

**ERRAND INTO THE EAST: A HISTORY OF EVANGELICAL AMERICAN
PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AND THEIR MISSIONS TO OTTOMAN
ISTANBUL DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

A Master's Thesis

by

EMRAH ŞAHİN

**THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA**

September 2004

BV
3170
.534
2004

At first they were only apprehended who confessed themselves of that
sect; afterwards a vast multitude discovered by them.

TACITUS (ANNALS: 15-44)

ERRAND INTO THE EAST: A HISTORY OF EVANGELICAL AMERICAN
PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES AND THEIR MISSIONS TO OTTOMAN
ISTANBUL DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Institute of Economics and Social Sciences
of
Bilkent University

by

EMRAH ŞAHİN

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
BILKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

September 2004

BV
3170
.634
2004

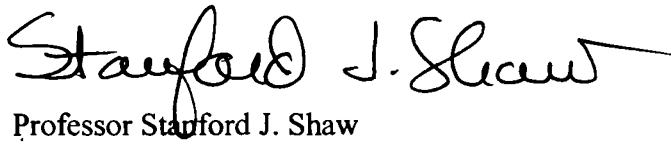
B084302

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Assistant Professor Timothy M. Roberts
Thesis Supervisor

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Professor Stanford J. Shaw
Examining Committee Member

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in History.



Assistant Professor Stephanie Palmer
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Institute of Economics and Social Sciences



Professor Erdal Erel
Director

ABSTRACT

This thesis introduces a history of evangelical American Protestant missionary experience in Ottoman Istanbul during the nineteenth century. It argues that the New England Puritan heritage from the eighteenth century determined the scope and objectives of American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire although the missionaries sometimes disagreed with the missionary plans set by the ABCFM Prudential Committee in Boston. Contrary to the expectations of the American Board, the missionaries directed their full force to teaching often more than preaching once they landed in Istanbul. They believed that the natives of Istanbul needed education, attributing their backwardness and lack of faith to illiteracy. At the turn of the twentieth century, their institutions became prototypical and later missionaries in the Middle East modeled their missions on those missionary establishments in late nineteenth-century Istanbul. Overall, the thesis, with its emphasis on the continuities and changes in evangelical American missionary mindset, the successes and failures of the missionary activities in the Ottoman capital, and the American missionary experience and life with the Ottomans, revises and provides fresh insights into American religious attitudes, relations between Ottomans and Americans, and the American “Errand into the East.”

Key Words: Evangelism, ABCFM, American-Ottoman Relations, Istanbul, American Missionaries, 19th Century

ÖZET

Elinizdeki tez, on dokuzuncu yüzyılda evanjelik Amerikan protestan misyonierlerinin Osmanlı İstanbul'undaki faaliyetlerinden bahsediyor. Münferit durumlarda misyonierlerin Boston'daki idarecileriyle hemfikir olmasalar da, Osmanlı'daki hedeflerinin, örgütlenmelerinin doğası ve çapının aslında genel anlamda New England'm püritan kültürü tarafından şekillendiğini iddia ediyor ve muhtelif örneklerle bu savı desteklemeyi deniyor. Ayrıca, yirminci yüzyılın başlarından itibaren Amerikan misyonierlerinin İstanbul ve muhitindeki icraatlarının klasik bir hüviyet kazandığına, diğer ve gelecekteki misyonier maceraları için örnek teşkil ettiğine değiniyor. Sonuç olarak; evanjelik Amerikan misyonier kafa yapısı ve idrakindeki süreklilikler ve değişiklere, Osmanlı başkentindeki misyonierlerin başarılarına ve sorunlarına, Amerikan misyonierlerinin Osmanlı'yla yaşantı ve tecrübelerine doğru yaptığı tarihi yolculukla, bu çalışma, Amerikan dini motiflerini, Amerika-Osmanlı ilişkilerini, ve Amerikan misyonierlerinin doğu macerasını yeniden ele almak, ve bunlara özgün ve ilginç katkılar ve yorumlar sağlamayı amaçlıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Evanjelizm, ABCFM, Amerikan-Osmanlı İlişkileri, İstanbul, Amerikan Misyonierleri, 19. Yüzyıl

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Harvard and the Congregational libraries in Boston keep numerous missionary records of great value, some of which gave rise to this thesis. Bilkent University granted me a research travel in order to acquire those materials, and History Department in Harvard University facilitated my application to research in Widener Library, Boston. Therefore, I first pour out many thanks to the History Department of Bilkent University, Professors Mehmet Kalpaklı, Paul Latimer and David Thornton and the administrative faculty members of History Department in Harvard University. During the research conducted for this thesis, I learned much from the association with and received invaluable assistance from Tom Ford at Houghton, Donna M. Maguire at Andover Harvard Theological Library, and Şükrü Ilıcak at Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Harvard University. Very many thanks are due to them.

My self-dedication to history inaugurated and my interests in the topic of this thesis blazed during my study at History Department at Middle East Technical University. I remember with pleasure the commendations of Seçil Karal Akgün, İsenbike Togan, Uygur Kocabaşođlu, Aykut Kansu, Ömer Turan, Cem Karadeli, Güçlü Tülüveli, Recep Boztemur and all other professors, as well as the collegiality of Serkan Ünal, Ömer Erdemir, Murat Yaşar and Mustafa M. Kulu and all others.

I hereby address my wholehearted gratitude to the professors I worked under at Bilkent University. Russell L. Johnson helped me improve my English considerably and

taught the basics of United States history. Oktay Özel instructed two wonderful Ottoman history surveys, in which, I believe, not only taught but helped us experience the life of the Ottomans. Walter E. Kretchik demonstrated that a historian can be presentable, responsive, and disciplined. Cadoc Leighton and Nejdet Gök through their original historical interpretations inspired in me the idea that a historian should think as multi-dimensionally as possible while traveling through unknown or unrevealed corridors of the past. Edward P. Kohn also always treated me as a scholar and a friend, and contributed his wonderful and invaluable comments to the second chapter of this thesis, which I read at the 28th Annual American Studies Conference at Bodrum. I also appreciate Dr. Stephanie Palmer's consideration into reading my thesis.

I have for three years cherished the friendships and wise advice of my friends, Abdurrahman Atçıl, Olcay Olmuşçelik, Murat Kınacı, Edip Öncü, Ekrem Karademir, Ali Haydar Altuğ, Selim Tezcan, Mehdi Jelassi all of whom contributed to this thesis in many ways. In addition, my profuse gratitude is owed to three great friends: Levent İşyar who searched invaluable web sources in various languages, Muhsin Soyudoğan who scanned the primary sources in appendix, and Polat Safi who always gave a boost to my morale during my hard-rushing times with his patience, good humor, and talents.

I remember also the unstinting and candid hospitalities of Turkish immigrants in the United States. First, Osman Kıranoğlu, a chef cook in Sultan's Kitchen, Boston, opened the doors of his house with his hearty warmth and as a result of his compliance with Turkish hospitality. Second, Alkan Güngör, an invaluable and genuine friend, always supported my research in Boston and encouraged me "for more." Oğuzhan Karagöz, a Turkish-French immigrant from Marseilles helped me note down and translate the documents in French during my research at Houghton Library, Boston. And

Mustafa Keşir, a teaching assistant at Mathematics at Northeastern University, always put confidence in me and my scholarly aptitudes, which refreshed my motivation each time. I am particularly grateful to friends and acquaintances. I am always obliged to Sema Karagöz, my fiancé who always tolerated my harum scarum, Serdal Zavlak, my double-cousin who always dealt with my personal matter; İbrahim, Mrs. Güven and Osman, Şefik, Mustafa Uçar, and my mother all of whom gush their agape and natural affection for me.

Professors Halil Inalcık, Stanford J. Shaw, and Patrick Manning are three authorities to whom I have to voice my thanksgiving. Prof. Inalcık grounded me the fact that a historian can still proceed regardless what distance he covers and taught me a true history of the Ottoman Empire. And Prof. Shaw, the most influential historian and scholar whose personal character as well as historical methodology I always prize and follow, taught me that a scholar can get both ahead and a lift up in the world. Last, Prof. Manning paid me a warm welcome in Boston, invited me to read a paper in an internationally distinguished world history conference, and kindly accepted to advise my humble dissertation.

I reserve the end of acknowledgement to who may deserve it the best. It is definitely Doc Tim, Professor Timothy M. Roberts. I do not think that any word can weigh my debt of gratitude, respect, and sympathy to him. Roberts whom I guided uptown during his first week in Turkey has been guiding me for two worthy years toward my academic career as a hardworking, meticulous, and successful advisor and in my personal matters as a man of the world. Last and most convivial thanks go to him.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
ÖZET.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
CHAPTER I: PROLOGUE.....	1
CHAPTER II: AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE OTTOMANS IN TERMS OF THEIR EXPERIENCE IN ISTANBUL AND ITS VICINITY.....	16
CHAPTER III: TAKE THE CROSS BACK ONTO THE HOLY LANDS INTO THE HEATHENS' REALM: AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN ISTANBUL DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	33
CHAPTER IV: A GREAT ERRAND INTO THE EAST: AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY COMMITMENT IN ISTANBUL DURING THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY.....	55
CHAPTER V: EPILOGUE.....	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	100
APPENDICES.....	115

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMS

ABCFM, AMERICAN BOARD: The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES, MISSIONARIES [in general]: The Evangelical American Protestant Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

MIDDLE EAST: Syria, Lebanon, and the Holy Land.

NEAR EAST: Anatolia and European Turkey.

CHAPTER I:

PROLOGUE

The main features of this thesis turned up a couple of years ago. In May 2002, I was sitting in the yard in front of the Social Sciences Building of Middle East Technical University, waiting for Professor Isenbike Togan in order to ask her what to read during the coming summer. A young Muslim conservative activist student approached me and asked what I thought of Christian missionaries. I said that I was uninterested in missionaries, but he gave me a journal article, which urged Muslims to take immediate action against American missionaries who the article claimed have been poisoning Muslims' minds against Islam for many years. It exclaimed, "[The missionaries support] many students' vacations in such tourist destinations as Antalya and Alanya in order to cloud their fresh and tender minds with Christianity."¹

My personal experience with student programs sponsored by Americans did not support this accusation. I was born and raised in Alanya and had visited such a summer camp there. But this camp was more educational than religious. It was named as the McGhee program headed by Dr. Scott Redford, which was sponsored by Georgetown University, and ran every year June 2 to August 8 until 2002. Georgetown's Division of Eastern Mediterranean Languages organized the program and did not preach Christianity

¹ Ahmet Taha, "Din Degil, Müslümanlar Elden Gidiyor" In *Ilkadim* (May 2002).

but taught courses on the Middle and Near Eastern languages, history and culture.² Basically, it gathered teachers and students interested in Middle Eastern civilization and scholarship dealing with Middle Eastern and Mediterranean studies, rather than proselytizing young Muslims. This anecdote reflects the premise of this thesis, which is to clarify the historical relationship between American education and American religion, both first brought to the Near East by American missionaries.

My interest in the activity of foreign missionaries in Turkey freshened last year when Professor Stanford Shaw advised me to write for his course, “‘Abdu’l-Hamid the Second: Reformer or Reactionary?’” a research paper on the activities of the ABCFM, or the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (the United Church Board for World Ministries today), to the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century. Consulting various governmental records and newspapers as well as considering at length the secondary sources, the project revised my previous attitudes towards the missionaries. I argued that the missionaries represented as a non-governmental philanthropic organization (not on behalf of American political and diplomatic interests) a peculiar movement intended to change the religious configuration of the Ottoman Empire and considerably contributed to the cultural diversity of the Ottoman Empire with their socio-cultural identity rooted in the United States.

The following thesis intends to further extend the results of that research on the missionaries of the ABCFM. The emphasis in this thesis is on missionaries as advocates

² Courses offered in Alanya Summer Camp of Georgetown University [Online] Available: <http://www.georgetown.edu/programs/oip/os/sites/mideast/alanva.htm> [accessed: July 3, 2001]. Syllabus of Scott Redford's course. "An Introduction to the History of Architecture (Ancient, Classical, Medieval) from the Monuments of Turkey" [Online] Available: http://www.georgetown.edu/programs/oip/os/sites/mideast/McGhee_coursedescriptions.htm#Monuments [Accessed: July 3, 2001]

of a philanthropic movement generated in the United States and functioning in the Ottoman Empire. The thesis scrutinizes evangelical American Protestant missionary experience in Istanbul during the nineteenth century by means of the missionary educational institutions, relief activities, governmental and public relations, and their attitudes toward the Ottomans and contacts with those back in the United States.

This thesis illustrates that the evangelical American Protestant missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century led to the first long-term contact between the Americans and Ottomans.³ Some scholars consider the pilgrims, travelers, and traders from the United States beginning in the 1780s as the most important Americans to make contact with Ottomans.⁴ However, this thesis does not accept their argument, because these individuals typically stayed in the Ottoman lands for a short time, and their social and cultural impact was less than that of the missionaries. The missionaries of the ABCFM were the first organized group of people who contacted the Ottomans in a socio-cultural and religious sense; their interest was not in themselves but in the “other.”⁵

On the whole, this thesis reinterprets the history of the American Protestant missionaries to the Near East and the ABCFM missions to Istanbul. Covering the period

³ “Remarks of Ambassador Robert Pearson” *Universities in the New Millennium* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 12 October 2000) [Online] Available:

<http://www.usemb-ankara.org.tr/AMBASADR/ARCHIVE/pear1012.htm> [Accessed: 24 October 2003]

⁴ M. Philip and Ethel Klutznik, *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land* (Omaha, Neb.: Creighton University Press, 1996); Thomas D. Goodrich, *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth Century Ottoman Americana* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990); *Textiles, 5,000 Years: An International History and Illustrated Survey*. Ed. Jennifer Harris (New York: H. N. Abrams, 1993)

⁵ For the American missionaries’ representation of American social and cultural values, see Betül Başaran, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies, 1820-1908*; Valentin H. Rabe, *The American Protestant Foreign Missions Movement: 1820-1920* (Harvard university: Ph.D. Dissertation, 1965); and J.C. Hurewitz, *Middle East Dilemmas: The Background of the United States Policy* (New York: Harper, 1953).

between 1830 and 1900, it aims to present a new perspective different from the existing works in the field in its analysis of the social, cultural and religious relations between the missionaries and Muslims, Armenians, Greeks, and Jews in addition to the missionaries' communication with the American and Ottoman governments.

In particular, the thesis examines the activities of the ABCFM missionaries in Istanbul, arguing that they represented a microcosm for the missionary presence in the Near East. First, Istanbul and its vicinity was the key to Asia and its enlightenment as Rufus Anderson reported to the American Board when he was the Treasurer of the Board. Although the American missionaries came to Izmir, Malta, Syria, and Lebanon before they began functioning in Istanbul, they attached a primary importance to and determined to lead their Near Eastern missions from Istanbul simply because they thought it was the political, social, and cultural center of the Near East and could wonderfully stimulate further missions even in Izmir, Malta, Syria, and Lebanon where the missionary establishments had already flourished.⁶

Quite a few religious and ethnic groups found in the Ottoman Empire inhabited Istanbul and the missionaries could test their future plans in the Istanbul station. For instance, the missionaries of the ABCFM came to Istanbul first to learn local languages and adapt to the life in an Ottoman city. Then, they performed various duties in the Ottoman Empire. Moreover, it was Istanbul where the missionaries set up a station, which established high schools and language courses, a printing press, and numerous outstations. The stations in Anatolia and the whole Near East grew from these institutions and "the Bible House at Constantinople" provided published materials

⁶ "Annual Report," 1830, *ABCFM 16.9.1* [In Houghton Library, Boston]; see Appendix I, III, and IV.

throughout all Anatolia and the Near East.⁷ Finally, the missionaries centered in Istanbul because Istanbul headquartered the domestic and international affairs of the Ottoman Empire and the missionaries could consolidate their stations in the Near East being influential in Istanbul.

An analysis of the Istanbul missionaries must examine their beliefs and self-perception, the reasons for why they departed their home country for foreign lands, how they perceived the natives there, their correspondences with their home and their relations with the native administration. For these reasons, chapter two intends to shed light on the origins of the American missionary enterprise, its characteristics, and the internal dynamics for its growth. While depicting the ABCFM missions to the Near East as a voluntary and charity movement, this chapter gives the details of the missionary experiences in Istanbul in terms of their perception of themselves and the inhabitants of the city of Istanbul.

The missionaries did not make a deliberate effort at conversion. For instance, there was no compulsory teaching of Bible in the missionary schools' curricula. However, the effects of their activities were to convert some Eastern Christians to Protestantism as well as to reform the existing Christian churches and show Muslims that evangelical Protestantism had spirited in integrity, and improve people's way of life.

While the missionaries did not explicitly communicate the supremacy of American institutions, their cultural practices reflected their reliance on an American ideology to accomplish Christian objectives. In its closing paragraphs, chapter two touches on the fact that the American missionaries were essentially Christo-centric on

⁷ See Appendix I to locate the Bible House in Istanbul and Appendix XIV to capture a couple of its images.

the ground that the natives of Istanbul could reach salvation and civilization only through their guidance; thus their preaching represented American missionary values, in particular the values of New England Protestantism.

The third chapter begins with elucidating the reasons for why the establishment of the Istanbul station during the 1830s was crucial for the ABCFM missionaries. Missionaries believed an evangelical American Protestant mission particular to the Near East was a responsibility for them because they believed the United States had become a wealthy and civilized nation on basis of its religious and moral values. God had chosen them to be apostles among the infidels of the Holy land. Then, the American Board focused on Istanbul and chose William Goodell to expand its missions in the Near East. This chapter tells about the leadership of Goodell, the first establishments of missionaries, and the first missions among the Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Muslims in the city of Istanbul and its vicinity. It concludes that the evangelical American Protestant missionaries in Istanbul during the early nineteenth century essentially thought up as many stations to open, materials to publish, and people to contact as possible.

The late nineteenth century was the golden age for the ABCFM missions to Istanbul because this period witnessed the establishment of effective and long-lasting missionary institutions as well as the missionary adaptation to the conditions particular to Istanbul. The fourth chapter covers this chronology. It looks into the activities of the Gedik Pasha Boarding School in Istanbul, Robert College, and “the Bible House at Constantinople”, Üsküdar Girls’ College, the use of missionary houses to teach and preach, and their relations to the natives. It provides various insights into the missionaries’ activities in Istanbul; their relations with the Ottoman government, subjects, and the foreign nations and other missionaries in the Ottoman Empire at that

time; and the ABCFM education of local people and themselves for further missions. It argues that there was a shift towards education away from preaching. As a result, the moral improvement of natives and the education and medical services, which appeared in Istanbul during the late nineteenth century, would win popular native support during the next century.

