992), 71.

[436] Nalbandian Louise, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties Through the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967); Jayawardena, Kumari, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986), 11.

affection for him and would never had sought another. But Tigran's education abroad changed him for the worse and taught him to suppress women in the family and public life. This sense of male superiority, discussed in the previous chapter, saw women's position as justified by their supposedly inferior nature, and broke their childhood bond of simple friendship. By pointing to Tigran's acceptance of unequal gender roles in marriage, Sibyl sent husbands a message to rethink gender relations as reciprocally respectful and loving, rather than based on power and authority. Thoughtful and caring husbands can raise a new generation of girls who, like Bulbul, appreciate art, create literature, participate in social activities though associations, and at the same time love their husbands and homes.

Bulbul lacked such good fortune in either her husband or lover, neither of whom is genuine, or moral or supportive; the lover only hastens Bulbul's death, yet he did not have the opportunity to continue his relationship with Bulbul because she had to leave for the village. On the other hand, Siranush never loved her husband, only Yervand, who faithfully awaits her return. For Dussap Yervand was a representative of the new male figure as both educated and understanding, and with expectations from marriage that it should combine both love and intellectual satisfaction with his wife. Indeed, Dussap's final novel presented another ideal male figure Nersis, Araksia's husband. The marriage of Araksia and Nerses represents the ultimate goal for the perfect relationship. Sibyl is aware of Tigran's deficiencies, but she wants to portray the kind of man who obtained a one-sided technical European education without embracing the contemporary socio-cultural developments there in spheres like romance, education and equality of women. Consequently, he sees Bulbul, his wife, still deficient and lack of many virtues because of her feminine nature regardless of her education. Indeed, he expresses how the concerns of art and writing are useless topics to be discussed that do not change the real jobs of the time. Sibyl presents us her ideal male character Arshag in her play, yet it would not be considered as an ideal figure for Dussap. Such characteristics make Arshag

at some extent ideal kind of male for Sibyl such as he marries the woman he likes without his mother's consent, he is in love with his wife and respects her interests in music, literature, and he does not involve with her desires to host events in their home and play piano for her guests. He adorns her and sees only the good in her character. Aruseak also in love with her husband and follows his suggestions all the time, her solely goal is to make her husband happy. She is happy about her housewife position regardless of her education. Although she desires to work by bringing the issue of women working as in favor of them, she indicates that this kind of action would require her husband's permission to accomplish. At the end, this relationship, with wife and husband are happy and they both can responds each other's needs in terms of intellectual and love. The following part explains *The Bride* synopsis and characters in detail.

The Bride

Sibyl continued producing literary works even after the closure of her association and the Bride is one of the post PAWA works. Although, *The Bride* of 1917 is her only official theatrical text, she had been involved in previous forays into playwrighting: Her character Bulbul from the novel, writes a script and this play takes place in the novel, and Sibyl had co-authored with Alexander Panosian (1859-1919) the play, *Magnet*, performed at a 1909 PAWA fundraiser.[437] *Magnet* contrasts two characters: Vehanush, a PAWA member devoted to Armenian orphan girls In Cilicia, and Arsine, an admirer of Vehanush who is devoted to her home, mother and fiancé. As the mother of the nation, Vehanush could not marry but could labor gloriously—a familiar theme in Sibyl's output and a character who reminded the audience of Sofia. But Arsine enjoys a fresh, happier role in Sibyl's corpus, like Arouseak. Nonetheless, *Magnet* exemplifies Sibyl's belief that a woman's ultimate goal is to have a good marriage and family life, and her virtues let her attain it. But as in Sibyl's other works, women also have the

[437] Copies were sold at five kurush to fund PAWA's activities. See: Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 346.

option of educating the nation's children as another path to happiness. So once again, these are the two avenues for fulfillment Sibyl presents to young women. Therefore, the Bride could be seen Sibyl's third play.

Arouseak, heroine of the more complex play, *The Bride*, lives with her husband Arshag in a traditional extended family, but they married in Arouseak's native Smyrna away from (even without the knowledge of) the mother-in-law, after having simply fallen in love.[438] The married household includes the mother-in-law, Mrs. Diruhu, and a spinster sister-in-law, Hanumig. And in this customary family dynamic the bride had the least power to make decisions (even over her children) or express her thoughts, while the mother-in-law had the most.[439] Arouseak, who had grown up in the very different environment of an upper-middle-class urban family, good-naturedly tolerates her situation. She ignores her in-laws' hostile behaviors. Only her husband, Arshag, whom she loves deeply, matters to her. Sibyl sharply contrasts the modern nuclear family life with the traditional extended household, strongly suggesting that the new form of nuclear family alone allows the healthiest marital relationship and would best benefit the children.

In this work Sibyl elevates another non-traditional norm: a love marriage without the acceptance of a family elder. Arshag marries without his mother's permission or even knowledge. Of course, this will put Aruseak at a further disadvantage within the traditional extended family structure. Mrs. Diruhu even declares that a daughter-in-law is an enemy in the home until she bears a child.[440] Aruseak dreams of having her own apartment with only her

[438] Nishan Parlakian and Peter Cowe, eds., *Modern Armenian Drama: An Anthology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

[439] Sevak Arzumanyan, *Zabel Yesayian: Geanke ev Kortse* (Yerevan: Haigagan SSR Kidutiunneri Academia Hradaragchutiun, 1965); Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Istanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013); Behar, Cem and Duben, Alan, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Hacikyan, Agop J., eds., *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: Volume III From the Eighteenth Century to Modern Times* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000).

[440] Sibyl, *Harse* (Boston: Hayranik Press, 1938), 6.

husband, so she can furnish it as she wants and works in the kitchen all day without the judgment of two other females and without the assistance of their servants. As it is now, she cannot express her love to her husband in what functions as a public space right in the home, as displays of affection in the extended household would be unacceptable. Aruseak complains about these and other restrictions, but never rebels against the traditions. Yet she continues to behave very much as she would have in her father's house—dressing gaily, writing a novel, going out to concerts, balls, and fundraising events, and entertaining guests with her piano playing—while Hanumig is presented as the dark-clothed, isolated, inane women who disapprove of such activity.

Sibyl creates Hanumig as the antithesis of Arouseak, her ideal Armenian woman, yielding a mechanism for contrasting traditional and contemporary female manner. Like her mother, Hanumig is a superficial girl, spends her time with uncultivated provincial gossip, stays out of men's discussions and any public sphere. Hanumig sews, avoids situations that might elicit talk, works only at home, wears dark colors that do not make her stand out. She complains that Arouseak's costumes attract undue attention, doubtless because they deflect male interest from her unmarried self. Although Arouseak brought the family a large dowry, she earns no money now so her husband must support her, as was the norm; in fact, she soliloquizes about going to work but does not act on it. Arshag, a traditional hardworking man, provides for every woman in the household.

When Arshag realizes that all the money he earns is disappearing, he decides to set a trap to discover why. He certainly has an inkling, having seen his mother's and sister's mail indicating that the mother must be siphoning off funds from the monthly household allowance and secreting them in his sister's bank accounts, along with monies the sister is skimming off the rent from the family's country house. Arshag claims to need help with gambling debts. Predictably, his mother's and sister's responses are disloyal, while Aruseak immediately offers

to sell her jewelry. His sister even steals the household silver so she could blame it on Arouseak. Arshag knows his mother and sister have jewelry of their own they do not offer and comes to realize that their supposed love and familial loyalty are artificial while Arouseak's are sincere. The conclusion to be drawn is that the romantic love of an outsider outshines the blood ties of family.

In this piece Sibyl challenges not only superficial cultural habits but also deeply-ingrained gender roles. The new Armenian family demands a loving, devoted wife in a happy marriage, something possible only in a relationship of respect and mutual support. In Arshag, Sibyl draws a figure approaching the model husband: traditional enough to work for his family yet open enough to enjoy his wife's interests, talents, and unique personality. Interestingly, Arouseak critiques the cultural norm of keeping women in the home, calling it a horrible social custom that forces men to struggle so women have comfort and relaxation.[441] However, she also points out that woman's entry into the workspace is possible only with the encouragement of her husband. So, while Aruseak, and all modern women, may have more freedom than their tradition-bound peers, their freedom goes no further than their husbands' approval.

Aruseak is equally Sibyl's ideal as a spirited yet refined and loyal wife, coming from the metropolis of Smyrna. She marries for love, not financial interest, and her education leads her to love reading, writing, singing, and the arts. The contrast she makes with her in-laws spotlights the differences between women of the old and the new generations and of French-inflected urban environments and provinces of the hinterlands. Even though marriage and motherhood were, for Sibyl, always women's primary roles, she does not accept wives' subordination based on their lack of learning or employment. Instead, she promotes a new form of marriage—an equal partnership.[442] Aruseak, as an informed, skilled, and cultivated woman,

[441] Sibyl, *Harse* (Boston: Hayranik Press, 1938), 37.

[442] Mary Maynard, "Privilege and Patriarchy: Feminist Thought in the Nineteenth Century," *Sexuality and Subordination*, ed. Susan Mendus and Jane Rendall (Routledge, 1989), 230.

models the Westernized upper-middle-class urban woman, but she is not at all a radical. Thus, the play suggests a new family structure wherein women and men fully exchange ideas and enjoy each other's company rather than live condemned to remain segregated strangers.

Sibyl's goal in publishing this play parallels that of her association: to teach new norms already established in the cities to girls and women in the eastern provinces. Romantic love, nuclear family structure, mutual respect between the genders, and women's engagement in public cultural activities accord with, and give purpose to, the languages and mathematics and sciences and arts and skills her association's schools taught.

Comparing Sibyl and Dussap

A Girls' Heart and *The Bride* and other works won Sibyl the adulation of contemporary male writers, while Dussap was deprecated by them as a writer *manqué*. The traditionalist commentator on girls' education, Zohrab, referred to Sibyl as "the only woman writer who remains a woman and the most perfect poet in our modern literature."[443] Another writer, Hovannes Kazanjian, declared that "Sibyl is the primary woman poet in Western Armenian literature who is also both polite and reserved."[444] Two reasons for Sibyl's popularity with male writers are her style and her brand of feminism, both of which bore marks of her conventionality, nationalism, and community focus.

In style Sibyl was powerfully influenced by the Romantic movement. She found that outlook to capture women's lives best: "I always liked Romantic literature, and I think for the majority of women that I know, reality is Romanticism."[445] Although her works utilize realist elements, she considered the freedom and emotionality of Romanticism to be suited better to

[443] H. Kazanjian, *History of Armenian Literature,* (Lebanon: Publication Armenian Catholicate of Antelias, 1970), 190.

[444] H. Kazanjian, *History of Armenian Literature,* (Lebanon: Publication Armenian Catholicate of Antelias, 1970), 193.

[445] Sibyl, *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 179.

modern female reality.[446] Yet Sibyl explicitly linked her understanding of women's liberty and feeling with national liberation: For her, the struggle, and the elevation, of Armenian women were necessary parts of the nationalist movement.[447] It is important to remember that the Armenian National Constitution and its governing assembly were composed at this precise period, when millet rule became secularized through elected representatives.[448] Her appreciation of Romanticism thus matched her nationalism as well as her feminism. According to Sibyl, laboring for the homeland and its people is the highest goal an individual can achieve, and persons (of either gender) should serve the nation according to their abilities. This community-inflected feminism won her acceptance from male writers as one of their own.[449]

In contrast, Dussap's wealthy family, Europeanized upbringing, focus on developing each woman's individual identity, and French husband thrust her into the avant-garde camp as being a liberal, even a radical. Dussap's outspoken, activist feminism earned her the accusation of being less an Armenian woman than a Frenchwoman. To greater numbers of Armenian men and women, Sibyl's efforts at advancing girls' education correlated more with the behavior expected of Armenian women and were thus more likely to maintain conventional Armenian

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[446] Sibyl, "Tikin Srpuhi Dussap Ir Srahin Mej (Mrs Srpuhi Dussap in her Salon)," in *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 179. The entrance of realism into Armenian literature began with the publication of *Arevelk* magazine in 1884, *Masis* also used realist style after this period. *Hayrenik* in 1891 also attended in this group of realist journals. James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843–1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 223.

[447] Jayawardena Kumari, *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World* (London: Zed Books, 1986), 9.

[448] George Bournoutian, *A History of the Armenian People*, Vol II (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1994), 25; Hagop Barsoumian, "The Eastern Question and the Tanzimat Era," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, Volume II*, ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

[449] The definition of romantic nationalism is "the celebration of the nation (defined by its language, history, and cultural character) as an inspiring ideal for artistic expression; and the instrumentalization of that expression in ways of raising the political consciousness", which took shape Europe between 1800 and 1850 and impacted all literature, music, the arts, critical and historical writing. The quote is from Joep Leerssen, "Notes towards a definition of Romantic Nationalism. Romantic," *Journal for the Study of Romanticisms*, 2, 1 (2013): 9–35. See for details: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991); Roger D., Abrahams, "Phantoms of Romantic Nationalism in Folkloristics," *The Journal of American Folklore* 106, no. 419 (1993): 3-37; Hroch, Miroslav, Trencsenyi, Balazs, and Michal Kopecek, *National Romanticism: The Formation of National Movements: Discourses of Collective Identity in Central and Southeast Europe 1770–1945, Volume II (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007).*

culture than did Dussap's forays into French culture, with its open-mindedness regarding love and working to earn one's own living. Although Sibyl followed in the footsteps of Dussap, whose works and intellect she deeply admired, she knew at their first meeting that Dussap's ideas did not accord with her own:

> Mrs. Dussap was the outstanding aspiration of my youth. Her position as an intellectual, educated woman writer engaged my imagination with excited imageries. But because of my shyness, I did not try to reach out to her, [Although] permanently so close to my heart and mind. And it is not shocking that although occasionally I did not quite approve with some of her ideas, I always valued her qualities.[450]

Dussap's role as an intellectual author drew Sibyl to become one as well, but did not draw her to Dussap's perspective. That was so because, according to Sibyl, female education aligns perfectly with the traditional duties of providing jobs for poor girls, preparing them for marriage, and instructing future mothers as transmitters of Armenian culture and developers of an acceptable modern Armenian identity. For her, well-informed women functioned as the prime guides of children in the language of, and love for, the nation. Since women's education and the movement to establish *ashkharhabar* (modern Western Armenian) ran parallel she contributed, as noted, to both by producing textbooks of modern Western Armenian grammar and literature. This nationalistic pedagogy and view of women differentiate her from Dussap, who focused on women's autonomy and individuality, and aimed to help them improve their own status both through her literary works and the SLLS's teaching activities. Looking into the details of the two writers' works illuminates the vast distinctions in their views—a difference Sibyl sensed even as a young admirer.

Like Sibyl, Dussap places her women characters in realistic, challenging situations and brings in other women to help them navigate their destiny. The protagonist of Dussap's first novel, Mayda, struggles with unemployment after her husband dies. Through Mayda's mentor, the author offers solutions to reverse that seemingly irremediable fate. Of course, Dussap here

[450] Sibyl, *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 179.

guides all Armenian women, and continues doing so in her second book, whose heroine Siranush, has completed her education but cannot work, conversely, because of her family's wealth and positions. Only in Dussap's last novel does the main character, Araksia, manage to earn her own keep through the occupation of her dreams, but she confronts societal and financial obstacles she can overcome by sheer resolute devotion to study, teaching, and work—and crowns her success with the attainment of an understanding husband. As noted, Sibyl's novel *A Girl's Heart* touches on the same themes and even incorporates elements from Dussap's Mayda and Siranush: Well-off, well-educated, and well-born like Siranush, Bulbul flees a loveless marriage; her governess enlightens, comforts and encourages her, as Mayda's pen-pal did for her; but Bulbul, like Dussap's Siranush, cannot overcome the male-dominated culture and perish. True, Bulbul has a weak, unconfident personality and Mayda a resistant, ambitious one. But both lose their battle against traditional norms. Even when Bulbul receives the chance to use her skills to make her living, she cannot. And while Siranush always desires to help other girls, her *amira* family's privilege and prestige precludes her working, and she cannot even reach to her educated and supportive lover, Yervant, but must endure a forced marriage to a man as prominent and wealthy as her family.

In her novels *Siranush* and *Araksia* Dussap presents Yervant and Nerses, men who favor women's education, employment, and activity in the public arena. But only in Sibyl's play, *The Bride*, can such a man be found. Still, Sibyl's familial ideal couple here is crucial in delineating her understanding of the new models of Armenian womanhood, marriage, and family structure. In this and most of her works, Sibyl focuses more on the conditions for a healthier and happier married lift than on devotion to the noble goals of, say, Sofia, to teach in the association's provincial schools.

Indeed, Sibyl's archetype of the educated, active, public-minded woman like Bulbul, Sofia, and Aruseak remained narrower than Dussap's depictions of Araksia, Zaruhi and

Siranush. For Dussap, learning not only prepares a girl's heart and mind but also strengthens her will against cultural-religious constraints and gender norms, and in favor of her own feelings, decisions, and aspirations. In contrast, readers did not find Sibyl's characters expressing their individuated desires and ideas, nor did the PAWA count raising girls' self-awareness among its imperatives. Yet although they are less liberal than Dussap's more individualized characters, Sibyl's protagonists sound very progressive in the contemporary context. Aruseak engages in such portrayals to some extent; her characters seem more traditional and generic but generated more popularity among the Armenian women readers. So, it should not surprise that Sibyl won more attentive reception from the contemporary literary world than Dussap. Sibyl focused on preparing young women to be good wives for men who had received a Western-style education in Constantinople or Europe and to be good mothers for the next Armenian generation. Dussap, in contrast, openly criticized Sibyl's representation of the ideal Armenian woman as an educated wife and patriotic citizen:

> It is easy to deduce that women offer a variety of images. Even in our day we notice the childlike woman concerned only with having fun; the immoral women with her profits; the woman at the market with her goods; the virtuous citizen with her family; the student with her books; the noble woman with her titles. When there are such variances among women, how is it decided, I wonder, in what light she should present herself? How do we want to see her? A housewife or student? Slave or free? A woman of society? A citizen? A mother? Is it clear how she should be? No.[451]

This unique depth of Dussap's understanding of Armenian women's liberation distinguishes her from Sibyl, despite the fact that both their approaches tended to similar ends, sought to advance women's social position, and touched on women's freedom, equality, education, sexuality, employment, and citizenship.[452] The new image of the Armenian woman

[451] For translation see: Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 163.

[452] The connection between nationalism (which is one of the major movements of the time) and printing is explained by Anderson. He likened nationalism to kinship, and culture. Those are earlier forms of collective identity, underlined the importance of symbols for political identity and print capitalism as he called it. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* London (New York: Verso, 1991).

(*hay gin*) involved a discourse touching on both nationalism and gender, with each writer questioning traditional social roles but arriving at a different answer.[453] Both are early feminists, although the term "feminism" appears in *Dzaghig's* women's pages only in 1903.[454] Dussap preferred to speak of the *azat gin* (free woman) from early on in her articles.[455] Sibyl first used the term in her article in *Dzaghig* in March 1904.[456] But her earlier published works already embodied her feminist perspective on liberating women to be both traditional and educated.

Comparison of the two writers' literary *oeuvres*, above, reveals that Sibyl opposed women's joining the workforce in public spaces (unless necessary for survival) and did not aim to liberate women sexually, financially, or socially as an end in itself. Indeed, she drew the boundaries of femininity precisely to emphasize its contrast with masculine power and discussed women's agency in patriarchal terms.[457] The works discussed above present her understanding of women's status in the dynamic of family and culture, and what improvements upon it they could and expect and attain through education.

In contrast, Dussap highlighted women's and men's equal capacities, despite women's having been barred from schooling for centuries and remaining dependent on male protection

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[453] In parallel to Dussap's approach, the Ottoman-Turkish activist Fatma Nesibe Hanım of the next generation questioned "What is a woman today? ...Is she more than a tool for pleasure, a child machine, a sweet body?" in her talk during the White Conferences in Constantinople in 1911. Besides the activities of voluntary associations, activist women came together via White Conferences (Beyaz Konferanslar- 1911) to discuss crucial topics of the time such as gender segregation in public transportation and oppressive attitudes on female clothing and Western Feminism. At the White Conferences, the position of women in society was raised and women's problems were discussed from a feminist perspective. Serpil Çakır, *Osmalı Kadın Hareketi* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1994).

[454] Zabel Yeseyan used this world, by adopting the foreign use of simply international feminism in her article series. Zabel Yeseyan, *Nor Gine [The New Woman]*, *Dzaghik*, April 26, 1903, p. 141.

[455] Srpuhi Dussap, "Mayda," *Yerker*, (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981), 18.

[456] Sibyl, "Tardzeal Feminizm *[*Feminism Once More*]*," *Dzaghig,* March 1904, p. 122.

[457] See the method part for the details of Young, emphasizing on women were certainly challenged the culture and values of patriarchy, but they still take those constructed norms into consideration when they initiate change. Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton University Press: Princeton,1990); Yildiz Atasoy, "Governing women's morality: A study of Islamic veiling in Canada," *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 9, 2 (2006): 203-21.

and financing or, far worse, on similarly disadvantaged female relatives. Additionally, Dussap's three novels also fixated squarely on marriage for love and on family life, but depict these not as central but as tangential to the cultivation of a woman's individuality and the development of her greater human interests. According to her, highly educated girls would challenge traditional gender relations in Armenian society and assume new responsibilities in social, economic, and even political life. Armenian women were as talented as their Western counterparts, and only the time-bound view of female education as religiously and culturally inappropriate held them back. Most importantly, she also focused on promoting (as did Sibyl) the updated aim of a love marriage and serving Armenian community, but she expanded her view by encouraging women to participate in society as they desired, as a means of discovering and experiencing their individual, unique happiness.

The details of the literary works of Sibyl and the comparison of the feminist views of these two influential figures assist us to understand the perspective, activities and goals of PAWA even further. I will present in the part below how these literary figures became actual individuals in real life via activities of PAWA.

The Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (PAWA)

Between 1879 and 1893 the organization established itself in Üsküdar, immediately opened a branch in Galata, and had founded four schools in Karin, Hajin, Mush, and Siirt for about 300 students by 1885.[458] Additionally, it operated schools opened by the Patriarchate or other organizations in the provinces. In order to sustain its own schools, the PAWA also launched its own Women's Teacher Training College (*Varjuhinots*, Վարժուհիներ), ensuring employment for its graduates both in its own and other regional schools. In the inactive years

[458] Üsküdar locates it in the Asia Minor sector of Constantinople, versus Galata on the European side. See Figure 1.7 Asia Part of Constantinople. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 172: The region of Constantinople," in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 185.

between 1893 and 1908, fundraising was banned and the schools were closed by the state after the Ottoman-Russian War and the Armenian massacrers of Abdulhamit II.[459] These 15 quiet years ended only on 4 September 1908; with the promulgation of the Ottoman Constitution the association reconstituted itself in a Pera studio at Sibyl's instigation.[460] The PAWA worked until 1914, opening girls' schools between 1908 to 1909 in Mush, Zeytun, and Hajin (east of Cilicia) and orphanages in Cilicia after the Cilicia massacres to save orphan girls' lives in 1909. The association continued launching girls' schools in various locales between 1908 and 1910 to reach a total of 23 and established more *Varjuhinots* colleges as well.[461]

Sibyl had been evaluated by contemporaries as one of the best woman writers of her time, but less so by more recent scholars. She was conventional in her approach, following very closely the trends among many male writers in the capital, including Zohrab and Raffi, which viewed girls as future saviors of the homeland.[462] Indeed, her founding the PAWA on 11 April 1879 in her home in the Semali district of Üsküdar and fueling it for decades with her energy and devotion aimed at nothing less than service to her nation. Zabel Khanjian was only nineteen when she arrived at this idea:

> I invited my eight classmates, who at that time (1879) were the school's graduates. And they came and gathered at our house in Uskudar. All of them wanted to vow to serve their motherland. "We shall open girls' schools in all the Armenian-populated regions and nurture them materially, physically, and morally. In order to improve their physical state, we shall teach them the rules of purity, health, and discipline. We shall teach them

[459] See chapter 1 Education section and Armenian Patriarchate schooling systems for the detail historical background.

[460] A wealthy Europeanized district of Constantinople on the European side of the city.

[461] The locales included Sasun (Shenik Village), Bulanik (Gop Village), Garno Tashd (the village of Otzni) and Ditogh (a village in Erzurum), Hazzo, Garin city of Erzurum (Varjuhinots-Female Teacher Training School), Adana (Elementary and Advanced), Zeytun (primary and higher education), Haji (Elementary and Higher education), Tarsus, Marash, Dort Yol, Hasan Beyli, Anteb, Elbistan, and Talas. The second part of the chapter provides further details about the schools. Please see: Figure 1.10 Armenian Eastern cities. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 164: Armenia on the Eve of the First World War, 1878-1914" in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 180.

[462] "Mer Kin Groghnere" [Our Women Writers] (1905), *Masis* 30 (October 1, l905):472. Yesayian published two poems and one short story in the joumal *Écrits pour l'Art*: "*Mon Enfant*," *Écrits Pour l'Art* (March 1905-February 1906): 65-66; "*La barque*" *Écrits pour l'Art* (March 1905-February 1906): 134-136; and "*Les Mains*" *Écrits Pour l'Art* (Mars 1905-Février 1906): 382-389.