In conclusion, chapter five claims that the American missionaries to Istanbul were active, audacious, and pious entrepreneurs, and the social and cultural representatives of the United States. In the long term, the ABCFM missions to Istanbul allowed the Ottomans to experience what to be a New England Protestant Christian was like. Their educational and printing institutions, although having changed their agendas and cause, have served the common good for many years (and some even survive to this day like colleges and language institutions). Numerous graduates from the missionary institutions and several converts became the religious leaders of their community or held teaching and ministry positions either in the United States or somewhere the American Board assigned them. This last chapter also concludes that the ABCFM missionaries in Istanbul carried out an idealist movement by clinging to their religious cause.

In addition, chapter five shows that the ABCFM mission to Istanbul and the Near East in general did not always function on easy terms and generate favorable results. For instance, the missionaries did not quickly adapt to the Ottoman socio-political economic structure, which was rather different from that in the United States. They did not easily get used to applying to the Supreme Court and *Nezaret*, the Ministries of the State, every time they wanted to establish a new institution. And the process was suffocating for them. Sometimes, the missionary work turned sour when local and national Turkish

authorities or other millets—religious minorities— attacked their enterprise or when the target audience did not attend to their preaching.

Other works have addressed this topic. Betül Başaran’s Bilkent University thesis, “Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908),” followed a similar approach to this thesis and analyzed the outcomes of the American missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire in terms of the Near Eastern educational progress. Her work divides the missions as “The First Period (1820-1839): Getting Acquainted”; “The Second Period (1839-1876): Advancement”; and “The Third Period (1876-1908): Dire Straits.”⁸

Although dates are applicable to history writing, such a periodization is inapplicable to the case of the missionaries. First, missionary activities did not, as implied by Başaran, follow a pattern of organization, advancement, and decline. For instance, the missionaries had just established the missionary stations in Northern Turkey when the colleges in Izmir and Istanbul reported several conversions and the success of the missionary works among the locals. Elsewhere, on the other hand, conversions did not happen so quickly. Furthermore, while the stations were always established first, there was no model for establishment of outstations.

Second, such periodization had less to do with the missionaries’ activities than with the Ottoman and global situations of the time. For example, the second chapter of Başaran’s thesis has very much to do with the situation of the Ottoman Empire when the Sultan proclaimed edicts granting social and religious tolerance among the Ottomans.

⁸ Betül Başaran, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies, 1820-1908* (Bilkent University: M.A. thesis, 1997).

The third chapter is even more dependent on the Ottoman and international context.

Likewise, Joseph Grabill aims to explain the American missionary activity in the Near East as a diplomatic experience which illustrated the missionaries were simply the communication agents of the American government in the Near East. Similar to Başaran, Grabill dates the history of American missionaries according to the changes in the American administration. However, such an approach robs the missionaries of integrity as historical subjects themselves.⁹

Finally, E. Kırşehirlioğlu produces a history of the American missionaries from a Turkish-Islamic point of view arguing that the missionaries came as the agents of the American government and intended to exploit the Ottoman Empire. The major chronological problem that appears in his work is that he also relies not on the missionary history and the missionaries experience but on the Ottoman and global political contexts. Since the forthcoming thesis intends to write the history of the missionaries in a particular place, the national and international contexts of the time should not determine its organization.¹⁰

The thesis offers possible answers to some questions like why the ABCFM missionaries left their homelands, what role they played abroad for the sake of the United States and Christianity and the natives of Istanbul, why they intended to work particularly in the Near East while many atheists or non-believers existed in their homeland, and whether it was worth it in the missionary mindset to work for the natives of Istanbul for entirely charitable purposes.

⁹ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Foreign Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1971).

¹⁰ E. Kırşehirlioğlu, *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri* (Istanbul: Bedir Yayinlari, 1963).

Overall, the American missionary enterprise in the Near East resulted from a New England evangelical tradition and turned into something of an “errand into the East.” For instance, the missionaries defended in Istanbul such ideas as egalitarianism, simplicity, consensus-building, gender equality, good family relations, pragmatism, some racism, and hard work. *Work for the Gospel Truth* was an accepted motto in the United States especially after the Second Great Awakening, and the evangelical communities in New England added to this motto one more principle: *Evangelize all races of the world*. In the end, this thesis argues, William Goodell led to the establishment of the Istanbul station, and became a latter-day Thomas Hooker, who had established congregationalism in America in the seventeenth century, of the nineteenth century in Istanbul in the hub of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹

In addition, Evangelical American Protestant missionaries’ scientific curiosity, desire to learn about different literatures and cultures, the friendly attitudes to non-Christians and “nominal” Christians, tendency to collaborate with the coreligionists to promote the Gospel Truth and preach Christ’s life and to arrange their lives and houses to remind people of the otherworld always remained fresh. During the eighteenth century, New Englanders admired their Puritan heritage and highly respected the founding and grand fathers. So did the missionaries in Istanbul. Besides, the children of the missionaries became missionaries themselves as mission-minded parents in New

¹¹ Doreen M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture* (Hampshire: Gregg Revivals, 1992), 19-43; Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 16-47; Charles E. Hambrick-Stowe, *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelism* (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996), 28-31, 76-77.

England often brought up mission-minded children.¹²

Moreover, in the course of time, there became some changes in the missionary errand into the East unlike the errand of the earlier Puritans. Although the ABCFM center in Boston requested missionaries to primarily focus on preaching to the Ottomans, particularly Eastern Christians, they intended both to teach and preach all the Ottomans once they landed in the field. There even erupted serious controversies between the opinions of the American Board and its missionaries in the field. The missionaries in the field began to believe that the natives needed education as much as preaching because their backwardness resulted from illiteracy.¹³ While they brought a New England congregational mindset with them to the East, their circumstances in Istanbul required them to change that mindset.

The research in Boston for this thesis adduced that there is not an overall or in-depth scholarly analysis of the presence of the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. Most American and Turkish historiography suggests either overly sympathetic or overly critical interpretations of the ABCFM activities in the Ottoman Empire, because initially the old missionaries and their kin in the States, or lately the Muslim religious radicals and anti-Americans in Turkey, have done the writing of the history of the American missionaries in the Middle East.¹⁴

¹² Doreen M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture* (Hampshire: Gregg Revivals, 1992), 97-118, 203-241; Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000), 217-240.

¹³ See Appendix III, X, XII, XIII, and XIV.

¹⁴ Fred Field Goodell, *They Lived Their Faith. An Almanac of Faith, Hope and Love* (Boston: ABCFM, 1961); Jeffrey S. Gurock, *American Zionism: Mission and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1998); Musa Çakır, *Anadolumuz Asla Hıristiyan Olmayacak: Misyonerler, Memleketinize Dönünüz* (Istanbul: M.S. Matbaası, 1966); E. Kırşirlioglu, *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*.

There are only a few historians who wrote worthwhile works on American-Ottoman relations. A broad survey of Turkey from an American perspective is Philip K. Hitti's *The Near East in History* (New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1961). John Joseph puts a special focus on Nestorians, their status in the Ottoman Empire, and the missionary influence on them in *The Nestorians and their Muslim Neighbors: A Study of Western Influence on Their Relations* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961). Another study of the minorities in the Ottoman Empire and their relations to the American Missionaries from a Protestant Armenian perspective is Leon Arpee's *A History of Armenian Christianity from the Beginning to Our Own Time* (New York: Armenian Missionary Association, 1946).

Several studies argue that the missionaries were the agents of the United States. Those include John K. Fairbank's American Historical Association address in 1968 titled "Assignment of the '70's" in *American Historical Review* (February 1969): 861-879; H. Richard Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* (New York: Harper, 1951); Alan Gayer's *Piety and Politics: American Protestantism in the World Arena* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1963); Stephen Neill's *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966); and *Missions and the American Mind* by Kenneth Scott Latourette (Indianapolis: National Foundation Press, 1949). All these works support the perception that the American government backed and watched over the missionaries.

Some scholars approached the history of the missionaries from other perspectives. Valentin H. Rabe's Ph.D. dissertation, "The American Protestant Foreign Mission Movement: 1820-1920" (Harvard University, 1965), and the works, *Middle East Dilemmas: The Background of the United States Policy* by J. C. Hurewitz (New

York: Harper, 1953), *The United States and the Arab World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1965) by William R. Polk, and *The American Approach to the Arab World* by John S. Badeau (New York: Harper, 1968) shifted the focus on the issue of the missionary enterprise to an international platform.

A majority of the secondary literature on American missionaries in the Near East as well as Ottoman-American relations hardly uses a crucial reservoir of data, which is in the archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions on deposit in Cambridge, Massachusetts since 1944.¹⁵ The research for this thesis in the archives in Houghton and Congregational libraries in Boston demonstrated that the sources are immense but have not been widely exploited. Unlike the existing secondary works on the missionaries, it primarily relies on various primary sources as well as official documents. It utilizes the *Annual Reports*, which are the basic printed record of the Board's activities, the *Year Books*, which contain the lists of the missionaries, and the *Missionary Herald*, the Board's monthly magazine. Additional sources are the pamphlets, constituting the official documents addressed by the American Board by and large for general readers; the historical sketches of the missions written by the missionaries in the field; and the personal papers of certain missionaries that operated in Istanbul.¹⁶ As for the personal papers, it is unfortunate that they do not survive today except those published like *My Life and Times* by Cyrus Hamlin.

¹⁵ For detailed information regarding the archives of the American Board in Massachusetts, see Mary A. Walker, "The Archives of the American Board for Foreign Missions" *Harvard Library Bulletin* 6 (1952): 52-68; J. F. Coakley, "The ABCFM Collection of Harvard" *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9 (1998): 3-4.

¹⁶ This thesis, which scrutinizes particularly the missions of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Istanbul, essentially use various concerned documents filed in "Correspondence from Overseas," "Correspondence at Boston," "Turkey documents," "Miscellaneous letters," as well as other primary sources from the Ottoman and American archives. Also, see Appendix IX.

This thesis also consulted the documents of the U.S. Department of State available in the library of the American embassy and the Ottoman state registers in Ankara, Turkey. The documents in the library of the American embassy have rich information on overseas Protestant lobbying while the Ottoman records help to criticize the missionary documents and thus develop a balanced point of view.

Periodicals include the American Board's *Annual Report* and *Missionary Herald*. The offices in the United States of Robert College, the American University of Beirut, the Near East College Association and some other missionary institutions also periodically published annual reports, catalogues, and pamphlets, which this thesis extensively utilizes.

In addition, this thesis relies on bibliographical materials. The general works like *Pioneers East: The Early American Presence in the Middle East* by David H. Finnie (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), *The Missionary and His Critics* (New York: Revell, 1906) and *Daybreak in Turkey* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1908) both written by James L. Barton, and *They Lived Their Faith: An Almanac of Faith, Hope and Love* by Fred Field Goodsell (Boston: ABCFM, 1961) give a detailed account of the first generation American missionaries in the Near East, and are sources required to realize the dynamics of the missionaries and missionary activities from an early stage to late.

In conclusion, the following thesis elucidates the ABCFM missions to Istanbul between 1830 and 1900. It intends to shed new light on the issues of religious and social history of the United States with emphasis on the ABCFM missionary activities in the city of Istanbul during the nineteenth century by its use of primary sources, its spot on a particular place at a specific time, and its fresh interpretations on American and Ottoman

religious history that American and Turkish historiography have neglected. It has particular relevance to today's global context while millions of missionaries still operate all over the world calling people to their cause and aiming to alter the course of world history.¹⁷

¹⁷ An interesting article that discussed whether the missionaries could fill the power vacuum in the Middle East after the Second Iraqi Operation of the United States, which charted the outstanding number of missionaries over the world, arguing that they may change the world order in the near future, is "Should the Christians Convert the Muslims?" *Time* (4 August 2003): 34-37.

CHAPTER II:

**AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ATTITUDES TOWARDS
THE OTTOMANS IN TERMS OF THEIR EXPERIENCE IN
ISTANBUL AND ITS VICINITY**

In 1823, at the same time that James Monroe, the fifth President of the United States, declared that the U.S. would permit no “foreign interference” in the United States, a group of devout Protestants established a transatlantic American missionary organization, called the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the ABCFM. It determined to focus on the Near East. The Near East included the Holy Land but was corrupt and belonged to infidels now: the cradle of the old civilizations had become uncivilized and sank in darkness.

The American missionaries during the nineteenth century symbolized in Istanbul and its vicinity an evangelical Protestantism peculiar to the United States and characterized by American culture. The missionaries did not set out to Americanize the native population, but they introduced into the Near East, and Istanbul in particular, an American outlook and evangelical Protestant values such as egalitarianism, simplicity, consensus-building, separation of church and state, manly honor, women’s domestic sphere of influence, marriage, pragmatism, racism, and hard work.

American missionary activities at the Istanbul station relied on the Gospel truth and the teaching of Christ, and the missionaries thought that those in Istanbul should learn evangelical Protestant Christianity at first hand, which could grant them “salvation.” On

the whole, the missionary enterprise intuitively suggested the reformation and improvement of Near Eastern civilization: its society, religion, and education. In particular, the American missionary activities in Istanbul during the nineteenth century motivated certain far-reaching socio-cultural transformations. Later, it contributed to the social and intellectual dynamics of the region.¹

In *Albion's Seed*, David Hackett Fischer looks for possible explanations of the origins of the American society and culture, and identifies American society as a voluntary society, which is “stubbornly democratic in its politics, capitalist in its economy, libertarian in its laws, individualist in its society and pluralistic in its culture.”² Fischer’s analysis of American society gives various hints about the American missionaries in the Near East. However, another point is of great importance in the missionary case: Religious zeal. Protestant Christianity was a crucial factor in American immigrations and the Puritans from Britain to North America contributed to the foundation and evolution of the United States. The missionaries regarded these Puritans as their fathers, and relying upon the promotion of the earliest and the most purified form of Christianity for their religious understanding, they gave a rise to an evangelical New England Protestantism in the Near East.³

The incorporation of religion into Americanism is perhaps *sine qua non* particularly in understanding the American missionaries that made a transatlantic crusade onto heathens’ lands. The ABCFM missionaries of the Istanbul station added to political,

¹ Samir Khalaf, “Leaving the Levant: New England Puritanism as a Cultural Transplant” *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 7 (1997): 268-292; also see chapter 5 of this thesis.

² David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 4.

³ Stephen Foster, *The long argument: English Puritanism and the shaping of New England* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 15-65.

social, and economic aspects of American “ways”, as Fisher says, a profound dose of exciting religious stimuli derived from New England’s regional atmosphere. Missionaries’ academic and religious publications, construction and establishment of various institutions, the use of houses as the primary agency to transmit their beliefs and culture including cooking, clothing, singing, and behaviors in the Near East during the nineteenth century all illustrated an idiosyncratic and charitable movement rooted in the religious and academic nature of New England.⁴

The ABCFM missionaries intended to help, enlighten, and sometimes proselytize the natives of the city of Istanbul through representing a pure evangelical form of Christianity. In regard to the forerunners of the ABCFM missions in Istanbul, the missionaries of the early twentieth century recalled,

The West, conscious of its great indebtedness to the East, desired to offer to all these races [of the East] a share in those varied fruits of a pure evangelical Christianity which our fathers, who embraced Christianity later than did Armenians and Greeks, have long privileged to enjoy. The purpose and aim of those who came and of those who sent them was not divisive; it was not proselytizing; it was to bring light and help to those in darkness and in need.

Those fathers of the mission represented New England Christianity of the first half of the nineteenth century. That form of Christianity could hardly be called sympathetic towards Romish or Oriental churches, though recognizing and rejoicing in religious aspiration wherever found. It was the honest and anxious desire of that time to re-introduce here the New Testament evangel—the uplifting and enlightening power of a pure and living Christianity. This was to be done through preaching, through schools, through the Bible and other Christian books translated into the vernaculars of the several peoples and circulated among them.⁵

The ABCFM missionaries of the nineteenth century themselves described their movement through a full obedience to Jesus and the Gospel truth. They portrayed their

⁴ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America*, 805-807.

⁵ George F. Frederick, “The First Missionaries to Turkey” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople* (Gloucester: John Bellows, 1906?) [817.601 A512.1 A512se, 1906 in Houghton Library, Boston], 39-40.

missions as “the most stupendous undertaking, which has ever been conceived by men, which in fact, could never have been conceived by men apart from divine revelation and command.”⁶ Therefore, they truly relied on the New Testament and the teaching of the Christ and believed that their enterprise was divine. This thesis argues that this belief considerably encouraged them for further missions, and affected their approach towards the natives of Istanbul in the way that they were like apostles and the natives in the city were those in need of their teaching.

Jeremiah Evarts, a founder of the American Board, later remembered the first meeting of the American Board,

One thing was prominent and universal, viz, a deep sense of the sublime position and devout consecration of this missionary band... In the right sense they were marked men, well suited to the emergency... The feeling was, Try it; if the project fails, it would have, from such men, an honorable burial.⁷

Initially, at least, New England missions to the Near East were a matter of manly honor. Providentially, the project did not fail. It extended worldwide in a very short time, including Istanbul, where the missionaries thought the ABCFM could be successful to civilize and evangelize what was to them the most heretic and entangled nations. From the outset, the American Board wanted to infiltrate the Near East because “it seemed intolerable to its founders that Christianity’s birthplace should be forever in the grip of Islam, or left to exhibit a form of Christianity, ancient and entrenched, but for the most part lifeless.”⁸

⁶ C. H. Patton, *The Business of Missions* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), x.

⁷ Edward Warren Capen. *American Board History Manuscript* (Boston: ABCFM, 1908?), 116-117.

⁸ William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: The Centenary of American Foreign Missions* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1910), 80.

In a missionary concern, Istanbul was the heart of the Near East, but the Istanbul station first had to appear inconspicuously, not drawing attention of the local authorities. Lydia B. Dodd advised David Greene to “be calm.” She continued,

There were hints of possible houses that might be at our disposal, but no business could be done, and definite inquiries in any particular direction, only seemed to show that we had better be quiet.⁹

As Cyrus Hamlin’s autobiography and *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey* in 1872 divulged, the American missionaries did not show their true colors in the beginning. “The first generation [of missionaries] came for information.”¹⁰

However, the ABCFM missionaries soon after the 1830s began to try to reform the indigenous Christians, i.e. non-Protestants, and keep the Muslims informed of their evangelical Christianity. In a pamphlet, Reverend James S. Dennis, D.D., a Professor of theology, commented on this attitude,

God has given us the gospel... Let it be one of the watchwords of our church in these closing decades of the 19th century, that Christ, the Child of the Orient and the divine heir of her tribes and kingdoms, shall possess his inheritance... The spell of twelve centuries shall be broken. The voice from the Arabian Desert shall no longer say to the church of the living God –thus far and no further. The deep and sad delusion which shadows the intellectual and spiritual life of so many millions of our fellow-men shall be dispelled, and the blessed life-giving power of Christ’s religion shall supplant the dead forms and the outworn creed of Islam.¹¹

Coincidentally, the Ottoman leaders enacted a series of reforms to rejuvenate the state at the same time that the American missionaries were first appearing in Istanbul. The Imperial Edicts of 1839 and 1856 granted freedom to Ottoman subjects regardless of their

⁹ “Letter from Mrs. Dodd to Dr. Greene [1906]” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 61-62.

¹⁰ *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey* (Boston: Published by the Board, 1872) [ABCFM Pamphlet B in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston], 9-14; Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1893)

¹¹ Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., *Islam and Christian Missions* (New York: Funk and Wagnalis, 1889) [Reprinted from *The Missionary Review of the World*, August 1889, ABCFM Pamphlet D in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

religious affiliation. Perhaps reflecting their familiarity with religious freedom in America, the ABCFM missionaries believed that the provisions of “equal duties and privileges among all Ottoman subjects under a common citizenship, regardless of their faith and languages” promoted their missionary activities.¹² As a result, abandoning their previous approach, they began to overtly preach, teach, and welcome conversions.

The evangelical American Protestant missionaries came to Istanbul to preach to what they considered the nominal Christians of the Eastern Churches with the Gospel truth and to educate Muslims.¹³ They anticipated that their missions in Istanbul would bring about the restoration of the nominal churches and an intellectual, social, and cultural revolution. In practice though, the American missionaries in Istanbul brought New England traditional thought as well. In their opinion, the United States had inherited from their Puritan fathers and their pilgrimage such a superior creed and intellectual elitism that had to be embraced by the natives of Istanbul one day. That is, the United States as the most civilized and true believer nation of the world should pilot the world and the world should practice evangelical Protestant Christianity: this was their errand. All these had simply appeared in New England and become the religious attitude there.¹⁴

The ABCFM missionaries wanted to Americanize Istanbul to some extent, but “Americanization” implies an unusual meaning here. First, the Americanization of Istanbul was a social and cultural adaptation of American thinking to the natives of the

¹² For the tangible consequences of the Imperial Edicts during the Tanzimat Era, see Salahi, R. Sonyel, “Tanzimat and its Effects on the Non-Muslim Subjects of the Ottoman Empire” *Tanzimat'in Yildonumu Uluslararası Sempozyumu* (Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu, 1994), 353-358. For a missionary perception of the proclamation of Tanzimat, see E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter and Brother, 1876), 229-247.

¹³ Cyrus Hamlin, *The Oriental Churches and Mohammedans* (Boston: ABCFM, 1853) [Missionary Tracts No.11, 815.L9 in Widener Library, Boston]

¹⁴ Keith W. F. Stavely, *Puritan Legacies: Paradise Lost and the New England Tradition, 1630-1890* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 19-197.

city. That is, Americanization, or civilizing and “correcting the infidel and anarchic” as the missionaries themselves expressed in their works, was a “social phenomenon”, involving intellectual and cultural work, rather than a plan to open new corridors to American-style democracy or American markets.¹⁵ That is, it was not principally concerned with the political and economic advantages of the United States. The essence of the missions was intellectual, and the missionaries were interested in politics and economy only in terms of their work to civilize those in the Near East.

Second, the American missionary enterprise was utterly based on a New England tradition. Since Congregational, Presbyterian, and Reformed churches in New England that established the ABCFM in 1820 as an interdenominational society mainly consisted of white Protestant volunteers willing to preach abroad, the American missionaries from Boston to Istanbul had no Negro or Catholic coworkers. Non-Anglo-Saxon Christians could be followers, but not leaders. Although other races could be nurtured, and help them in their missions, missionaries in Istanbul thought that only White Anglo Saxon Protestants could pass the others through St. Peter’s Gate after these others with their guidance experienced redeemed life in this world.

The ABCFM missionaries solicited those apt to enhance the American influence in the Near East. In search of further funds for the Robert College in Istanbul, George Washburn wrote,

Robert College “has acquired a worldwide reputation as a model American Christian College... The people of the East have manifested their confidence... [and] all the Christian churches of the East are in sympathy with it... the Trustees earnestly appeal to friends of the College, and to all those who

¹⁵ Brewer Eddy, *The Social Aspects of the American Board’s Work* (Boston: ABCFM, n.d.) [817.83 A.B.C.F.M. (Box) in Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

benefit in the power of a Christian education or who care for American influence in Europe and the East, for funds.”¹⁶

Such appeals indicate that the ABCFM missionaries wanted and made use of fundraisers and supporters for their missions in Istanbul. The only benefit from the ABCFM missions in Istanbul for the American administration and policymakers was perhaps the middle-ground developed by the missionaries for compromise between Americans and the Ottomans, especially native Eastern Christians. A missionary articulated that they were “a cause of improvement of the religious and moral standards of natives... [and provided] a fully harmony between the views of Americans and the natives.”¹⁷

Moreover, the target audience of the missionaries was not just the students nor any particular group. The missionaries welcomed everyone in the Istanbul station and the neighboring areas. A missionary informed his colleagues.

I suggested to the new Bishop of Smyrna... to lead the religious societies existing in Asia Minor... and form a Union of Christian associations and start conferences among them.¹⁸

The ABCFM missionaries in Istanbul occasionally contradicted the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM in regard to the missionary works on the field. Once the ABCFM missionaries landed in Istanbul, they saw that the directions sent from the ABCFM center in Boston were not applicable in the field and they resisted the acknowledgement of evangelical religious tradition. For instance, the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM suggested many names for Robert College (before it received

¹⁶ Letter from George to his wife Henrietta, New York, Jan. 28, 1890, *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn* [73 letters to Henrietta (Hamlin) Washburn, 1863-1910, n.d.; letters 69 to 73. [In Houghton Library, Boston]

¹⁷ Letter from Elion Leon to George Washburn, Constantinople, July 28, 1910, *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn* [Manuscripts presented by Mrs. Basil D. Hall, 1878 Main Road, Westport Point, MA, received: Aug. 28, 1963, available in the Congregational Library, Boston]

¹⁸ Letter from Elion Leon to George Washburn, Constantinople, July 28, 1910, *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn*.

its name) like the American College and the Anglo-American College. But Cyrus Hamlin insisted it be named Robert after the donor of the funds. Yet, while the Board wanted Robert College to teach in native language and have native and American teachers in the same numbers, Cyrus Hamlin strongly opposed the Board in Boston. Hamlin claimed that Robert College had to be American and Christian in atmosphere. He argued that its struggle was against the infidels and corruption. The only way for liberating the natives of Istanbul was to set the college in unison with such principles of New England religious tradition as egalitarianism, progressivism, pursuit of individual salvation and intellectual formation, American analytical and inquisitive research and teaching methods (at the expense of the Near Eastern way of teaching, which wanted the students to be “obedient” and not critique their teachers), and Protestant Christian values. These were the only means not only for earthly happiness but also for salvation.¹⁹

As a matter of fact, the ABCFM missionary enterprises in Istanbul during the nineteenth century had the inducements Cyrus Hamlin had just noted. They were intellectuals, but perhaps not freethinkers. Their pious, patriotic, and ambitious families brought them up to be the advocates of a New England Christian spirit. In the Divinity schools of Harvard and Yale universities, they contemplated how the world and men could be recovered. They learned and taught how to give people hope for salvation. The previous generations of theologians in the United States had already conceived a national enterprise to influence the globe for something better, or the best. Now, a flock of missionaries launched the campaign to civilize and preach to the world. Some came to

¹⁹ For Hamlin’s ideas, see Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*. For Hamlin’s suggestions about the future of Robert College, see Charles T. Riggs, “The Making of Robert College” 1 vol. (Istanbul, n.d.) [*73 M – 100 ABC 8; *Histories of the Board and Individual Missions* in Lamont Library, Boston]

Istanbul, represented a “superior American and Protestant Christian life,” and called the people to the Gospel truth.

Like the British Missionary Society, the American Board established such public institutions as schools, hospitals and churches. In some cases, they even combined philanthropy and enterprise. Haroutine Mugurditch Dadavrian wrote to Anson Phelps Stokes,

The more I think about the importance of a pioneer engineering school, with a Christian atmosphere, upon the future of the Turkish Empire, the more I realize the need of such an institution. You can imagine the field it will have when you remember the fact that Asiatic Turkey alone is three and a half times as large as Germany and is by far the richer in undeveloped natural resources.²⁰

The directors of the American Board told the missionaries, before departing from New England for the Near East, “In no man is knowledge more really power than the schoolmaster and by none is more valued, by none more certainly used.”²¹ The American missionaries argued that they did not exploit the Oriental Christians and Muslims in the Near East. A missionary in the field noted, the missions in the Near East did not “draw any members from them [the Eastern churches] in order to build up our own [an American Protestant church]”. Instead, the American missionaries intended to proselytize only “those who called upon them or whom they might meet as they went here and there.”²²

The American missionaries never aimed to set up officially a recognized Protestant millet with American protection. American missionaries made efforts to spread what they saw as a superior intellectual and religious credo throughout the Istanbul station. Before Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Robert College, left Boston for Istanbul, the American

²⁰ Dadavrian, Haroutine Mugurditch, (1878-?) to Anson Phelps Stokes; New Haven, 7 January 1909, *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*.

²¹ *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria, 1819-1870*. Eds. Kemal Salibi and Yusuf K. Khoury (Jordan, Amman: Royal Institute of Inter-Faith Studies, 1995), 3rd v., 64.

²² William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: The Centenary of American Foreign Missions*, 92.

Board instructed him, "You are not sent among these churches to proselytize... Direct your whole force to the principal post and when that is taken the others will fall at once."²³

The principal post of the American missionaries was education and preaching in the Istanbul station, and thus civilizing the natives of the city perhaps in unison with the United States.

The Ottoman government intended that the imperial edicts proclaimed by the Sultan during the Tanzimat Era would provide freedom from state and other external influence in the religious practice of established groups. Such religious freedom was not individualistic but for the various communities. The American missionaries interpreted the edicts in a different way, believing that the edicts gave them the right to proselytize the Ottomans as they pleased.²⁴

The American missionaries in the Near East called themselves the Bible men and the natives as the nominal Christians and infidels. As *The Missionary Herald* reported to the American Board Center in Boston,

The Eastern churches in the Middle East, whose doctrines are obscured by human inventions... [sacrificed] the controlling power inherent in the Christianity of the New Testament... and all the purpose of revelation... [They have] no more tendency to meliorate the human character than paganism; and perhaps even a retributive hardness of heart and spiritual folly may be induced upon the ecclesiastics by their profane manner of treating worldly things. [Consequently, the American Board sent its missionaries to confront these inventors of evil things.]²⁵

In another report, *The Herald* explained reasons why Turks despised Christianity,

The worst obstacles which a missionary meets with are the contempt of Christianity or the prejudice against it, which the people feel, from having observed the immoral lives from countries nominally Christian, or from the

²³ *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria, 1819-1870*, Kemal Salibi and Yusuf K. Khoury eds. 3rd v., 162.

²⁴ Salahi, R. Sonyel, "Tanzimat and its Effects on the Non-Muslim Subjects of the Ottoman Empire," 353-358.

²⁵ *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria, 1819-1870*, Kemal Salibi and Yusuf K. Khoury eds. 2nd v., 164-165.

unmeaning ceremonies, the bigotry, and the manifest hypocrisy of professedly Christian ministers and churches. The heathen, and so do the Mohammedans, easily see that such a religion has no good effect on the temper and conduct of its professors.²⁶

Therefore, not the Muslims but the nominal Christians because of their religious faults were guilty for the inferior socio-cultural structure of the Near East.

The American missionaries had the impression that Eastern Christianity gave Muslims a false idea about Christianity. The missionaries considered it essential that Eastern Christians should acquire a dignity that would allow Muslims to approach them neutrally, if not positively. As *The Missionary Herald* noted as early as 1839,

The Mohammedan nations cannot be converted to the Christian faith while the oriental churches existing everywhere among them as the representatives and exemplifications of Christianity continue in their present state.²⁷

Therefore, the American Board instructed the missionaries before traveling to the Near East: "The object of our missions to the oriental churches is first, to revive the knowledge and spirit of the Gospel among them; and secondly by this means to operate among the Mohammedans."²⁸

At the beginning, the American Board was not sure of how to conduct its missions in the Near East. The missionaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society argued that Muhammad was a charlatan. In 1860, the American missionaries, similar to British missionaries, published in "the Bible House at Constantinople" bulletins claiming the fraudulency of Muhammad and his belief system. For instance, two pamphlets reviewed by *Missionary Herald* were *Proofs of the Falsehood of the Mohammedan Religion* and

²⁶ *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria, 1819-1870*, Kemal Salibi and Yusuf K. Khoury eds. 2nd v., 253.

²⁷ Edwin M. Martin, *The Hubbards of Sivas* (Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1991), 95.

²⁸ *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria, 1819-1870*, Kemal Salibi and Yusuf K. Khoury eds. 3rd v., 360.

Mizan Al-Hak, the Balance of Truth. In this case, the missionaries did not blame the Muslims but Islam and its prophet because they went after Muslims, not just Eastern Christians and did not want to bother their addressees.²⁹

The Ottoman government and Muslim subjects reacted in various ways to the missionary accusations against Islam and its prophet. First, the central government sealed off several American missionary stations because it thought the missionary operations were a threat to the public order. In the Ottoman provinces, missionaries were more at risk. To illustrate, in 1827 Joseph Wolf wrote a pamphlet addressed to the Muslims of Alexandria, urging them to repent and become Christians. When the local governor received a copy of the pamphlet, he had Wolf flogged and then expelled.³⁰

As far as the Istanbul station is concerned, a tangible consequence of the American missionary movement during the 19th century was civic disturbance. The natives sometimes overreacted to the American missionaries. They harassed the missionaries, the local churches typically threatened their followers with excommunication if they contacted the missionaries, and the local governments took preventive measures to stop them from preaching and especially converting the people.

In reality, the American missionaries did not convert so many from the Eastern Churches and even fewer Muslims in the entire Near East. For instance, the stations in Muscat, a city in Oman, converted only 5 Muslims within fifty years.³¹ However, the successful of the ABCFM missions was broader than conversions. The introduction into

²⁹ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934* (ABCFM 31:4, Unpublished, n.d. in Houghton Library, Boston), 25.

³⁰ Jeremy Salt, *Trouble Wherever They Went: American Missionaries in Anatolia and Ottoman Syria in the 19th Century* (Bellagio, Italy: Middle East Institute Conference, 2000) [Online] Available: <http://www.ciaonet.org/conf/mei01/saj01.html#note81> [Accessed: 14 October 2002]

³¹ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions* (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 311.

the Near East of New England tradition, which relied on evangelical Protestant values, an inquisitive educational system, and American culture from food habits to family relations, and more important, the representation of an evangelical Protestant Christianity were the main concerns for the ABCFM missionaries. On the other hand, the Ottoman Muslim subjects usually accused the missionaries when the Ottoman Empire began to fall apart. For instance, they believed that Robert College caused the loss of Bulgaria during the early twentieth century because it educated and supported individual freedom among the Bulgarians.³²

Despite the persecutions and harassments among the missionaries in the Near East prior to the establishment of the Istanbul station, the ABCFM missionaries were sure of their compliance. While Henry T. Perry prayed, “We all are members of the broken Body of our Lord Jesus; that we suffer with Him, that which He in His infinite wisdom wills it best to give to us,” a missionary expressly stated his optimism,

Under the pagan emperors fiery persecutions were endured and the Gospel still prevailed. But in these persecutions it usually was only some of the principal persons or at least a part of Christians that were put to death. Perhaps a few conversions should take place and be followed by immediate martyrdom the blood of the martyrs would again prove the seed of the church and the persecutions cease from their opposition... Possibly some great political revolution is to open the door for the free preaching of the Gospel to the followers of the false prophet.³³

Although the missionaries in Istanbul did not undergo pervasive persecution, they were harassed considerably and,

[They were] likely to be offended and even outraged by them [the Muslims] and the Ottoman government would not tolerate open proselytism whatever ‘rights’ the missionaries thought they had under the Ottoman law. All of

³² E. Kırşirlioğlu, *Türkiye’de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*.

³³ Henry T. Perry, *Diaries*, Box 1 [the year 1891 in the first box and the year 1911 in the second box, ABC 55: 39 volumes in two black boxes, in Houghton Library, Boston]; *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria, 1819-1870*, Kemal Salibi and Yusuf K. Khoury eds. 1st v., 251.

this put the missionaries in the position of watchers at a banquet gazing hungrily at food they were prevented from eating.³⁴

The cynical attitudes of the American missionaries toward the Ottoman administration often came to the fore in their memoirs and letters. Moreover, the American missionaries shared the idea of European diplomats that only foreign pressure could make the Ottoman government conduct a series of reforms. In so doing, the missionaries supported the European powers to exert pressure on the Ottoman State to modernize.³⁵

Why did the ABCFM missionaries come to the Near East? As the American missionaries said, their desire to serve God brought them to the Near East where the Gospel truth first emerged but became spoiled later. For the Ottomans of the time, the missionaries were “covered with sheep’s clothing but within are ravenous wolves.”³⁶ The Ottomans thought that missionaries were acting clandestinely; hoping to change the Ottomans’ way of thinking, in order to eventually capture their homeland. As Stephen Neill noted, “Christian missionary work is frequently understood by the people of Africa and the East not as the sharing of an inestimable treasure but as an unwanted imposition from without, inseparably associated with the progress of the colonial powers.”³⁷

In reality, the ABCFM *Annual Reports*, *Missionary Herald*, its monthly magazines, the *Pamphlets*, and the *Historical Sketches of the Missions* written by the missionaries themselves often mention religious zeal and charity concerns that led the

³⁴ Jeremy Salt, *Trouble Wherever They Went: American Missionaries in Anatolia and Ottoman Syria in the 19th Century*.

³⁵ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 147; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil’s Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 94.