> handicrafts to be able to help their families materially; we shall teach them reading, writing, arithmetic, religion, and history so that they can recognize their duties and rights as a human being and find their niche in the world." The makers of this promise were young girls, and by this the Patriotic Armenian Women's Association was established in April 1879 through the sponsorship of my mother and aunt. At the second session of the association 150 ladies and girls from the suburbs of Constantinople were present—for example, the family of Srpuhi Melkonian, our handicrafts teacher, whose hall was at our disposition throughout the whole year.[463]

Yet creating the PAWA was not Sibyl's first endeavor at structuring an organization. She had established the Association of Contribution (Նպաստամատույց Ընկերություն) in Üsküdar, Yenimahalle, in 1874 with high-school friends.[464] Its aim was to provide stationery supplies to poor girls in the district high school, and it operated for two years until all the core members graduated.[465] Short as it was, setting up and operating the Association of Contribution gave her valuable experience for running one of the long-lasting women's organizations in the period.

The birth of that longer-lived organization, the PAWA, was heralded in *Punch*, which published the first announcement of its establishment on 10 March 1879: "With great appreciation we hear that an Armenian Young Women's Association is being formed in the capital to collect money to donate to the Ararat Association to establish girls' schools in the provinces."[466] An additional announcement appeared in *Punch* some days later, on 14 April 1879: "With great joy we heard [of] an association entitled Auxiliary Young Women's Association of the Ararat Association. This male-organized association formed one subsidiary

[463] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 345.

[464] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 411. Zapel Khanjean Զապէլ Խանճեան, Ardemis Dudean Արտեմիս Տուտեան, Agivline Luftean Ակիւլինէ Լութֆեան, Mari Chbukchean Մառի Ճպուքճեան, Satenig Hachean Սաթենիկ Հաճեան, Diruhi Kalfayean Տիրուհի Գալֆայեան

[465] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 411.

[466] "Armenian Young Women's Association," *Punch*, 1879, no 1357.

female organization called the Aiding Young Ladies Association. We hope that after this kind of inspiration other associations of Armenian ladies and young ladies will be formed."[467] These two jubilant announcements omitted crucial information such as the association's correct title and main aim. Consequently, the association's executive committee soon submitted a letter to the editors of *Punch* which introduced it as the Patriotic Armenian Women's Association and informed them that it included both unmarried and married ladies as members. As an independent association, it aimed to help other organizations providing schools for girls in the East. This corrected notice became the PAWA's first public expression:

> Indeed, there is such a type of formation in Üsküdar; however, not only young ladies, but also married ladies became members of it. This association's name is the Patriotic Armenian Women's Association. The association will donate the money it collects not only to the Ararat Association, but also eventually to the School-Loving Eastern and to the Cilician Associations to establish schools for females in the eastern regions where these two organizations operate. Schools should be established also for the feminine gender in those provinces which fall within the bounds of all three of those associations. Thus this Association is not an auxiliary union, but an independent association, the purpose of which is to enlighten the feminine gender. Already quite encouraged by its undertaking, the Association has conducted a number of meetings and has a further meeting this upcoming Friday.
> Executive Committee
> Secretary: Srpuhi Alyanakian
> Chairperson: Z. Y. Khanjian
> 16th April 1879, in Üsküdar[468]

This piece functions as the PAWA's declaration of independence from its assumed status as another group's auxiliary. The 13 articles of its first bylaws appeared in *Punch* in May 1879 and in *Efkâr* magazine the following month.[469] At the beginning of June 1879, the PAWA already founded branches in various quarters of Constantinople and more distant places.[470] As its activities grew more complex and extended, it had to expand its bylaws. So, in 1880 the

[467] "Auxiliary Young Women's Association," Punch, 14th of April of 1879, no 1357.

[468] "Letter from Patriotic Armenian Women's Association," *Punch* 1879, no 1366.

[469] "Bylaws," *Tercüman-ı Efkâr*, 1879, no 567.

[470] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 347.

PAWA published a new set of bylaws with 24 articles and 32 internal bylaw articles. Given its continual expansion into new branches and school activities, in 1884 the association followed Article 21 of its Basic Rules to expand its current operations and plan new ones in the region. On this occasion the PAWA compiled seven special articles pertaining to the form and scale of its assistance programs.[471] The main articles of the first set of bylaws cover the association's purpose, structure, subscription details, distinction between members and subscribers, and the subscription fees:[472]

> 1. The purpose of this Patriotic Association is to assist in the instruction of the female gender of the Armenian nation.
> 2. This Association possesses two assemblies, one general and the other executive.
> 3. The General Assembly consists of all the members; it gathers once every three months at a designated location and hears the administration's trimester report to the Executive Assembly.
> 4. The General Assembly examines and confirms income and expenditure.
> 5. The General Assembly regulates the means of achieving the Association's purposes.
> 6. The General Assembly assigns the Executive Assembly to implement those.
> 7. The office bearers of the General Assembly consist of three chairpersons and three secretaries.
> 8. The members of the General Assembly are elected for one year and can be re-elected again after their term expires.
> 9. The Executive Council consists of one chairman, two secretaries, two treasurers, and two bookkeepers elected to those offices by the General Assembly.
> 10. Every member is obliged to pay at least one month's subscription.
> 11. The monthly subscription is one silver kurush.
> 12. Whoever requests to receive a brochure of the activities of the Association must pay at least one month's subscription.
> 13. Subscribers do not have the right to participate in the Association's activities but do receive the bulletin of its annual activities.

The PAWA's first administration was comprised of Zabel Khanjian as chair and Elisapet Segposian as secretary.[473] The association had one office in Üsküdar (on the Asian side of Constantinople) and one in Galata (Galatia, on the city's European side). In Üsküdar,

[471] "Extended Bylaws," *Punch*, 1884, no 1887.

[472] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 347.

[473] *Masis*, 1879, no 1379.

the house of Kurkjibashi (Kürkçübaşı) with the address of 321, next to the Selamiye Karakolu on Selamiye Street, was the meeting place for the General Assembly.[474] On the European side, members met in the room of the School-Loving Eastern Association in the Noradungean Khan (mall), number 11.[475] The fact that the PAWA possessed a location on each main division of Constantinople proves the magnitude of its activities, membership, and outreach plans even at the outset. The PAWA also established branches outside Constantinople: in Garin (Erzurum) in 1880; Erzincan in 1881; Ruschuk and Izmir in 1882-1883; Bursa and Adrianople (Edirne) in 1884; Rhodosto (capital of Thrace) in 1890; and Adapazar in 1913.[476] In this way, the PAWA differed from the SLLS. The SLLS established an auxiliary union that had its own bylaws to run its only school in Constantinople but did not aim to open branches outside of the city and kept only one additional branch in Constantinople on the European side. In contrast, as noted, PAWA operations and locales expanded vastly throughout the Empire and the PAWA kept its own bylaws as one form, only adding seven articles to the original ones, so that all its branches followed the same bylaws.[477]

At the association's second gathering, which probably took place on 12 April, 150 single and married women attended. During the meeting the founder, Zabel Khanjian, held forth, her speech providing valuable details both about the association and her ideology vis-à-vis the purpose of women's education.[478] Sibyl talks about beneficence as living in one's heart, which invites immortality. She acknowledges the fact that her listeners already alleviate poverty with material aid. But points out their missing moral support for Armenians suffering

[474] "Gathering Announcement," *Punch*, 1879, no 1356.

[475] *Masis*, 1879, no 1349

[476] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 354.

[477] *Punch*, 1884, number 1887.

[478] See the appendix 1 for full speech translation.

hardship and oppression, arguing that if every Armenian lady had done her "moral duty [even] in part," none in the provinces would lack enlightenment or funds:

> Beneficence means living in one's heart and living in one's heart means immortality. We must train ourselves to do good. What is beneficence? Helping the weak and alleviating poverty. Poverty and weakness comprise two different types: material and moral. I am sure and know that all of you have helped and are helping the destitute materially, according to your ability. But I think that few will be found among us who can place their hand on their heart and say, "I have done my duty for every Armenian woman."[479]

Her appeal then analyzes why women do not act on their desire to do good and concludes that they dismiss their true power—the power illustrated by Judith, Esther, Joan of Arc, and the noble ladies of Armenia mentioned by Yegishe—from fear of others' mockery and from fear they are incapable of completing such a massive project. So, in adopting those virtuous ladies as models, her audience should have the courage of their convictions to do the most ambitious deeds:

> Let us work, so as not to be indebted to the nation and humanity. Let us work so that our provincial sisters receive light, let us work to save our homeland, let us work so that the female gender gains a place, a position in humanity.

Clearly, while a writer, Sibyl was also an activist, and knew that girls in the provinces needed more than the touching poems contemporary writers typically offered. She reminds members that all great projects demand effort, time, and many laborers, be they male or female. Most importantly, she invites her audience to act as heroines to save the homeland. To do so she stresses two points: Women have the power and the duty to become involved. Here Sibyl focuses on the development of the nation as a whole and not of women as individuals, and reminds them of traditional Armenian values, not those of a particular class or personal interests. Her speech, then, perfectly exemplifies the PAWA's educational strategy: unifying urban ladies with their provincial sisters through women's general cultural awakening.

[479] See full text of author's translation and the Armenian original in the appendix 1.

Similarly to Sibyl's approach, Benedict Anderson identified synchronous identification with geographically dispersed others as a powerful force in advancing a national cause and community creation through stressing shared cultural characteristics like language, religion, and ethnic origin.[480] Moreover, he emphasized the impact of nationalist discourse in distinguishing two groups: an "us" composed of insiders, differentiated from a "them" outside that core. Although, as he states, members of the group do not know each other personally, they gather around common cultural characteristics by communicating, primarily through the periodical press. He highlights the link between language and literature as central symbols of national unity and identity.[481] It is easy to see the community-based mechanism of Sibyl's call for action, and the source of her concern for the nation-wide adoption and dissemination of Western Armenian language and literature. Indeed, her affection for the Armenian language and her insistence on the connection between her audience and their "provincial sisters" aligns with Anderson's description of nationalism. Additionally, the PAWA's explicit title already exemplifies Igor Primoratz's definition of patriotism as "love of one's country, identification with it, and special concern for its well-being and that of compatriots."[482] The PAWA's tireless endeavors in girls' and women's education were directly linked to the elevation—the very salvation—of the Armenian nation. Sibyl's understanding of nationalism, then, aligns with that of Primoratz: love of one's country and desire to uplift compatriots' status and lives.

[480] Benedict Anderson explains nation as imagined community, it is because the members of the nation, even the smallest ones, would never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991), 6 - 7.

[481] His explanation of the link between construction of nationalism and print culture does not include the role of women in reformulating national identity. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 1991).

[482] Igor Primoratz, *Patriotism: Philosophical and Political Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p.45.

Indeed, the PAWA consciously aimed to unite the nation through affinities constructed on common values, religion, and ethnic origin and delivered by modern Armenian women.[483] Additionally, as Sibyl later explained, she inaugurated the PAWA in order to eradicate penury and ignorance from the rural Armenian population, a statement which confirms Marco Van Leeuwen's characterization of urban women's philanthropic activities as fighting poverty.[484] One of the PAWA's main *raisons d'être* was to provide poor girls with writing and reading materials and clothing. Especially during its second stage, the PAWA also assisted girls orphaned in the 1909 massacres in Adana and Cilicia.[485] Both the educational activities and the protecting of the nation's orphans derived from the role of organizations to cultivate and preserve the Armenian community's ethno-cultural identity—a mission that loomed large in this and parallel nineteenth-century programs of other ethnic groups in the Empire.[486] Since mothers were viewed as educators and socializers of their children, women's organizations were considered the best propagators of culture.[487] Indeed, these associations functioned as educational and cultural centers for the nation. Father Eprem Boghosian of the Mkhitarist Congregation in Vienna elaborates on this in what remains the most comprehensive work on the history of Western Armenian cultural associations:

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[483] However, outside forces shaped Armenian nationalist movement differently: Western Armenian nationalism based in Constantinople influenced by French and Italian thought, and Western nationalism. The Eastern Armenian nationalism influenced by Russian and German thought, whereas Madras and Calcutta group were influenced by American and English nationalism ideas. Although, the process started from three different geographies, it continued from Western and Eastern parts, which divided the nation into two parts in terms of language, literature, and political ideology as Western Armenian, language and literature versus Eastern Armenian language, language and literature. Although, there are common grounds for both parties, the differences were obvious. See for further information:

[484] Marco H.D. van Leeuwen, *Mutual Insurance 1550-2015: From Guild Welfare and Friendly Societies to Contemporary Micro-Insurers* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 98.

[485] Minasyan, Arpik. *Sibyl*, Yerevan: Yerevani Hamalsarani Hradaragchutiun, 1980. (In Armenian), p. 8.

[486] Previous chapters discussed the impact of the Zartonk movement, the Renaissance generation, and the Armenian Constitution on creating this identity.

[487] Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860* (Red Globe Press, 1985), 109.

> The word culture has a versatile meaning. It means the refinement and perfection of men from an intellectual, moral, and aesthetic point of view. The meaning of the word in our upcoming study is taken in the context of its intellectual-educational significance. Therefore, the cultural associations mentioned in it refer to the concept of scholarship, or better, to educational projects.[488]

The PAWA's agenda raised awareness of women's social and educational needs by insisting that female and national advancement were intertwined, since the mother transmits to the child its first identification with the homeland. Cemal Kafadar pursued the point: "One is not necessarily born into a people; one may also become of a people, within a socially constructed dialectic of inclusions and exclusions."[489] As he stated, socially constructed bonds make the individual's identity. Although everyone is born into a race, each is brought into a nation, especially a nation-state. This idea leads to the conclusion that national identity is by definition socially constructed, as legitimize their allegiance by referring to characteristics they share with that community. So the constructed quality of nationality mandates educating girls and women as the prime shapers of the future community. Yet it also carries a risk, since education provides girls opportunities by removing them from the bonds of tradition—those community characteristic Armenian women might learn to *re*shape. But the essential truth remained that without providing women the power to change some aspects of the culture, no part of it would be transmitted. Certainly, after their education, young women could find jobs as teachers, librarians, or nurses, as well as participate in PAWA activities. By doing so they would acquire greater agency to direct their life and impact others around them as caretakers of the family, educators of their children, and bearers of Armenian customs. But in doing so they might perceive themselves not as fulfilled but as circumscribed by their roles. That is, the weight of uplifting the entire nation might shape their identity and future, but at the same time

[488] Translation is taken from Rita Vorperian, "A Feminist Reading of Krikor Zohrab," (PhD diss., UCLA, 1999), p. 30, The original text is from Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), p. 3.

[489] Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds; The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995) 27.

this duty leaves little energy for self-development and individual aims. Dussap and the SLLS attempted to resolve precisely these internal contradictions in the PAWA's outlook.

As a practical strategy, though, both organizations curried religious leaders' favor. Like the SLLS, the PAWA sought the approval of the Armenian Patriarchate, the highest cultural and religious institution in the Armenian millet. To do so, they appealed for acknowledgement by the Patriarchate, and received Patriarch Nerses Archbishop Varjabedian's warm reply:[490]

> To the newly sprouted Association of Patriotic Armenian Women,
> I was very pleased to receive your gracious letter in union with the paradise of the fatherland [the Eastern provinces] concerning the advance in instruction of the daughters of Armenia who are of the same age and blood as you. Your example would guide all the women and young girls of our nation. Hopefully, they would select an important task and field of cultivation and career of virtue like you, namely the education of Armenian children. I beseech the Lord to assist you and encourage you and grant you the abundant fruit of St. Hripsime, and bless your efforts, and may you all be confirmed by the Lord. And may the Spirit of grace be with you that you shine like stars and become like the unfading flower of our homeland, adorning our ancestors' paradise most beautifully, to the consolation both of Armenia and me.
> 30 May, 1879, Beykoz
> Prayerfully, N. E.[491]

The Patriarchate praised especially their devotion to girls' schooling in the eastern regions. Similarly, the Catholicos of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Ejmiadzin also sent his blessing, published in *Masis* on 23 October 1879.[492] Both the PAWA and the SLLS, then, angled for recognition and acceptance by all religious institutions in the Constantinople community.

PAWA Finances

After receiving moral support from community and religious leaders, the PAWA's focus turned to fundraising. Significant amounts of the organization's income derived from

[490] Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian (1837-1884) worked between 1870s-1880s. He was elected Catholicos of all Armenians in 1884 but could not work due to poor health. However, he assisted the Armenian United Society, which shaped the educational organizations council for Armenians, and he was one of the main founders of the Getronagan School in Constantinople in 1886.

[491] See for both the message and the answer. *Masis*, 1879, no 2341, p.13.

[492] "Blessing," *Masis,* on 23 October 1879, no 2492, p.25.

subscribers' fees, donations, and member-organized events. Membership fees flowed in from many supporters: By June 1879, just two months after its founding, the number of subscribers reached 1,500.[493] Some subscribers donated proceeds from their own events.[494] For example, in the autumn of 1879 Elbis Yesayatian (1843-1922), the first Armenian woman editor of Gitar-the first Ottoman-Armenian women's magazine-, published her book, *Letters to Armenian Women Who Love Reading*, and designated all proceeds to the PAWA.[495] Srpuhi Yegitsyanits, founder of the Tiflis Benevolent Society of Armenian Women, contributed a grant from her society's first profits.[496] Not only women but men as well funded association activities. The famous painter Hovhannes Ayvazovsky (1817-1900) of Feodosia on the Crimea opened a bank account in the name of the PAWA and contributed an annual subvention, the interest from which amounted to 100 francs.[497] Sibyl's electrifying speeches jumpstarted the association's expansion and elicited monies and materials not just from members but from other organizations, private donors, and overseas Armenians: The Armenian Community of Vienna provided paper goods for the schools the association planned to open, and made financial contributions in 1880.[498] In fact, so many items were received from donors that the association organized a giant sweepstakes for them in 1882. Gifts on display included not only small-value items like bags, silk handkerchiefs, and books, but also precious ones such as gold earrings, carpets, and large needlework tapestries.[499]

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[493] "Subscribers of PAWA," *Punch*, 1879, no 1385.

[494] *Punch*, 1879, no 1371.

[495] *Masis*, 1879, no 2499-2500.

[496] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 339.

[497] He also provided funds for the SLLS. Hovhannes Aivazovsky was the famous painter of the time, his focus was the marine art, produced around 6000 paintings. He has various painting in Dolmabahce Place in Istanbul. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 347.

[498] "Donor Armenians from Oversea," *Punch*, 1880, no 1466.

Educational Activities and Schools

All these funds were used to support the PAWA's educational activities in the provinces. Intending to teach poor but brilliant provincial village girls to advance the nation's future, the organization set out to open schools in the most distant corners of Cilicia and the eastern regions such as Karin and Hajin. Indeed, the PAWA opened four schools consecutively in its first six years. As soon as branches were established in Constantinople, they immediately extended their activities to serve poor, needy, and bright village girls. After all the preparations, fundraisings, recognition by religious leaders, and securing the assistance of the men's Armenian United Association, the PAWA launched its first provincial school in December 1880 in the small town of Kasaba, Kügakatak, in the Kgii region (a district of Karin).[500] This school had a four-year curriculum with two preparatory courses, and on opening enrolled 99 girls, only two of whom would graduate in 1884.[501] This small showing might have stemmed from age differences among the pupils, but no list of the dropout rate exists. It does suggest the limited commitment of regional families to girls' schooling; they might send their daughters to these schools for a short period of time in hopes of receiving some benefits, but they did not seem committed to having the girls complete their schooling. The PAWA set up its second school in Hajin, in Cilicia, on 22 May 1881 with 71 students.[502] This facility offered three preparatory courses followed by three more advanced ones. On 16 November 1883, the association succeeded in starting its third school, this one in Mush, with 81 girls, offering one basic and three higher-level courses.[503] After submitting a special application, the PAWA

[499] See for the details of the event: *Tercüman-ı Efk*âr, 1882, no 1378.

[500] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), p. 339.

[501] *Masis*, 1880, no 2730, and *Masis,* 1881, no 2739.

[502] See Figure 1.10 Armenian Eastern cities. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 164: Armenia on the Eve of the First World War, 1878-1914" in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 180.

[503] "The PAWA's new school," *Tercüman-ı Efk*âr, 1883, no 1633.

received approval for a girls' school established by the Patriarchate as a church neighborhood school in Erzincan on 1 November 1884, where 163 pupils followed a curriculum of one preparatory and five advanced courses. The PAWA continued its impressive endeavors in 1885, opening a school in Siirt (Sgert) close to the Syrian border with a dense Syrian (Süryani) population.[504] A little later the same year the association founded its fifth school in the town of Perri, Charsancak, in the Dersim region.[505] It carefully planted its facilities based on regional needs and anticipated welcome, as many of these locations, such as Mush, Erzincan, and Siirt are larger cities in the Eastern provinces with a high population density of Armenians.[506] In addition to its activities in the East, at the beginning of 1881 the PAWA opened a classroom nearer home, in the Selimiye Library of the Education-Loving Association in Constantinople (Տիկնանց Կրթասիրաց Միություն).[507]

So many launches in so little time demanded more funds and more trained teachers. Thus, the organization established Women's Teacher Training Colleges (*Varjuhinots* (Վարժուհինոց) whose graduates would serve in elementary schools of the surrounding towns, even if those schools belonged to other organizations.[508] The SLLS also began *Varjuhinots* to train instructors at the same time. Clearly, the great demand for female teachers ensured that well-trained graduates of these colleges would be employed. Although both the

[504] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 349.

[505] Çarsancak Kazası, (Զարսանճազի Բերրի Գիւղաքաղաք) is around the Dersim region. Dersim bölgesinin kuzeydoğunda Palu sınırına kadar büyük bir kısmını oluşturmaktaydı.

[506] Please see Figure 1.10 Armenian Eastern cities. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 164: Armenia on the Eve of the First World War, 1878-1914" in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 180.

[507] *Masis*, 1881, no 2803, and *Tercüman-ı Efk*âr, 1883, no 1021; Example one includes the Education-Loving Women's Association in Bebek region of Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 286.

[508] "Women's Teacher Training Colleges," *Zhamanag*, Constantinople, 1881, no 1770, p.59.

PAWA and the SLLS worked on opening teacher-training institutions for the new provincial schools, it is noteworthy that PAWA schools in the eastern provinces vastly outnumbered those of the SLLS, which focused on its Constantinople college and expanded to the East only in its second period of operations, after having stabilized the college and set up an Auxiliary Union.

Until 1893 the PAWA continued its diligent efforts to advance Armenian girls' learning. However, momentous events seemed to conspire against their work: The first Constitution (I. Meşrutiyet), promulgated on 23 December 1876, reduced the sultan's power by establishing a parliament; and the Bulgarian uprising on May 1876 and the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878) interrupted the reforms and led Sultan Abdülhamid II to adjourn the Assembly for an indeterminate period on 14 February 1878. None of these itself ended the organization's activities. The turning-point came as the Sasun revolt ended with massacres of Armenians from August to September of 1894.[509] After this massive killing of civilians, the Greco-Turkish war erupted in 1897 and the turmoil of the period lasted until the acceptance of the Second Constitution in 1908. All fundraising activities had been banned in the Empire, and schools had been closed in the East until the recognition of the second Constitution. In 1893, as the PAWA could not fulfill its provincially-centered goals, it settled its final expenses and deposited 150 gold coins in the Patriarchate coffers in hopes of better days.

The PAWA's Second Phase of Operation

The association was resuscitated in a Pera studio on 4 September 1908 after the announcement of the Second Constitution. The widespread empathy of the Armenian community for the association's aims matched the wild enthusiasm of its members. New,

[509] The violence that began between the Armenian villagers of Talori, high in the Sasun mountains, and Kurdish nomads from the Bekranlı and Badikanlı tribes, ended up with the involvement of the State. This atrocity resulted from lack of the implementation of Article 61 of the Treaty of Berlin: "The Sublime Porte engages to carry out without further delay the ameliorations and reforms which are called for by local needs in the provinces inhabited by Armenians, and to guarantee their security against the Circassians and the Kurds. It will give information periodically of the measures taken for this purpose to the Powers, who will watch over the execution of them." Owen Miller, "Rethinking the Violence in the Sasun Mountains (1893-1894)," *Études arméniennes contemporaines*, 10 (2018): 97-123.

richly-supported branches sprang up in Constantinople, the eastern part of the Empire. Although little information exists regarding funding sources, the fact that the PAWA opened over 30 schools in various locations in this period suggests very strongly that it had many subscribers, members, and donors, even more than the first period. Additionally, the number of women's organizations flourish after the second Constitution in the Empire and some of these organizations assisted PAWA. For example, the Young Ladies' Union, formed in Pera in late 1908 at the initiative of Marinos Istanbolluyan and Adine Donelian, aided the PAWA. These two founders of the YLU organized a day-long event on their own initiative and using their personal means and transferred a significant sum to the PAWA.[510] Moreover, fundraising activities continued during this period, one example, as discussed previously, Sibyl co-authored the play *Magnet* with Alexander Panosian, had it performed as a fundraiser in 1909, and sold copies for five kurush to enable PAWA activities.[511]

Political and social conditions had by now ameliorated sufficiently to open schools. And the PAWA had gained considerable experience operating multiple facilities and assigning them reliable administrators. Already in the first year (1908-1909), girls' schools were established in Mush, Zeytun, and Hajin (east of Cilicia). Isguhi Chitjian in Mush, Zaruhi Peshdimaljian in Zeytun, and Nerses V. Tanielian in Hajin served excellently as school principals.[512] But hardly had the association recommenced operations when disaster struck in Cilicia. Beginning with the Adana massacre in 1909, the association undertook supervision of girls' orphanages in Cilicia. Adana, reduced to ruins, became the object of particular attention,

[510] See: The Administrative Structure and the Members' Names of the Association: Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 349.