³⁶ *The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria, 1819-1870*, Kemal Salibi and Yusuf K. Khoury eds. 2nd v., 88.

³⁷ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 213.

missionaries to the Near East and Istanbul in particular.³⁸ American Protestant missionaries did intend only to enlighten the natives at their stations. But they also unconsciously represented an American lifestyle and Christo-centricism during the 19th century.

In addition, the ABCFM missionaries often became involved in international political and diplomatic affairs in order to facilitate their mission to Istanbul. From the start, the missionaries had close relations with British and American governments.³⁹ As a result, their consular protection by the British and American governments put pressure on the Ottoman government in various circumstances such as when they needed special imperial edicts to facilitate their missionary establishments.⁴⁰

The ABCFM missionaries believed that the inhabitants of the city of Istanbul had to realize liberty, equality, and pursuit of individual salvation, and the attitude of expectation for personal salvation similar to them. In order to achieve such a progress, the American missionaries had to take the lead in the Near East. In accordance with a New England Evangelical Protestant tradition, they believed, "Only Western man was wise and good and members of other races... might share in this wisdom and goodness. But Western man was the leader and would remain so for a very long time, perhaps forever."⁴¹

The ABCFM missionaries overall determined to change the society and culture of Istanbul and they thought it would be in a positive way. As a result, their missions to Istanbul symbolized a significant movement of New England's religious interventionism

³⁸ *Facts Up-to-date Regarding the American Board, 1921-1922* (Boston: ABCFM, n.d.) [817.83 A.B.C.F.M. 1 box in Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

³⁹ Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 95.

⁴⁰ For an economic aspect of the American missionary experience in Turkey, see *The Treaty Rights of the American Missionaries in Turkey, 8 April 1893* [ABCFM Pamphlet Box in Andover Harvard Theological Library in Boston]

⁴¹ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 220.

and intellectual progressivism. In addition, their self-buoyancy, idealism, adventurism, and social virtues were affected by the American outlook of the time. The missionaries thought that the “others” and their “society” in Istanbul had corrupt religions and institutions. On the whole, the ABCFM missions to Istanbul were a movement intended to have charitable results, but also had other consequences, both productive and pernicious.

CHAPTER III:

TAKE THE CROSS BACK ONTO THE HOLY LANDS INTO THE HEATHENS' REALM: AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES IN ISTANBUL DURING THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

If the "Gospel life" can make a strong impression upon this city the dynamic of it will be carried into every hamlet of distant Kurdistan.¹

—David Brewer Eddy

The American missionaries envisaged functioning in Turkey, particularly the city of Istanbul, because they believed that Turkey was the key to Asia and Istanbul was the political and economic capital, and social and cultural hub of the Near East, from where the Gospel light, truth and wisdom would radiate.² As an old missionary explained it in plain and precise terms, Istanbul "became the center of our [missionary] work in Turkey in 1830" approximately twenty years after the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.³

Even the ABCFM was a relative latecomer to the region. Other Christian missionaries worked diligently among the natives of Istanbul for two centuries prior to

¹ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East* (Boston: The American Board, 1913), 86.

² S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 1; Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress* (New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, 1901), 15-46; also see Appendix III.

³ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 61

the arrival of the missionaries of the American Board.⁴ Perhaps the first missionary to Istanbul was a young German missionary, Peter Heyling, entrusted with evangelizing the “Nominal Christians” of the Eastern Patriarchates. In 1630, Heyling came to Istanbul and intended to restore the Gospel truth in the Oriental Greek and Armenian churches, but he died a few years later.⁵

Following the German Evangelical community, the British Foreign Bible Society and Russian Bible Society undertook the missionary work in Istanbul, and together translated the New Testament into ancient and Modern Greek in 1810 and into Armenian in 1814. Providentially, H. Lindsay, the chaplain to the British Embassy in Istanbul, had the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates approve of the New Testament’s new translations. During the years between 1820 and 1826, more than thirty thousand copies of the New Testament in Greco-Turkish, Armeno-Turkish, and Judeo-Spanish were sold.⁶

The United Brethren, the first American transatlantic missionary association, charged Christian Friedrich Wilhelm Hocker with a special mission to Abyssinia. On the way to his field, Hocker first visited Istanbul in 1754 and became the first missionary to acquire travel clearance by an imperial edict from the Grand Vizier, a rescriptum from

⁴ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 126-148.

⁵ Pauli, “Peter Heyling: der Erste Evangelische Deutsche Missionar” *AMZ* 3 (1876), 206-223; Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (New York: AMS Press, 1910), 91. Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 284.

⁶ Hâris Yûsuf Ganimet, *El-Protostânt ve El-İnciliyyün fi’l-’Irâk*, 45; George Browne, *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2nd v. (London: British & Foreign Bible Society, 1859), 24-25; S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 4; Salahi R. Sonycl, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993), 192 .

the Sublime Porte to the Vali at Jeddah, and a right of passage through an official letter from the Vali of Istanbul to the Sheriff at Cairo.⁷

Yet, after its establishment, the ABCFM energetically ventured into the Ottoman Empire. Pliny Fisk and Harrison Gray Otis Dwight first went to the Near East in the early 1810s. Their primary concern was to send the American Board in Boston regular reports concerning the level of ignorance in specific regions and some locations qualified to commence a mission. In 1829, Fisk and Dwight requested the Prudential Committee of the American Board, which was “charged with the all-important task of keeping its [the American Board’s] world-wide missionary operations solvent,” to launch a station in Istanbul.⁸ They had behind their request the idea that the Near Eastern missionary work headed from a station such as one in Istanbul could be influential in order that the people of the East would break free from the deep darkness in whose privation they had been living so long.⁹

Station or Sub-station	Harpur, Aleppo, and Bitlis	Antep, Adana, and Tarsus	Persia and Syria	Balkans	Istanbul and Izmir	Other Stations and non-specified sub-stations
Number of Recorded Missionaries	32	40	50	53	74	150

⁷ William Brown, *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation* (London: Duncan & Cochran, 1814), 21; Edward Warren Capen, *American Board History*, 70-111

⁸ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 5-8, 33-34; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 57; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin* (New York: University Press of America, 1988), 91; Eddy Brewer, *The Social Aspects of the American Board's Work*, 9.

⁹ James P. McNaughton, “Turkey’s Triple Tragedy” *The Man from the Field* [Reprinted from the *Missionary Herald* in 14 June 1916, A.B.C. F.M. 11.3. in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]; Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 15-46; S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 3; Bernard Frederick Nordmann, *American Missionary Work Among Armenians in Turkey, 1830-1923* (Urbana, Illinois: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1927), 5.

Table- Number of Missionaries in the Near East Missions during the nineteenth century.¹⁰

This study seeks to correct misperceptions of other studies of Near Eastern missionaries. Several scholars argue that the Ottoman Empire was attractive to missionaries because of its advanced geo-strategic, financial and economic, and religious development. In fact, the missionaries did not single out the Ottoman Empire, as other stations in India, Syria, and Africa were established simultaneously with the Istanbul station. Others, meanwhile, argue that that the missionaries “found the conditions in the Ottoman Empire similar to the ones in their homeland.”¹¹ But only religious zeal and charitable objectives with a heavy dose of intellectual philanthropy derived from a New England Puritan tradition seems to have galvanized the missionaries for their transatlantic missions. Many missionaries did not know what to expect in Istanbul, and did not earn more income than they had in the United States. They also never found in the fields in the Near East the conditions similar to those in the States. On the contrary, they endeavored to adjust to the conditions in the field.¹²

¹⁰ The data for the table above is based on *Guide to the Microfilm Collection: Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Woodbridge, Connecticut: Research Publications International, 1994), 228-266; “Note by Dr. Greene” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 17.

¹¹ Hidayet Vahaboğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okulları* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınlarıö 1992), 17; and Betül Başaran, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies, 1820-1908*, 10-11; Stone, Frank A. *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of Rationale, Program, and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980*, 3.

¹² Robert L. Daniel, *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1960* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1970), 102.

In April and May 1830, Harrison Gray Otis Dwight and Eli Smith scoured the Near East, and paid a short visit to Istanbul on their way to the Black Sea Region.¹³ During their stay in Istanbul, Charles Rhind, the U.S. representative to the Ottoman Empire at that time, helped them obtain an imperial edict for travel clearance in the Ottoman Empire. This edict, for the first time in the history of American-Ottoman relations, allowed them to travel “not as British subjects but as Americans.” Dwight and Smith also heard in Istanbul that the last two Evangelical clergymen had left Istanbul a few weeks earlier.¹⁴ Therefore, they requested the American Board’s Executive Committee to send missionaries to Istanbul immediately.¹⁵

The American Board *per curiam* assigned William Goodell as its first representative to Istanbul so as to found the Istanbul station.¹⁶ The Board chose Goodell for several reasons. Goodell was the choice of denominational consensus. The Second Great Awakening had released various new denominational religious congregations in the United States, including the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and the Reformed Church, all of which initially held their own separate national parish institutions. But by the early nineteenth century, denominations cooperated around foreign missions. As a result of this cooperation, the American Board appeared and selected Goodell because of his great organizational skills, deep evangelical religious attitudes, and proficiency in Near Eastern languages.

¹³ Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil’s Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 93-94; “Letter from H. N. Barnum,” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 15; “Note by Dr. Greene” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 17.

¹⁴ David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1967), 60-66.

¹⁵ *Missionary Herald*, [1830] (Boston: ABCFM, 1821-1934) [In Houghton Library, Boston]

¹⁶ S. C. Barlett, *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 1-18; “Annual Report,” 1830, *ABC 16.9.1*.

Deeply enthused by the Second Great Awakening and commonly affiliated with Congregationalists, young theology graduates of the universities like Dartmouth, Williams, Brown, Andover, Yale, and Union had become increasingly interested in transatlantic missions to preach and teach heathens. The American Board believed that Goodell, a graduate of Dartmouth, could start a young, energetic, and educated missionary team for the Istanbul station. He could rely on New England's evangelical Protestant community to generously bolster up any Christian mission to Istanbul, the capital of the infidel beholders of the Holy Lands.¹⁷

Goodell also had prior experience. The Goodell family with Isaac Bird and his family operated at the American Board's station at Beirut between 1822 and 1823. Goodell learned intermediate Turkish, Arabic and Armenian with elementary Greek in Beirut. Although enjoying his language training and living among the miserable people of Beirut, he stopped the language classes and in 1827 departed with his family from Beirut for Malta because of the political turmoil in the Ottoman Empire. But before he departed, he translated and published the Armeno-Turkish version of the New Testament, and started to translate the Old Testament into Armenian.¹⁸

Once Dwight and Smith recommended the American Board to establish a station in Istanbul as soon as possible, the Board requested the Goodell family to leave Malta,

¹⁷ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 2-6; Donald G. Mathews, "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis" *American Quarterly* 21 (1969): 23-43; Alister McGrath, *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993), 466-42; Edward Warren Capen, *American Board History*, 22-34; Stone, Frank A. *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of Rationale, Program, and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984), 3-4.

¹⁸ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 12; E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 71-84; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 58-61.

and Goodell to take up the duty of establishing a permanent and influential station in Istanbul. The Goodells moved to Istanbul June 9, 1831. His memoirs interestingly note that his wife and other female companions were the first American women ever seen in Istanbul.

Istanbul had long been a cosmopolitan city when William Goodell arrived. He estimated that more than half a million Turks, roughly 150,000 Greeks and Armenians, some 50,000 Jews, and a few thousand Europeans and other nationals resided in Istanbul.¹⁹ But once in Istanbul, he observed that all the residents of Istanbul were ignorant, and literacy was limited to men of note.²⁰

It was not easy to establish the Goodell household. Soon after the Goodell family found a fashionable house in Beyoğlu, where foreigners often resided, they experienced a city-fire in August 2, 1831.²¹ The first resident missionary family of the American Board in Istanbul lost their property including books, clothes and medicines. They relocated to Büyükdere to share the large house of Dr. James E. Dekey, who had come from New York to study the Asiatic cholera, Henry Eckford, whom the Ottoman government employed to superintend the reconstruction of its navy burned at Navarino (1827), and Charles Rhind, whom the American government sent to negotiate a commercial treaty with the Ottoman Empire the previous year. In the same year, Commodore David Porter arrived in Istanbul as Charge d'Affairs of the United States,

¹⁹ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 126-127.

²⁰ H. S. Barnum, "Then and Now" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 26; Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 31.

²¹ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 112-123; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 92-93; Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, vol. I (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872), 94-95.

and later became the minister to the Sublime Porte. He helped the Goodell family settle in his own house in Büyükdere according to Goodell's petition.²²

Soon after William Goodell rented a new house in Büyükdere, he started the Istanbul station among the Armenians. During the rest of the early nineteenth century, the ABCFM missionaries in Istanbul decided to focus on the Greeks and Armenians, "the Anglo-Saxons of the East", whom the Board thought were a noble, active, and enterprising race but darkened and intoxicated by the wrong applications of their church leaders.²³

Goodell called upon the Armenian Patriarch for his co-operation to found popular schools on an improved plan, that the Oriental Christian communities might send schoolmasters to learn the new method. In response,

The patriarch assured him of a love for the missionary and his country so profound that if Mr. Goodell had not come to visit him, he must needs have gone to America to see Mr. Goodell! He promised again and again.²⁴

The Armenian Patriarch never helped Goodell. Instead, he moved in opposition and an Armenian persecution of evangelicals began in 1839.²⁵ Hovhannes Sahakian, Boghos Physios, and other evangelical Armenians were exiled and the missionary publications in Armeno-Turkish sent from the press at Malta to Istanbul were burned. Goodell appealed to the Prudential Committee of the American Board to provide some

²² Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 95.

²³ *The Problem of Turkey as the American Board Views It* (Boston: ABCFM, 1923) [Pamphlet BV3160.Z91 in Andover Harvard Theological Library], 1; S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 2-5.

²⁴ James P. McNaughton, "Turkey's Triple Tragedy" *The Man from the Field*; S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 5; Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 95.

²⁵ S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 7.

missionary companions, and on 5 July 1832 the American Board sent Harison O. Dwight and four more missionary families to fortify the Istanbul station.

Although Dwight landed in Istanbul to work for the Armenian community without delay, he could not expand the Armenian mission on account of Ottoman bureaucratic and Patriarchal interventions.²⁶ Alliance between the Ottoman administration and the Oriental Patriarchates was strong in benefit of both sides. On one side, under the millet system, the Ottoman administration aimed to keep under control the non-Muslims by means of alliances with their religious leaders. On the other, the patriarchs intended to preserve and even increase their influence relying on the Ottoman authority.²⁷

The ABCFM missionary work in Istanbul was therefore “surrendered for the sake of political power” during its early years of establishment.²⁸ The Armenian Patriarchate accused the American missionaries of being “satanic heresiarchs from the caverns of hell and the abyss of the northern ocean.” and appealed the Ottoman government for deportation of the American missionaries from the Ottoman Empire. It even declared a holy crusade to expel the missionaries out of Istanbul.

In contrary, the American missionaries thought that the patriarchs always exploited a “despotic power,” and their fierce campaign of intimidation and persecution became an “anathema” addressed to all the Protestant missionaries including British and German missionaries and well as the ABCFM missionaries perhaps because the

²⁶ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 147; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 94.

²⁷ *An Eastern Palimpsest: Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Egypt* (London: World Dominion Press, n.d.) [ABCFM Box II in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston], 87-88.

²⁸ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 133.

American missionaries thought the attacks of the Patriarchate especially addressed to Protestantism.²⁹

When the Armenian Patriarchate supported by rich Armenians of Istanbul asked for the exile of American missionaries from Istanbul, the Ottoman Empire was struggling against Mehmet Ali Pasha and his rebellious movement in Egypt during the 1830s. The Ottoman Sultans often deferred decisions of internal affairs once during times of security threat against the Ottoman dynasty and central authority. In this case, Sultan Mahmud II did not respond to the plea of the Armenian Patriarchate. Instead, Mahmud gathered auxiliary men and money from the Ottoman subjects so as to face the rebellious Mehmet Ali Pasha.³⁰

Sultan Mahmud II still eventually issued an expulsion order for all Protestant missionaries mainly because of the connivance of the Russian Ambassador, and the ever-growing insistence of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs. However, the expulsion order never went into effect perhaps because Istanbul suffered a second city fire that left some 50.000 people homeless.³¹ Probably more important, the Sultan 'Abdu'l-Mecid, who soon replaced Mahmud II, showed a more liberal attitude towards the American missionaries.³²

²⁹ S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 2; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 102-110; Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 244-295; Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 125.

³⁰ Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 9-12.

³¹ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 152; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 15.

³² Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 108-109.

Thus, the missions among the Greeks, Turks and Jews also developed missions to Armenians. William Goodell and other missionaries like William G. Schauffler opened twenty mutual education schools for Greeks, including the school for girls running in Goodell's own house. The missions to the Greeks and Jews cast in their lot with the mission to Armenians. In response to the ABCFM enterprises, the Greek Holy Synod at Istanbul threatened excommunication against every Greek who sent their daughters to missionary houses or schools.³³

The Grand Rabbi of the Jews in a similar vein did not like the American missionaries operating among Jews by distributing copies of the Psalms from the Bible. The Rabbi denounced the Psalms in all the synagogues in Istanbul. While acknowledging that the Psalms in the Bible were of great religious value, he claimed that the Americans were wasting their money and property. Therefore, they decided that Jews should buy no publications of the Americans, even though the Rabbi thought, "they were as holy and high-quality as those Moses made on Sinai."³⁴

Unlike the Greek Patriarch and the Jewish Rabbi, the Turkish attitude toward the American missionary institutions was positive early on. The Turks welcomed and even helped Goodell set up two schools targeting particularly Turkish pupils in Beşiktaş and Üsküdar. Soon the missions among the Greeks and Turks began yielding good results since both communities enjoyed the American missionary institutions while the Greek Patriarchate and Muslim religious leaders reacted to them. At the same time, the Armenian and Jewish missions were suspended, if not abandoned totally, largely

³³ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 134.

³⁴ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey: 1819 till 1934*, 20-22

because the Armenian patriarch succeeded in exciting his community against the missionaries and the Jews attached considerable importance to the declarations of their Rabbi.³⁵

Yet the ABCFM missionaries found on an individual level a remarkable audience among all Ottoman subjects. For example, Hovhannes Der Sahagian and Senekerim Der Minasian, two Armenian students, and Panayotes Constantinidis, a Greek pupil, supported the American missionary activities. A Greek printer that Goodell asked to print Arabic translations of the Bible by Eli Smith and Cornelius Van Dyck as well as various pamphlets of the American Board did so, regarding the missionary activity with interest, great respect and sympathy. All these people later became the native-co laborers of the missionaries after their conversion to Protestant Christianity despite the fact that the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs allied to excommunicate the members of their religious community in contact with the ABCFM missionaries, and Armenians and Greeks who converted to Protestantism were ostracized by their local communities as a result.³⁶

In addition to Armenians and Greeks, the Turkish Muslim community of Istanbul, which the American missionaries considered as the believers of a “broken cistern”, seemed to be the highly responsive. William Goodell noted in a letter, “Almost everyday day, too, I am visited more or less by the Müslüman. I could very profitably devote my whole time to them.”

³⁵ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Hariciye Kısmı, Dosya: 81, Gömlek: 59, 30 December 1871 [Ankara]; James P. McNaughton, “Turkey’s Triple Tragedy” In *The Man from the Field*.

³⁶ Joseph K. Greene, “Our Native Co-Laborers” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 54; Samuel M. Zwemer and Arthur Judson Brown, *The Nearer and Farther East: Outline Studies of Muslim Lands and of Siam, Burma, and Korea* (New York: The McMillan Company, 1908), 93; E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 160-165; Issa A. Saliba, “The Bible in Arabic: The 19th Century Protestant Translation” *Muslim World* 65 (1975): 254-263

William Goodell did not operate among the Muslims though. The American Board commissioned Henry A. Homes in 1835 as the missionary among the Muslims. Homes, having devoted most of his early two years in Istanbul to practicing Ottoman Turkish, translated a few Psalms into Ottoman Turkish and taught Ottoman Turkish to the missionaries' children. Although his work among the Muslims kept yielding good results, he had to return to Boston in 1850, because his health was not good enough to work anymore.³⁷

Although Cyrus Hamlin wanted to work in a field in Africa or China, he and his wife Henrietta A. Hamlin landed at Istanbul in the spring of 1839 and commenced missionary work soon to comply with the orders from the Prudential Committee of the American Board.³⁸ Perhaps the most influential missionary in Istanbul after William Goodell, Cyrus Hamlin became the educational representative of the American Board in Istanbul.³⁹

During his second year in the Istanbul station, Hamlin founded a school for boys next to his house at Bebek (from European Istanbul at the south of Rumeli-Hisari looking into Bosphorus), which the missionaries later called "the Boarding School at Bebek."⁴⁰ The school enrolled almost fifteen students during its first year of establishment and doubled its registered students the following year. Afterward, the

³⁷ James S. Dennis, *Islam and Christian Missions*, 5: for the growing increase in number of missionaries and native workers see Appendix IX.

³⁸ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 181-204; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 111; *Cyrus Hamlin: The Man for the Times* (n.p., n.d.) [bMS Am 1729 (42) in Houghton Library, Boston], 2.

³⁹ "Substance of an Address by the Chairman, Dr. Edward Riggs" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 5; "Letter from Rev. Wm. W. Livingston" [Jaffrey, N. H., 16 March 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 19-21; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 66.

⁴⁰ Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 122-123.

school would become Bebek Seminary, where theological, academic and language instructions were given, and then moved to Marşovan where it continued its scholarly function in Istanbul as Robert College after 1863.⁴¹

The ABCFM changed the Boarding School at Bebek to Bebek Seminary on purpose, supposing that the Istanbul station needed a seminary first. The American missionaries believed that it was a great decision after seeing the graduates of Bebek seminary work as their co-laborers and become evangelical Christians. For instance, Simon Tavitian and Sdepan Schamavonian, two diligent and successful students of Bebek seminary, served the Protestant community in association with the American missions. Simon became the pastor and minister of the missions at Bitlis and Izmit while Sdepan led the Protestant community and missions at Haine, near Dıyarbekir. Another case was Alexander Jejizian, who was ordained as the pastor of the evangelical church of Adapazarı and appointed as the minister of the missions in that field for thirty-one years.⁴²

This thesis argues the ABCFM missionaries did not work in the Istanbul station to convert as many to Protestantism as possible. Especially during the first half of the nineteenth century, the initial efforts of the ABCFM in the Istanbul station did not claim to convert “Nominal Christians of the Orient and the Muslims”, nor were they intended to establish institutions of their own and hold public services. They instead prayed in their homes and attended the services in the Greek and Armenian churches. Their main

⁴¹ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 370-414; A. R. Thain D.D., *Cyrus Hamlin D.D., LL.D., Missionary, Statesman, Inventor: A Life Sketch*, 17-18; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 126, 137; Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 126-127.

⁴² Joseph K. Greene, “Our Native Co-Laborers” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 57-58; Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 205-295

concern was to protect the rights of the existing Protestants in the Ottoman Empire.⁴³ Goodell addressed the residents of Istanbul, "You have sects enough among you already, and we have no design of setting up a new one, or of pulling down your churches, or drawing any members from them to build up our own."⁴⁴

In unison with the American Board's expectations, American missionary enterprise in Istanbul between the years 1830 and 1850 often dealt with printing and distributing books, psalms, and pamphlets, under the strategy that the Gospel truth could be spread through written sources in native languages. After the sources were translated into native languages, missionaries thought they could better contact the locals and preach to them more convincingly.⁴⁵

On July 1, 1846, the Ottoman administration recognized the Protestants as millet, or a separate religious group in its realm. Before this, the American missionaries had difficulties with printing and publishing simply because the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs complained to the Ottoman government, reproaching the American missionaries whenever they wrote or translated religious documents and papers into Armenian and Greek.⁴⁶ However, the Turks allowed private printing presses in Istanbul during the early nineteenth century, and even helped the missionaries to print them,

⁴³ "Substance of an Address by the Chairman, Dr. Edward Riggs" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 6.

⁴⁴ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 69-70.

⁴⁵ Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 94.

⁴⁶ "Protestan Milleti Nizamnamesi" *Düstur*, Tertib I, vol.1 (Istanbul: Matba'a-yi 'Âmire, 1856), 652-654; Roderick H. Davidson, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis eds. (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982), 320-335.

because they thought the authors had the right to publish in their presses any material so long as the materials belonged to them.⁴⁷

During the 1850s, there were primarily three printing institutions in Istanbul. The first was a hundred and ten year old Matba'a-i Amire, or Imperial Book Printing Office, with six presses and the missionaries had access to this government printing press. By the 1850s, it had published one hundred and fifty works in Armenian and Greek fonts. Second, there was an office designed to issue Takvim-i Vekayi, or the Turkish Official Newspapers, twice a month. And a third press pertained to the *News Courier* of a British enterprise named Churchill.

In addition, there were five foreign funded presses as well as four Greek and three Armenian printing presses. The American missionaries often applied to the Turkish presses to print their translations and private owner presses to publish their Psalms and pamphlets. Therefore, the Patriarchates could not stop missionary publications.

Rufus Anderson, Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, and Joel Hawes visited Istanbul in 1843 to check the missionaries' progress.⁴⁸ They advised the missionaries in the Western Turkey Mission, particularly in Istanbul and Izmir, to reduce the work among the Greeks and to concentrate on the Armenians because the individual Armenians showed much greater interest and sympathy with the Gospel truth and holy teachings, despite their Patriarchate.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 15-18.

⁴⁸ Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 151

⁴⁹ Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 141-142.

William Goodell as the spiritual and administrative leader of the missionaries in Istanbul accepted the new course the American Board ordered in Istanbul. He even confirmed what Rufus Anderson and Joel Hawes recommended. He said:

If this work of God go forward in the same proportion for ten years to come, as it has gone for ten years past, there will be no further occasion for any of us to remain here, unless it be to assist you in bringing to a knowledge of these same precious saving doctrines of the Gospel the Greeks and Jews and others around you.

In 1845, Goodell's house became the center of education again, with the title of "Female Boarding School." Eight girls came to the Boarding School in Goodell's house during its first year. Ms. Goodell trained them to housekeep and sew and Harriot Lowell taught them basic science and literature.⁵⁰ The American missionaries decided to extend the school next year with the help of Mrs. Van Lennep, new appointee from Izmir to Istanbul for the school. However, the growth of the school was delayed because Mrs. Van Lennep passed away, and Mr. Van Lennep returned to Boston.⁵¹

The American missionaries sustained their activities in Istanbul during the year 1845, and the Patriarchates of the Oriental churches kept up their accusations and criticism. The Armenian Patriarchate issued two documents of excommunication against evangelicals in 1846.⁵² Oddly enough, Horatio Southgate, who came to Istanbul as a missionary of the American Episcopal Church, defended the Patriarch and its accusations of the evangelicals. In Southgate's opinion, it was wrong to dispute with the established churches and such actions could harm the harmony of the society.

⁵⁰ "Letter from H. N. Barnum" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 13.

⁵¹ S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 6-7.

⁵² "Letter from Mrs. I. G. Bliss" [Washington D.C., 12 March 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 34; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 70-71; Cyrus Hamlin: *The Man for the Times*, 3-4.

Meanwhile, he justified his own missionary activities to be peaceful and in accordance with the Patriarchs.⁵³

The Armenian Patriarchate expelled Armenian evangelicals and missionaries' friends from the Armenian community, and cut off any civil and religious rights pertaining to them to comply with the Ottoman law, which divided people into religious communities and often relied for decisions on the leaders and regulations of those religious communities. This meant that the Armenian evangelicals had no protectorate according to the Ottoman codes because they no longer belonged to any particular Ottoman millet.⁵⁴ In the end, on July 1, 1846, the Armenian evangelicals established a church of their own with the help of American missionaries, particularly Harrison G.O. Dwight.⁵⁵ This church became the First Evangelical Armenian Church of Constantinople and an Armenian evangelical congregation of thirty-seven men and three women within the church, in accordance with New England congregational practice, elected Apisoghom Hachadoorian, an old student of Peshtimaljian College, as the pastor.⁵⁶ Soon after the establishment of the church, the Free Church of Scotland recognized

⁵³ Horatio Southgate, *A Letter to a Friend, in Reply to a Recent Pamphlet, from the Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at Constantinople* (New York: D. Appleton & co, 1845); and Horatio Southgate, *A Letter to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States from the Rev. Horatio Southgate* (New York: Stanford ad Swords, 1844); Hâris Yûsuf Ganimet, *El-Protestânt ve El-Inciliyyûn fi'l-'Irâk*, 47.

⁵⁴ Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 157

⁵⁵ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*; 14-18, 48-50; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 94; for a similar Protestant church establishment in Beirut, see Habib Badr, *A Mission to "Nominal Christians": The Practice of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Its Missionaries Concerning Eastern Churches Which Led to the Organization of a Protestant Church in Beirut, 1819-1848* (Princeton University: Ph.D. Dissertation, 1992)

⁵⁶ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 71; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 96; S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 9

Hachadoorian, afterwards called Utudijan, as the pastor ordained by the American Board and Evangelical Armenians.⁵⁷

Two years after its establishment, the First Evangelical Armenian Church of Constantinople supported by the American missionaries had about a thousand Armenian members, and many more sympathizers with this new religious movement.⁵⁸ In 1847, the Grand Vizier, who earlier secured the rights of the members of the new church under imperial orders, issued a new imperial edict that outlawed any further persecution of the Protestants in the Ottoman realm. Upon the recommendation of the British Ambassador Sir Stratford de Redcliffe, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Mecid issued an imperial edict that restored the rights under the millet system of the members of the newly established church as a separate millet.⁵⁹ The *Missionary Herald* remarked in 1846,

Early in March, Reschid Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, called up the Armenian Patriarch, and charged him to desist from his present course. This was an important point gained. It was now virtually decided, that the evangelical subjects of the Porte could have a civil existence in Turkey, without being under the spiritual dominion of the Patriarch.⁶⁰

While the American Board sent various missionaries to operate among the Armenians and Greeks of Istanbul between the years 1830 and 1850, William G. Schauffler was the only representative of the American Board appointed for the missions

⁵⁷ "Letter from H. N. Barnum" [Harpoor, 2 April 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 14; E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 315-317.

⁵⁸ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey 1819 till 1934* [ABCFM Manuscript Histories of Missions, 31:4 in Houghton Library, Boston], 15-17.

⁵⁹ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 19; Bernard Frederick Nordmann, *American Missionary Work Among Armenians in Turkey, 1830-1923*, 5; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 71.

⁶⁰ Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 402.

among the Istanbul Jews. Schauffler joined British missionaries' efforts, rather than establishing his own operation. Christian Frederic Schwartz of the London Missionary Society was working among the German-speaking Jews at the time Schauffler arrived in Istanbul. Alexander Thomson, another missionary from the United Free Church of Scotland, also had been acting among the Jews with his colleagues. As the only missionary of the ABCFM, William G. Schauffler decided to cooperate with the missionaries of the United Free Church of Scotland. Meanwhile, Schauffler finished the translation of the Bible into Hebrew-German and Hebrew-Spanish in 1849.⁶¹

Fires broke out again in Istanbul, this time in the Pera quarter of Istanbul from 1847 to 1848. The fires burned the possessions of William G. Schauffler, Henry A. Homes, and Harrison Gray Otis Dwight. However, the chapel and the Girls' School near the fire survived and kept functioning. After the fires, all of the missionary establishments and houses moved to Bebek, except the Girls' School and William Goodell's family house.⁶²

The first ABCFM missionaries in Istanbul frequently moved their establishments and houses for two main reasons. First, fires were frequent and plagued all residents of the City of Istanbul. Second, it was difficult for the foreigners to find buildings to occupy. A missionary noted, "Once the foreign tenants moved in, unscrupulous landlords often raised the rents to exorbitant levels, forcing yet another move and more

⁶¹ "Letter from Mrs. I. G. Bliss" [Washington D.C., 12 March 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 33; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 94.

⁶² "Letter from H. N. Barnum" [Harpoot, 2 April 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 14.

time away from missionary duties.” For example, for these reasons, the Goodells moved their residence thirty-three times within twenty-nine years.⁶³

Greek residents of Istanbul also were interested in the activities of the American Board even though the Greek Patriarchate criticized the American missionary activities and warned its subjects of excommunication. While the Armenian mission resulted in persecution by the Armenian Patriarchate and excitement among the Armenians, the Greeks began enjoying the Turkish service preached by William Goodell.⁶⁴

Moreover, in 1846 a few Greeks asked Van Lennep to open a service in Greek. Van Lennep promised to preach to the interested Greeks short lectures after the services, rather than opening a particular Greek service. In 1850, the American Board missionaries in Istanbul recommended Mr. Van Lennep to particularly focus on the Greek mission, stating that the initiative he took for the Greeks for the previous five years looked promising. Besides, they decided to accept the Greeks just like the Armenians to the seminary at Bebek.⁶⁵

Soon after the year 1850, the Greeks attending Turkish services reached the number of forty and those participating in the Seminary became seven. Elias Riggs, American missionary to Izmir, visited Istanbul the same year. Riggs returned to Izmir after preaching in Greek during three Sunday services, and his lectures found remarkable support among the Greeks. The missionaries in Istanbul requested that the American

⁶³ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 10, 15; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 93.

⁶⁴ “Substance of an Address by the Chairman, Dr. Edward Riggs” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 6.

⁶⁵ S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 11-15.

Board's Executive Committee transfer Riggs to Istanbul, but it refused after Goodell argued that Riggs' removal from Izmir would weaken the missions there.⁶⁶

During the early 1850s, the missions spread to various sub-stations near Istanbul. The missions in Edirne, Bursa, Yozgat, and Rodos began functioning as the sub-stations of Istanbul. Although the American Board did not design these substations in advantage of any particular society over another, the time and place of missions required certain arrangements. For instance, Demirtaş, a province of Bursa, was a Greek village where the establishment of missionary institutions seemed profitable. The American Board sent a few missionaries to search the region and later established the Bursa station.⁶⁷

The ABCFM missionary activities in Istanbul during the early nineteenth century gave the impression of being particularly designed for Armenians, but as a matter of fact, they did not concentrate on any particular millet or race. Instead, the ABCFM activities in Istanbul illustrated that the American missionaries wanted as many stations to open, as many materials to publish, and as many people to contact as possible.⁶⁸ They relied on their adaptability to circumstances they encountered.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *The Work of the American Board Among the Greeks* (Boston: 1948), 16-18; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 63-65; Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 21.

⁶⁷ S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 16-19

⁶⁸ "Note by Dr. Greene" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 18.

⁶⁹ James P. McNaughton, "Turkey's Triple Tragedy" In *The Man from the Field*.

CHAPTER IV:

A GREAT ERRAND INTO THE EAST: AMERICAN PROTESTANT MISSIONARY COMMITMENT IN ISTANBUL DURING THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

*"The Two Grand Inquiries Ever Present in Your Minds Will Be, 'What Good Can be Done? And By What Means?' What Can Be Done for the Jews? What for the Pagans? What for the Mohammedans? What for the Christians?"*¹

During early 1896, Arthur Tappan Pierson, the editor of the *Missionary Review of the World*, encouraged the American Protestant missionary cause to make transatlantic voyages,

"Since Christianity had made America the great nation it was, the nation owed Christianity a debt, namely, 'proper and lawful endeavors to reconstruct all other governments upon the basis of the Christian religion', including displacement of pagan fetishes, Buddhist prayer wheels, Turkish crescents, and Romanist crucifixes."²

Pierson set down the American missionaries for the restoration of the errant Christians and guidance of the ignorant non-Christians to the safest course.³

The ABCFM missionaries founded their most influential institutions in Istanbul during the late nineteenth century. The missionary institutions in Istanbul since the

¹ *The Problem of Turkey as the American Board Views It*, 2.

² Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 117.

³ Hâris Yûsuf Ganimet, *El-Protostânt va'l-İncilîyyîn fi'l-'Irâk* (Baghdad: Matba'at-ü'n-Nâşirü'l-Mektebî, 1998), 98-99.

1850s such as the Bible House, the Boarding Schools for girls and boys in Bebek and Üsküdar, the Language School at Constantinople, and the houses of the missionaries as education and preaching centers were archetypal. They had a Christian atmosphere and style just like the missionaries had set their mind to. During the late nineteenth century, the Evangelical American Protestant missionary enterprise gained its fullest momentum in Istanbul, where “superstition was in abundance.”⁴

To the American missionaries’ benefit, the hostility by the Patriarchates came to an end with the *Fermân-ı Islahat*, or the Imperial Edict of Reforms, of February 18, 1856, which promised equality for all those living in the Ottoman realm.⁵ Thereafter American missionaries fortified their printing presses, hospitals, and educational and religious centers with new missionaries from home and with a growing local population either converted or turned sympathetic to the missionary enterprise in Istanbul. Since there was no solid resistance, they could set up institutions at their will, and filled those institutions with a noticeable audience.⁶

The Istanbul station lived its golden age during the late 19th century soon after the Everett and Benjamin families with Hinadale, West, and Haynes followed the Goodell, Schaffler, Dwight, Hamlin, and Riggs families to work in the city of Istanbul

⁴ The missionaries later renamed these institutions according to the departments. For example, the Bible House was referred as the Publication Department and the Boarding School for girls in Üsküdar as the Academy for Girls at Üsküdar, the various Greek and Armenian churches as the Protestant churches. United Church of Christ, *A Tour in Turkey: Land of Change and Challenge, A Visit to the American Board Mission* (New York: Congregational Christian Churches, 1958), 6-7; J. S. Hartzler and J. S. Shoemaker, *Among Missions in the Orient and Observations by the Way* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1912), 89-104 [Available on request as Harvard Depository Brittle Book in Andover Harvard Theological Library].