[511] The brief information about the theater script mentioned previously in the chapter as: Vehanush is a member of PAWA; Armenian homebody Arsine, is admirer of patriotic works of Vehanush. Arsine devotes her life to her mom and fiancé, versus Vehanush devotes her life to Armenian sisters on Cilicia, and her work. She was the mother of the nation, that is why she could not marry but devoted her life to orphans. Unmarried women could work and devote their life to nation.

[512] See Figure 1.10, Armenian Eastern cities. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 164: Armenia on the Eve of the First World War, 1878-1914" in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 180.

leading to the appointment of Arshakuhi Teodik to gather the unfortunate orphan girls one by one.[513] She assembled them in the PAWA school, selected women teachers for them, oversaw all arrangements, and left only after a worthy replacement for her had been assigned. The association reached out to more regions after the massacrers, such as Marash, Dort Yol (Dört Yol), Antep, Hasan Beyli, and Hajin by sending them books, paper goods, and materials for needlework and by appointing principals and other administrators. The association distributed to the Adana orphanage materials to open a school for orphan girls, donated by the Makrıköy Women's Association for Orphan Care in Constantinople, and monies from the charity fund of the Melkonian Brothers' factory.[514]

As urban women, PAWA members felt a sense of responsibility for rural girls, who, they hoped, would carry love of their nation in their hearts as they grew up, despite the destruction and dislocation. Mrs. Arshaguhi Teodik echoes Sibyl's perspective and the PAWA's teaching policies: "The PAWA opened these schools in Cilicia so that Armenian girls would love both their language and race."[515] In a 1909 speech at a Constantinople gathering of the PAWA, Sibyl vows one more time that their only endeavors is to reach those sisters in the regions:

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[513] Արշակուհի Թեոդիկ, 1875–1922, social worker, educator, and author. She began her career as a writer in the journal *Dzaghig* (Flower). After her return, she published a short book *A Month in Cilicia* in 1910, which affords detailed information on her experience during her service. Rita Soulahian Kuyumjian, *Teotig: Biography & Monument* (Yerevan: Taderon Press of Gomidas Institute, 2010), 243.

[514] The Melkonian brothers owned the second-largest tobacco enterprise in Egypt at the time. Armenian Women and Ladies Association of Orphans Care - Հայ Որբախնամ Օժանդակ Տիկնանց և Օրիորդաց Միություն in Beşiktaş (1918), This is another organization that established in order to protect, educate, train the orphans, See for details: Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 177. Father Eprem Bogosyian mentions that there was a group portrait of all the pupils in the Association's schools for orphans that were published in the Association's biannual booklet published in 1911 in Constantinople. The new General Assembly elected the following leadership in 1910. These names include: The Divan of the General Assembly: Chairperson: Mrs Sezerin Dr Sahbaz, Vice Chairperson Mrs Aruziak, Secretary Miss Adrine Donerian, Vice Secretary Miss Aleksi Kalpakian-Executive Assembly: Secretary Mrs Hayganush Mark, Vice Secretary Miss Ozeni Azerian, Treasurer Mrs Paris Acemian, Accountant Mrs Louise Lazerian, Advisor Mrs Apeknas, Advisor Tashci. H. Yakor.

[515] Arshakuhi Teodik, *Amis Me i Kilikia* (Constantinople: V and H Der Nersesian, 1910), 77.

> Until our last breath, we are going to work for our provincial sisters. We are going to raise them; we are going to give them a worthy position. We are going to train our future generations to serve their sisters and, in turn, they will learn to love their urban sisters. It is through mutual responsibility towards each other that the new forms will be recognized in the lands of the East: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice.[516]

Sibyl uses the patriotic language of the French Revolution, *liberté, égalité, fraternit*é, to define the task of urban women: to be fraternal partners so that sisters in poor regions could be free, and equal to them. The urban woman's duty to her village sisters derived not only from being women but also from being Armenian. In this speech, as in the early one discussed above, Sibyl cites examples of high-achieving women of the past like Sahakdukht (sister of Stepanos Siunetsi), who founded a music school in the eighth century, and Miss Shushan from the prominent Pahlavuni family, who also established schools in rural Armenia.[517]

During its second period, the PAWA responded not only to the challenge of orphan care but also to the crucial problem of training teachers for its flourishing schools, establishing its own Women's Teacher Training Colleges (*Varjuhinots*: Վարժուհինց). An early example of *Varjuhinots* had been designated for Tarsus but was later relocated to more central Garin (Erzurum). The association's request was sent to the oversight committee of the Sanassarian College (Սանասարեան վարժարան), which permitted its instructors to lecture in the planned facility and helped it with funds.[518] After initially training teachers in this Sanassarian

[516] Language is part of the daily life, worlds like discourse, women empowering, Liberty –azadutiun- equality – havasarutiun- fraternity –yeghpayrutiun- appeared increasingly in Armenian journals at this period as a result of the impact of French Revolution. Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003), 83. The original text is from Sibyl, *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 161.

[517] Pahlavuni family (Պահլավունի) was an Armenian noble family from the 10th century as a branch of the Kamsarakan blood. Sahakadukht, who lived in the eighth century. She not only wrote, but also composed and taught music. Stepanos Siunetsi was a medieval author and translator, and an important figure of the Armenian Church, born in 688. Stepanos' sister, Sahakdukht, was a teacher and the first Armenian female composer. She taught children and composed church hymns. *Sharakans are called for the* Church hymns and chants. Sibyl, "Azganver Hayuhi," *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 161.

[518] Sanassarian College was the well-known high school in Garin (Erzurum), established in 1881 by the wealthy merchant Migirtich Sanassarian. This was a men's college with a nine-year curriculum—a high-grade education with instruction by foreign-trained teachers. The Heritage of Armenian Literature: From the eighteenth century

College, the PAWA opened its own teacher-training facility in 1910 in the building Hripsimyiank Academy in Garin (Erzurum), which put one of the floors at the PAWA's disposal.[519] The student body was formed of graduates from the Hripsimyiank School and 30 young women from surrounding villages who had agreed to work in the association's schools.[520] Kevork Apulyan chose and directed the teaching staff of eight men and four women.[521] This school is a unique example of collaboration between the association and a provincial men's school.

Figure 3.2. Teacher Training School, Garin, 1910. At Houshamadyan org, 09.06.2021.

Acknowledging the unexpectedly positive results of the PAWA school's first year, the council of the Adana quarter entrusted its girls' school to the association under a five-year contract.[522] This shows that the PAWA received the full approval and trust of the community.

to modern times By Agop Jack Hacikyan, Gabriel Basmajian, and Edward S. Franchuk, *The Heritage of Armenian Literature* (Wayne State Univ, 2005), 337.

[519] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 359.

[520] There were many Hripsimyiank School in different regions, it is significant to mention the similarity of the names. One of the first schools for girls was the Hripsimyiank School of Smyrna that opened in 1840, later Yerevan's Hripsimyiank School in 1850, in Karin (Erzurum) location opened in the late 1860s.

[521] He was one of the major teachers of the Sanasaryan School: S.V. Bogosyan, "Erzurum Okullar Tarihi," *Sosyal Bilimler Habercisi Dergisi* (Yerevan, 1992), 67-74.

[522] "School of Cilicia," *Masis*, 1909, no 3103, p76.

Thanks to the support not only from Cilicia region, but also others, activities continued more intensely than ever. From the PAWA's reconstitution in 1908 to the fall of 1910, it opened girls' schools in Mush (elementary and advanced), Sasun (Shenik Village), Bulanik (Gop Village), Garno Tashd (Otzni Village), Ditogh (in the environs of Garin), Hazzo, Garin, Erzurum (the *Varjuhinots* or Female Teacher Training School), Adana (elementary and advanced), Zeytun (primary and higher), Haji (elementary and higher), Tarsus, Marash, Dort Yol, Hasan Beyli, Anteb, Elbistan, and Talas—a grand total of 23 schools.[523] In 1914, the Constantinople *Zhamanag* (*Time*) newspaper gave further information on the range of PAWA facilities:

> After it was founded in 1879, the Armenian Patriotic Women's Association maintained ten schools for over fifteen years in the provinces, while from 1908 to 1914 it possessed thirty-nine schools. Its annual expense was 2000 gold coins. In Constantinople it had 390 subscribers to the Association from whom it collected 200 gold coins to cover that shortfall. The Association was compelled to raise funds or collect money by throwing a party and awaiting a contribution from its branches. The newspaper emphasizes that the Association had much to accomplish, since there were no schools in many parts of Armenia and Cilicia.[524]

Such expansion obviously required continuous support. Patriarch Zaven lent his voice to elicit donations from the community. In an encyclical he encouraged Armenians to direct their generosity to the PAWA, established to facilitate the dissemination of academic and technical training, noting that its enterprise had already yielded and continued to produce astounding harvests. Not surprisingly, in the report for 1908 to 1910, the total expenses reached 122,695 kurush while the reserve amount was approximately 234,407 kurush. Unfortunately, no later financial information exists.[525]

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[523] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 359.

[524] See Figure 1.3 The image on the left shows the exchange rate of kurush to gold coin, and the image on the right shows the silver to gold coin ratio. Tolga Akkaya, "The Evolution of Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1922" (MA thesis, Bilkent University, 1999), 89; "A report of the Armenian Patriotic Women's Association," *Zhamanak*, 1914, no 1796.

[525] "Earnings of the PAWA," *Masis, 1914,* no 1861.

PAWA activities came to an end in 1915 when, in the context of World War I, Armenians suffered widespread deportation, massacre and dispersal around the world.[526] The PAWA once again disbanded and, as mentioned, handed over its possessions to the Patriarch as head of the Armenian millet. At the end of the war in March 1919, Patriarch Zaven persuaded Archbishop Der Yeghiazarian to exhort the association to reconstitute itself because of the desperate need for their activities, but this seems not to have occurred.[527] In its last organized action, members sent a telegram to the wife of President Woodrow Wilson, appealing to her to maintain her empathy towards their nation, whose women and orphans looked to her for their salvation.[528] But neither the president nor his wife nor the many other supposed supporters of Armenia stopped the Ottoman military from taking over Armenian lands and Bolsheviks established Soviet Armenia in 1920s. These political-historical conditions halted the PAWA's existence not only as an association, but as an agency of the nation, and thousands of Armenians had to flee their homeland into an unknown future, which they could only hope would prove better than the present.

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[526] See: Bedross Der Matossian, *Shattered Dreams of Revolution: From Liberty to Violence in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2014; Fatma Müge Göçek, "The Decline of the Ottoman Empire and the Emergence of Greek, Armenian, Turkish, and Arab Nationalisms," in *Social Constructions of Nationalism in the Middle East,* ed. Fatma Müge Göçek (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002),15-84; Nicholas Doumanis, *Before the Nation: Muslim-Christian Coexistence and its Destruction in Late-Ottoman Anatolia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *Armenian Baghesh/Bitlis and Taron/Mush*, (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers Inc., 2001); Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *The Armenian People From Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 2, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); Ronald Grigor Suny, "They Can Live in the Desert but Nowhere Else," *A History of the Armenian Genocide* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015); Suny Grigor, Göçek Fatma Müge and Naimark Norman, eds., *A Question of Genocide: Armenians and Turks at the End of the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[527]Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 346.

[528] After the return from the Paris Conference, May 28, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson (1865-1924 -twenty-eighth president of the US) presented the proposal of an American mandate over Armenia to the Senate. The war conditions in Cilicia, eastern regions, forced Turkish government to sign a treaty with the Allied Powers in the French city of Sèvres which is known as the Treaty of Sèvres on August 10, 1920. President Wilson drawn a map of Armenia based on the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres. See: Mark Malkasian, "The Disintegration of the Armenian Cause in the United States, 1918-1927," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16, no. 3 (1984): 349-65.

Summary

The PAWA's aim to educate and elevate the Armenian community by teaching its girls underwent multiple transformations as Armenian women themselves changed in response to socio-historical events. As the association's core mission, set by Sibyl, sought to teach and train Armenian girls and women in order to advance the nation, primarily in the eastern provinces, the total destruction of that community terminated its activities. Therefore, there could be no institutional continuity for the PAWA, in contract to the SLLS's more pointed focus on women's issues, which inspired it to maintain its own college through dislocation period from Salonica, Marcella, and Rennes after they had to be transferred from Constantinople in 1923.

The powerful cause of women's education shaped ideas about the nation at the same time as it constructed the modern Armenian woman. That construction played an equally essential role in encouraging the Westernization project within the larger context of the Empire. Yet its interpretations by its two most influential figures, Sibyl and Dussap, differed significantly. In all communities within the Empire, women's status had emerged as one of the prime indicators of an ethnic groups' level of modernization. And certainly, for both founders of the primary women's organizations, national progress would evolve only through the contributions of well-informed, skillful and knowledgeable women. Yet for Sibyl the motivation for modernization remained more narrowly nationalistic, whereas for the more liberal Dussap modernization served more to develop women's identity as fully autonomous individuals. The much more numerous PAWA ssupporters believed that the traditionally feminine sphere of home and childcare not only needed, but would fully satisfy, educated wives and mothers as they raised future patriots, and that poor unmarried girls would find similar satisfaction in teaching future generations. Meanwhile, SLLS supporters had already begun to interrogate the traditionalist rationale for educating women and to challenge the supposition

that uplifting the nation could entirely fulfill cultivated women—those very women whose education exposed them to expanded opportunities in the world and in their own bodies and minds.

For both, of course, improving women's status and creating a new feminine image proved pivotal as the Empire embraced Westernization and the Armenian nation strove for self-determination. This new image of *hay gin*, a new Armenian woman, wove together universalistic modernization and particularistic ethnic identity. As persuasive writers and apt manipulators of the press, Sibyl and Dussap drew and redrew this image under the names of different characters, such as Arasug, Zaruhi and Araksia. The PAWA concentrated its efforts on provincial schools and never owned one in Constantinople as did the SLLS. As part of its outreach, it founded many regional branches and thereby inspired local women to duplicate the PAWA as a template for their own organizations, which shared the same aspiration to cultivating girls in order to ensure the Armenian future.

Still, Sibyl's conception of the agency of the ideal new woman appears more limited than that of Dussap. From the outset, Dussap focused on the liberation of the feminine self, on her individual physical, emotional, and intellectual being without reference to national or even social roles. In her estimation, having power over their own lives is the main tool girls should receive from education. In contrast, Sibyl and the PAWA aimed to help women fulfil their socially-constructed role as creators of a nationally-shared identity by unifying and equalizing urban and provincial sisters (*kavarats'i k'uyr*).[529]

In fact, for Sibyl the individual female body signified the nation's birth-giver, and the individual female mind, however cultivated, signified the transmitter of traditional culture to her own or others' offspring. Despite this narrow collectivism, though, the impact of her

[529] The terms *kavarrats'i kuyr* and *yeghpayr* (provincial sister and provincial brother) frequently occur in Sibyl's speeches.

genuine patriotism, energetic love of community, and tireless commitment to her idealistic efforts raised the status of Armenian women of all classes and locales for generations. Thus, members of the association joined her in swearing to labor for the homeland.[530] That is, women trained by either the PAWA or the SLLS worked in the public sphere and gained political and administrative skills such as chairing groups, drafting reports, organizing events, and operating institutions. In this way thousands of Armenian women from highly-educated, wealthy families helped shape and create the century by effectively challenging—if with varying degrees of intention—the patriarchal understanding of gender. As such, Sibyl and the PAWA, as much as Dusssap and SLLS, take their places among the first actors in the Western Armenian feminist movement. The next chapter details the contrasting perspective of Dussap and the SLLS.

[530] Arpik Minasyan, *Sibyl* (Yerevan: Yerevani Hamalsarani Hradaragchutiun, 1980), 8.

Chapter 4

Srpuhi (Vahanyan) Dussap (1841-1901) and the School-Loving Ladies' Society (SLLS, Դպրոցասէր Հայուհեաց Ընկերութիւն – Tbrots'aser Hayuhiats' Ĕngerutiun) in Ortaköy, 1879-1914

> Araksia studied Armenian and then French, but she particularly loved ancient and modern philosophy. She compared, she examined, she thought, and finally that reading helped her, and instead of blindly following established customs, thoughts, and prejudices, she formed within herself a powerful determination and influenced others. She showed people the path where they must proceed. She wanted to have the freedom to think and to work. With that same freedom, however, she wanted the dignity to be able to stand up as a virtuous woman and, despise society's trifles which restricted a girl from thinking, speaking, and secretly loving freedom. She wanted this because humanity is born to enjoy freedom and love.[531]

In her third novel, published in 1887, Srpuhi Dussap presents Araksia as an exemplary educated woman—ethical, honorable, intellectual, and hardworking.[532] She deals forthrightly and gracefully with the situations in which Dussap places her, including the insufficiency of girls' educational curriculum, the challenges for women to find a job after graduation, and social norms against working females. Throughout the novel Araksia questions established customs controlling women in marriage and in society. In the passage above Dussap has Araksia express her ideas of gender equality: that all human beings have the inalienable right to enjoy basic freedoms to learn, think, work, express themselves freely, and love. Not only Araksia but her earlier books' female characters Siranush, Madam Sira, and Zaruhi declare her

[531] Cited by Victoria Rowe, Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 96. For the original text see Srpuhi Dussap, "Araksia Kam Varzuhin," *Yerker* (Erevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981).

[532] See following texts for further information about Srpuhi Dussap; Lerna Ekmekcioglu and Melissa Bilal, *Bir Adalet Feryadı, Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Beş Ermeni Feminist Yazar (1862-1933) [A Cry for Justice: Five Armenian Feminist Writers from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic (1862-1933)]* (Istanbul:Aras Yayincilik, 2006); Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing 1880-1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003); Hasmik Khalapyan, "A Woman's Question and Woman's Movement among Ottoman Armenians, 1875-1914" (PhD Diss. Central European University, 2009. Unpublished); Marie Beylerian, "Tikin Srpuhi Dussapi Mahvan Tarelitsin Artiv [On the Occasion of the First Year Anniversary of Mrs. Srpuhi Dussap's Demise]," *Artemis*, (January 1902):26; Elise Antreassian, "Srpoohi Dussap: The First Armenian Feminist," *Ararat*, (Autumn, 1988): 11; Zabel Esayian, "Nor Gine [The NewWoman]," *Dzaghik* (April 26, 1903): 141.

similar ideas as well. However, Dussap did not want only to declaim but also to act, to give girls tools to guide them in their individual paths. Believing in these universal freedoms and yet in the power of community, Dussap and her supporters wanted active engagement in the process of educating Armenian girls to accomplish their goals—to think and take responsibility for their own lives, along with acquiring marketable skills. For these reasons, a few graduates of the Hripsimyan Girls Academy in Ortaköy came together on May 1, 1879, to establish The School-Loving Ladies' Society (SLLS).[533] This chapter presents that society's educational activities over three periods, 1879-1893, 1908-1914 and 1914-1952, clearly distinguishing it from those of the other main women's organization, the PAWA. This chapter demonstrates how Dussap's organization, established in conformity with her ideas, differed from its prominent counterpart by contrasting Dussap's understanding of feminism with Sibyl's feminist nationalism.

The first section treats Dussap's life and literary works, notably her three main novels, which allows further analysis of her organization's aims and actions. As the chief founder of the organization, Dussap herself, revealed in her background and productions, provides important insight into the sociopolitical atmosphere of the time and the organization's aspirations. This is especially true as she composed the bylaws of the SLLS in its first year and chaired the organization in the second. Therefore, her upbringing, interests, and ideals directly shaped the focus and structure of the organization. The second section reviews details of the SLLS' structure, bylaws, fundraising, branches, and auxiliary union.

Srpuhi (Vahanyan) Dussap

Dussap was born into a wealthy Armenian Catholic family in 1841 in Ortaköy, on the European side of Constantinople. As her father died when she was a year old, she was raised

[533] Mrs. Nazlı Vahan, Mrs Srpuhi Dusab, Miss Takuhi Baltazaryan, Miss Nurig Simeonyan, Miss Baltazeran and Mrs. Zabel Findikliyan (Fındıklian). Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarish Publication, 1957), 247-276.

by her mother, Nazli Vahan (1814-1884). The loss of her father and the impact of that very powerful lady molded Dussap into a vigorous influencer of women in her own right. Significantly, her mother, director of the Armenian Kalfayan Orphanage and the Hamazgiats school, emerges as a convinced advocate for female education.[534] In addition, she had been one of the founders of the St. Hripsimiants girls' school in 1859 and the Charitable Women's Organisation (*Aghkakhnam Tiknants Inkerutiun*) in 1864, of which Dussap became a member.[535] So when Dussap decided to establish her own School-Loving Ladies' Society in 1879, she already possessed a significant degree of close-up observation and experience as a member of her mother's organization. Moreover, in 1869, she married the progressive French musician in the sultan's court, Paul Dussap, who encouraged her pursuits in literature and women's organizations. Her marriage and mothering her two children, Edgar and Dorine, helped fashion her into the influential and Europeanized educator she became.[536]

Not surprisingly, her connection with French culture and society began well before her marriage. She received a French elementary education and subsequently studied classical and modern Armenian with the famous poet Mgrdich Beshiktashlian (1828-1868).[537] In 1864 she

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[534] The Armenian Kalfayan Orphanage (Գալֆաեան Աղջկանց Որբանոց) was established by Srbuhi (Superior) Kalfayan (1822-89) in 1866 in Hasköy. In the 19th century among Ottoman-Armenians, the name "Superior" (Mayrapet) was popular for those older and sparse girls who decided not to get marry, chose a life of nun. Those ladies wore old-fashioned clothing, put mantle on their head, earned their own living and were distinguished from other Armenian women by their regular visits to churches and participation in pilgrimage. Theoretically, they devoted their virginal life to Jesus: in practice their life did not differ from modest single woman life. This uneducated, but spirited and well-established woman launched an orphanage in 1866, which run until 1926. She was a master of embroidery in Hasköy, where she owned a small workplace and made her living. During those years so popular and respectful Srbuhi Galfaeyan had connections with Armenian and foreign elite and received support and encouragement to run an orphanage. For further information see the booklet published for the about The Kalfanian Orphanage see: Srpuhi Mayrapet, *Գալֆաեան Աղջկանց Որբանոցի Ետասգիւղ [Agchiklari Urpanatsi 1866-1926 Kalfayan Girls' Orphanage Booklet of 60th year]*, (Constantinople: Patriatchate Press, 1876)

[535] See Chapter 2 for the details of the Charitable Women's Organisation. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarish Publication, 1957).

[536] Dorine was born in 1870, she had tuberculosis and in order to get medical treatment Dussap and Dorine went to Paris in 1889, but she died in 1891. Losing her daughter at an early age halted her writings later in her carrier. Dussap stopped writing in 1891 until her death of in 1901, at the age of 59.

[537] Մկրտիչ Պէշիկթաշլեան (1828 –1868) a famous poet and theater writer and worked as a teacher in various Armenian schools in Constantinople. He was one of the leading figures of the Romantic Movement in Western

entered the literary world with the publication of her first poem, "*Garun*" (Spring) in the Mkhitarist philological periodical *Pazmaveb (*Բազմավէպ, *Polyhistory*, 1843 to the present); thereafter, she wrote articles in magazines and newspapers.[538] Some of her most influential articles include "The Education of Women" in 1880, "A Few Words on Women's Unemployment" in 1881, and "The Principle of Women Working" that same year.[539] While these appeared in the women's pages of the newspaper *Tercüme-i Efkar, Arakatz*, *Arevelian Mamul*, she also wrote in *Dzaghik*, and *Gitar*, both of which were women's journals that encouraged female contributors on women's issues.[540]

In the nineteenth-century Ottoman world, so impacted by Western Europe, the press played a crucial role in disseminating new ideas and informing the community about voluntary organizations' philanthropic events. Similarly, women writers and editors of all ethnic groups began using their own presses to debate, defend, and document new ideologies and practices. This educational and political tool proved especially influential, and female writers and editors exploited it fully to access the public sphere via their writings. For example, the first Ottoman-Greek women's magazine, *Kipseli*, appeared in 1845, the first Ottoman-Armenian women's magazine, *Gitar*, in 1862, and the first Ottoman-Turkish women's magazine, *Şükûfezar*, in

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Armenian poetry. Example poems include Զբօսանք Հրաւէր ի Մարտ Խոսրովու Մեծի (Khosrov the Great's Call to Battle), Դիւցազունք Հայոց (Armenian Heroes), Ի Նահատակութիւն Վարդանանց (To the Martyrdom of Vardan and his Men).

[538] Pazmaveb (Բազմավէպ) began publication at the Mekhitarist Monastery in San Lazzaro, Venice in 1843. Early focus was on economic-philological, published as biweekly, contributed to the development of Armenology, currenly publishes various topics of theology history, linguistic, bibliograph, artistic, and educational. See: Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 147.

[539] Dussap had always been well aware of the impact of her articles about women's education and employment in various magazines: The Education of Women (Ganants Tasdiaragutiwne), *Arakatz* in 1880, A Few Words on Women's Unemployment (Kani Me Khosk Ganants Ankordzutean Masin), *Tercüme-i Efk*âr in 1881, The Principle of Women Working (Ganants Ashkhadutean Sgzpunke) in *Arevelian Mamul* in 1881. See for details: Sharuryan, A.S. *Srpuhi Dussap,* Yerevan: Yerevani Bedagan Hamalsarani Hradaragchutiun, 1963, p.87.