⁵ *Düstur*, Tertib 1, vol.1, 8-14; Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 1-55.

⁶ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *The Making of Robert College*.

and its natives.⁷ In October 1852, Nathan Benjamin moved the printing press from Izmir to Istanbul. When the families of Benjamin and Elias Riggs departed Izmir for Istanbul, the missions in Istanbul grew stronger. While Van Lennep left Istanbul for Tokat, two missionary women, Maria A. West and Melvina Hayness, also joined the missionary team of the Istanbul station. The objective of West and Hayness in Istanbul was to run the Girls' Boarding school after Harriet Lovell, the director of the school, married Cyrus Hamlin in 1852 and could not always be at school anymore.⁸

The missionaries of the American Board experienced bureaucratic harassments in July 1854. While eight Turks who converted to Christianity through the American missionary efforts were arrested and placed in solitary confinement, the missionary bookstore in Bebek, where the American Board and the British and Foreign Bible Society together worked and printed the missionary material, was sealed off by the Istanbul police.⁹

John P. Brown, the American Charge d'Affaires in Istanbul, applied to the Ottoman government of Istanbul in the name of the missionaries to re-open the bookstore. The Ottoman attorney responsible for Istanbul declared that the police shut down the bookstore because the works of Dr. Pfander, a missionary to the Church Missionary Society of the United States, had broken the law when he published various pamphlets accusing the Muslims of different faith, ignorance and illiteracy.¹⁰

⁷ George F. Frederick, "The First Missionaries to Turkey" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 46.

⁸ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 22-26.

⁹ E.D.G. Prime. *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 425-430.

¹⁰ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 47-48; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 91.

The dispute between the American missionaries and the police was taken to the court. When the court conducted a hearing Ahmad Ağa, who was in charge of the bookstore, before being imprisoned, testified that the missionaries' work was not dangerous to the social order of Istanbul and he converted to Christianity not because of the missionary compulsion but at his own will. At the end of the case, the bookstore was re-opened and offered back to the missionaries.¹¹

The missionaries noted this event with particular interest. The Station Report of Istanbul in 1865 looked for the reason for the deterrence of their works by the government and concluded,

The Turkish authorities [were] led to take these steps far more by a movement among their own people, looking outward [to] a reformed Mohammedanism than by the conversion of a few individuals to the Christian faith. Both however were regarded as forms of developments of Protestantism, and therefore the adherents of simpler gospel truth, who are liable to imprisonment and exile equally with those whose scheme of reform was considered dangerous to the Turkish Government.¹²

The outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854 alarmed American missionaries. The missionaries thought that the Russians would strive to take over Istanbul and support the Greek Orthodox Church and suppressing other religious communities. When the Russian army crossed the Danube towards Adrianople in July, 1854, the war formally began. It panicked the missionaries for how it might influence the missionary work in Istanbul.¹³

¹¹ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 34.

¹² Report of the Constantinople Station for 1865-1866, *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 582 16.9.3], 312-325.

¹³ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 383-384; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 25; Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 370-414.

As well as the Crimean War, the American missionaries in Istanbul in the 1850s were concerned with the losses, notable events, and the visits of the ABCFM leaders. First, Jeal S. Everett and Nathan Benjamin, both of who had undertaken important duties during lifetime, passed away.¹⁴ Second, in August, 1854, the Dwight family moved to a new house in Yeni Kapı, in the old Istanbul, where Ottoman governors allowed foreigners to reside for the first time. Last, Rufus Anderson, the secretary of the American Board, visited Istanbul in November 1855 and soon organized a committee among the missionaries in Istanbul, Izmir and Salonika in order to discuss the American Board's missionary work in the Near East.

The discussion of Rufus Anderson with the missionaries in the field concluded that Elias Riggs and his family should go back to the United States because Riggs had become seriously ill. The Riggs family returned the United States in 1856 never to come back again. However, Riggs at home continued to help his missionary friends in Istanbul. For instance, he had the Armenian Bible published in a printing press and taught Hebrew to missionaries on the way to the field in the Union Theological Seminary in New York. Meanwhile, three more representatives replaced Riggs. I. Fayette in 1855, William Trowbridge and Edwin Bliss with his family in 1856 joined the Istanbul station. While Fayette became the Treasurer of the Istanbul station, Trowbridge began working and preaching among the Turks and Bliss took the place of Riggs to work among the Greeks.¹⁵

¹⁴ "Substance of an Address by the Chairman, Dr. Edward Riggs" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 6; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 217.

¹⁵ "Letter from Mrs. I. G. Bliss" [Washington D.C., 12 March 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 36; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *The Making of Robert College*.

After the Crimean War and with the efforts of the influential British Ambassador Stratford de Redcliffe, the ambivalent attitudes of the Ottoman government towards the American missionaries temporarily turned to benevolence. Also, the converts of faith through the efforts of American missionaries no longer had to worry about their lives and rights as Islahat Fermanı and the Treaty of Paris in 1856 promised the safeguard of religious liberty.¹⁶

After Sultan 'Abdu'l-Mecid promised religious liberty in the Imperial Edict of Reforms in 1856, the American missionaries intensified their missions and shared the results of their work in pamphlets with the members of the American Board in Boston.¹⁷ For instance, Selim Efendi, who learned Christianity in Salonika and was baptized in Istanbul as Edward Williams, began preaching and baptizing among the Turks. Although the numbers of converts were not remarkable, the case of Selim Efendi rejuvenated the hopes of the missionaries in Istanbul for more converts. Another vivid example of converts that the missionaries admired and usually referred to was the case of Shemseddin, who was a Mohammedan imam and hafız, a Muslim prayer leader and a Muslim that memorized the Koran. He later studied in a missionary college in Izmir.¹⁸

On April 26, 1856, Cyrus Hamlin went to the United States for three years of work at the center of the American Board in Boston.¹⁹ Meanwhile, William Clark replaced him in leading the lectures and works in Bebek Seminary. When Hamlin

¹⁶ *Berat*, 11 Cumadalula 314, 9 Teşrin-i Evvel 312 (Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayunu Başkitabet Dairesi, No.5225) and *Berat*, 23 Cumadalula 322, 28 Temmuz 321 (Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayunu Başkitabet Dairesi: No.3754) [Both cited in E. Kırşehirlioğlu, *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, 145,143]; Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, vol. I (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872), 122, 135-136.

¹⁷ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 270.

¹⁸ S. Ralph Harlow, *Student Witnesses for Christ* (New York: Association Press, 1919), 13-25; E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 242-244; 480-485.

¹⁹ Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 226.

resumed his work in Bebek Seminary, he and Goodell, upon one recommendation from the Board, added two more stations to the Istanbul mission.²⁰

In 1856, the Southern Armenian mission, and the other, the Northern Armenian mission a year later. While Istanbul was still the center of the Northern Armenian mission and guided the Izmir, Tokat, Sivas, Erzroum, Kayseri, and Harput stations, the Southern Armenian mission was separated from Istanbul and contained the Antep, Maraş, Urfa, and Halep stations.

The American missionaries next prepared and planned to adjoin a Bulgarian mission to the Istanbul station. Elias Riggs had worked among the Bulgarians during the 1840s and sometimes preached to them in the Bulgarian language, but there was no particular missionary working among Bulgarians. In 1857, the American Board members in Istanbul determined to open very soon the Bulgarian mission for the sake of Bulgarians residing in Edirne, Manastir, Filibe, and Sofya. The Bulgarians became an official target audience for those missionaries operating in Istanbul, and the Board appointed Charles F. Morse as the leader of the Bulgarian mission.²¹

The American missionaries assigned for the Central and Eastern Turkey missions first visited Istanbul to collect information about the Ottoman lands, people, and language.²² For instance, the American Board sent Oliver Winchester and his wife to the Erzuroum mission in 1857. However, they first came to Istanbul to have a basic training in the language, observe the missions in the field, and get advice from the missionaries

²⁰ Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 126-142.

²¹ Edward Warren Capen, *American Board History*, 134-138

²² "Letter from H. N. Barnum" [Harpoor, 2 April 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 10.

there. For about one year, they stayed and taught in the Female Boarding school in Istanbul.²³

The weather, nourishment, and clothing customs in the Ottoman Empire did not resemble those in the United States. Various missionaries returned to the United States when their health could not adjust to the Istanbul climate. In 1858, William Hutchinson and his family arrived in Istanbul to work in the Turkish department of the Bebek Seminary. However, Hutchinson became ill and had to go back to the United States. And, two years earlier, Elias Riggs had left Istanbul for the same health problems.²⁴

In July 1858, George Washburn, perhaps the most influential missionary in Istanbul after William Goodell and Cyrus Hamlin, came as the treasurer and business agent of the American Board in the Istanbul station. On April 14, 1859, he married Henrietta Hamlin, the daughter of Cyrus Hamlin.²⁵ But the Hamlin family could not celebrate the marriage because Elizabeth Riggs, Harriet Lowell and Susan Hamlin had just passed away because of scarlet fever, handicapping the administration of the Hasköy School for Girls. The American missionaries in Istanbul altogether attended the funerals and interred the lost missionaries into the Feriköy Cemetery, which the Board had acquired two years earlier in name of the Protestant communities of Istanbul.²⁶

The American missionaries began to operate among the Muslims more efficiently during the late 19th century. As Harrison Gray Otis Dwight wrote in a column of the *Missionary Herald* in 1859,

²³ *Fifty-two Weeks in the Turkey Mission of the American Board* (Stamboul: Souhoulet Press, 1925) [Pamphlet BV 3160.Z91 in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston], 13

²⁴ "Letter from H. N. Barnum" [Harpoot, 2 April 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 10.

²⁵ Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 240.

²⁶ "Letter from Mrs. I. G. Bliss" [Washington D.C., 12 March 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 36.

The case of a young Mohammedan who became convinced of the truth in Adrianople, and was sent here under arrest, on charge of having denied the faith and become a Protestant, has recently attracted much of our attention... He was put in charge of a Turkish colonel and sent here by the military authorities, as he was a cadet. But it afterwards turned out that the colonel himself had been reading the New Testament and was very favorably disposed... he immediately gave orders to have the young man well treated, and now he is at his ease... The work among the Turks is looming up, and if not hindered by some untoward event, or by our neglect and sluggishness, it will by and by assume very large proportions. That the Turkish officials through the country have been instructed not to persecute Mohammedans who embrace Christianity, is very evident.²⁷

This period of religious liberty in the Ottoman Empire led to an increase in the American missionary efforts in Istanbul. Now, Cyrus Hamlin asked the American Board's Executive Committee in Boston to extend the scope of missions by establishing a high-quality English medium college. But Rufus Anderson did not like the idea of founding the schools for pupils because he thought the Bebek Seminary and the missionaries in Istanbul should keep preparing the preachers and abandon the idea of educating boys and girls at school ages.²⁸

The American Board decided to respond to Hamlin's proposal to higher education establishment in Istanbul. However, it was unsure of its place since the sales of land and the expenses of construction seemed to be expensive. In 1856, Christopher Rheinlander Robert, a rich business man from New York City, came to Istanbul on a visit. Arriving during the Crimean War, Robert's visit was serendipitous. Shortly before

²⁷ Report of the Constantinople Station for 1859-1860, in *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 582 16.9.3 in Bilkent University, Ankara], 264-272; Henry G. O. Dwight, *Missionary Herald*, 11 May 1859 (Boston: ABCFM, 1821-1934) [In Houghton Library, Boston]

²⁸ Despite various local problems on the missionary side, the missionaries believed that the liberty of religion continued and even increased during the rest of the nineteenth century. For 'Abdu'l-Hamid II, the missionaries argued that he "has done more than any of his predecessors to secure for himself recognition by all the faithful as the one supreme head, the caliph of Islam." James L. Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1908), 93; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 128.

the war, Cyrus Hamlin had bought a bakery shop and started selling bread to the people in Istanbul. But, the outbreak of war caused an increase in government controls and quadrupled the price of flour, getting Cyrus Hamlin into debt of six thousand dollars by early 1854. After the British and French veterans arrived in the hospitals of Istanbul, however, Hamlin began selling several thousands of loaves a day, not only recouping his losses but also giving bread as alms to those in need.²⁹

During his stay in Istanbul, Christopher R. Robert was attracted by the missionary care for the British veterans of the Crimean War. In the harbor, he noticed “a boatload of attractive-looking bread, going over toward the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus”, and asked who made and would deliver it. The porters said that “this was some side-line undertaken by the American missionary so as to furnish the British sick in the military hospital.” After having a long conversation with Hamlin about his further plans to run the American missionary work in Istanbul, Robert consulted two business associates, David Coe and Milton Badger, and agreed to fund Hamlin and the American Board to establish a high school in Istanbul to educate the pupils.³⁰

So, C. R. Robert pledged twenty to thirty thousand dollars on condition that he would not be identified and remain anonymous, and Cyrus Hamlin would take charge of the institution. The American Board was unwilling to pay for science books and laboratory devices because it believed they would not support “vernacular education.” Hamlin decided to accumulate on his own necessary amount of money for books and

²⁹ A. R. Thain D.D., *Cyrus Hamlin D.D., LL.D., Missionary, Statesman, Inventor: A Life Sketch* (Boston: Published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d.) [ABCFM Box, no. 817.83 in Andover Harvard Theological Library], 24-31; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 199-210; Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 23; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *The Making of Robert College; Cyrus Hamlin. My Life and Times*, 415-450.

³⁰ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 67-68.

materials for laboratory devices. In the end, the Board approved the Robert College founded by C. R. Robert of New York under a charter granted by the Legislature of New York and appointed Hamlin as its first director.³¹ Then, it became perhaps the best institution after the “Bible House at Constantinople” that the American ever established.³²

The opening of Robert College in teaching and preaching among the residents of Istanbul in the houses of the missionaries, and the establishment of three local churches among the Armenians all professionalized the Istanbul mission and reflected its growing success. However, the 1860s witnessed the rise of financial disputes between the missionaries and the growing Protestant community in Istanbul.³³ Through the 1880s, American missionaries in Istanbul debated Armenian Christians over how to control the funds the American Board sent for the Istanbul station.³⁴

Many Armenians argued that they should have a share in the funds of both the churches and the fund from the American Board on the ground that the churches belonged to the Armenian Protestant community and the American Board provided funding not for the missionaries’ own expenses but the Protestant community in

³¹ Letter from George to his wife Henrietta, New York, 28 January 1890. *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil’s Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 245-269.

³² E. Robert Gold, “Robert College” *Education* 11 (1890): 1-11, no:1; Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 485-495.

³³ A. R. Thain D.D., *Cyrus Hamlin D.D., LL.D., Missionary, Statesman, Inventor: A Life Sketch* (Boston: Published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d.) [ABCFM Box, no. 817.83 in Andover Harvard Theological Library]. 31-34; James P. McNaughton, “Turkey’s Triple Tragedy” *The Man from the Field*; James L. Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 65-90.

³⁴ See the address by John Minassian from Istanbul in 18 August 1879 in *Controversy Between the Missionaries of the American Board and the Evangelical Armenian Churches in Turkey* (New York: Issued by the Armenian Young Men’s Christian Association, 1882), 29-30; and H. Simon Eutujian, “To the Christian Public”, Istanbul, May, 1869. *The American Missionaries and the Armenian Protestant Community* [Pamphlet 815 ABCFM Box II, Andover Harvard Theological Seminary]

Istanbul, which was then basically composed of the Armenians.³⁵ The American missionaries did not agree with this Armenian party. Instead, they argued that the church funds and the financial support from the American Board in Boston belonged to the American Board itself and only the members of the American Board in Istanbul could decide on the financial matters of religious and administrative affairs.³⁶

In the end, church councils and the committees of reconciliation were gathered to solve the tension between the Station and the Protestant community of Istanbul. American missionaries and Armenians at last negotiated a decision that the missionaries would determine how to exploit the funds only by the approval from the Protestant community, mainly the Armenians, of Istanbul. Some members of the Armenian Protestant community did not agree with the final solution though, and one Armenian Protestant church determined to be free of the missionary influence.

The U.S. Civil War hampered the work of the American missionaries. The American Board in Boston worried about funding the missionary work in Istanbul during the war. Therefore, the American Board requested its missionaries in Istanbul to be extra cautious of financial expenditures. It even wanted them to quit various enterprises such as establishing any further sub-stations or distributing the missionary materials generously.³⁷

³⁵ "Notes on the Pera Church Edifice Question by Rev. H.O.Dwight, Missionary in Constantinople," *Controversy Between the Missionaries of the American Board and the Evangelical Armenian Churches in Turkey*, 21-23; "To the Prudential Committee of the A.B.C.F.M.," Istanbul 19 April 1869, *The American Missionaries and the Armenian Protestant Community* [Pamphlet 815 ABCFM Box II, Andover Harvard Theological Seminary]

³⁶ *Controversy Between the Missionaries of the American Board and the Evangelical Armenian Churches in Turkey*, 1-8.

³⁷ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *The Making of Robert College*; E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 423-424.

Some of the missionaries in the field believed that the best way to protect the American Board from the financial uncertainty generated by the Civil War was to resign or go back to the United States. Thus, such missionary families as Clark, Hutchison, Dunmore, and Ball returned to the United States and worked at home while American Bible Society took the responsibility for funding a few missionaries in Istanbul like William G. Schauffler and his family.³⁸

In their correspondences with the ABCFM center in Boston, the American missionaries in the Istanbul station wrote about the measures to reduce the effects of the financial uncertainty generated by the U.S. Civil War,

We have taken measures to reduce materially the expenses of the seminary and the boarding school and of our native agency – making some of these changes, indeed, not on account of pecuniary pressure, but on general principles of economy and missionary policy, and some of us have voluntarily reduced our salaries, \$25, \$50, or \$100, hardly knowing what retrenchment can be made in family expenses, to meet this reduction.³⁹

The Board could continue its work abroad with full force once the war at home was over and it improved its financial standing. However, the deaths of various missionaries and their associates affected the future of the ABCFM missions in Istanbul as badly as the American Civil War. The missionaries' failures or deaths impeded the missions in Istanbul since it essentially depended on their individual successes. While on his furlough, Henry G. O. Dwight passed away in a railway accident in January 1862 in Vermont, only two years after his wife. The Wife of George W. Wood died in March

³⁸ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 66.

³⁹ "Minutes of the 21st Annual Meeting of the Mission to Western Turkey: Pera, Constantinople"; and "Report of the Constantinople Station 1859-1860" *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 582 16.9.3, vol.1], 132-145, 264-285.

1862 and in July 1863, Emma Louise Riggs, a seventeen year old daughter of Elias Riggs lost her life in Istanbul. Another death in July 1865 belonged to Harry Washburn, a small son of George Washburn. Cholera, which was a serious epidemic illness at that time in Istanbul hit her as well as Stephan Ağa, the Head of the Protestant Chancery.⁴⁰

On 28 June 1865, William Goodell, the pioneer of the American missionary works in Istanbul, announced that his strength would not allow him to continue to operate in the field. Therefore, the missionaries, not only of the American Board but of the British and Foreign Bible Society as well, organized a farewell gathering in honor of the Goodell family at the Hotel d'Angleterre.

The Station Report in 1865 records that almost all the foreigners residing in the city of Istanbul joined this large gathering.⁴¹ After Alexander Thomson from the British and Foreign Bible Society read the plenary address, Charles S. Hanson and other missionaries offered Goodell various precious gifts. At the end of the party, E. Joy Morris, the United States Minister honored Goodell with a silver service medal. Goodell departed Istanbul for Philadelphia, where he rested for two years until his death on 17 February 1867.⁴²

⁴⁰ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 149-150, 202; "Letter from H. N. Barnum" [Harpoor, 2 April 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 13; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 29.

⁴¹ Report of the Constantinople Station for the Year Ending May 1865 and Report of the Constantinople Station for 1865-1866, *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 582 16.9.3], 306-325.

⁴² Letter from H.A. Raymond to Mrs. Washburn, Robert College, 6 April 1915 [In French], Letter from the American Board in Boston to Mrs. George Washburn, 23 February 1915, and Letter from Morris Carter to Mrs. Washburn, Robert College, 17 February 1915, In *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*; E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 403-404, 445-451.

This study further argues that the leading missionary that encouraged and developed the missionary publication in Istanbul was Dwight. While writing about his experience and recommendations for the missionaries in Istanbul later on, Dwight said,

If Turkish or Greek or Armenian men and women in Turkey are ever to be stirred in any large sense to intellectual and spiritual life, the impulse must come through books issued at Constantinople. If the view already given is true, of the lacks in both these directions seen among the peoples of the city, a burden of responsibility falls upon missionaries as educated Christian men and women. The missionary societies should concentrate at this one point all necessary means and forces for making the press instruct and help the people of this Empire.⁴³

This signaled a decision by the missionaries to adapt their strategy from evangelism targeting unbelievers' hearts and passions to evangelism targeting unbelievers' minds and intellect. In this direction, Elias Riggs, William G. Schauffler, Edwin E. Bliss, George F. Harrick, and Andrew T. Pratt spent substantial time during the late nineteenth century in preparation for publication of books, psalms, and other religious materials in Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, Hebrew, and Turkish. For the purpose of printing, Pratt came from Antep to Istanbul in 1868 and served in the bookstore for four years. Milan H. Hitchcock, another missionary from the Ceylon Mission, departed for Istanbul to publish in Armenian.⁴⁴

The Istanbul station weakened during the 1870s when various missionaries familiar with the station and qualified in native languages broke away for different stations. Upon the recommendations of the American Board, the missionaries in Istanbul transferred Theodore A. Baldwin to the Izmir station, George F. Herrick back to

⁴³ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 247.

⁴⁴ Annual Tabular View for the Year 1864 of Mission to Western Turkey, Annual Tabular View for the Year 1865 of Mission to Western Turkey, Estimates of Mission to Western Turkey 1865, Report of the Constantinople Station for the Year Ending May 1865, Report of the Constantinople Station 1865-1866 In *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 582 16.9.3], 27-38, 102-104, 306-325

Marşovan, and Henry Schaffler, the son of William G. Schaffler, to Phillippopolis. The Board now appointed Henry O. Dwight to replace George Washburn in the administration of Robert College from 1867 to 1872 soon before Washburn returned to the United States.⁴⁵

The Annual Meeting of the Istanbul Station also determined to separate the mission among the Bulgarians from regular missionary work in Istanbul. Approved by the Prudential Committee of the American Board, the Bulgarian mission was separated and Elias Riggs became its leader. The Bulgarian mission contained the Bulgarian population of Adrianople, the areas from Eski Zaghra through Phillippopolis to Samokov, and gained permanent permission from the Istanbul station for the publications in Bulgarian. In leading the Bulgarian mission, Riggs did not have to leave Istanbul, so he stayed with his family and directed the missions from there.

In addition, the 1870s became the woman's decade for the Istanbul station. George Washburn read a paper "On the Extension and Organization of Female Missionary Labor" at the opening of the Annual Meeting of 1868.⁴⁶ In his speech, Washburn outlined three missionary works available for the missionary women in cooperation with male missionaries in Istanbul: education and instruction of girls, visits to the houses of the resident women, and organization of a special unit for care and support of the sick and old population of the city. Last, Washburn recommended that

⁴⁵ Cornelia Lyman Barlett, *Diaries, 1870-1898* vol.1 (1870-1878); James P. McNaughton, "Turkey's Triple Tragedy" *The Man from the Field*: "Letters to Dr. M. G. Clark (Secretary of ABCFM)" In *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16.9.3: Reel 591]

⁴⁶ "What the Missionaries are doing at Constantinople", *Boston Journal*, 2.10.1868 [*Papers of the ABCFM*, ABC 16: Reel 583 16.9.3], 541-542.

just a female missionary center could work all these missions in cooperation with the missionary men in the field.⁴⁷

Once the American Board in Boston discussed Washburn's paper, which illustrated there was a need and great opportunity for female missionaries on the field, the American Board's Executive Committee decided to send Julia A. Rappleye in 1870 and Mary L. Wadsworth, M.D., in the following year. The American Board expected them to open a "Home" mission, which was called so because their missions would essentially teach local girls to do housekeeping and become a good wife and mother in a domestic atmosphere. In 1871, they educated and tutored two students in the Home School at Üsküdar, and the number of students reached thirteen the following year.⁴⁸

The Constantinople Station stated that the female missionary experience during the previous two years of professional work,

...has made a profound impression upon the people, and, in a suitable location, might no doubt be rapidly filled up. It is a thorough-going, efficiently and enthusiastically conducted girls' high school, and must succeed. The exceeding difficulty of finding a native teacher qualified for the place is a testimony for the necessity of the school. Miss Wadsworth's labors in caring for the inmates of the Home, as well as in an increased practice outside promise the success they deserve, which is not small.⁴⁹

The first female missionaries founded the female branch of the American Board in Istanbul once they arrived in Istanbul in 1870. The scarcity in the number of female

⁴⁷ *Facts Up-to-date Regarding the American Board, 1920-1922*, 4; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 73.

⁴⁸ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 31; "Letter from Rev. Dr. Farnsworth, for Fifty Years Missionary at Caesarea" [Whittier Hall, N.Y., 23 February 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 50-51; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "The Making of Robert College;" S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 27-28

⁴⁹ "Report of the Missionary Committee of Constantinople Station 1869-1870" *Papers of ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 588 16.9.3], 362-370.

missionaries caused the female missionary enterprise in Istanbul not to be able to meet the expectations of Washburn. For instance, the female missionaries taught and tutored the girls often and cared for patients in their homes, but there were no female missionary who could preach. Cora W. Tomson and Alexander Van Millingen arrived in Istanbul after a few years and they began evangelistic visits and some preaching among the neighbors and pupils' parents. But by and large, the greatest help came not from the American Board in Boston but from the male missionaries in the field who had a close relation and helped women organize an extensive mission among native women.⁵⁰

The medical department of the female missionary works in Istanbul ended when the American Board appointed no missionary in place of Mary L. Wadsworth after her marriage to Dr. Bogian, an Armenian physician. The Board transferred Ellen Richardson from the Brousa station to Istanbul to strengthen the female missionary position there, however, her marriage to John W. Baird also led to her departure from Istanbul to Marşovan in 1873. Charlotte L. Noyes came to Istanbul in 1872, but she had to return to the United States after her health failed in Istanbul. Julia A. Rappleye made the longest stay and service for the Istanbul station, but she also left Istanbul in 1876 when the Board appointed her to open a school for the Greek girls in Brousa.⁵¹

During the 1870s, the ABCFM missionaries often decided to take action when the conditions required, and the best institutions and acts of the missionaries sometimes appeared by a flash of wit. For instance, I. G. Bliss was sailing aboard a ferryboat on his

⁵⁰ "Letters to Dr. M. G. Clark (Secretary of ABCFM)" In *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16.9.3: Reel 591]; "Letter from Mrs. Coffling" [101 Latta Avenue, Columbus, O., 6 March 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 63-64; also see "Memorandum Regarding Possible Lines of Cooperation Between Constantinople Woman's Language and Robert College" ABC 8: *Histories of the Board and Individual Missions* [In Houghton Library, Boston]

⁵¹ Cornelia Lyman Barlett, *Diaries, 1870-1898* vol.2 (1879-1874); E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 195-200.

way from downtown to his house in Hasköy when he heard people talking about him and other Americans in the Armenian language, which he knew very well. One asked another if he knew those people and what sort of people they were. His friend replied,

They seem to be a good sort of people, but they don't know how to work; the Catholics have a house of their own, and you know where to find them, but these people are sometimes here and sometimes there.

And Bliss improvised, "Yes, that is just what we need –a place where people will know where to find us; and then what a help it would be in the general work." He communicated with other missionaries in the city soon after. All agreed, and sent letters to the Bible Society in New York to raise funds for it. Later, the American Bible Society provided fifty thousand dollars and Ira F. Pettibone drew up a plan for the building.⁵²

The Bible House at Constantinople would become the most effective missionary establishment in Istanbul, acting as the agent and the official center of the American Board "to induce the people to buy and read Bible in these different languages of the people." It also published the *Missionary Herald*, an illustrated monthly magazine, an annual report of missions, devotional books, Sunday school cards and leaflets, textbooks for all grades of schools, a weekly family newspaper, and a monthly-illustrated paper for children in three languages. It contributed to *American Board Almanac*, and delivered all of these worldwide in India, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Russia, and United States.⁵³

⁵² Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 258-260; Samuel M. Zwemer and Arthur Judson Brown, *The Nearer and Farther East: Outline Studies of Muslim Lands and of Siam, Burma, and Korea*, 93; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 73.

⁵³ "Letter from Mrs. I. G. Bliss" [Washington D.C., 12 March 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 36-37; David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 83; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *The Work of the American Board Among the Greeks*, 24; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey. 1819 till 1934*, 35. The prices of the missionary publications were between 5 to 80 cents per copy. Sometimes, the missionaries sold their press releases free of charge when the consumer was really poor and seemed very willing to read. For more, see *Catalogue of Missionary Publications*

The Annual Meeting of the Western Turkey Mission in 1872 was the most wide-ranging and well attended meeting in the history of American missionaries in Turkey. With the visits of various prominent missionaries from the American Board in Boston like Langdon S. Ward and religious scholars like Prof. Flake of Chicago Seminary, the missionaries in Western Turkey celebrated the functioning of the Bible House with full capacity and the female missionary enterprises, which continued despite numerous difficulties.

George Washburn hosted a welcome party for the guests at Robert College and the American missionaries in Istanbul organized a one-day conference, which discussed such spiritual and practical topics as individual dedication to Christ and the possible ways and appropriate methods to work with children. A conference where all natives and missionaries were cordially invited became the first public platform to draw the missionaries and the natives closer together.⁵⁴

In the year 1873 when Istanbul celebrated the thirteenth anniversary of the succession of Sultan ‘Abdu’l-‘Azîz, the American missionaries in Istanbul opened the Kocaeli sub-station upon the recommendation of Justin Parsons, the only missionary that worked in Kocaeli until then and by the approval of the Committee and Interim.⁵⁵ Soon after, George W. Wood and Milan H. Hitchcock accompanied him. The Kocaeli station

(Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d.) [817.81 ABCFM Box no.1 in Andover Harvard Theological Library]; also Appendix XI, XIV, XV.

⁵⁴ “Estimates of Western Turkey Mission for 1872 by J. H. Pettibone, Caesarea. ”, “Annual Tabular View for the year 1872 by J. H. Pettibone, Caesarea, May 1873”, and “Minutes of Annual Meetings” *Papers of ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 588 16.9.3]

⁵⁵ Report of the Constantinople Station for 1864, In *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 582 16.9.3], 300-306; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil’s Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 356. A discussion on whether uniting the Brousa and Kocaeli stations or adding the Brousa station to Istanbul like Kocaeli occurred when Sanford Richardson like Parsons wanted companions for missionary work in Brousa. At the end, the Brousa station did not see more missionaries coming, but it remained as an independent station; Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 123.

became separated from Istanbul again after five years in December of 1878, perhaps because it now had sufficient number of missionaries to run the work there after John E. Pierce and two more missionaries came to Kocaeli. However, the Board for the last time regained Kocaeli to Istanbul in November 1890 when the missionaries on the ground complained that they alone could not undertake the work at Kocaeli.⁵⁶

The annexation of the Kocaeli station to Istanbul mission brought about interesting and important consequences for the future missionary work. For example, after the American Board added Kocaeli to the Istanbul station, a school for girls also appeared in Kocaeli in July, 1873, under the leadership of Laura Farnham and with the help of Electa C. Parsons. The school functioned efficiently in Kocaeli and graduated many local females till its removal to Marşovan in 1886.⁵⁷

In addition, the American missionaries now grew closer to the Bithynia Union of Armenian churches, which since its foundation in Brousa in 1865 had been an influential church union funding the churches in Istanbul and opening new churches like the one in Adapazarı. Once, the Bithynia Union of Armenian Churches decided to open a school of theology and hoped Scottish religious brethrens would fund it. The American missionaries did not approve it simply because the seminary, which moved from Istanbul to Marşovan, had already been doing the duty of training theologians. Instead, they thought the Armenians needed a high school for boys, but decided not to dispute with the Bithynia Union. In the end, the Union established the theology seminary in Kocaeli.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 8.

⁵⁷ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 220-228.

⁵⁸ S. C. Barlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, 22-24.

The Ottoman administrators sometimes worked against the American missionary work during the late 19th century.⁵⁹ For instance, the Sheikh al Islam, Muslim religious leader in the Sublime Porte, saw a missionary selling for twenty akcas the Holy Scriptures in Turkish just above the Galata Bridge. He bought a copy of Matthew in Ottoman Turkish and delivered it to the Sublime Porte in an angry manner, asking who allowed such publications to be sold. Those in the Porte made no answer, and soon the Ottoman government started an investigation among the foreigners and printing presses in the city including the embassies. The investigation resulted in an imperial order that prohibited the (missionary) sales of the Scriptures in Turkish printed in Arabic fonts.⁶⁰

The American missionaries also shared the troubles of the Ottoman Empire in 1876. The revolts in Herzegovina and Montenegro a year earlier against increased taxes, and the economic deficiency bothered both Sultan 'Abdu'l-'Azîz and the residents of Istanbul. When the Ottoman government did not pay the coupons on loans in October and May 1876, increasing the public tension, Serbia determined to go to war against the Ottoman Empire. The American missionaries considered canceling the Annual Meeting of 1876 on account of high risks for those traveling to Istanbul from other stations.⁶¹

After 'Abdu'l-'Azîz died and Murad V ruled for a short period of time, 'Abdu'l-Hamid II became the sultan. Soon after, Serbia in July 1876 and Russia in March 1877 went to war against the Ottoman Empire. Missionaries found the ongoing events,

⁵⁹ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 194-195.

⁶⁰ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 36-38, 216-217.

⁶¹ Annual Tabular View for the year 1875 by O. Dwight, Constantinople, January 1876; Annual Tabular View for the year 1876 by O. Dwight, Constantinople, January 1 1877; Report, by G. F. Herrick and G. W. Woods, Constantinople, May 30 1877; Report of the Publishing Department of the Mission to Western Turkey for 1876, by Edwin E. Bliss, Constantinople, April 17 1877, *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16; Reel 588 16.9.3]; Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 72-74, 195-211

political and financial turbulences of the Ottoman Empire were hard to cope with.⁶² The American missionaries noted in the Annual Meeting of 1876,

We are in the midst of political disturbances and financial disasters, the course and end of which cannot be foreseen... The condition of things is unfavorable to the support of schools and pastors by the people; but in respect to hindrances from governmental sources it has brought favorable results. The attempt, long preserved in, to bind the Word of God in the language of the dominant race has been signally defeated... Applications repeatedly denied, -as for a firman for Aintab College, for a permit for erection of houses for professors in Robert College, etc., and in regard to the civil position of the Protestants as compared with other non-Mussulman communions in the Empire, -have been granted.⁶³

The problems the American missionaries went through in the year 1876 continued the following year as well. Political hindrances and financial burdens simply to run the missionary institutions, let alone to undertake new establishments, discouraged the missionaries. The churches and charities in America had leveled off in their donations and gifts to the American Board. Therefore, the American Board ended the year 1876 with a debt of thirty one thousand dollars.

The political tension between the Ottoman Empire and its provinces in the Balkans disrupted the missionaries' Bible translations and establishment of churches in the Balkan Peninsula.⁶⁴ For instance, in 1876, Henry O. Dwight and Theodore A. Baldwin had to stop for hours in a police station on their way to Bulgaria in order to

⁶² "Letter from Constantinople 26 may 1877" In *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 589 16.9.3] Bernard Frederick Nordmann, *American Missionary Work among Armenians in Turkey, 1830-1923*, 6-7.