[540] *Gitar* is the first Armenian women's magazine published only seven numbers in 1862 and *Dzaghig* (1906-1907) the second Armenian women's magazine.

1883—all operated by female editors and writers.[541] Through these periodicals they articulated women's needs and brought their concerns regarding marriage, education, and employment to the stage of public debate as actors.

Besides newspapers and magazines, the most popular literary genre in the Ottoman Empire of the time was the novel, imported from Western Europe.[542] Dussap sensed that magazines and newspapers were transient daily, weekly, or monthly platforms, and hence came to appreciate the longer-lasting power of novels. An additional factor inspiriting her transition to the novel was her target readership, composed of young girls and women. In her writing, style did not have the same priority as did disseminating her ideas to a wider feminine audience. Indeed, her three novels *Mayda* (1883), *Siranush* (1884) and *Araksiya, or the Governess* (1887) constitute a prominent force for feminine agency by illustrating girls' and women's concerns, including arranged marriage, parental authority, lack of economic opportunities, and challenges to receiving education and finding work. Each of the novels focuses on a different issue, yet each heroine fights to achieve equal rights with men, whether in marriage, career, education, or social life.[543] Dussap stated that writing novels was part of her explicit and ethical rejection of tradition, contending that the latter was the primary cause of women's oppression from a lack of education, freedom, and employment. Thus, each novel uncovers a particular

[541] The other Greek-women magazines are *Evridika* (1870-1873) and *Bosporus* (1899-1906). The other Armenian-women magazines are *Dzaghig* (1906-1907) and *Luys* (1907). The first newspaper for Turkish-Ottoman women *Terakki-i Muhadderât*, which was the supplement of *Terakki,* was published by male intellectuals in 1869. Şükûfezar was the first women's journal published by a Turkish woman, Arife, in 1883. Other examples are *Kadın* (*Woman*) in 1908 in Thessaloniki, *Kadınlar Dünyâsı* (Women's World) between 1913 and 1914. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (*Gazette for Ladies*), *Sıyânet* (Protection) in early 1914.

[542] The novel was developed in the mid 18th century but was used by female writers only during the late 19th century. Robert Finn, *The Early Turkish Novel* (Istanbul: 1984); Mary A. Favret, *Romantic Correspondence Women, Politics and the Fiction of Letters* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[543] She received criticism on the topics of wrote in Mayda from Hagop Baronian (1843-1891) in the article published in Dzidzagh (Laugter). In this article, Baronian mentioned it is time to criticize her first novel to prevent future mistakes. See: Hagop Baronian "Aydam" in *Erkeri Zhoghovatsu (Collected Works)*, V.5, (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1965), 275.

facet of her rather radical and often unpopular perspective on women's rights. She responds to her critics with characteristic independence and pointedness:

> I went through a lot of pain because of the social traditional conditions of our feminine Armenian lifestyle. I was hurt, and I objected, and now my disputes are dedicated to writing. My concern is not the quality of my work, nor its criticism. I would follow my conscience's voice, and I am devoted to satisfying my conscience, and that is good enough for me.[544]

Although Dussap here claims that she did not aim to create a perfect literary masterpiece, her novels were some of the most influential works of her time.[545] Dussap's writings and association especially impacted the lives of two demographic groups of young women. One group came from wealthy, educated, urban families, who already aspired to learn and to attend the theatre, balls and lectures, organize tutoring, and meet more freely with friends. Dussap's *salons* in her home welcomed these young Armenian women writers, writers-to-be, and art lovers. She and her musician husband hosted regular gatherings to which Armenian ladies and gentlemen came to enjoy an artistic and intellectual environment. Representing this stratum, Zabel Yesayan (1878-1943) stated that they were trying to find the solution to contemporary women's problems by reading Dussap's writings and participating in her *salons* and her association's activities.[546] The other group Dussap inspired was comprised of hardworking provincial girls. They needed economic freedom to survive and thrive, yet suffered from poverty, illness, and lack of family support. Dussap particularly wished to

[544] Author's translation from Srpuhi Dussap, *Mayda* (Constantinople: V.S. Piwrad Publishing, 1924), 5.

[545] Like contemporaries Beshigtashlian, Demirjibashian, and Bedros Turian, she admired the Romantic writings of Hugo, Sand, Byron, Schiller. James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843-1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 195-212.

[546] Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003), 109. Zabel Yesayan (1878-1943) Զապէլ Եսայեան, a well-known liberal, socialist novelist, writer of articles of social and contemporary interest, and translator of the time. Her work is Zabel Esayian, *Gardens of Silihdar* (Yerevan: Haypethrat, 1959).

improve the lives of such girls, who made up most of the student body in the Constantinople and countryside schools her organization supported.

As noted, Dussap was not only an intellectual opining on feminine education, employment, and social rights. She was also an activist achieving her aims through leadership of her association, successfully educating girls to help them secure jobs and to prepare the brightest of them to teach in schools outside Constantinople.[547] Yet her art certainly imitated her life, and her three novels depict the ideal female character to personify the aims of the SLLS. All the books written after she founded her organization reinforce those goals.

Dussap's Novels

Mayda (1883)

In 1883, at 42, Dussap released *Mayda,* the first novel published by an Ottoman woman.[548] Not only the author's social status but the controversial topics she treated brought it immediate attention from educated readers of both genders in the capital. However, opinion on the book split fairly neatly along gender lines: Male intellectuals, as mentioned, criticized its feminist content harshly and refused to view the novel as remotely representative of Armenian womanhood.[549] On the other hand, her work deeply influenced the thoughts and lives of many of the city's women. Regardless of its divisive reception, then, Dussap's work touched both the literary and social spheres, opening up new conversations about marriage, education, and women's employment. Using the epistolary genre, the book has two women friends exchange letters of such honesty that they challenge accepted notions and endorse new

[547] Anahit Harutiunian, *The Age of Notable Women: Public Activities of Armenian Women in the 19th Century and In Early 20th Century* (Yerevan: Spiritual Armenia, 2005), 47.

[548] The first Ottoman-Turkish woman novelist Fatma Aliye published her first novel Muhâderât (Virtuous Ladies) in 1892.

[549] See for the debates about novel publications and the common topics of the novels: Vahe Oshagan, "Cultural and Literary Awakening of Western Armenians, 1789-1915," in *Armenian Review 36* (Autumn, 1983): 57-70; Victoria Rowe, "Armenian Writers and Women's Rights Discourse in Turn of the Twentieth Century Constantinople," in *Aspasia*, Volume 2 (2008):44-69; Elise Antreassian, "Srpoohi Dussap: The First Armenian Feminist," *Ararat*, (Autumn, 1988): 13.

feminine attitudes and practices within the modernizing Empire, including dress, marriage, and public forays to theaters, balls, and fundraisers of women's organizations.[550] The letters feel intimate and disruptive as they touch not only on women's education and employment but also on feminine desire, partner choice, and the natural (if rarely realized) harmony of the sexes.

In keeping with its eliciting divergent reactions from different groups, the novel depicts the contrasting perspectives of disparate layers of society. The main character, Mayda, represents uneducated women, coming from a middle-class background, while Madame Sire, her advisor, exposes the thoughts of feminists about women's education, entry into the public sphere, and self-esteem. In addition, Mayda's daughter, who is receiving an education with her mother's support, symbolizes the future generation of girls who do not share their mothers' fate.

Nineteenth-century Ottoman women exposed to French language and manners in school or from private tutors were widely attracted to French Romantic novels and, not surprisingly, to Dussap's first example of the epistolary novel in the Empire. Accessing French novels and newspapers opened a channel for young Armenian women to relate what authors depicted to their own lives. The wide readership not just for French novels but for the French press in general produced an interesting type of cultural translation. James Ekmekjian emphasizes the connection between the French and Armenian press by noting that any idea appearing in the former that looked applicable to the local situation soon afterwards made its appearance in Armenian journals, too. Local newspapers were also edited according to French newspapers' style and format.[551] French subjects and authors covered the pages of the *Masis* daily (1852-1908*)*, *Orient* (a daily founded in 1884), and *Fatherland* (a weekly in 1870, then a

[550] See Chapter 1 for the details of social, historical, and political changes of the time.

[551] James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843–1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 179.

daily from 1891).[552] As mentioned, the draw of French Romantic novels on Armenian girls already disturbed male Armenian thinkers. They wrote of the need to counteract the impact of French manners on Armenian girls, to reinforce their religious customs, and thereby to protect Armenian values. For example, Arpi Arpiarian (1852-1908) warned of the alarming sway French Romantic novels exercised on girls' minds: "Zola's books have become too popular among us, especially among girls. Every father whose daughter knows French can find a *Nana* or a *Bête humaine* under the pillow of his chaste daughter…. Our girls' imagination is disturbed by the image of Nana."[553] For men especially, the public exposure of Armenian women's intimate thoughts was an unprecedented experience. Lack of data on Armenian women's personal letters in this period prohibits historians from judging whether they themselves employed the sexualized language of Dussap's characters in *Mayda*.[554] However, the alarm of male intellectuals strongly suggests that *Mayda* seriously threatened traditional Armenian family life in which women were not expected to know much about or have much interest in sex and romance. For example, the famous contemporary satirist Hagop Baronian (1843-1891) wrote an allegorical sketch, "*Aydam,*" in the newspaper *Dzidzagh* (*Laughter*), declaring that his critique of *Mayda*'s shortcomings were intended to prevent subsequent "mistakes" by the

[552]*Masis*, *(*a daily, 1852–1908*)*, *Orient* (a daily founded in 1884), and *Fatherland* (a weekly in 1870, then a daily in 1891). Ekmekjian categorizes 237 titles including articles, short stories, biographies, etc. of Masis from August 4, 1884, to July 27, 1885. The total of forty-eight French titles (Forty-two in French, and 6 translations of articles by Frenchmen) were seven times more numerous than Italian and nine times more than English ones. Among biographies, five were of French authors, two British, one Russian, one German of a total of forty-one poems, nine were translated from French, four Italian, and one the translation of an Italian poem written by an Armenian. Among the twenty-seven short stories published twenty are translations from French authors, while seven appeared in the original. James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843–1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 148.

[553] James Etmekjian, *The French Influence on the Western Armenian Renaissance 1843–1915* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1964), 179. The original quote was published by A. Arpirian, in the article of "A National Outlook" in *Masis*, (Sept 15, 1890), p. 18.

[554] There is no study available on women's letters, particularly private correspondence. Some female magazines include letters section and receive letters from their female subscribers which naturally discuss more general concerns of females of the time, not private problems. See the magazines of *Luys*, *Gitar*, *Tercüman-ı Efkâr*.

writer, Dussap, such as addressing the topic of "freedom in love."[555]

Writers in the magazine *Lenin* also pitilessly criticized Dussap's concept of freedom of love in *Mayda*.[556] Traditional Armenian culture celebrated marriage and childbirth as women's noblest duties. The idea of freedom in love, with the implied superiority of romantic love over merely marital union, countered the traditional depiction of Armenian females as pure and inexperienced. Dussap's freedom in love seemed to contradict the value of a faithful married life. Additionally, the purity and innocence (that is, ignorance of sexuality) Armenian society expected of its women meant they should not harbor feelings for someone other than their husband nor express themselves on such topics. Both these self-restrictions show respect for the authority structure in the home by staying strictly within the boundaries of the private sphere, eschewing public space, and avoiding familiarity with sexuality and love.

However, the epistolary novel effectively relaxed such self-imposed censorship. The genre expressly exposed the heroines' inner life, especially the sexual, to readers. Dussap used this literary tool strategically to pry open narrow traditional Ottoman-Armenian female identity as pure and innocent. In addition, Dussap's concept of pure romantic love had a deeper social risk than even her critics realized. She claimed that if a woman were not happy in, and open about, her private love life, she could not benefit the community: Only after a woman declares her love to her husband or lover can she live freely, and thus help the nation through her actions.[557] Dussap's justification of the freedom to love as key to societal service may have aimed to soften the novel's subversive voice—a ploy which would demonstrate her awareness of its potential unpopularity.

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[555] Hagop Baronian, "Aydam" in *Erkeri Zhoghovatsu (Collected Works)*, v.5, (Yerevan: Armenian Academy of Sciences, 1965), 275.

[556] A. S. Sharourian, *Srpuhi Dussap* (Yerevan: Yerevani Bedagan Hamalsarani Hradaragchutiun 1963), p. 108.

[557] A. S. Sharourian, *Srpuhi Dussap* (Yerevan: Yerevani Bedagan Hamalsarani Hradaragchutiun 1963), p. 108.

Yet she seems to have seen the epistolary style as the least-intimidating literary channel through which she could convey her revolutionary Armenian feminism in this first novel. She strategically employed literary space as a platform to pillory and upend existing cultural norms and to breach the wall constructed between the private and public spheres. Linda Kauffman notes that the epistolary form "subverts conventional dichotomies and explores … transgressions and transformations."[558] That is, epistolary novels functioned as an educational and political venue in which to assemble a large female audience. Feminists also identify the epistolary style as a model for "radical anti-mimetic and profoundly political" expression, which empowered women in both literary and social spheres by expressing women's deepest feelings, thoughts and abilities, thereby refuting traditional male authors' depiction of them.[559] Pursuing a story through letters—and historians should recall that letter-writing and reading then consumed hours of educated women's (and men's) days—connected fiction with real life and introduced the heroines' private lives into public discourse. On this platform, the main characters' voices erased the outside world, effectively dissolving their social-cultural exclusion from public space and time and publicizing their private conversation on women's needs, selfhood, and freedom to choose a husband based on these. Dussap went further: She recorded what had been unspoken except in women's most sequestered spheres. She revealed the doubts, difficulties, and desires of two close friends and opened up to her readers Mayda's intimate identity as a widow and a beloved.

Dussap used the personal and political epistolary world of Madame Sira's letters to Mayda to articulate her valuation of women's freedom to receive education, work, express ideas, and fall in love. The main character in the novel, the widow Mayda, symbolizes the

[558] Linda S. Kauffman, *Discourse of Desire: Gender, Genre, and Epistolary Fictions* (Iltica: Cornell University Press, 1986), 26-27.

[559] Mary A. Favret, *Romantic Correspondence Women, Politics and the Fiction of Letters* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 18.

perfectly conventional Armenian woman. She had deeply loved her husband but cannot confess she could love again. When her husband died, she had to become a stronger, more independent parent to their daughter, but remains terrified living in this world alone with her daughter. At that point Madame Sira, her mentor and correspondent, supports, encourages, and inspires Mayda to begin a new life free of fear or shame. This idealist feminist reveals to Mayda that she could shape her own destiny. In her letters, Madame Sira criticizes women's dependence on men, as well as their lack of education and self-esteem. She bluntly discusses her disdain for inequality and knows Mayda's traditional upbringing and culturally-defined gender norms have guaranteed her passivity: "You do not have a heart to feel, a mind to think, logic to decide, and a will to work."[560] Going further, she advises Mayda to empower herself for autonomy and public life, which has been unattainable under the supervision first of her father and later her husband. She adds that women have been banned from independence and the public sphere to protect the family's honor and to keep them subordinate inside the domestic realm.[561] Madam Sira introduces education and employment as the most important means Mayda has to access freedom (as would any member of the SLLS, of course).

Traditional Armenian gender roles had likewise formed Mayda's conception of proper female-male interaction. Through Madame Sira, Dussap aims to alter this conception and raise Mayda's (and all women's) status by making her trust her own self-awareness: "You have a heart in order to love, a mind in order to think, and a will in order to work. You are free to work."[562] Losing a husband, having to work, and raising her daughter alone look like tragedies, but Madame Sira sees them as opportunities through which Mayda could find her freedom in

[560] Dussap, Srpuhi. *Mayda*. In *Yerger.* Yerevan: Sovedagan Krogh Hradaragchutiun, 1981. p.3.

[561] Dussap, Srpuhi. *Mayda*. In *Yerger.* Yerevan: Sovedagan Krogh Hradaragchutiun, 1981. p.8.

[562] Dussap, Srpuhi. *Mayda*. In *Yerger.* Yerevan: Sovedagan Krogh Hradaragchutiun, 1981. p.12.

labor, fall in love, and express herself. Indeed, throughout the book Madame Sira encourages Mayda to find herself in various ways: to search beyond her socially-constructed identity as a daughter, wife, and mother, and to claim a place in public life through work and through the voice it brings to express herself as an individual.

Clearly, this new portrayal of Armenian femininity dismissed prevailing traditions in family as well as public life. Dussap's writing about the demands on and experiences of women in marriage radically countered established views of appropriate feminine expression and the kinship structure. Her heroines' letters reveal their private and sexual selves and raise the taboo topic of romantic love and female desire for public discussion. For the first time, reading the missives of Dussap's characters gave Armenian women the power to re-envision their own yearnings in family life and intimate relationships. Dussap presented a new model of Armenian femininity by challenging current customs and socially-constructed gender roles.

***Siranush* (1884)**

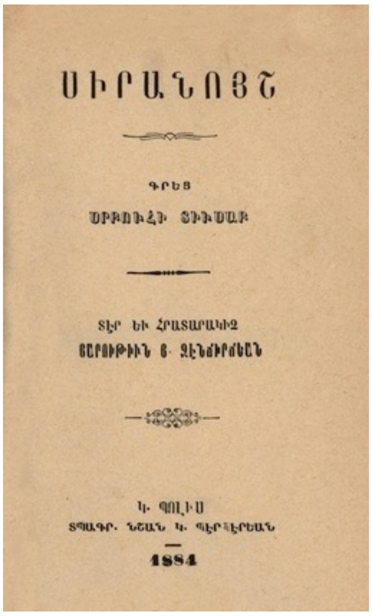

Figure 4.1 Cover of *Siranush*, First Edition.
Courtesy of the Armenian Patriarchate Library Special Collection.

Dussap taps into the provocative topics of romantic love and female sexuality again in her second novel, *Siranush*, named like her first after the main character. Here she explored

women's position in marriage. Like Siranush, Armenian women had little power to choose whom to marry. Parentally-arranged marriages for daughters were commonplace.[563] Yesayian's rebuff of tradition in the 1890s and earlier reveal some bitter truths about the contemporary Armenian community:

> Young individuals who perhaps spoke to each other, exchanged looks, and with feelings of mutual love wanted to marry, but did not have wealth or sufficient income, were considered as dishonourable. I heard of couples who had married for love spoken of with disapproval during my adolescent years.[564]

As Yesayian states, romance was regarded a suspect innovation from Western Europe that weakened and cheapened marriage among Armenian community at the time. Women especially lacked the ability to select their own marriage partner because they also lacked financial, sexual, and educational freedom. However, Dussap believed that the concept of romantic love would create alternatives to the cultural habit of arranged marriage. So she articulates her vision of married equality and emotional companionship through the affection of two characters, Zaruhi and Hrant, who accessed the freedom to love and consequently the ideal life of a happy marriage. This connection of personal emotions to family life was new, tied to the individual woman's interest in and ability to undermine power structures like parental rule. Dussap suggests that love should be available to anyone regardless of gender, that it is a human right, like education, and should be granted to females as well. Dussap makes this point briefly in *Mayda* but expands it here by sketching Siranush's arranged marriage as the cause of her unhappiness and her biological and social infertility, despite her education, talents, and intellect.

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[563] Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Istanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013); Cem Behar and Alan Duben, *Istanbul Households: Marriage, Family and Fertility, 1880-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); George Bournoutian, *A History of the Armenian People,* 2 vols., (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 1994); Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[564] Zabel Yessayan, *The Gardens of Silihdar and Other Writings* (New York: Ashod Press, 1982), 47-128. One of the main characters in the novel falls into that category.

Siranush's clear rejection of arranged marriage constituted a revolt against customary culture and its foundational concepts of marriage, family, and gender roles. Dussap pursues her vision of equality and affection in marriage as the only kind that could bring women personal happiness and independence—and, as noted, allow them to enrich society. As the daughter of an elite *amira*, Siranush could not marry her beloved young artist, Yervand. Prestigious *amira* families dominated the Armenian millet (at least until 1838, when liberal Armenians and guild members demanded access to community governance), and her father, Haynurr, along with her husband, Darehian, embodied their conventional ethos.[565] In contrast to Darehian's wealthy and established position, Yervant was the son of a poor artisan, who received an education abroad and returned to the country to work. However, rich, well-*known* families picked husbands for their daughters only from their own social class. As a girl, Siranush could not oppose her socially prominent, powerful father's wishes, and marries Darehian. Thus, in addition to traditional family structures, her father's authority traps Siranush in his purely materialistic expectation that she had to marry someone from an upper-class family, such as a high-ranking official, and live a life of luxury befitting a queen. Clearly, he did not view her happiness (if he considers it at all) as determined by her relationship with her husband, and even sees his son-in-law's adultery as normal—especially since, as he justified it, for centuries men had lived freely and happily without heeding their wives' concerns. According to him, in fact, happy marriage required complete wifely obedience and devotion, whereas husbands might enjoy themselves without pressure from family or wives. Men's freedom, that is, was boundless and could not be regulated by their wives' wishes as Siranush's father articulated in the novel.

[565] The term Amira originates from the title "Amir" in Arabic, which refers to a chief or commander. Barsoumian mentions that Amira in the Armenian community represented an "honorific [title] which takes wealth, court position and status into account." Hagop L. Barsoumian, *Istanbul'un Ermeni Amiralar Sınıfı* (İstanbul: Aras Yayıncılık, 2013).

Dussap highlights the father's absolute authority over his child's fate. Regardless of Siranush's education, she lived under his conditions. Aynur Demirdilek attests to the limited position of women in Ottoman society: "Let us confess, today a woman lacks the rights to live and be free…. Her life is dominated by a father, a maternal or paternal uncle, a husband or a brother who takes advantage of traditions and customs. It is impossible for her to set a goal or an ideal for herself."[566] Although women may have gained some social status through Ottoman reforms and modernized values, the authority of a father, uncle, brother, or husband, as keepers of financial and other support, reinforced their position as superior. In the novel, both Siranush and her mother are ineffectual in changing their life situations. Siranush's mother mouths advanced views like her daughter's but has no scope for action. Her role as an *amira*'s wife shackles her to the social system and deprives her of agency. She could not alter the decision that her daughter must marry someone she did not love, and is impotently appalled at the idea of adultery by a married man, able only to raise her voice against her husband:

> Men could only have their freedom until they get marry and have a wife. Their wife should become their life-companion, a soul that searches for happiness and mutual love. Not only men, but also women need to focus on their marital state, leaving their longings and imaginings on the side. Adultery makes family agreement impossible.[567]

Her husband regarded women's quest for equality as a new disease infecting the family. For him, women would desire to live in glorious wealth and not pursue equality. Mrs. Haynurr reiterated that a companionable marriage lets spouses share both joy and grief. No matter; she was powerless here as everywhere. Another episode provoked Siranush to raise her own voice, but her outburst was likewise to no avail. Darehian buyed Siranush a diamond ring after she discovered his mistress in her house. Siranush rejected the ring, arguing that he sees her as his

[566] Aynur Demirdirek, *In Pursuit of the Ottoman Women's Movement*, in *Deconstructing Images of the Turkish Woman,* ed., Zehra F. Arat (New York: Palgrave 1999), 74.

[567] Author's translation. Srpuhi Dussap, "Siranush," in *Yerker* (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981).

toy, ignored her honor and her heart, and would never be worthy of taking a place in it. Her desire to make her husband her life's companion diminished because of his lack of respect for her. In rejecting the ring, she also discarded her father's traditional, materialistic misconceptions of marital love. Although Siranush and her mother possessed a modern ideology of marriage as based on companionship, their status in the *amira* class determined their day-to-day destiny.

The only class endowed with self-determination is the intelligentsia emanating from an artisan, middle-class background and receiving sufficient education to attain to respectable positions as lawyers, doctors, or teachers. Dussap locates her prospects for hope and progress in this group. Among this class, brilliance rather than wealth wins equality and independence. For her, this group does not acknowledge a gender hierarchy or the confinements of cultural norms. Exemplary characters of this class are Siranush's lover, Yervant, his sister, Zaruhi, and Zaruhi's husband, Hrant. Yervant represents the modern educated middle-class male. His sister, Zaruhi, acts as a foil for Siranush, presenting her with the new ideal of the married woman. Zaruhi and her husband Hrant share values and, even more importantly, are in love. Not just the similarity of their perceptions but also their commitment to an equal marriage founded on love creates harmony and contrasts sharply with Siranush's loveless marriage, shadowed by her husband's affair and finally destroyed by their opposing values.

As a young girl, Siranush studies history and literature, and dreams of participating in the nation's progress. Her education makes her represent a modern woman, but she still cannot rebel against her uncultivated father, who personifies financial and bureaucratic interests. Neither can she access employment or achieve freedom as does Zaruhi, who started earning an income after an education exactly similar to hers. Yet Zaruhi could teach and translate after graduation, symbolizing the most successful and diligent of the girls in the SLLS schools. While she receives the same education as Siranush, her artisan family does not block her

employment nor her desire to marry Hrant in a true love match. Thus, she becomes Dussap's favourite model of the modern woman.

In addition to education, then, love and support from their family afford women a freedom that facilitates their self-development. Siranush's love for Yervant demonstrates that she is aware of her own character, even if she lacks the power to change customs antithetical to her worldview. Romantic love, for Dussap, then, emerges as a transformative force against oppressive traditional structures; while it cannot by itself break them in their entirety, it can reduce their power in the context of a companionable marriage, and can permit more equal gender and social relations. Siranush's failure to attain romantic love teaches the reader that such a relationship can be realized only with the transformation of gender roles and the norms governing interchange between men and women.

Therefore, in Dussap's understanding, romantic love was bound up with individuals' happiness and independence. Victoria Rowe argues that for Dussap romantic love flowers from a personal emotion, a belief in the moral authority of love which "is located in the soul or self of the individual female character."[568] As Rowe points out, Dussap suggests that love and happiness belong to everyone, not only men, through her use of the gender-neutral term *hoki* (self or soul) to convey her idea of individuality in the novel. According to Dussap, if men have romantic expectations, women should, too. Her idea of love is spontaneous, unexpected, not prearranged—all new concepts for Armenian women.

Siranush's marriage confines her to her house and constrains her heart. That heart belongs to Yervand, and she marries Darehian only because she fears for her mother's wellbeing. She expresses her love to Yervant and claims her husband cannot change her emotions and thoughts, the only things she can control. Siranush's position is not equal to her

[568] Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880–1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003), 189.

husband's. They do not share the same ethnics about sexuality or honor. None of her merits as an educated, progressive, intellectual and modern woman can help her change her destiny. Tradition ruins her life and kills her at the end of the novel. Dussap purposely chose this tragic denouement to demonstrate to the Armenian community that convention would cost their daughters' happiness and lives. Nothing, including providing education, or finding wealthy husbands, will make their girls as genuinely happy as valuing them as persons. And for Dussap, doing that required the abandonment of accepted gender constructions in the Armenian community. At the same time, she offers the promise of a happy future for Armenian society and its womenfolk through Zaruhi's situation. Zaruhi's employment, choice of husband, happy marriage, and individuality should gain acceptance as the new norm for Armenian women.

Dussap strategically confronts each character in the novel with realistic obstacles grills typically encounter on completing their education and suggests ways to resolve them. In parallel, she tried to open up new avenues for girls in SLLSs schools. As she believed and demonstrated in this novel, education should grant young women improved jobs, love marriages, and strong, unique personalities. For this to happen, such skilled and confident young women needed to become acceptable in the Armenian community, lest they suffer as Siranush had. That is why her perspective on young women's individual development clashes so strongly in this novel with Sibyl's understanding of girls' education as perfecting future nurturers of the nation's children. For Dussap, not only education, not only married love, but the free pursuit of individual happiness would let girls serve the nation constructively. In her third novel Dussap delves into another problem awaiting girls after their schooling: finding employment commensurate with the education they had received at the SLLS's schools.

Araksiya, or The Governess

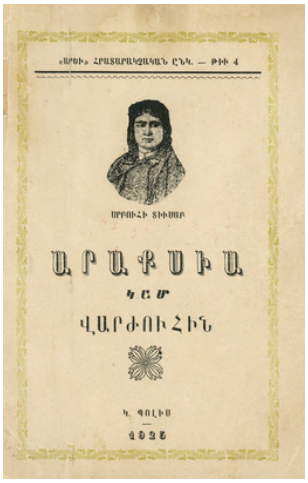

Figure 4.2 Cover of *Araksia*, Second Edition.
Courtesy of the Armenian Patriarchate Library Special Collection.

Dussap's third novel, *Araksiya, or The Governess*, focused less on marital morés or girls' education than on the problems they would face after graduation. Her sensitivity to these looming pitfalls explains why, for her, schooling had to inculcate not just information but personal development, critical thinking, and responsibility for one's choices. Not surprisingly, this novel touts girls' education as allowing access to employment and thereby to financial independence. Yet it explores in greater depth the many struggles female graduates should expect when transitioning from the classroom to the workforce. Dussap dedicates this last novel to her daughter, Dorine, and presents its lessons to her association-sponsored pupils as they complete their studies:

> To my darling Dorine. My daughter, I present you this, my third and maybe final novel. Understand, my child, and begin to love work as Araksia does; always illuminate your mind, trample fearlessly upon social prejudices, be the protector of just causes, be a friend to the fragile and an enemy to oppressors. Reject moral faults, remember your own dignity and the dignity of your sex.[569]

As she articulates in this introduction to the novel, its protagonist represents the model graduate from the schools the SLLS had initiated. Girls should look to Araksia as the embodiment of their aspirations, opportunities, and values. Araksia works as a governess and

[569] Cited by Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 95.

is strong, intelligent, and determined to overcome societal disapproval of females in the workplace. Her problems come from women's social conditions and the resistance to her changing them through work as a teacher in a private home. However, she remains acutely aware of her identity, honor, and dignity all the time, always acting with those virtues to solve these difficulties, and eventually achieves a joyful marriage with a supportive husband—and a job she loves—the reward for her endless striving and upright character.

Araksia's father is physically paralyzed, while her otherwise healthy mother is equally passive through fear of contravening social expectations. She is not liberal enough to seek work outside the house, but instead relies on relatives' support. As an only child, Araksia was expected to and therefore had no option but to work right after graduation as a governess in a respectable family—a common choice out of the very few she had—regardless of her interest or aptitude:

> I have a talent for book-keeping; if social conditions permitted, I would have pursued accounting because I have a particular inclination towards that area, but to my sex, every dream of entering such a career is blocked.[570]

Although being a schoolteacher or private tutor was the most acceptable position for girls, the public, especially in the provinces, greatly opposed it. The report of the Protestant missionary Josephine Coffing in 1864 describes a painful experience of a female administrator at a school in the province of Marash. There she had to struggle against accusations from various families of being a crazy, ugly, monstrous human being. In the end, all the pupils boycotted the school.[571] A different set of problems would beset girls assuming a position as governess to the daughters or sons of wealthy urban families. Although they were not servants, their status was still not well accepted. Sexual mistreatment of domestics in wealthy homes

[570] Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 100. The original text is from Srpuhi Dussap, "Araksia Kam Varzuhin," in *Yerker* (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981), 367.

[571] Barbara Merguerian, "The Beginnings of Secondary Education for Armenian Women: The Armenian Female Seminary in Constantinople," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* vol. 5 (1990–1991): 108-134.

was widely discussed in the press. For example, Zohrab's story *Postal* (*Whore*) describes how such families hired attractive servants to control their sons' sexual escapades. Of course, in the event of pregnancy or, worse, a love affair, the worker was regarded as the guilty party. The concern of Araksia's mother for her daughter's working conditions highlights the problems endemic to such a situation. Fortunately, the family who hired Araksia does not have such a scenario in mind. On the other hand, an innocent conversation with a young male guest in the home causes her to lose her job. Mrs. Abgarian, the lady of the house, portrays Araksia's act as "indecent behavior."[572] This kind of accusation demonstrates how constantly Araksia's (and any girl's) chastity is scrutinized. All her status, education, and morality cannot shield her from such judgmentalism. Araksia's mother voices her anxieties regarding her daughter's marital prospects and, though unspoken, her chastity. In so doing, she verbalizes those same social structures as she considers their impact on her daughter's future family life:

> Won't you feel that if you go to a family to teach that you will have descended to the level of a servant? Don't you think that your living outside your home will affect your social standing? Permit me to speak freely. If you do this, you can dream only of making a poor marriage.[573]

Dussap clearly wishes to present a range of possible difficulties that might plague her graduates. Still, she focuses on Araksia's thoughts, beliefs, and reactions to these difficulties—the only aspects (as Siranush well knew) in her control. She does not paint a rosy picture, but rather examines how Araksia responds to traditional perceptions as she builds her own life. Araksia keeps her pride and principals throughout the difficulties that beset her. Thus, Dussap finally crowns her courage and good character with a wealthy, socially well-positioned husband who applauds her work. This conclusion is no *deus ex machina*; it is carefully planned as the

[572] Srpuhi Dussap, "Araksia Kam Varzuhin," in *Yerker* (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981), 398.

[573] Srpuhi Dussap, "Araksia Kam Varzuhin," in *Yerker* (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981), 367.

natural result of Araksia's status as the ideal Armenian woman, with her education, accomplishments, commitment, and ethical management of trying situations. Therefore, Araksia earns a more favorable destiny than did Mayda or Siranush, whose weaker wills undermined their attempts to prevail over their circumstances. Araksia's education and later employment permits her to meet *Nerses*, who is portrayed as a symbol of the new intellectual man who supports female education and employment, and choses not only a wife, but a partner who can share his thoughts and motivations. As Araksia states, "Employment, instead of humbling me, raised me," foreshadowing this fortunate marriage.[574] The means of accessing employment provides girls with a variety of liberties, including financial independence and a romantic—not an economic—marriage. In similar ways, this situation resembles Zaruhi's education and love marriage. But it is important to recall that in that novel the main character was the unsuccessful Siranush, while in this novel it is the fortunate and deserving Araksia. This transformation underscores Dussap's intentions in educating the Armenian community on how to treat the coming generation of girls.

Through *Araksia, or The Governess*, Dussap underlines the necessity of women's building a strong individual identity and obtaining a solid financial position in order to choose whom to marry. Additionally, she emphasizes that the value of female employment rests not only on one's ability to survive or support a family, but also on their natural, human love for work. This she depicts Araksia's passion for labor as emanating from her internal self, not from external conditions:

> She always hoped to be employed and now she realized her dream. She enjoys the results of her labor of love with such satisfaction now. It seemed to her that she was a new individual who was useful in society, that she could finally say, "I can earn money myself. Because I want to and am able to, I work."[575]

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[574] Srpuhi Dussap, "Araksia Kam Varzuhin," in *Yerker* (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981), 417.

[575] Aurthor's translation. The original text in Armenian from Srpuhi Dussap, "Araksia Kam Varzuhin," in *Yerker* (Yerevan: Sovetakan Grogh Hratarakchutiun, 1981), 393.

Araksia's character exemplifies the purpose, activities, and accomplishments of the SLLS. The expansion of their network of girls' schools together with those of the foreign missionaries, the Armenian Patriarchate, and the other associations prepared girls for socially acceptable positions like hers. In 1878 Armenian women staffed 10 schools in Marash.[576] According to the 1902 survey, of 63 teachers, 54 were men and 9 were women in 22 neighborhood (*azkayin*) schools in Erzinjan.[577] This development helped the Armenian community not only to accept female teachers but ultimately to judge them as better than their male counterparts. Increasingly, families approved of their girls training to become educators. Mary Patrick, principal of the Armenian College for Girls in Constantinople, reported that from 1871 to 1924, eighty percent of their graduates became teachers.[578]

The topics Dussap raised were timely, but at the same time radical. She sought to foster women's personal happiness and productivity as a first, necessary step to their helping the family and nation. Her privilege and training let her express her profound and disruptive ideas openly as the first Ottoman-Armenian woman novelist. Her works fueled the next wave of women authors, including Zabel Asadur (Sibyl), Zabel Yesayian, and Marie Beylerian.[579] Joanna Russ notes that women benefited from such precedents: "Women need models not only to see what ways the literary imagination has been at work on being female, they also need assurances that they could produce art without being second rate."[580] Zabel Yeseyan mentioned

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[576] Barbara Merguerian "The Beginnings of Secondary Education for Armenian Women: The Armenian Female Seminary in Constantinople," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* vol. 5 (1990–1991):113.

[577] *Vidjagatsouyts Kavaragan Azkayin Varjaranats Tourkyo: Badrasdyal Ousoumnagan Khorhrto Azkayin Getronagan Varchoutyan: Dedr B. Vidjag 1901-1902 Darvo* [*Report on Armenian National Schools in Turkey: Prepared for the Educational Council of the National Central Executive: Book B, Report on 1901-1902*], Istanbul, H. Madteosian Press, 1903: 6, 27.

[578] Mary Patrick, *A Bosporus Adventure* (California: Stanford University Press, 1934), 223.

[579] Sibyl writes about Dussap "her renown, intelligence, learning and literary career filled my imagination." Sibyl, "Digin Dussap Ir Srahin Mech (Mrs. Srpuhi Dussap in her salon*),"* in *Yerger* (Yerevan: Hayastan Hradaragchutiun, 1965), 183.

[580] Joanna Russ, *How to Suppress Women's Writing* (University of Texas, 1983), p. 115.

that Dussap inspired her and her friend, Arshakuhi Teodik, to pursue higher education in Europe. In their short meeting, Dussap warned them about the roadblocks confronting Armenian women writers and how they would need to work hard to go beyond the expected levels:

> Our communities regarded it as insufferable that a woman should enter the public sphere and take her place there. In order to overcome obstacles, you have to be above mediocre as a writer. A man can be a mediocre writer, but not a woman.[581]

As noted, Dussap's suggestion comes out of her real experience. Regardless of her intelligence, learning, and literary career, as the section details, she always had to work hard to present herself as the best.[582] In order to guide the community and especially its girls, Dussap exposed the hazards of parental authority, lack of economic independence, and arranged marriage. Women from all social classes could relate personally to her characters by penetrating behind the protagonists' social status to peer into their hearts. In her three novels she contrasted the ideas, life choices, and expectations of modern women with those of traditional women (and men). Perhaps most useful, she explained how women could connect modernity with the community. She presented and praised Armenian women's awakening within the Ottoman forays into reform and modernity. The following section details how the SLLS was established, functioned, and implemented Dussap's ideology through its activities.

The School-Loving Ladies' Society (SLLS) and The Three Periods: 1879-1896, 1908-1915, and 1918-1952

On May 1, 1879, alumnae of the Ortaköy Hripsimian Girls' College joined to establish an women's cultural society, initially named The School-Loving Armenian Ladies' Society and later shortened to The School-Loving Ladies' Society (SLLS) or sometimes simply The

[581] Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 113.

[582] Victoria Rowe, "The New Armenian Woman: Armenian Women's Writing in the Ottoman Empire, 1880–1915," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 2000), 111.

School-Loving Society. The ladies dedicating the SLLS to establishing a college for girls signed themselves as Mrs. Nazlı Vahan, Mrs. Srpuhi Dusab, Miss Takuhi Baltazarian, Lady Nurig SimeonIan, Miss Baltazarian, and Mrs. Zabel Findikliean (Fındıklian). A longer list of names appears in the Association's first-year catalog of subscribers, and an additional list of 37 members styled as "friends" denotes their status as the earliest members.[583]

Significantly, Srpuhi Dussap became Board chair—essentially the president—only in its second year, despite not having been on the Board the previous year.[584] Ironically, her delayed elevation actually reinforces this study's argument that Dussap's ideas on the education, employment, and empowerment of Armenian girls and women profoundly shaped the organization. It is because Dussap spent that first year actively formulating its bylaws that she probably declined an administrative title. The SLLS 1879-1880 Annual Report not only sketched its external and internal regulations, but also described its initial year's schooling activities, fundraising events, and membership statistics.[585] External regulations governed its purpose and the structure of the General Assembly Board and Executive Council; internal regulations laid out voting procedures, rules on addressing a meeting, and relations between the General Assembly Board and the Executive Council. Again, publication of the Annual Report with Dussap listed as a writer strongly suggests that her ability to guide the fledgling organization obviated any need for her to hold an administrative post until the second year.

Dussap's background and character suited her not only to writing but also to activism,

[583] Below are those on its first General Assembly Board and Executive Council (1879-1880):
General Assembly Board: Chairperson - Mrs. Annig Zayan, Deputy Chairperson - Mrs. Pupul Mesteli, Secretary – Miss Lusik Vasilyan, Deputy Secretary – Miss Eranuhi Ashnan
Executive Council: Chairperson - Miss Takuhi Baltazaryan, Secretary - Miss Nurig Simeonyan, Treasurer - Mrs. Husdiane Shahin, Accountant - Miss Sharlot Tushucu, Adviser - Mrs. Diruhi Yesayan, Miss Arushyag Shishmanyan, Miss Pupul Zayan

[584] A new Board directed its second year: General Assembly Board (1880-1881)**,** Chairperson - Mrs. Srbuhi Dusap**,** Deputy Chairperson Miss Sopia Sarafyan**,** Secretary - Miss Lusik Vasilyan**,** Deputy Secretary - Miss Yeranuhi Ashnan.

[585] See the appendix for author's translation of the annual report and bylaws of the SLLS.

as Sibyl's did for her as well, and each drew many hundreds of followers through their organizations. Sibyl's Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (PAWA) was established on 11 April 1879, just 18 days before the SLLS came into being. The proximity of their origins indicates that Sibyl's association probably did not serve as a template for Dussap's, especially since both of these learned and high-status leaders were intimately familiar with the structure of Western women's organizations as well as those established by men in Constantinople.[586]

Although both organizations emerged during the same timeframe and strove to advance Armenian girls' and women's education, employability and socio-economic status, the current work has amply shown how deeply their views of women's role and the rationale for their instruction diverged. Dussap's goal of providing academic and work skills for girls and women did not rest on a larger underlying nationalist motive as did Sibyl's. It centered rather on the need to win women the basic human rights to self-knowledge, self-determination, and personal happiness through education and employment—the prerequisites for, and not the results of, any patriotic service they may do. Dussap's feminist mindset sprang largely from her upbringing, studies, and family life, as discussed. All these advantages and her talents provided the dynamism to spearhead a relentless push for women's equal social and civic participation via SLLS's activities.

This chapter indicates how Dussap's brand of feminism informed the organization. Consequently, it tracks primarily the SLLS's first two phases, when Dussap's ideas stamped its structure, management, educational activities, and fundraising, which includes the workings of its Auxiliary Union. Overall, the SLLS lifespan can be rather neatly divided into three stages punctuated by historical events and its own developmental milestones. The first period lasted

[586] Example women's organizations: Հայ Տրամաթիք Ընկերութիւն Armenian Dramatik Association 1910 in Pera, Ընքատասէր Եղբայրութիւն Brotherhood 1872, in Pangaaltı, Pera, Խնամակալք Ընկերութիւն 1872 in Dolapdere, Pera, Ներսիսեան Ընկերութիւն 1843, Hasköy, Թատերական Ընկերութիւն 1859 Hasköy, Դպրոյասիրաց Սանուց Ընկերութիւն 1864 in Eyüp. The details of each organization and more see: Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarish Publication, 1957).

for 17 years from 1879 until the outbreak of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1896. From its inception the SLLS set fundamental bylaws consisting of 32 articles as well as internal bylaws of the General Assembly consisting of 38 points and published both in its first Annual Report.[587] After its first closure in 1896 right after the Sasun revolt and the Armenian massacres of Abdülhamid II, the society remained in abeyance until the promulgation of the Second Constitution in 1908, after which it functioned for only seven years up to the First World War. The crowning achievement of this second period was the establishment of the School-Loving Ladies' Auxiliary Union on 19 October 1911. The Auxiliary Union had a unique position in possessing its own bylaws and in being entirely devoted to assisting the main society rather than one of its branches. During this period the organization expanded to provincial schools and orphanages and left management of the main girls' college in Constantinople to the Auxiliary Union. The Society's third phase began in 1918 at the end of World War I and culminated in 1952. This chapter also covers its main activities in Constantinople from 1918 to 1922, then the transition from Salonica to Marseilles and the establishment of a new college, and its schooling efforts in Rennes. During the last stage, the SLLS moved its locations a few times until it settled in France. So this last period covered the widest span not only in time but also space, with four different locations: Constantinople, Salonica, Marseilles, and Rennes.

Naturally, not only Dussap's guidance but also the events of the time directly affected SLLS activities, so that each stage displays its own dynamic and contours. Yet the SLLS's unwavering object of advancing Armenian girls' and women's education and job training links the labors undertaken throughout its three periods and proves the aptness of its name, since the organization successfully maintained the school, it established in Constantinople from 1879 to 1952.

[587] See the Appendix 2 for the translation of the bylaws. Full 1879-1880 report.

The SLLS's First Period, 1879-1896

As did many organizations in that era, the SLLS utilized the press to access and cultivate an audience, publicizing its bylaws and events to draw community support. Some Turkish women's organizations even owned their own newspapers, but no Armenian counterpart organization seems to have.[588] Aa a result, the SLLS primarily used the widely recognized *Masis* to promulgate its goals, activities, and letters to the Patriarchate, while intermittently printing information in other magazines and newspapers, including *Aravelk* and *Dzaghigh*. For example, *Masis* announced for the first time the organization's establishment and twin goals: to open private girls' schools conveying academic instruction and handiwork training free of charge, and to train needy Armenian women as provincial teachers.[589] That is, the organization's agenda was to deliver free general education and job-related skills training to girls bereft of other support, and to prepare the brightest of them to teach in the provincial schools they aimed to launch. Clearly stated in the bylaws, men could be subscribers but could not participate in SLLS operations.[590] Thus it publicized the fact that woman would run this organization hundred percent.

After such an announcement, the SLLS needed support, so it sought the ideological

[588] Turkish women's organizations after 1908 especially worked with their own organizations' newspapers. The first women's periodical after the Young Turk Revolution, *Kadın* (*Woman*) in 1908 in Thessaloniki, published information on the activities of several women's organizations such as the *Cemiyet-i Hayriye-i Nisvâniye* (Women's Charitable Organization), the *Osmanlı Kadınları¸ Efkât' Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* (Ottoman Women's Charitable Organization, "Compassion) and the *Kırmızı-Beyaz Kulübü* (Red-White Club). Another, *Kadınlar Dünyâsı*, functioned as a regular bulletin board of *Osmanlı-Türk Kadınları Esirgeme Derneği* and the *Ma'mulât-ı Dâhiliye Istihlâki Kadınlar Cemiyeti* between 1913 and 1914. Some organizations also owned their own publications, for example, *Hanımlara Mahsuˆs Gazete* (*Gazette for Ladies*) was the primary periodical of *Teâli-i Vatan Osmanlı Hanımlar Cemiyeti's*. *Ma'mulât-ı Dâhiliye & Istihlâki Kadınlar Cemiyeti* (Women's Organization for the Consumption of Locally Produced Goods) published its own periodical. Not only Ottoman-Turkish women but other ethnic groups' women—not Armenians', however—focused on periodicals for their organizations especially after 1908. Some of these ones include *Sıyânet* (Protection) in early 1914; *Çerkes Kadınları Teâvün Cemiyeti*; *Diyâne*, bi-weekly and bilingual in Ottoman Turkish and Circassian magazine.

[589] *Masis* on September 1st, 1879 announces as: "A number of noble-minded Armenian ladies formed in Ortakoy with lofty principles a society to give a free education to uneducated Armenian girls, who no one to look after them, and to prepare teachers for the provinces. The official date of the society's foundation is May 1st, 1879."

[590] See the Article 8 from the Appendix 2.

might of religion to bolster its chance of success.[591] Since the Armenian Patriarchate had power over Armenian communities' perceptions, norms, ritual practices, and beliefs, in order to pursue their agenda without resistance the new organization absolutely had to receive the Patriarch's approval. It sent a letter on behalf of their General Assembly to the Patriarch Nerses Archbishop Varjabedian, seeking his blessing.[592] Patriarch Nerses penned a warm reply, and the SLLS published both letters in *Masis*. The missives display the language and sensibility of the time regarding Armenian women's organizations and social status. In particular, the SLLS letter shows its keen awareness of the indispensability of the Patriarch's approval as political and cultural leader of the community:

> Most esteemed venerable Father,
> A School-Loving Ladies' Society decided to form an organization with a view to providing a useful service to the nation. With the intention of opening a school and through it providing a free training/education for poor uneducated girls who do not have anyone to care for them, beginning with this district in Ortakoy, so as also to prepare teachers for the provinces. Having already presented the bylaws it had prepared to the educational counsel, It requires your blessing and oversight to realize its purpose and succeed in its endeavors. Being assured that your blessing will encourage our desire and efforts as well.
> On behalf of the General Assembly
> Chairperson - Annik Y. Zayian
> Secretary- Lusig Vasilian[593]

Shortly after their letter, the Patriarch's lengthy response praised SLLS aims and values, demonstrating the religious institution's support of gendered spaces in which to advance

[591] Michael Mann, in the Sources of Social Power, talks about 4 different types of social power: Ideological, economic, military and political. He describes ideological power as largely extensive but not very intense. Mann believes if someone has the opportunity to exert power in order to get what they want; they will do so. He believes controlled civilisation is necessary for 'collective goals to be attained' so he links the aforementioned premise of organisational social power to institutionalised power by means of laws and norms. The Patriarchate was the highest institution with the laws and ruling towards Armenians in the Empire, more than the State's power. Michael Mann, *The Rise of Classes and Nation-States, 1760–1914* (Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.

[592] Nerses Varjabedian (1837-1884) served as patriarch the 1870s-1880s. He was elected Catholicos of all Armenians in 1884 but was unable to fulfill his obligations in that position because of ill health. He assisted the work of the Armenian United Society and was one of the main founders of the Getronagan School in Constantinople that was launched in 1886.

[593] Author's translation. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 267.

women's virtues and, thereby, the nation. This move improved the organization's status in the Armenian community acknowledging their activities. The Patriarchate responded:

> With a blessing for the noble and honorable ladies of the School-Loving Ladies' Society, I read your beautifully written letter filled with a beautiful patriotic spirit. I am very happy for your endeavor because your purpose is very beneficial, preparing teachers for the provinces—modest and learned teachers of whom the nation is in great need and who are sought after on all sides these days. I am prepared to support you wise, good, and honorable ladies, constantly developing a school for young ladies in your part of town for the last twenty years. Desiring to crown their most honorable activity, displaying their good example in yourselves, you produce fructified seeds that are planted by their hands. Blessed is your sweet fruit, blessed are the hands of your patriotic cultivator; always strive, you will see with your eyes the results of your own devoted work. If the education of the female gender develops in a nation, that nation truly advances. In spirit and heart, I wish that Jesus' wisdom of the Father and his blessed mother, and the unfading flower of the virtue and most luminous stars of Armenia, and most gracious virgins, under the stainless Hripsimiank's protection you have flourished, may be a protection, help, and defense for you.
> Prayerfully,
> Patriarch of Constantinople Nerses Archbishop
> 20 August 1879
> At the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople[594]

The Patriarch's admiration immediately won them acceptance as useful, blessed ladies. In their first two years the association gathered 380 subscribers and multiple sources of private funding to erect a flagship school in Constantinople, which is their primary project; in just three months the SLLS managed to collect 1000 kurush.[595] Equally valuable, Armenian women in many districts of Constantinople expressed interest in operating branches to bolster the SLLS. After increasing its income, the group opened a supplementary branch in Beşiktaş, a district of Constantinople very close to Ortaköy, between 1880 and 1881.[596]

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[594] Author's translation from the original text. "Patriarchate's letter of Blessing," *Masis,* 1879, no 2289.

[595] See Figure 1.3 The image on the left shows the exchange rate of kurush to gold coin, and the image on the right shows the silver to gold coin ratio. Tolga Akkaya, "The Evolution of Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1922" (MA thesis, Bilkent University, 1999), 89.

[596] See Figure 2, the map of the European part of Constantinople, Pera, Hasköy, Kumkapı, Yenikapı. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 171: The city of Constantinople in 1875," in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 185.

To achieve its ultimate purpose, the SLLS had rented a small house in the suburb of Ortaköy and immediately opened its first college in 1879. Members volunteered to teach, and the school began with 20 students. The district leader of the school, Hakob Ashodev, organized its grand opening on 5 November 1879 and accepted donations. My translation below also conveys both the tone of the SLLS appeal and the skill with which it employed the press:

> The School-Loving Ladies' Society is glad to announce that, due to those great-hearted benefactors that contributed to its endeavor, the association is able to partially accomplish its goals and open its first college on the 5th of November in Ortaköy with the blessing of Hakob V. Ashodev, where 20 poor Armenian ladies are able to learn not only their traditional basic subjects, but also learn how to be a valuable citizen of their homeland. On this occasion, the association expresses its deepest appreciation toward those patriotic persons who renovated our college and made every effort to improve the college. Special thanks are due to Tarkmanchats College, which donated the school desks, and Mihran Efendi Michael, who took care of underwear needs, and all other benefactors, who took care of basic needs by donating a large number of pens, pencils, paper, and notepads. How sweet it is to see that there are such noble examples that contribute to the association and the development of our nation.
> On behalf of General Assembly Board
> Takuhi H. Baltazaryan and Chairperson - Nurig Simeonyan[597]

This statement publicizes its wholly traditional aims of teaching girls the basic subjects and, thereby, of creating valuable citizens for the Armenian nation—future nurturers of the next generation. Yet, as demonstrated previously in the analysis of Dussap's novels, the SLLS had far more liberal motivations for educating young women: to ensure their financial, intellectual, and emotional freedom. Clearly, stating such incentives openly would have created a backlash rather than plaudits. So, it portrayed its approach as less about the girls' personal needs and more about those of the nation, the very way that Sibyl's PAWA did quite genuinely. The deliberate display of the names of private donors acts as evidence that the SLLS had many elevated champions well-recognized in Constantinople. And, of course, by publicly honoring donors by name, the organization sought to encourage others to emulate their generosity. For

[597] Author's translation from the original text. Thank-you letter of the Board of Directors published in *Masis* on the twenty-third of November, provides the only extant details. *Masis,* 1879, no 2291, p.6.

all these reasons, the SLLS forayed into the press deliberately and repeatedly, and purposively depicted their inspiration as more traditional than it was.

As mentioned, SLLS administrators successfully sought the Patriarch's approval at their launch. The Board of Directors pursued the same path on opening their first school, and Holy Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian responded with a letter as congratulatory as his first:

> Glad to hear about your college's opening on the fifth of November from the letter dated the 27th of October. If I were not too busy, I would come personally to congratulate and bless your patriotic endeavor. I bless your college's opening with God's protection and innumerable blessings: May your college flourish and be everlasting....[598]

Although Patriarch Nerses Varjabedian was unable to attend to the grand opening, Archbishop Harutiun Vehabedian managed to be there. The association also accepted the blessing of the clerical head of Constantinople's Armenian Catholic community—a point which reminds scholars that the Armenian community was divided among three millets, including Evangelicals, Protestants and Catholics, and their associations would be bent on receiving the good wishes of each.[599]

Throughout its existence the SLLS moved the location of its school several times based on funds, needs and events. The school stayed in its original location until May 1880 but, after especially successful fundraising through balls and exhibitions, the SLLS moved the college into better premises, still in Ortaköy but closer to most of its members' homes. Of course, the primary reason for the move was not convenience, but the fact that the organization did not yet possess a private building in Constantinople. The college now had 35 students, two permanent teachers, and a lecturer. Between 1880 and 1881, the association accepted five boarding

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[598] "Holy Patriarch's Response," *Masis,*1879, no 2295, p.198.

[599] Add here the biggest Protestant and Catholic Church names in Constantinople. The largest Catholic church in Istanbul even today is the St. Anthony of Padua, was built at the beginning of the 20th century, before than Church of St. Peter and Paul. Various groups including Armenian Catholics, Assyrian Catholics, Syrian Catholics, Maronites, the Catholics of Hungary, northern Albania in the Empire was attached to the Roman Catholic Church. The Armenian *Protestants* have three *churches in Constantinople at the time.*

students from Van, Ağın, Geseryan and Geyveyen, as well as 40 afternoon shift students from Constantinople, which put the total number of supported pupils at 45.[600] The SLLS introduced separate regulations for the college management and structure, comprised of five articles, and an agreement with four conditions, both of which it published in its first-year report. Study at the college required two years of preparatory courses and five of general courses. Subjects taught were Armenian language, religious studies, history, geography, French, arithmetic, natural science, calligraphy, drawing, crafts, and sewing.

The SLLS drew on two types of regular income: membership fees (one silver kurush payable monthly, or 12 annually) and private contributions at the local and international level.[601] As noted, in its first two years the association held festivals, signed up 380 subscribers, and received private monies from diverse sources. Once news of its endeavors spread, donations arrived from Karin, Tbilisi and even Manchester in the United States. In the1881-1882 session, honorable male members of the association included Hovhannes Ayvazovsky, Krikor Chilingirian, Hampartzum Ipekciyian, and Haro, as well as women such as Yeranuhi Takvor, Lusia Shabubof, Mariam Horasanciyan, Givla Chilingiryan, Noyemi Kapamaciyean (the daughter of Nubar Pasha), Srpuhi Dusar Bey and Ledi Sidrangford. During the early periods Diruhi Yesayan, Arusyak Shishmanyan, Veron Merhametciyan and especially Nazl (Nazlı) Vahan (mother of Srpuhi Dussap) aided the organization lavishly. Besides money and volunteer time, it took in books and school equipment including desks, tables, and blackboards.

Evidently, fundraising had become an essential source of income. Subscribers and supporters eagerly planned and managed the charitable occasions, such as lectures, theater

[600] See the map from Figure 1.10 for the Armenian Eastern cities. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 164: Armenia on the Eve of the First World War, 1878-1914" in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 180.

[601] See Figure 1.3 The image on the left shows the exchange rate of kurush to gold coin, and the image on the right shows the silver to gold coin ratio. Tolga Akkaya, "The Evolution of Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1922" (MA thesis, Bilkent University, 1999), 89.

performances, balls, art exhibitions, and handicraft bazaars, and their hard work and intelligent planning made these quite profitable. For example, the SLLS first initiated an Armenian Art Exhibition in Constantinople in 1882 organized by Armenian painters and sculptors in Pera.[602] For a later appeal, the SLLS set up a highly effective Ladies' Group to plan a dance in the Gedikpasha Theater and to create gift bags for attendees to distribute at the ball.[603] The Ladies' Group, whose members, social titles, and posts follow, directed this and other festivities and invited speakers, artists, and local personalities to inspire ever more contributions:

Mrs. Noyemzar Shahbaz - Chairperson
Ms. Armaveni Sahagyan – Secretary
Mrs. Agavni PanosIan - Treasurer
Ms. Peruz Mizancian - Accountant
Mrs. Hripsime AramIan - Advisor
Mrs. Verkine BalIan - Advisor
Mrs. Arik KaramanIan - Advisor

These brilliantly staged, Western-style events attracted the attention—and financial support—of the Armenian community. The standard of organization was extremely professional. The women thought through each detail of these events, selecting a board to run them successfully, inviting very well-known community members and artists as speakers, and piquing the attention of the Armenian community with social events in vogue at the time. Significantly, through these events not only did SLLS leaders and members become active in new social spaces, they also brought other women to participate in public arenas traditionally closed to them. Moreover, these activities garnered a significant contribution to the organization's funds. Indeed, with these additional monies the organization could open a

[602] Participants included Ayvazovsgi, Visgan, Enkserciyan, Acemyan, Sinanyan, Damadyan, Nishanyan, Sakizyan, Srabyan (Sırabyan), Asdovadzaduryan, Shashyan, Zobdanyan, and Ms. Servichen added to its sparkle. Europeanized district of Constantinople in the Europe side. See the map of Pera district: Figure 2.1 European part of Constantinople, Pera, Hasköy, Kumkapı, Yenikapı. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 171: The city of Constantinople in 1875," in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 185

[603] The Gedikpaşa Tiyatrosu established in Pera, 1866, demolished 1884 because of the controversial plays that presented. The well-known writers of the period composed various plays for the theatre to be presented. Metin And, *Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu (Turkish Theater during The Constitution) 1908-1923* (Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1971).

supplementary branch in Beşiktaş between 1880 and 1881. The two-year financial report published on 31 July 1881 indicated that, thanks to the fundraisers, the association enjoyed an income of 85,426 kurush, more than offsetting its expenditure of 47,171 kurush to support five boarding students gratis from 1879 to 1881.[604]

In 1889, the college moved to Kumkapı, another Armenian-dominated district in Constantinople.[605] The SLLS celebrated the opening of the new building and 10 years of operation on 2 May 1890. Music began the festivities, followed by college manager Lady Eleonor Baltazarian's speech thanking the members of the association for their hard work. This was followed by speeches from Hagop Kurken, who directed another school in the city, as well as students who spoke about their college experiences.[606] In closing, the Patriarch Archbishop Khoren Narbey expressed his joy at the college's transition to a location where it was most needed.

Hagop Kurken's speech honestly expressed the community's gradually growing confidence in the SLLS. He admitted that, while its history proved its members to be active and their endeavors worthy, the association had not been judged as particularly promising at its inception. Yet 10 years of the organization's vigor and growth, and the 10 schools it ran so successfully, had convinced everyone that the SLLS was effectively solving the fundamental problems of poor Armenian girls' education and daily needs. Using one of the easternmost Imperial provinces of *Muş* (Mush) as an example, he commended the organization's communication and support system reaching to the furthest locations of Armenia:

> Eleven years ago, on 17 June 1879, with the Editor, we visited the newly established college of the Association, which was merely a small house in the midst of the district

[604] See the translation from the report of the Appendix 2.

[605] See the map of Kumkapı from Figure 2.1 European part of Constantinople, Pera, Hasköy, Kumkapı, Yenikapı. Robert H. Hewsen, "Map 171: The city of Constantinople in 1875," in *Armenia a Historical Atlas* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 185.

[606] Hagop Gürgen school of Constantinople opened for boys, for example Vahan Malezian (1871-1966), who was a famous writer, poet and politician was a student at his school.

> of Ortakoy. Ten or fifteen poor students were sitting in front of … desks, and honorable women as well as noble ladies were telling us the sole purpose of founding the college: that they were the only teachers and lecturers right from the start and were the ones who took the responsibility of preparing those students as future teachers for the regions. Honestly, at first, we admired, but had no faith in, those women. That small house, those poor women, and teachers for regions all over Armenia! However, eleven years passed, and the Association, prosperous and successful, is still alive today. In more than ten colleges in the region, the students at School-Loving Ladies' College are accepted as teachers and lecturers, spreading skills and knowledge up to Mush, … [mirroring] the women of the Association: humility, goodness, the spirit of hard work, sustainable education…. Consequently, no one should hesitate to praise the Association for addressing the need for a college…, taking care of this need, and opening the college.[607]

Kurken's reference to the East of the Empire as part of Armenia is worth noticing. Although the SLLS did not embrace Sibyl's nationalist rationale for women's education in the provinces—from the beginning of its establishment, it finally reached out to the eastern areas and provided instruction, financial support, and jobs for Armenian girls and women there. Though their approach differed from that of the PAWA, their establishing girls' schools in the city and later eastern regions powerfully impacted the Armenian community. In fact, according to the SLLS, girls in these regions—like all girls—deserved assistance and education as part of their human rights, not because of their value to Armenian nationhood. Its bylaws, which are in the appendix in detail, stated that it targeted to aid poor girls but attach no specific nationality as a criterion. Certainly, most were Armenian, but given the lack of accurate student data and the diversity in the districts served, some may well have been the disadvantaged daughters of other ethnic groups. Equally certainly, educating Armenian girls would automatically uplift future generations—a truth skillfully deployed in SLLS statements to elicit social and financial support. This explains the reference to these girls as future cultivators of the Armenian nation, which is highlighted several times in the press, and in the organization's speeches and events.

[607] Author's translation. The original text is from Masis cited in Armenian Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 258.

By this point the SLLS had become well-known to the press. Magazines and journals, such as *The Homeland* and *Dzaghigh,* praised its programs for schooling and teacher training. Magazines noted that while men seemed unable to open their own colleges, SLLS women had done so repeatedly and had sent teachers to far-flung locales.[608] They especially highlighted the moral, hard-working upbringing of these lecturers, now dealing with the regions' harsh climate, living situations, and religious and cultural diversity. Life seemed to imitate art as the teachers perfectly exemplified the Araksia character in Dussap's last novel, with their tireless efforts and stringent ethics. The periodicals also emphasized that the Armenian schools in the East needed even more teachers and assistance from the SLLS, whose efforts thus far had reached only the main provinces of Muş, Van, and Cilicia where some *azkayin* schools in the Eastern regions hired the graduates of the SLLS teacher school.[609] This detail proves that the SLLS did not train teachers only for its own schools but worked with other schools in the regions.

The 1892 report updated statistics on students and graduates of the Constantinople school: After 12 years of operation, the college matriculated 110 pupils, 60 of whom attended free of charge, and 12 of whom boarded. Additionally, during the same period the association had prepared 22 teachers, who were dispatched to different regions. By 1895, the SLLS had trained 26 lecturers, having added four graduates to its tally. Further research on specific regions might unearth the numbers of their students and lecturers, but even the totals currently available from only the Constantinople college are already impressive.

The SLLS's continuous growth, accomplishment, and 17 years of hard work suddenly halted in 1896 because of the lack of access to the eastern regions, and safety fears throughout

[608] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 262.

[609] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 265.

the Empire as the same historical conditions that PAWA went though.[610] Advocates made many efforts to re-establish the association and reopen the school. Nevertheless, they found no support from the Patriarchate or the State to relaunch the organization until 1908, with the Second Constitution.

The SLLS's Second Period, 1908-1915

Reborn September 12, 1908, the organization vigorously maintained its activities until 1915, marking its thirty-sixth anniversary on May 1st of that year with a requiem service commemorating its founders. This second phase began with the same vision that had animated the first, but also focused more preparing women teachers for regional colleges since there were many women's organizations at the time operating girls' schools in the regions, but not finding qualified teachers. However, its recognized accomplishments had greatly secured its position so that now the SLLS could reunite not just members and supporters but also graduates and could promote girls' learning with genuine expertise freed of inordinate concerns of funding. By the 1908 relaunch it had numerous middle-class and wealthy followers eager, indeed frantic, to rejoin—even begging the management for the privilege and offering 40 instead of 1 kurush a month subscription fees.[611]

Yet historical conditions had forced the association to recast its fundamental purposes. The Second Constitution ensconced the political and social amelioration of women's position in a number of domains, including education and employment. For the SLLS, however, the state had set up its own Ministry of Education to oversee teaching by missionaries, minority groups, and foreign institutions which the second constitution had encouraged.[612] Now every

[610] See Chapter 1 for the details of historical-political events of the time.

[611] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 266.

[612] I talked about the State's involvement into the educational activities in Chapter 1.

school of any ethnicity had to register with the state so its educational activities could be tracked. The Ministry of Education began working efficiently and created committees to review schools operated by missionaries, foreigners, or private organizations. An incident occurred on 22 December 1909 during a state official's inspection that revealed that the management of the SLLS's only college in Kumkapı had failed to provide documentation to the state. A governmental representative brought a notice from the Ministry of Education stating that if the management did not produce the state franchise for the school's operation, the students would be sent home and the school terminated.[613] The school director immediately approached the Armenian Patriarchate, whose office was closed for a holiday. Next, she informed Hampartzum Murad Boyaciyan (1860-1915), who happened to be at the Patriarchate, of the incident.[614] Murat immediately paid a visit to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and won a delay of the school closure until the requisite documents could be submitted.[615] This incident proves three important points: the seriousness of the state's education regulations; the power of politicians to influence the state; and the Armenian Patriarchate's continued assistance to the SLLS. Another example of the Patriarchate's invaluable approval occurred in 1910, when Patriarch Yeghishe Tourian (1860-1930) specially blessed SLLS operations at the Kumkapı college, reopened two years before, where the organization's previous girls' college reopened in 1908.[616] At this time the association was still renting the school building they had

[613] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 270.

[614] Hampartzum Murad Boyaciyan was a leading political activist of the time. He involved with the activities of Hunchakian party during his school years in Constantinople, and worked as a leader of the Sasun Resistence in 1894. He was selected in the elections of the Ottoman parliament in 1908 and represented Kozan (Sis) region of Adana city. In the new parliament, he was one of the ten Armenian deputies. He was arrested on 24 April of 1915 and was hanged.

[615] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 271.

[616] Եղիշե Դուրյան, was the Apostolic Patriarch of Constantinople between 1909-10 and Patriarch of Jerusalem 1921-29. He was the younger brother of the well-known Armenian poet and playwright Bedros Tourian Պետրոս Դուրեան (1851-1872). He launched a primary school to accommodate the children of refugees in Jerusalem in 1925.

previously owned. A donation of 80,000 kurush in 1911 allowed it to renovate and use the building until it could purchase its own, which it would not happen because of the political historical events of the time in Constantinople. As part of its school program, around 1910 the SLLS composed its own school march and asked the famous composer and violin teacher Harutiun Sinanian to set it to music.[617] While the march has not been preserved, its purpose doubtless paralleled that of marches at Turkish primary and middle schools- even today's Turkey: Students began their day singing it in the playground to be instilled with a sense of discipline and reminded of their national duties.

In addition to the issues of state regulation, the Adana massacres in 1909 reshaped the SLLS's second phase, as the PAWA, prompting it to add schools completely dedicated to girls orphaned by the enormity.[618] For this, even the famed SLLS required extra funds, and would ultimately establish The School-Loving Ladies' Auxiliary Union on 19 October 1911 to respond immediately to the massacres by extending the provision of schools. The launch of the Auxiliary Union was first heralded on the pages of *Puzantion* in July 1911.[619] The newspaper inaccurately announced that the association would operate under a new name and would open its own college soon. Obviously, the journalist did not realize that the SLLS had christened a new support group, not created a parallel institution to itself. In fact, though, the Adana massacres had only accelerated the organization's plans for a fundraising auxiliary, since it was now massively engaged with schools in the provinces and lacked sufficient personnel for their school in Constantinople. Indeed, the association established a new college and trained teachers on the heels of the massacres in Cilicia, leaving management of the School-Loving Ladies'

[617] I don't have access to the sources of the full March. This information is taken by Father Ephem, he claimed that he found information in Vienna Mekhitarist library regarding to the SLLS's school march. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 271.

[618] See Chapter 1 for the details of orphanages activities of women's organizations after the Cilician massacrers.

[619] See the *Puzantion* newspaper from July 11th of 1911.

College in Constantinople to the new Auxiliary Association. The Kumkapı school now flourished as a result of the Auxiliary's systematized coordination with the SLLS and increased donations.

This School-Loving Ladies' Auxiliary Union benefitted the mother organization by caring for the academic, athletic, and daily needs of girls at the college. That lifted a major burden off its budget and freed it to focus on the orphans. The Auxiliary also opened an academic workshop and a library to further women's and girls' development in Constantinople. With the Auxiliary's assistance the SLLS conceived of, and could undertake, a wider mission: not only to educate young Armenians but to prepare them to become teachers and lecturers for schools all over Constantinople and the provinces. The Auxiliary Union's bylaws, published as a brochure, and their actions demonstrate their vital role in elevating SLLS's profile. The bylaws declared the Union's functions as twofold: first, to satisfy the educational requirements of the college through providing a library, science laboratory, and classroom supplies including chalk, desks, and chairs; and second, to send a graduate of the college abroad for thorough pedagogical training.[620]

This Auxiliary expected to extend the range of its activities gradually to satisfy the parent organization's growing expenses. They relied on well-disposed young women to assist in setting up a fair in Kumkapı on 10 March 1912, which realized a profit of 36 pounds (*voski*, Ottoman gold coins) and a matinee for women by the Felakian Minakian Company at the Ferah Theater in Pera in April 1912, which brought in 100 pounds (*voski*).[621] Apart from such affairs, they received subventions from larger organizations: The Armenian General Benevolent

[620] See the appendix 3 for the translation of Auxiliary Union's bylaws.

[621] Ferah was the stage of Osmanlı Dram Company that was directed by Mınakyan. The building was situated in Şehzadebaşı, in number 14 and 16, was built in 1911. "Dram Kumpanyası", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), 291. "Ferah Tiyatrosu," in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi* (İstanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), 297.

Association donated 70 English gold coins annually to the SLLS from 1913 to 1915.[622] As important as finances were it was the delightful, well-run galas organized by the Auxiliary Union that had earned the Armenian public's appreciation and the press's adulation.[623]

Detailed student statistics for the school in Constantinople during this phase are unavailable, but the association marked the graduation of 24 pupils on 29 June, 1914. If this figure reliably indicates an average class size, it suggests that the school taught around 100 girls over its five years of operation until May 1915. However, only some 50 were able to graduate before its early closure. During the festivities, Principal Saruhan handed diplomas to graduates Arshaluys Frunciyian (Fırıncıyan), Mari Bzdikian (Bızdıkyan), Hayguhi Chamchian, Kristine Baronian, Bercuhi Kasbarian, Aghavni Krisdaporian, Mari Baronian, Armine Samancian, Ankine Papazian, Zaruhi Kantarcian, Verzhin Mirician, Hripsime Kazancian, Payline Pogosian, Mari Kazazian, Repeca Suslian (Süslüyan), Hripsime Demircian, Vartanuysh Alemiam, Srpuhi Tumahian, Araksi Gemcian, Hermine Tahtacian, Baydzar Terzian, Valantin Arfalian, Hayguhi Ghazarosian, and Izar Bedrosian.[624]

At its conclusion, Daniel Varuzhan (1884-1915), a famous poet and a principal of St. Gregory The Illuminator School in Constantinople, spoke on the role the graduates would play in the near future.[625] Here, too, the Patriarch was in attendance as at graduation events in the

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[622] Armenian General Benevolent Association was donating 300 gold coins to "United" organization at the same time. (*Hay Parekordzagan Enthanour Miyutoun*- Հայ Բարեգործական Ընդհանուր Միութիւն), the largest Armenian Organization today, established in 1906 in Cairo, Egypt.

[623] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 271.

[624] Names are added here for further study researchers. Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 271.

[625] Դանիէլ Վարուժան, a famous poet, who came to Constantinople for education from his village of Perking (Çayboyu) after 1896 Hamidian massacrers. He later attended Mourad-Rafaelian school of Venice and received a literature education in Belgium. He is one of the example intellectuals who received an education in about and returned to his village for teaching. He taught in his village for a couple of years before becoming a principal of St. Gregory The Illuminator School in Constantinople in 1912. He has four volumes of poetry books: *Shivers* (Սպասուռներ, Venice in 1906), *The Heart of the Race* (Ցեղին սիրտը, Constantinople in 1909), *Pagan Songs* (Հեթանոս երգեր, Constantinople in 1912); *The Song of the Bread* (Հացին երգը, Constantinople, 1921).

SLLS's first period, a courtesy which underscores his institution's continued approval and support. Individual student recitations in Armenian, Turkish, and French indicate that all three languages figured in the curriculum. Promoted as the mother tongue, Modern Western Armenian was the primary language of instruction, especially of girls, as detailed in previous chapters. Yet the inclusion of French illustrates the SLLS perspective as well as Dussap's view of a proper girls' education that fully prepared them for the new century as modern, cultivated Armenian women. In this context, they understood French as crucial in building connections between West and East. Yet Turkish was held to be equally necessary for participation in life outside the home, including at new types of jobs in factories, telegram companies, or state schools as teachers and directors.

In sum, the SLLS's second period, characterized by intensified and further-reaching schooling projects, clearly demonstrates that its members worked diligently and expanded their base of support—all despite new state restrictions and the anti-Armenian atrocities to which they had to respond. After its thirty-sixth anniversary ceremony on 1 May 1915, the SLLS closed precipitously until the cease-fire of 1918.[626]

The SLLS's Third Period, 1918-1952: International Expansion

After a three-year break, the Constantinople college reopened, projects resumed, and a new Executive Council assumed control.[627] But this final period differed enormously from the

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He was expelled and killed by the Young Turks in 1915. Levon Esajanian, *Դանիէլ Վարուժան, կեանքը եւ գործը* (Constantinople: Berberian, 1919).

[626] The Constantinople Agreement (Straits Agreement) March 18 of 1915 was a secret War agreement among Russia, British and French to split up the Empire based on their interest before the occupation attract began. Treaty of Mudros (*Mondros Mütarekesi)* ended Ottoman participation in *World War I,* 30 October 1918. Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanli Tarihi,* Vol. VI (*Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu* Basımevi, 1962); Kemal H. Karpat, ed., *Ottoman Past and Today's Turkey* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000); Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 271.

[627] In 1918, the Council of High Dignities was composed of: Mrs. A. Manugyan – Chairperson, Mrs. K. Servishen - Deputy Chairperson, Mrs. A. Barsamyan – Attorney, Mrs. B. Horasanciyan – Treasurer, Administrative Body: Mrs. A. Boyaciyan – Chairperson, Mrs. K. Horasanciyan – Attorney, Mrs. Y. Rupen – Accountant, Lady Diruhi Muradyan - 2nd Accountant, Advisers - Mrs: Avedisyan, Celal, Doct. Bahcebanyan, Minasyan, Doct. Nazaryan Bey, Kalenderyan, Bahri, Findikliyan (Fındıklıyan), Navasardeyan, Limonciyan, Ladies: Baltazaryan, Kavafyan, Acaryan.

preceding two. Historical and political circumstances forced the organization to move to four different cities in three different countries between 1922 and 1952 after staying in Constantinople from 1918 to 1922. Thus, while this phase parallels the previous two in terms of its operation, goals, and outreach, it demands a separate analysis that lies beyond the bounds of this study since the period's historical, social, and cultural character reconfigured the school's management, funds, and curriculum beyond Dussap's initial directions. Nevertheless, the SSLS's last activities in Constantinople deserve notice, especially the orphanage it opened in Kadıköy and its establishment of a new school in Rennes, France.

The organization eliminated all of its provincial schools in this period to focus solely on its main college in Constantinople. Another exception was newly launched an orphanage that inaugurated in Kadıköy. The facility's grand opening took place on March 30, 1919, presided over by Patriarch Zaven Der Yeghiayan (1868-1947).[628] The orphanage directors expressed their deepest gratitude to all benefactors for donating the building, which housed 250 girls, demonstrating not just the SLLS's financial power but its social footprint as well.[629]

Meanwhile, the number of graduates from the school in Constantinople was growing. Eventually in May 1919, they formed the School-Loving Graduate Association to assist the SLLS administration. In August, the SLLS moved its college to the district of Nişantaşı-Emin Efendi near Pera. Another fundraiser was held by the graduates in February 1920, this one to support the orphanage, and it garnered 3000 gold coins in donations. In 1921 the college relocated again, now to the Arif Paşa Konak (Mansion) on Moda Caddesi Street in the quarter of Kadıköy, where it was visited in November by the poet Hovhannes Tumanyan, President of the Armenian Relief Committee. He afforded the organization's work a commendation in the nationalist vein: "A nation that has institutions like this will never die through sword and

[628] He was the patriarch of Constantinople in 1913.

[629] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 278.

glaive."[630] The acclaim of artists, intellects, and the Patriarchate continued during this stage. But at the same time the Constantinople college experienced all the inconveniences of lacking a building of its own. To fill the gap Murad Boyacian, and Mannig Kocasarian embarked for America on what would prove a most successful campaign: In April 1922 they returned from the United States with $30,000.[631] However, after five years of operation in Constantinople, in the wake of the violence in İzmir in 1922 against minority groups, the organization decided to close its schools and to relocate to Europe for reasons of safety.[632] Rather than seek a permanent location for the Constantinople school, they closed it and moved the entire operation to Europe, expending some of the American donations to defray the heavy relocation costs. The organization sent the remaining $20,000 to the government of Soviet Armenia in 1925 to establish a Ladies' College in Yerevan, which would later be renamed after the revolutionary Stepan Shahumyan (1878-1918).[633]

[630] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 280.

[631] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 281.

[632] Burning of Smyrna, (Զմիւռնիոյ Մեծ Հրդեհ, *Zmyurno Mets Hrdeh)* destroyed much of the city İzmir in September 1922, Turkish troops and defenders began atrocities against the Greek and Armenian population in the city before the outbreak of the fire after Turkish military captured the city on September 9, ended the Greco-Turkish War and Greek occupation in the city since 15 May 1919. The Greek and Armenian quarters of the city destroyed during this fire.

[633] Ստեփան Գևորգի Շահումյան, was a Bolshevik revolutionary and politician, and a leader of the Russian revolution in the Caucasus, received a nickname of the "Caucasian Lenin."

[Figure 4.3 The picture of the Arif Paşa Konak (Mansion) on Moda Caddesi, Courtesy of the Mekhitarist Library archive in Vienna]

Having witnessed the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, the SLLS resettled in a more secure location in Salonica. The orphans were entrusted to the Armenian Relief Committee referred to above and were subsequently transferred to Salonika by Patriarchal decision, where some association members joined them.[634] A new college opened in Salonika for orphans and other students until a malaria epidemic disrupted their studies and necessitated yet another move. The outbreak of malaria necessitated transfer of its operations to Marseilles, where it remained for four years before a final move, this time to Rennes, where it remained until the organization's dissolution.

On its arrival in Rennes, a new administrative body formed with Yevpime Avedisian as chairperson. In the Paris daily *Aujourd'hui* (*Today*), Hovhannes Telian reported that Dikran Khan Kelegian (1867-1951) gifted a building to the association during its years there.[635] In 1932, the college in Rennes celebrated its Golden Jubilee. Starting in 1948, the college transformed itself into a Lyceum, permitting Armenian girls who passed the French

[634] There is no information regarding the names of the numbers of this group.

[635] He was a collector and dealer of Islamic art coming from an Eastern city of Kayseri as a son of an Armenian banker. Marianna Shreve Simpson, "A Gallant Era: Henry Walters, Islamic Art, and the Kelekian Connection," *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 59 (2001): 103–14.

government exam to graduate with the degree of *Pirivée* (private) or *Bashoh* (baccalaureate)—a baccalaureate degree from high school needed to apply to a college.

Although the association's seventy-fifth anniversary fell in 1954, its administration decided to publish its jubilee report in 1952. This summation, which was not fully accessible, offers details of the college's structure, activities, and finances that may be partially augmented from newspaper publications. The report noted that 400,000 francs were raised for the association at its anniversary celebration the previous year in the Maison de la Mutualité in Paris.[636] This money would be well spent, since by 1952 the college accommodated around 80 boarding students, aged nine to twelve, from France and other countries, who followed a curriculum paralleling the French Lyceum program. The staff now included full-time, part-time, and volunteer teachers: Nine French teachers for all levels taught in the morning, while six instructors, four of whom were permanent, taught Armenian language, literature, religion, and geography each afternoon. Girls learned English and Spanish as well, and classes included music, piano, music theory, dancing, drawing, physical education and handicrafts. Once the school had moved to Rennes, it could concentrate purely on educating girls, since closure of the other schools reduced the need for teacher training.

Summary

Despite the changes of place, the SLLS outlived all its counterparts in the Ottoman Empire, adapting to fresh challenges, preparing knowledgeable teachers, training girls from varied backgrounds, and nurturing hundreds of Armenian orphans. Two of its last achievements merit special attention: establishing an orphanage in Constantinople and a school that functioned with the Lycée system in Rennes. The SLLS survived and thrived as long as it did certainly because of the vigor, intelligence, and dedication of its members, contributors,

[636] Eprem P. Bogosyian, *History of Armenian Cultural Institutions*, Volume 1 (Vienna: Mekhitarist Publication, 1957), 286.

and leaders, as was equally true of the PAWA. In addition, both organizations skillfully utilized the popular news media along with the blessings of the Patriarchate. Both organized theater performances, balls, gallery exhibitions and other galas to raise funds, and both enjoyed strong backing from donors and members. Yet the SLLS, largely thanks to Dussap, crafted a highly effective organizational structure, and its consistent nurture of its own college, whether in Constantinople or abroad, fueled its longevity. In contrast, the PAWA never owned a school; pursued programs mostly in the eastern regions; and attracted many more followers but with a conventional, religion-centered approach to teaching. Certainly, the SLLS had extended its presence in the East by educating and assisting orphans, but only after the establishment of its Auxiliary Union and on a temporary basis. Indeed, it outlived the PAWA precisely as a result of its narrower focus and more tightly-structured fundraising arm, complete with bylaws and comprehensive regulations. This strategy proved more sustainable than having two branches in Constantinople, as did the PAWA.

Other differences between the two groups (and their founding muses) factor into the SLLS's longevity. Sibyl gave speeches to swell the number of followers, while Dussap organized elite gatherings in her home for intellectuals, writers, and activists. Sibyl dedicated herself to creating and publishing Modern Armenian grammar books for her schools, while Dussap delved into administrative challenges, herself crafting the SLLS bylaws. Sibyl was perceived as personifying the norm—as an Armenian Everywoman—whereas Dussap appeared as an avant-garde Westernized intellectual who did not represent specifically Armenian as much as universally modern womanhood. Finally, Sibyl contextualized her promotion of Armenian women's cultivation firmly and explicitly within a conventionally religious and nationalistic framework. In contrast, Dussap proposed an underlying egalitarian and individualistic rationale for their advance, which received the window-dressing of nationalism to win the support of more traditional elements of the Armenian community. And

even then, for Dussap service to the nation emerged as the likely result of a woman's individual happiness, not as a primary cause, as in Sibyl's thinking. It may be, then, that the SLLS outlived the PAWA because its more liberal, personal, and Western ideals, as well as its organizational machine, suited the modern age better than the gender-specific, Armenian-centered, and traditionalist approach of Sibyl's group, but also only focus of the main college in Constantinople kept the organization goals and structure more organized.

CONCLUSION

Ottoman-Armenian women maneuvered to exert agency within the cultural, political and religious structures limiting them, and often challenged those power structures. Their relations with power holders were complicated, and they created equally complex strategies for bargaining, demanding, and effecting change. They invented opportunities to make their voices heard, individually and collectively, through various channels of public spaces. Armenian women writers have received most of the attention from scholars for doing so, yet some works written about them fell into the trap of considering only urban figures from the middle and upper classes and ignoring those from rural regions and less-privileged backgrounds. Equally problematic, studies on late-Empire women's emancipation have generally concentrated on Turkish-Ottoman individuals and groups, and thus gave short shrift to the impact of minority women on that phenomenon. This work applies a nuanced appreciation of agency to fill those lacunae by presenting the structure and achievements of Armenian women's organizations in the late nineteenth century. Through these burgeoning associational networks, Armenian-Ottoman women entered public life, and members from social strata who had hardly interacted previously now assembled and collaborated on projects for girls and women yet echoing their traditional involvement in relieving poverty. Thus, by introducing Armenian women's organizations into the discourse and applying the theoretical tool of agency to their actions, this dissertation widens the socio-economic and ethnic framework of the discussion and thereby begins to fill the gaps in the study of late-nineteenth-century Ottoman women's emancipation.

To do so this work has closely examined two contrasting feminist views shaping the eleemosynary and educational activities of two major Armenian women's organizations, the Patriotic Armenian Women's Association (PAWA) and the School-Loving Ladies' Society (SLLS), regarding women's status, instruction, and employment. The first, most dominant, and

more conservative one held that educating girls would produce well-informed wives and mothers who would perform their customary familial duties properly and thereby elevate the nation. Since the nation's future lay in the hands of a new generation, its advance required wise mothers to raise intelligent, moral, capable, and patriotic young people. More educated mothers would also better understand home economics and better maintain their children's health and ethical development. Additionally, their learning would make them more compatible with their husbands, which would help form happy, compatible families such as those Sibyl's theatrical character Aruseak and Dussap's novel character Araksia presented. Church schools, privately funded schools, missionary schools, and some women's voluntarily associations readily shared this view which characterized the approach of Sibyl's PAWA.[637]

The second, more controversial approach to women's status held education to be a human right. Certainly, delivering it to girls and women would advance the entire nation with skilled workers, collaborative mates, and clever mothers. Like the traditionalists, they saw the education of females as bolstering family ties by improving communication between, and aligning the interests of, married couples, who could then discuss important issues together. Yet this second view went far beyond the first, more mainstream one of preparing mothers to run efficient homes and guide children's physical and moral growth. It argued that women could comprehend and intelligently critique political, governmental, cultural and even marital matters—that woman, who, as individuals and not just as familial actors, have the same capacity and right to receive an education—and a satisfying marriage—as men do. Further, it recognized that schooling was the only way women could participate in public life and achieve equality in jobs, marriage, and social position. Most significantly, it embraced women's valuation as individuals, not just in their roles as wives and mothers. While this group agreed that education held the key to national happiness, they insisted that was so only

[637] This approach was adopted by many educational institutions as a pedagogical framework.

because it held the key to each woman's unique personal happiness. It was this more egalitarian and liberal attitude that motivated certain voluntary organizations, most notably the SLLS.

Despite their differences, these two ideologies promoted and transformed opportunities for women through the literary works of their influential respective spokespersons, the writers Sibyl and Dussap, and the activities of the organizations they respectively inspired. Focusing on the pioneers and the projects of the PAWA and the SLLS, which until now have not been analyzed deeply, this dissertation explored first the evolution of late-Imperial education, the workings of contemporary women's organizations, and these particular organizations' activities along with their founders' literary and activist accomplishments.

Chapter 1 demonstrated that extensive socio-economic, political, and cultural transformations were radically changing schooling in the Empire. Exposure to and admiration of Western educational philosophies and the growing might of an urbanized economy, often spearheaded by non-Muslim residents, encouraged the Porte to unify and regularize its unwieldy millet-oriented assortment of learning institutions. Most important to the Armenian community, imperial proponents of modernization attempted to install a nationally consistent system of schools instead of the four entities then providing instruction: the Patriarchate, foreign-based missionaries, the State's own, and women's organizations' schools. Each of these propounded its own understanding of girls' education (not to mention its own religion), so each used different pedological frameworks. Regardless of their distinctions, though, each now sought to ameliorate girls' education, and complied (sometimes creatively) with the newly-initiated school structure.

Chapter 2 examined Armenian women's traditional engagement in charity and philanthropy and explained how their organizations provided assistance to an ever-widening

community during the late-nineteenth and into the early twentieth centuries. The chapter's detailed inventory of Armenian women's organizations, presented in English for the first time, proves that they, just as did Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian and Jewish women's associations, flourished in cities and villages throughout the Empire during this period. This increasing presence of Armenian women's organizations stemmed from both macro-level historical-political changes in the Empire and micro-level socio-cultural ameliorations of women's status in the Armenian community. Regardless of the cause to which they were dedicated—girls' education, orphanages, cultivation of reading and the arts, sartorial modesty, or care for the needy—each association exemplified, and expanded, Armenian women's growing agency.

Chapter 3 delved into Sibyl's literary works and showed how her life-long involvement in female education motivated her to find the PAWA and to write Armenian grammar and literature textbooks. The chapter treats her books, poems, play, speeches, and articles as explanatory of her stamp on the PAWA. Under her tutelage the association opened scores of facilities fostering girls' and women's learning, job skills, and support, occasionally in impoverished cities but primarily in far-flung, sometimes distressed regions.

Chapter 4 examined the central figure of Dussap, her literary works and her impact upon the SLLS. That association holds pride of place as one of the largest and as the longest-lived Armenian women's association in the Empire, enduring communal tragedies and even thriving from 1879 to 1923. In its first year it launched a girls' college in a small house in the center of the Ortaköy district in Constantinople with 20 students, and it continued to strengthen the bodies, minds, and self-knowledge of Ottoman-Armenian girls and women there and elsewhere until 1923. The SLLS furthered its influence by sending graduates as readily-welcomed teachers and lecturers throughout the Empire and in the college's war-driven relocations to Salonica, Marseille, and Rennes.

These four chapters, then, display the activities of women's organizations that improved the employment opportunities, family life, and public status not only of the girls they schooled, but of their members. Despite variances of ideology, the associations molded by Sibyl and Dussap together recast the lives of Armenian girls and women in the cities and in the provinces.

I hope that further studies gather together knowledge of Turkish, Greek, Jewish, Bulgarian, and other ethnicities' women's organizations, and allow scholars to connect the contributions of all to the Ottoman women's emancipation movement. To do so, researchers should keep in mind a number of points. First and most challenging is the paltry amount of evidence of the scope of women's organizations' activities and structures. The main sources of such data are contemporary periodicals and newspapers, and the associations' annual activity reports and bylaws. Some organizations published their bylaws in periodicals and newspapers; others printed a booklet; still others (though fewer) had an affiliated magazine or newspaper. These affiliated periodicals publicized associational meeting dates, places, and minutes as well as income and expense reports; and information on public events such as conferences, exhibitions, lectures, and fundraisers. Especially after the *Cemiyetler Kanunu* (Law of Associations) in 1909, which required that all organizations register and publish their bylaws along with information on their location, headquarters, and structure, organizations used newspapers and magazines more commonly.[638] Thus, more data exists on groups launched after 1908.

[638] There were no published bylaws discovered for Ottoman-Turkish women's associations before 1908. Statues first appeared from the Turkish women's association, *Teâli-i Osmanli Hanımlar Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Ladies' Organization for the Uplifting of the Fatherland). In the case of Armenian women, the first bylaws of the PAWA were published in *Punch*, May 1879, and in the *Efkâr* in 1879, Number 567). The SLLS published the Main Statute consisting of 38 articles and Internal Charter consisting of 38 points, both of which were published in the first year's report in *Masis* in 1879 September 1st of 1879.

Even so, seeking information on Armenian women's organizations in newspapers and periodicals proved difficult since some article titles do not convey the content and there are gaps in the published sources on women's periodicals. I would suggest that future investigators start by working on Armenian women's periodicals such as *Gitar* (1862), *Dzaghig*, and the other journals *Zhamanag, Aravelk, Luys, and Hayrenik*, as well as on newspapers like *Masis* and *Tercümen-i Efkâr* to build a bibliography by translating and categorizing published articles. That is, researchers can focus first on providing periodicals' listings of writers and article titles.[639] As a second step in this research program, the magazines of Armenian Ottoman women should be translated into English to facilitate their study by scholars without Armenian language skills.[640] These projects will increase access to basic data about Armenian women's organizations. That need certainly persists; to date no published work has been dedicated solely to Armenian women's periodicals published in the Empire. Only a few articles and book chapters have been published about only the most well-known female writers of the time.[641] Therefore, the painstaking labor of translating and categorizing pieces in these journals and newspapers would bring great rewards to scholars in the field. Moreover, the scope of this topic

[639] For further information about Ottoman-Turkish women's journals and gazettes, see Aynur İlyasoğlu and Deniz İksel, *Kadın Dergilerinin Evrimi Türkiye'de Dergiler ve Ansiklopedikler (1849-1984)* (İstanbul: Gelişim Yayınları, 1984); Hatice Özen, *Tarihsel Süreç İçinde Türk Kadın Gazete ve Dergileri (1868-1990)* (İstanbul: Graphis Ltd., 1994); Zehra Toska ve Aslı Davaz "Mardin Kadın Dergileri Dünden Bugüne," in *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi,* volume IV. (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1994), 344-347. Şefika Kurnaz, *Kadın Dergileri Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını (1839-1923)* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1993), 58-71. Şefika Kurnaz, *Kadın Dergileri II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi'nde Türk Kadını* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1996), 139-193.

[640] Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı, (The Women's Library and Information Center Foundation) pioneered this field of transcription, and published Ottoman Turkish journals with the Latin alphabet, including *Aile* (*Family*,1880), *Hanım* (*Lady*,1921), *Genç Kadın* (*Young Woman*, 1919 January-May), *Kadın* (*Woman*, 1908-1909), *Türk Kadını* (*Turkish Woman*, 1918-1919), *Kadın Yolu / Türk Kadın Yolu* (*Woman's Road*, 1925-1927), *Kadınlar Dünyası* Numbers 1-100 (*Women's World*, 1913-1921).

[641] Hasmik Khalapyan, "A Woman's Question and Woman's Movement among Ottoman Armenians, 1875-1914," (Ph.D. Diss. Central European University, 2009); Nazan Maksudyan, *Women and the City, Women in the City: A Gendered Perspective to Ottoman Urban History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014); Marc Nichanian, "Zabel Yesayan in the Ruins," in *Writers of Disaster Armenian Literature in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton and London: Gomidas Institute. 2002); Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing 1880-1922* (London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003); Hagop Oshagan, *Panorama of Western Armenian Literature* (Hamapatker Arevmtahay Grakanutyan) (Beirut: Hamazgayini Hratarakutyun, 1968).

could expand by including newspapers published in smaller cities throughout the Empire, which carried information about an association's activities in the provinces. It might be hard to find a whole collection of these publications, but any information would help complete the narrative of women's organizations. Indeed, during my research, some organizations appeared only as a name without further specifics. Worse, some organizations appeared under more than one name. This laxity might explain, and surely symbolizes, such groups' lack of structural order and recognition, or it may indicate that they had distinct district groups affiliated with them but using slightly varied names. I believe this wider research in local women's magazines and newspapers would help track down regionally centered associations. Moreover, annual reports offer rich mines of material on organizations' philanthropic endeavors, fundraisers, and financial footing. These were published usually as a separate booklet, but their contents very often slipped into newspapers and journals and should be sought there.

Another useful source would be the archives of a particular association. True, no free-standing archives of Armenian women's organizations survive past their closure.[642] However, as I mentioned regarding the PAWA and the SLLS, upon dissolving both associations deposited the remainder of their funds to the Armenian Patriarchate, which suggests that they may also have included for safekeeping all their records on funds, published bulletins, meeting reports, members' personal data, and bank documents. Perhaps these documents await discovery in a random box in the archives of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul.

Another archival trove is the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives in Istanbul. Used extensively by Ottoman historians, they have not been considered a promising venue for records on women's organizations because their activities were not seen as an interest of the central authorities and remained under local authorities' purview until World War I. Yet some

[642] In the case of Turkish women, this is also true, with the exception of the Women's Branch of the Red Crescent, Archives of the Red Crescent, which organized and cataloged them.

exceptional matters compelled the involvement of the Interior Ministry, such as an association's request for permission to organize a public event, questions on its need to register as an organization, or reports of irregular behaviors by the organization.[643] Unfortunately, however tantalizing, these documents are few and are not usefully catalogued.

Published primary-source materials in foreign languages, however, do help provide a fuller picture of the many women's organizations in this period. For example, the *English Levant Herald*, the French *Stamboul*, and the German-French *Osmanischer Lloyd* (*Ottoman Lloyd*), reported not only on the *Osmanlı Kadınları Cemiyet-i Hayriyesi* but also on the German women's organization, the Austrian-Hungarian women's organization, and several Armenian, Greek, and Jewish organizations. In addition, Armenian, Greek, Hebrew, and Ladino newspapers and periodicals could be examined to learn about non-Muslim women' associations. Moreover, I believe there would be interesting information in the archives and correspondence of the Greek Patriarchates and the Jewish rabbinate. It is important to point out that many of these organizations were closely (sometimes physically) connected to religious facilities like churches and synagogues. Reading documents written in all the languages of the Empire and scattered to all four corners of the world may be a challenge to researchers, but their international cooperation will let them meet it and vastly enrich the field.

My research has shown how Armenian women's organizations used the press, public events, primary and secondary girls' schools, job skills instruction, and teacher training colleges to disseminate their ideas of modern Armenian womanhood. In those ways they elevated the status and opportunities of women throughout the Empire and at every economic

[643] Nicole A. N. M. Van Os, "Ottoman Women's Organizations: Sources of the past, sources for the future," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, 11:3 (2000): 369-383. An example is given: "in 1909 the Teali-i Vatan Hanımlar Cemiyeti was founded, the authorities in Thessaloniki were not sure whether a women's organization fell under the new law on organizations (Cemiyetler Kanunu). Thus, they sent a letter to the Ministry of Interiour asking for information. The Ministry asked the Council of State for its opinion, which was positive." She cites the information she found in the archival of the BOA, Sura-yı Devlet Selanik (Council of State Thessaloniki), 2068/4 (6), 10 Mart 1326/23 March 1910; BOA, DH.MU&I, 76–1/70, 6 Rebiyülahir 1328/18 March 1910.

level. Equally significant, they set the political, social, and cultural agenda for their members and all women in the Armenian community, and broadened their conception of, and agency regarding, that community to embrace all the nation's regions. It is to be hoped that this dissertation will encourage future studies to bring women's associations of other minority ethnicities into the discourse on Ottoman women's emancipation. Only that will complete the narrative of Ottoman women's history and enrich the way we think of Ottoman women's emancipation.

APPENDIX 1
Sibyl's speech at the PAWA's Second Meeting

Women and girls:[644]

Humankind's greatest and loftiest action is "beneficence" since thereby the human being resembles his/her creator.[645] Beneficence means living in one's heart, and so living in one's heart means immortality. We must train ourselves to do good. What is beneficence? Helping the weak ones and alleviating poverty. Poverty and weakness include two different types: material and moral. I am sure and know that all of you have helped and are helping the destitute materially, according to your ability. But I think that few will be found among us who can place their hand on their heart and say, "I have done my duty for every Armenian woman."

For, if every Armenian lady performed that moral duty in part, today no individual in the provinces would be found lacking enlightenment and weighed down by hardship and oppression.

How painful it is to see that the country of those brave people, our Armenia…is caught in the crucibles of oppression, misery, humiliation, ignorance, [and] weakness…while we here lead a quiet life, having erected schools, constructed houses, and even founded theaters and parks. Indeed, we are sorry for the sufferings they have endured. But we do not find any solution. Why? Do we lack the resources? We are writing poems, verses about our Armenia; it seems we compete with one another to see who of us laments our homeland's disasters better. But what about actions? None. Why? Because we are incapable. We are the weak gender, who lack the ability to take two steps on their own. How will we save our homeland, while a whole nation, [a] patriotic and powerful Patriarchate with worthy bishops and delegates, traveled to the courts of Europe and the East but were unable to obtain almost any result?

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[644] Author's translations of all pieces in this Appendix 1,2, and 3, with minor changes for readability. This speech was First published in *Masis*, 1879, No 1349.

[645] Armenian does not possess grammatical gender.

If we think this way, we should refrain from action completely and continue our unconcerned material lives, which have kept us in a near-death condition, moribund. On the other hand, we [may turn] our eyes to past centuries and…consider the victories of our magnificent women, through which they saved their nation and facilitated the progress of humanity; and when they appear to us—Judith, Esther, Joan of Arc, and the delicate ladies of the land of Armenia mentioned by Yegishe—we are filled with vigor and, recognizing our great ability, we can say, "Let us work, so as not to be indebted to the nation and humanity. Let us work so that our provincial sisters receive light, let us work to save our homeland, let us work so that the female gender gains a place, a position, in humanity. It is true, it is hard to do good. Beneficence…is a rose with thorns. Whoever approaches it will bloody their hands. Surely, when we set out to save our Armenia, we will encounter very many dangers. We will pass through a vast forest where ferocious wild beasts…will try to frighten us. We will pass through seas during winter and storms of hatred, and the waves of envy will strive to sink our ship of beneficence. I say "in winter" because our nation is still in the winter of enlightenment, and surely it will strike us with its storms. Nevertheless, do not be afraid…. Spring follows winter and people, for the most part, seeing that our activities are good, instead of striking us with a thunderbolt will drop a flower on our heads. But do not despair; when the captain sets out during the storm, he knows that great obstacles will confront him, and he prepares to face them in advance. We, too, are the captains of this beneficent association. Let us prepare to face the grim waves that oppose us. Let them gossip, let them slander us as much as they like: We are sure that our action is good. We are preparing to be heroines to save our homeland. We should ignore the arrows of malice and ignorance. This kind of work, which is only recently being viewed as essential in our nation, will have many enemies and mockers. Our reply to this will always be effort, and perseverance will defy everything. Many say and will say, "You cannot succeed." However, what great deed has been successful at the first attempt? If we don't

succeed, we will establish the base, while somebody else will complete it or make it perfect. See the perfection of the railways that are attributed to several persons: Someone conceives the idea of moving ships by a steam machine…and someone else perfected the idea of pulling the cars by rail. And, finally, someone else applies these and presents mankind with the train.

See, the achievement of the railway is attributable to a number of persons. Bapen generated the idea of employing a railway to move ships; Rot implemented the idea; Boltin accomplished it; Trivivit contributed the idea of drawing carriages using the railway; and, finally, Stephenson perfected the whole idea and offered humanity the railway.

They say, it takes a lot of time to achieve a great work. If there is need of time to produce a great work, let us work to advance this association and let the coming generation perfect it. The fear that perhaps we shall not succeed should not discourage us. Many have already begun to ridicule us, saying "They even have an agenda!" If we are afraid of the mockery of gossip, if we give importance to vain words circulating in the nation, we will not be able to do anything. And if all the benefactors of the nation pulled back like us, fearing malevolent speech in this way, today we would not have a school, nor a church, nor an association, nor anything. But see, Mikayel Nalbanian is vigilant in serving his nation.[646] He suffers and dies in exile, calling:

I called, "Liberty!"

May lighting spark, fire, iron, thunder on my head.

May the enemy conspire.

So, until death on the gallows,

Until the pillar of dishonorable death,

I must shout,

I must call, continuously, "Liberty!"

[646] Romantic nationalist supporter Mikayel Nalbaniyan advocated a new conception of the Armenian nation based on its common people. He suggested creating national schools and eliminating church power.

What a lofty, exalted speech! See, from the cradle to the grave he shouts “Liberty!” and dies. Let us also follow him and shout, “Salvation for Armenia!” until our last breath, and you should know that Armenia will be saved.

If the feminine gender wishes, it can create miracles; the attempt to do so is seen everywhere. In the days when we formed this association, we were only twelve Armenian women; but today, happily, we cannot count the number of Patriotic women. This association is still new and has more than a hundred members, apart from subscribers. If all of us work together, in a short period we can incorporate all the Armenian female gender into the association. Do you recall, sisters, when I invited you for the first time to form this association? We looked at each other’s faces and laughed, and said, “Are we the ones who will save Armenia?” But see how many patriotic hands have united with ours. See how much God helps good enterprises. But we should not take any step outside of our purpose—ever forward, ever towards to light, ever upwards. If we think well, we will understand that our association is much greater than others, since it is new, since it is the first for our gender. Let’s strive and hold ourselves to this high standard. Let’s work collectively…let’s join hands, let’s embrace each other closely in love and, most importantly, let us swear here not to bear a spirit of disunity, hatred, and selfishness; let’s swear to drive from us the feeling of envy, let’s swear to work to our last breath. Let’s swear to make every effort to save our homeland. May the heavens hear our oath and bless our purpose and crown our desire.

APPENDIX 2
SLLS First Annual Report, with Bylaws

School-Loving Ladies Association
Approved on May 1, 1879.
Approved by the Minutes of the General Assembly on June 28, 1880.

Women and girls:

On the occasion of the first year of the Association's operation, the Board of Directors wishes to present its annual activity to this distinguished meeting. When, during the first minutes of the General Assembly in June 1879, the Association reported its purpose to the Board of Directors, the latter adopted that sole purpose and made every effort to engage the nation in its attainment by educating poor and helpless Armenian ladies and nurturing them not only with knowledge but also with ethics and morality, to prepare them as lecturers for different regions all over Armenia.

To achieve that important purpose, there was a need to operate under important auspices. A special letter was addressed to the Great Armenian Father D. Nerses, S. Patriarch, who granted his sponsorship via a letter of patriotic vigor addressed to the Association. The Association was also in need of national encouragement and material assistance.

Membership

The Association received far more encouragement and assistance than expected; as of now it has 380 members, with a 1289 kurush monthly membership fee.

Events

Furthermore, gift tickets generated sufficient revenue. The Association considered another source for material assistance, organizing a ball, which took place under the leadership and sponsorship of Mrs. Angio on January 17-29, 1879. Due to this event, the Association was able to collect 200 gold coins monthly for warehouse expenses, which the distinguished representative of the nation, the Great A. Hachyean, was eager to put in [our] account with 6 additional gold coins at no interest. The Association felt that, for the expansion of its material means, it needs to establish groups by accepting ladies in different regions.

The Association organized lectures for both genders. Especially for Armenian ladies, in order that each volunteer could grant her own gift and contribute to the Association. In this way the Women's Union in Constantinople was established, which spared no efforts for the development of the Association. On June 22, 1880, the Women's Union organized its first lecture in Bezjean College for the benefit of the Association.

The Executive Body also approached the Armenian Community in Russia. An invitation to meet the religious leader has already been announced by the Association in Mshak for Armenian women of Tiblis. The Executive Body also announced a special invitation: With great pleasure the patriotic Mr. Apgar Hovhannesyean printed the Russian letter in *Masis*, which stated that the Armenian Women of Tiblis encouraged by the example of the School-Loving Ladies' Association, established their own association with the view of nurturing Armenian children and, at the same time, contributing to the Association. This has been approved by the great Mr. Apgar Hovhannesyean, the owner and editor of the elevated *Purtz* (*Փորձ, Experience*) journal. The later, on his visit on the 19th, expressed his encouragement and hopes for the flourishing of the Association, as well as gifted it with the first edition of his *Purtz* journal. Moreover, for the benefit of the lecturers of the Association, he saved and sent 400 rubles to Constantinople. The efforts of these Russian Armenian women served as an encouragement for the Association and an excellent example for all others.

The Executive Body offered words of appreciation in the form of an august assembly for Ipikjean Hampartzum Efendi, who spared no efforts to share his profound experience and moral contribution with the Association. Many thanks went also to those patriotic individuals who in various ways inspired the first steps of the Association and supported its improvement.

School

Inspired by the admiration of the nation, the Executive Body considered it its duty to start operations, and by decision of General Assembly on November 5, 1879, opened its first

college in a small house with 20 pupils. After the ball, the Association decided that it should move the college to a better and more comfortable house. This happened in May of the same year and currently there are already 35 pupils.

Initially the members of the Association were comprised of a couple of ladies who visited the college for the lectures. The expansion of its budget, of course, enabled the Association to create better conditions for the college. Some of the members attended the college for the lectures and reviews.

The General Assembly had the plan of bringing women from Armenia, nurturing them in the college, and preparing them as lecturers for the homeland. However, high costs made it give up that purpose. Only, if possible, it was suggested to open a school in Van, near the Araratyian College, where the same lecturers would be invited, and to bring some ladies to Constantinople from the regions, while a separate college would be operated in Armenia. The reason that the previous school operated in Ortaköy in Constantinople is that most members of the Association were from the same village, so they were able to manage to run the college and educate the future lecturers while cutting the associated costs.

As is known, the purpose of the Association was to contribute to the education of poor and helpless Armenian girls and prepare future lecturers. Accordingly, 75% of the enrolled students should relocate throughout Armenia as lecturers. The means and criteria used for accepting students are summarized in the regulations below.

Regulations

The first session of the School-Loving Ladies' College started on 5 November 1879.

Article A: For this first year the number of pupils would be 40.

Article B: Out of these 40 impoverished pupils, 13 or one third would be local Armenians, and the remaining part would be from regions, or pupils who in the future are going to be lecturers in the regions.

Article C: Once the number of local pupils reaches its limit, those parents or guardians who want to send their children to the college should sign the covenant of lecturers of the General Assembly of the Association.

Article D: Each pupil enrolled in the college should be at least 9 to10 years of age and know elementary reading.

Article E: When accepting the pupil to the college, the Association should keep the pupil in the college until it has made an evaluation of the pupil's mental and moral skills. Only after that, if the Association finds the pupil too undeveloped, it can reject the pupil and accept a more developed needy pupil instead.

Based on the needs of the General Assembly, the regulations above may be changed.

Agreement

The Association made each guardian and trustee sign the mentioned agreement, below, on behalf of their offspring, so that the Association would be able to reach its goals of preparing future lecturers.

Rule A: Students are obliged to be enrolled in the college until their graduation; the only exceptions are health issues or other external factors.

Rule B: After graduation each student, in accord with the Association's purpose, shall lecture in different regions of Armenia for at least 5 years, with monthly payment.

Rule C: Each student's parent or guardian who signs this covenant but refuses to perform their post-graduation duties shall pay 12 Ottoman gold coins to defray the Association's cost for the student.

Rule D: Those parents or guardians whose students withdraw from the college without any official reason shall pay 3 Ottoman gold coins if withdrawn during the first year, 4 Ottoman gold coins if withdrawn during the second year, 6 Ottoman gold coins if withdrawn during the third year, 8 Ottoman gold coins if withdrawn during the fourth year, and 12 Ottoman gold coins if withdrawn during the sixth year.

This agreement is signed by the parents or guardians of each student attending the college.

The General Assembly, given its inexperience, apologizes for any shortcomings in its published report about its operations and endeavors during the first year. The Assembly hopes that for the upcoming years, with the encouragement and inspiration of Armenian women, it will be able to reform the operations of the Association in a more perfect manner for its nation.

27 June 1880
Ortaköy

Members
General Assembly
(Signatures)

Primary Regulations

Purpose

A. To contribute to the nurture of helpless Armenian girls and to prepare lecturers for the regions.

B. To achieve its purpose, the Association will open private schools, where teaching and handicrafts will be taught free of charge.

Association

1. A new member of the Association may be proposed by existing members to the committee and if the majority of members present votes in favor, the new member will be accepted.
2. The monthly membership fee is 1 silver kurush.
3. Each member has an equal vote in meetings, regardless of the amount contributed.
4. If the membership fee is not paid for more than 3 months, the member is rejected by the Association.
5. The member shall be rejected for missing meetings of the General Assembly 3 times consecutively without orally communicating any reason.
6. The rejected member does not have any right to demand anything.
7. Each member as able is obliged to work generously for the success of the Association.

8. The association can also have 2 male members, who shall not have right to intervene in the Association's operations.
9. The Association can also have 2 male honorary members as needed for its success and development.
10. Armenian women who wish to be present in the meetings of the Assembly may attend the meeting upon agreement of the Administration of the General Assembly but shall not have voting rights.

Organization

11. The Association consists of the General Assembly and Executive Body.
12. The Association can have other bodies/authorities operating in different places.

General Assembly

13. The General Assembly of the Association is its legislative and voting body.
14. The General Assembly is held once every 3 months.
15. The General Assembly shall also be held upon the need of its Administration's requests or the need of one third of the members.
16. Absent members shall not have right to complain about decisions of the General Assembly.
17. The General Assembly will elect its Administration, Executive Body and treasurer through anonymous voting.
18. The term of the Administration is one year; it can be re-elected.

Executive Body

19. The directorate of the Association presents the Executive Body, consisting of 7 members, to the General Assembly.
20. Before starting the operations of the Association, the Executive Body shall receive confirmation from the General Assembly.

21. In times of necessity, the Executive Body can operate freely, taking all responsibility and providing explanations for necessary operations during the General Assembly.
22. The Executive Body shall present quarterly reports of its operations to the General Assembly.
23. The term of the Executive Body is 2 years.
24. The Executive Body can be re-elected if it was not dismissed due to lack of confidence.
25. At least 2 members of the Executive Body whose term has expired should be re-electable.

Supplemental Body

26. The Supplemental Body shall be elected based on the highest number of votes from the Executive Body. The Supplemental Body shall elect its Administration and treasurer.
27. The Supplemental Body shall present its 3-month report and all financial accounts to the General Assembly at least 8 days before the Minutes of the General Assembly.
28. The term of the Supplemental Body is 2 years, and at least 2 members of the Supplemental Body should be re-electable once the term expires.

Income

29. The Association has two sources of income: membership fees and gifts collected from the special allowance tickets.
30. The Association can also accept other donations.
31. The whole income from membership fees can be spent, while half of the income from other sources shall be saved.
32. The Executive Body can increase the membership fee of the Association if confirmed by the General Assembly.

33. ***Appeal***

The above regulations may be reviewed after 2 years. However, in special conditions and if agreed to by 75% of the members, the regulations can be reviewed.

Internal Regulations
School-Loving Ladies Association
General Assembly

1. The annual term of the Association is from May 1 to the end of April.
2. The General Assembly is held 4 times a year, in June, September, December and March.
3. At least 5 days before setting a General Assembly meeting and 2 days before setting an external order session, invitations with the date, place and agenda…are collected by the secretary and validated by signature.
4. Each member should put her signature in the attendance book before the start of meeting.
5. The meeting is held in the presence of at least one third of the members. The members who have been absent for the previous meeting have no right to complain concerning decisions made at that meeting.
6. If members cannot attend the meeting due to any reason, they should inform the Administration.
7. Reports on the previous meetings should not be discussed too long as stand-alone matters.
8. Reports should be validated by the Chairperson and secretary before being presented in the meeting.
9. If at the confirmed time the quorum for holding the session is not complete, the members shall wait for one more hour. If after that the number of members present at the session is still not enough, the session will not take place and another day will be determined for the session.
10. Before starting the agenda, the secretary should present all the letters addressed to the Administration regarding the General Assembly.

11. The Administration of the General Assembly will prepare the agenda of the session; however, the Executive Body can add some points if needed.
12. The Administration, as per its responsibility, may not include the agenda in the invitation letters for any reason.
13. If one of the members recommends a new member, the Assembly should gather all the available information about the recommended member. The new member will be elected based on the highest number of votes.

Administration

14. The duties of the Chairperson include holding the session, controlling the agenda of the session, and following the discipline of the meeting.
15. If the Chairperson is absent, the Deputy Chairperson shall implement her duties. If the latter is absent, too, a temporary Chairperson will be elected from the Assembly via voting. The same applies for the secretary.
16. The duties of the secretary include preparing and sending invitation letters, summarizing meeting minutes, and copying the reports of the same meetings.

Regulation of Speech

17. Before speaking, each member shall ask permission from the Chairperson.
18. The speech should be within the scope of the subject of the meeting.
19. If the Chairperson or one of the members wishes to end the discussion, the Chairperson can end the discussion with the votes of the majority of the members.
20. Points regarding reforms shall be presented to the Administration in written format and shall address the issues.
21. Any written information or suggestion reported to the Administration from the General Assembly will be properly recorded in the agenda of the Chairperson.
22. Any report from the General Assembly should be signed by the Chairperson and secretary of the General Assembly; the quarterly report is also signed by the treasurer.

Voting

23. The issues to be discussed are determined via the vote of the General Assembly.
24. There are two types of voting: open and anonymous. The latter takes place at the suggestion of some part of the members.
25. If the results of voting are equal, subsequent voting takes place.
26. A member who is absent from the General Assembly meeting 3 times consecutively without any oral explanation shall be rejected from the Association if the reason for the absence is not communicated by writing, which shall be considered as an oral explanation.
27. If a member of the Administration is absent from the meeting for 2 times consecutively without any oral explanation, she shall be dismissed.

Relation between the General Assembly and the Executive Body

28. The General Assembly shall report its decisions in written format to the Executive Body a couple of days after the meeting.
29. The Executive Body shall elect its Administration and shall inform the General Assembly.

Administration

30. Each report about the Association which is not used directly is kept in the special space under the oversight of the Administration of the General Assembly and the Chairperson of the Executive Body. When the mentioned authorities resign, they shall hand over the reports under their oversight to the succeeding authorities.

Administration of the General Assembly

31. When the position of the Administration of the General Assembly expires, the Administration of the General Assembly is re-elected via voting.
32. The Administration will be chosen based on the highest number of votes.

Executive Body

33. The Executive Body has one Chairperson, one secretary and one treasurer who are responsible to the General Assembly and Executive Body.
34. If one of the members of the Executive Body resigns, the Executive Body shall prepare a list of members from the General Assembly, from which a new member shall be elected.
35. If the savings of the Association have multiplied, the Executive Body can offer monetary means to the General Assembly.
36. The Executive Body prepares the application of the college and presents it to General Assembly for validation.
37. The budget of the Association is decided by the Executive Body and validated by the General Assembly.
38. The General Assembly is held once every 15 days.

Appeal

The above-mentioned internal regulations may be changed as appropriate.

Publisher
School-Loving Ladies' Association
Worldwide Armenian Language
Author: Mrs. Srbuhi Dussap

Letters addressed to School-loving Ladies' Association should include the following address:

To the General Assembly of the School-Loving Ladies' Association
The College of the Association
Derebaşı Number 2, Ortaköy, Constantinople

APPENDIX 3
Bylaws of the Auxiliary Union of the School-Loving Ladies' Society

On October 19th, 1911, the School-Loving Ladies' Auxiliary Association was established to support the School-Loving Ladies' Association.

Purpose

Article 1: The purpose of the School-Loving Auxiliary Union is

1. To satisfy the educational requirements of the Ladies' College by forming a library and science laboratory, and supplying various important classroom supplies including chalk, desks, chairs, etc.

2. To send a successful graduate of the Ladies' College abroad to perfect her pedagogy.

Membership

Article 2: A new member of this Union is presented to the Administrative Council. The proposing member should provide necessary information about the person proposed.

Article 3: It is each member's moral duty to prioritize the interests of the Union over her own interest.

Article 4: The membership fee is at least one dinar per month.

Article 5: Those persons who make a significant material or moral contribution to the Union are elected as honorary members.

Organization

Article 6: The Auxiliary Union of the School-Loving Ladies is composed of twenty or more members.

Article 7: This Union may also have branches in the provinces that are accountable to the center.

Article 8: This Union is accountable to the School-Loving Ladies' Directing Committee.

Article 9: The General Assembly of this Union is convened once every three months.

Article 10: The General Assembly is also convened when the Executive Board or administration or a third of the members judges it necessary.

Article 11: The General Assembly takes place once there is a two-thirds majority at the first notice (members receive an invitation, and a meeting will take place if more than two-thirds of the membership attend. Cards are distributed announcing the proposed date of the meeting.) If a quorum is not constituted, the Assembly opens legally with a quorum of half the membership present at the next session.

However, should it be necessary to circulate a third notice, the Assembly is legal if a third of the membership is present. It is essential that a member who is going to be absent inform the Assembly in advance of the reason for the absence and assign her votes to the Chairperson or another member.

Article 12: Absent members do not have a right to cast a vote contrary to the decisions of the Assembly.

Article 13: Both during the General and Administrative Assemblies, a member who is absent three times consecutively without a reasonable cause may be considered to have resigned from the Council by majority vote.

Article 14: The General Assembly elects the Union's Administration and Executive Board to a two-year term by secret ballot.[647]

Article 15: The Steering Committee of the School-Loving Ladies approves the election of the Executive Board and Administration.

Article 16: As required, the General Assembly may re-elect the Administration and the Executive Board before completing their term with the approval of the Ladies' Directing Committee.

[647] Written election, not showing of hands; it is much more genuine as people will not see who is voting for whom; it is more influential and more democratic. They write down whom they want, the structure of the group is important—very democratic.

If the need should arise, the General Committee can re-appoint the Executive Board and the Executive Board before the completion of the term, with the acceptance of the Board of Directors.

Executive Board of the Administration

Article 17: The Administration consists of the Executive Board elected by ballot of the General Assembly. It consists of an accountant, a secretary, a bookkeeper, one responsible (with voting rights) and two advisory members (they lack voting rights but can advise).

Article 18: The Administrative Assembly is convened by a two-thirds majority of the membership. If that number is not present, at the next session the meeting is regarded as legal with an equal number of the Executive Committee. (The Executive Committee is equal to the Administration; Administration is larger with twelve people and five on the Executive Board.)

Article 19: The absence of advisory members does not affect the number for calculating a quorum.[648]

Article 20: The Administration elects, by secret ballot, the successor of a member who has resigned for any cause and informs the Steering Committee of the Ladies.

Article 21: The Administration presents a report of its activities to the quarterly sessions of the General Assembly and sends the same report to the Steering Committee of the School-Loving Ladies.

Article 22: The Administration presents a detailed account of its activities once a year to the General Assembly of the Union and to the Steering Committee of the School-Loving Ladies.

Article 23: The Administration is convened at least once a week. The Executive Board decides upon an exceptional meeting as required. The Chairperson can convene a meeting independently in pressing circumstances.

[648] They don't count them in terms of majority since they don't vote.

Article 24: Each member of the Union has the right to be present at meetings of the Administration but has no vote on its decisions.

Executive Board

Article 25: The Executive Board is composed of the Chairperson, secretary, and treasurer.

Article 26: In pressing circumstances the Executive Board can act independently, assuming responsibility and later providing an explanation to the Administration.

Article 27: Every document sent by the Administration should bear the signature of the Chairperson and secretary. In exceptional circumstances the Chairperson may sign as the Executive Board and ratify the document with the Union's seal.

Article 28: The duties of the Chairperson are to monitor the faultless implementation of the bylaws, to chair meetings of the Union, and to keep the Union's spirit and direction elevated.

Article 29: The duties of the secretary are to prepare notices and minutes of meetings as well as the quarterly reports to the Administration, to manage internal correspondence, and to assist the Chairperson in every exceptional task.

Article 30: The duties of the treasurer are to conduct the financial operations of the Union, to strive to expand its income, and to share exceptional tasks occasioned by various enterprises, together with the Chairperson and secretary.

Article 31: Apart from the signatures of the Chairperson and treasurer, the annual account also bears the signature of the accountant. At the same time the Chairperson and treasurer cosign every other monetary transaction.

The final annual report is cosigned by the Chairperson and secretary together with the accountant. Every other financial transaction is cosigned by the Chairperson and treasurer.

Income

Article 32: The income of this Union comprises:

1. Subscription fees

2. Lectures, fairs, evening and daytime events, walking tours, donations, periodic publications, and fundraising.[649]

Article 33: This Union retains 20 percent of the annual income untouched in the bank.

Article 34: The maximum amount permitted to remain in the treasurer's safekeeping is 10 gold coins. The rest of the money is kept in a bank. The required amount is deposited with the signature of the Chairperson and the treasurer, and by a sealed check.

Article 35: If any of the above-mentioned members resigns, the Administration of the Union should immediately inform the bank of the name of the newly-elected member.

Audit and Inspection

Article 36: After receiving the Administration's accounts, the General Assembly elects, by secret ballot, an inspection committee comprised of three members from its body, whose temporary task is to examine the ledgers (the accounting records of income and outlay) and, after checking the accounts, to present them for the General Assembly's consideration. The treasurer and the accountant may be present at this meeting. The Chairperson by law is a member of every elected committee.

Article 37: It is possible to reformulate these Bylaws if required by a decision of the General Assembly of this Union and the approval of the Steering Committee of the School-Loving Ladies.

Article 38: This Union is considered dissolved once the number of members falls below six, and its property and belongings, etc., (including chairs, tables) are to remain with the School-Loving Ladies' Society to be used according to their purpose.

[649] Fairs include women workshop events to sell or buy handiwork, and walking tour to some part of Istanbul, they charge for touring.

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