⁶³ Report of Constantinople Station 1876 July 5 and Report of Constantinople Station 1876-77 June 7 1877 In *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 589 16.9.3]; N. G. Clark, *General Survey of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Annual Meeting at Hartford, October 1876* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1876); and N. G. Clark, *General Survey of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Annual Meeting at Providence, October 1877* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1877) [Both are available in Andover Harvard Theological Library]

⁶⁴ Edward B. Haskell D.D., *The Lure of the Missionary Adventure* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d.) [817.83 Pamphlet ABCFM Box in Andover Harvard Theological Library]; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *The Making of Robert College*.

provide some boxes of books and Psalms. The police on the border released them only after the American embassy intervened in the case.⁶⁵

Other difficulties facing the American missionaries during the late 19th century had often to do with sickness disability and deaths. The refugees from the European Provinces of the Ottoman Empire introduced into Istanbul contagious diseases like smallpox, leprosy and typhus. The missionaries usually cared for the patients suffering from these diseases in Istanbul when they themselves did not catch the disease. They rented a house near the Bible House and turned it to a hospital building. Later on, with the medical missionary work of Milan H. Hitchcock and Issac G. Bliss, this hospital served some eight to nine hundred patients a year.⁶⁶

The American missionaries in Istanbul frequently visited the outstations near Istanbul as supervisors. Until 1878, the information collected from Istanbul and various outstations indicated that the missionaries proselytized even more than fifty Muslims, who dedicated themselves to Christ and began working for the Gospel truth.⁶⁷ However, they could hardly tour among the outstations during the years between 1876 and 1878 basically due to the war in the Balkans and the conditions of war emergency. The war threatened to disrupt the missionary schools. But the other schools outside Istanbul of various religious and ethnic congregations including the Armenian theological school at Adapazarı, the American missionary schools and establishments like Robert College, the

⁶⁵ E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, 233-237.

⁶⁶ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 74.

⁶⁷ Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks* (London: 1878), 91

Bible House, and the Home School for Girls in Üsküdar remained open, functioning at full strength.⁶⁸

Although the turbulence in the Ottoman Empire hit the missionary endeavor in Istanbul to a lesser extent, the American missionaries postponed the Annual Meetings of 1876, 1877, and 1878 just in case. Still, the Istanbul station was considered safer than outlying regions, and it received influential missionaries deserting their former stations. In August 1877, Lewis Bond and George D. Marsh and their families departed Eski Zagra for Istanbul because the former destroyed city became a dangerous ground for the missionary operations anymore. Also, the missionaries at Samokov sent their families to Istanbul, believing that their wives and children would be at safe there.⁶⁹

The 1876 Report of the Istanbul Station mentioned the growth and successful consequences of the American Protestant missions to Istanbul. The missionaries had started a Bible lesson in the Greek language in the Bible House and more than 30 Greeks from Galata and Pera attended those services. The American Board had transferred Charles H. Brooks in 1876 from Manisa back to Istanbul to work among the Greeks, and Brooks started worship services and Bible lessons among small groups of Greeks at Beşiktaş, Kadıköy, Fener, and Bebek. After two years, he started the week-day Bible class in Beşiktaş, and George Kazakos, one of his close companions, became the leader of the established Greek Evangelical community in Istanbul.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 70-71, 165-166.

⁶⁹ "Report of Constantinople Station 1876 July 5", "Report of Constantinople Station 1876-77 June 7 1877", "Report of Constantinople Station 1878", "Tabular view of the Armenian Schools of Constantinople June 25 1877", "Report of Constantinople Station 1879 Constantinople may 27 1879", "U. H. Hitchcock, Report of Constantinople Station 1880 July 6 1880", and "a paper/ report about the Constantinople Home," *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 589 16.9.3]

⁷⁰ "Report of Constantinople Station 1876 July 5," *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 589 16.9.3]

At the end of the nineteenth century, missionaries in Istanbul could even occasionally conduct theological discussions with Muslim scholars. In 1879, Ali Effendi, a Turkish Imam giving Islamic lectures in the Ayasofya Mosque after he moved from India and settled in Istanbul, attended a Turkish service on Sunday in the Bible House. Ali Effendi asked Avedis Constantian, the pastor preaching the service, for a discussion of Islam and Christianity.⁷¹

The two theologians conducted a religious conversation that went on for two hours. Although the Sunday lesson ended, both the pastor and imam stayed in the Bible House with about a hundred listeners. The discussion continued during the next five Sundays. The pastor Constantian let the discussion carry on perhaps because he thought that a comparison of Christianity and Islam would bear consequences favorable to the Protestant community of Istanbul including the missionaries.⁷²

However, the missionaries and the Protestant community of Istanbul sometimes saw that the promotion of their faith led to official and public harassments and persecutions. For instance, the discussion between Constantian and Ali Effendi came to an end when the Ottoman administrators of Istanbul arrested and imprisoned a Turkish Hoca on ground that he helped Dr. Koelle of the British and Foreign Bible Society to publish a Turkish translation of "Christ as the Word of God". Although it is not clear what the Turkish scribe went through after his arrest, the missionaries became more careful about using the press and working among the infidels in an explicit way.

A public persecution occurred while Justin Parsons and Garabed Dudukian of the Bağçecik station were returning home in summer of 1880. When close to Iznik, a

⁷¹ "Report of Constantinople Station 1879 Constantinople may 27 1879 by U. H. Hitchcock" *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 589 16.9.3]

⁷² Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *The Making of Robert College*.

Turkish mob stole their valuable possessions and killed them both. Investigators caught three nomads and charged them with murder. The Kadı of Istanbul sentenced to death one nomad after his confession soon after the robbery, and imprisoned the other two for fifteen years.⁷³

The funerals of Dr. Parsons and Dudukian and his companion proved a great testimony among all the Protestants of Istanbul and its vicinity to Parsons' lifetime devotion to preaching the Gospel truth and promoting the word of God. Those who talked in memory of Parsons and his companion, including even the Armenian Patriarch further complained about the worsening public unrest and inhumanity all over Istanbul.

Despite these predicaments, the American missionaries did not give up working their missions in Istanbul, nor did the American Board in Boston stop sending more missionaries to the field.⁷⁴ In January 1880, Susan M. Schneider and Martha Jane Gleason arrived in Istanbul for the purpose of working among the female population of the city. As soon as they settled, Gleason began learning Armenian and Schneider attended classes to practice her Turkish, which she had learned for more than ten years during her previous stay in the Marşovan station.

The new missionaries typically stayed in the houses of the missionaries already settled in Istanbul.⁷⁵ Gleason and Schneider first stayed in the house of the Hitchcock family until they moved to a newly hired house in Gedik Pasha. There, in October 1880, they together opened a Sunday school for about sixty women, which a few weeks later began rotating the houses of native women participating in the school. As more women

⁷³ George F. Frederick, "The First Missionaries to Turkey" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 44.

⁷⁴ James P. McNaughton, "Turkey's Triple Tragedy" In *The Man from the Field*.

⁷⁵ "Letter from H. N. Barnum" [Harpoor, 2 April 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 9.

came to say their monthly prayers in the home of Gleason and Schneider, the mission among the women of Istanbul grew to a hundred, and thus, Mr. Kazakos, a Greek local pastor, began preaching particularly among the Greek women.⁷⁶

The women in Istanbul responded to the female missionaries perhaps more positively than their counterparts to the male missionaries. With the help of Milan H. Hitchcock, the female missionaries in 1881 funded by the Protestant community of Istanbul and together with the Protestant Church of Istanbul founded the School at Gedik Pasha, a very effective missionary establishment in Istanbul, after it became obvious that the missionaries could not address the growing numbers of attendants in the lectures and services in the rooms of the Bible House. Despite many difficulties, the School at Gedik Pasha served successfully not only for the girls studying there, but also for the mothers of the students, their neighbors, and all concerned by way of conversations and dinner, in discussions about their private lives and daily affairs, as well as religion.⁷⁷

The ABCFM Annual Meetings of 1883 and 1884 sometimes caused encouraging results for the future of the missions. All missionaries from all over Turkey providentially agreed that they needed a better cooperation of all Protestants in name of Christ and His teaching, and decided that the Armenian Protestant Church could now assume the work of preaching the Gospel and enlightening the infidels and the American missionaries would turn back home only when the city of Istanbul became a peaceful

⁷⁶ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 30-33.

⁷⁷ The official date of the establishment is the year 1886 that the missionaries got the Berat, an Imperial document, to announce the recognition of the school by the Ottoman officials. *The American School at Gedik Pasha* (Boston, 1933) [Detached from *Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad* in 1933; and Available as Pamphlet LG 321.Z91 in Andover Harvard Theological Library]; Helen Scott, *A Week End at Gedik Pasha, Constantinople* [Pamphlet LG 321.Z91]; Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 274-275; Etta Doane "Jubilation at Gedik Pasha" Detached from *Life and Night for Women*, May 1914 (Boston) Pamphlet LG 321.Z91], 210-212.

place to welcome Christianity.⁷⁸ These meetings were important for two reasons. First, the missionaries put on a firm countenance during these meetings and decided that they would keep evangelizing the Near East anyway. Second, they showed their missions had an end. They would withdraw when Istanbul turned into a land of peace for Christians.

During the 1880s, the American missionaries in Istanbul founded new institutions and strengthened their old establishments with the help of the American government and politicians to expand their enterprises. For instance, "Milel-i Gayri-Müslime ve Ecnebiyye Okulları Müfettişliği" under the Ottoman Office of Public Instruction ordered the missionaries to terminate day schools including the Gedik Pasha School on grounds that, according to new regulations of education, it was neither a mekteb-i 'umûmî, a public school, nor a mekteb-i husûsî, a private school. However, the order did not take effect once Oscar Straus, the American minister in Istanbul, made necessary interference in name of the United States. In 1890, the State of Massachusetts also granted the Home School at Üsküdar a charter that reorganized the school as the American College for Girls at Constantinople.⁷⁹

Anna B. Jones in 1890 and Martha J. Gleason with Arma Smith in 1891 began regular missionary works at Gedik Pasha School. Meanwhile, the Vlanga Church of the Greeks moved from Yeni Kapou to the Gedik Pasha quarter near the school after Stavros

⁷⁸ N. G. Clark, *Annual Survey of the Work of the American Board Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Board at Detroit, Michigan, 1882-1883* (Boston: ABCFM, 1883) [ABCFM Box no.2 in Andover Harvard Theological Library]; Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey*, 35; *The Field, the Force, and the Work, 1881-1882* (Boston: ABCFM, 1882) [Pamphlet 817.83 ABCM No:3 Available on request from Harvard Depository Brittle in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

⁷⁹ Düstur, Tertib I, vol. II, 184-219; Selçuk Akşin Somel, *Das Grundschulwesen in den Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches während der Herrschaftsperiode Abdulhamids II* (Egelsbach: Hansel-Hohenhausen, 1995), 62; Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 235-236, 277; *The American School at Gedik Pasha: Etta Doane, Gedik Pasha: Its Needs and Opportunities* (Boston: Woman's Board of Missions, 19-) [Pamphlet LG 321.Z91], 6 pages.

Michaelides replaced George Kazakos on his death in 1890. After H. O. Dwight, Ira F. Pettibone and Joseph K. Greene died, and Charles A. S. Dwight and Charles S. Brooks resigned, there was no missionary to preach particularly to the Greeks. In this case, the removal of the Church to the Gedik Pasha, where many American missionaries settled, added to the missionary work among the Greeks. Now, the missionaries in Gedik Pasha preached to the Greeks in their church, anytime they were not busy.⁸⁰

Izmit with Bardızağ and Adapazari. which was under the responsibility of the Istanbul station between the years 1873 and 1878, became a part of the Istanbul mission again in 1891 after John E. Pierce withdrew as the missionary in charge of the missions to Izmit during the previous year. The Istanbul mission now possessed an extra three churches, fourteen substations, about nine hundred students at Sunday School, eighty seven students at Boys' High School at Barzidag, and fifty five students at Girls' School at Adapazari.

With the addition of the Izmit station, the American missionaries to Istanbul with a target population of almost two million became the largest station in the Ottoman Empire outnumbering even the provinces like Syria, Beirut, and the Balkans. However, the expansion in the region also created new challenges. The missionaries that established the missions now began either resigning or passing away, and the financial conditions and number of missionaries available was unable to respond to the needs of the Istanbul mission with its newly combined substations, Adrianople, Rhodes, Dardanelles, Izmit, Bardızağ, and Adapazari.

Istanbul experienced an earthquake in July 1894, which disrupted the American missionary activities. Three Robert College professors were taking pictures of the

⁸⁰ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 89

ancient prisons of Anemes during the earthquake, which hit the Grand Bazaar and its vicinity. Although the earthquake did not injure them or other missionaries, it wreaked havoc on the Gedik Pasha School and damaged the Bible House and the Girls' College at Üsküdar.⁸¹

As indicated before, another difficulty was the shortfall of personnel available in Istanbul. The Annual Report of 1894 urged the missionaries in Istanbul to occupy more places and find more ways to contact people. The mission to the City of Istanbul experienced a marked decline once a variety of previous missionaries left the station due to financial troubles or their discomfort of age or illness. Therefore, the missionaries in Istanbul realized that the missions could not continue so long as they were not consolidated and their financial standing did not improve.⁸²

The financial troubles and shortage of manpower triggered various fresh missions connected to the Istanbul station during 1894 and the years ahead. For instance, the missionaries of education working in the Bithynia High School launched a summer school for Christian workers. The preachers and teachers together taught the participants music, English, Turkish, Biblical interpretation, church history, hagiography, hygiene, physics, and arithmetic. Although both the missionaries and the students were fond of and benefited from the courses, the summer school closed after the first year due to the lack of funding and insufficient number of missionaries.

During the late nineteenth century, Ottoman bureaucratic hindrances and Muslim community pressure rarely exhausted the patience of the American missionaries in the

⁸¹ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 52.

⁸² "Minutes of Annual Meetings", "Estimates", and "Tabular Views" In *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 596 16.9.3]

initial steps of the missionary establishments and practice. Therefore it was unusual when the missionaries, having waited for more than a year for the Ottoman government's permission to erect a new building for the Vlanga Church in Old Istanbul, realized in 1895 that the Ottoman administration would not consent to the founding of a church perhaps because it would offend the Muslim population of the Old Istanbul and its vicinity. Thus, a group of young missionaries and of the Protestant congregation of Istanbul snapped one night and constructed a small building with a roof of canvas and tiles on the top.⁸³

The police could not destroy the building because those who built it stayed inside with great insistence. Therefore, the police placed a watch-box in front of the building to make sure that no further entries and additions be made. The building served the missionaries' purposes particularly for Sunday classes until 1904 when it became unusable. The congregation emptied this edifice and destroyed it in 1911 when an Imperial order secured the building of a new church instead.

The houses were the most effective and worthwhile places for missionary preaching, teaching, and industrial training. The missionaries in their homes often addressed the girls of Istanbul and applied observational teaching methods. Their audience usually learned about religion and art from the missionary point of view. The way they lived and made daily routines influenced their students' perceptions, and cultural and social mindsets.⁸⁴

⁸³ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 48-49; *The Work of the American Bible Society in the Turkish Empire from the Seventy-Seventh Annual Report*, 11 May 1893 [Pamphlet BV 2370. A5 Z91 in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

⁸⁴ Henry T. Perry, *Diaries*, Box 2.

Johanna Zimmer who came to work at the Girls' School at Üsküdar knew that a religious and ideal life could better be taught in homes. Therefore, she took eleven girls to her home, teaching them sewing and preaching the Bible lessons. Later, boys began arriving in Zimmer's house, and the Woman's Board provided her with a new larger house. In 1893, Zimmer with Michaelidou and Peet were teaching both males and females. While girls learned arithmetic, Armenian, Greek, and French, and practiced sewing, mending, and dress cutting, boys practiced chair-caning, made lampshades and picture frames, and studied carpentry as well as science and art.

The missionaries always preached the Bible and included the Bible study in their curricula. They also formed an acquaintance with the parents of their students and their neighbors. In 1894, seventy-five men and women were attending Sunday school; in 1895 the number was twice that. In addition, Zimmer and other missionaries who worked both at school and in their homes at Üsküdar kept visiting the parents of their students, their neighbors, and the poor of the City of Istanbul until Zimmer returned to the United States in 1900.⁸⁵

The Annual Report of the Western Turkey Mission in 1896 commented on the pernicious political, economic, and social condition of the Ottoman Empire.⁸⁶ The Report stated,

The Carnival of robbery, massacre and outrage with marks with lurid color the closing months of 1895 in Asiatic Turkey, visited all the Eastern part of the Mission, and left behind its legacy of suffering and dread. Constantinople, the center of political life, of diplomatic discussion, and of governmental action, was the first to suffer disturbance... The occasions for the intervention of our government to

⁸⁵ *The Field, the Force, and the Work, 1893-1894; The Work of the American Bible Society in the Turkish Empire from the Seventy-Seventh Annual Report*, 11 May 1893.

⁸⁶ Charles Trowbridge Riggs, *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*, 69.

protect the persons and property of the missionaries and to guard the recognized rights of their enterprise have been greatly multiplied, and the care of these matters, for three of the missions in Asiatic Turkey, has devolved on the gentlemen residing in Constantinople.⁸⁷

The public tensions in the Ottoman Empire in 1895 led the missionaries in Istanbul to contact the American and British ambassadors and to help the Armenians monetarily. The American and British governments asked the missionaries in Istanbul for information concerning the troubles that happened to the Ottoman subjects and foreigners alike. Henry O. Dwight informed those officials and friends in the United States of what was happening in the Ottoman Empire. However, his explanations became controversial when he exaggerated the Ottoman ill treatment of minority groups and alleged the Ottomans were persecuting such minority groups as Armenians.⁸⁸

The missionaries began raising funds to provide the Armenians with provisions and victuals,⁸⁹ and distributed bales and food and clothing boxes to those that they deemed needy. Although the Ottoman government thought that the American missionaries did not have a right to help the minorities within the Ottoman realm, the missionaries used the approval of the Armenian Patriarchate as a proof of their right to help their brethren.

The every-day troubles, particularly among the minorities such as Armenians and the social turbulence of the 1890s had a direct influence on the missionaries as well as their congregation. United State officials believed that the missionaries should leave Istanbul, because the society had become so bankrupt that the local people would attack

⁸⁷ "Letters", "Estimates", "Memorandum", "Minutes", and "Tabular Views" *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC 16: Reel 607 16.9.3]

⁸⁸ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 30-31, 33.

⁸⁹ James P. McNaughton, "Turkey's Triple Tragedy" In *The Man from the Field*.

any foreigner not known by them.⁹⁰ For instance, mobs attacked and plundered the house of Martha Jane Gleason and J. W. Laura Seelye at Hasköy, where Sunday school and Bible classes were held and school and church services were conducted. Still, the Ottoman Empire paid compensation for the damage done to the American missionaries.⁹¹

George Washburn, the President of Robert College at that time, believed that the Ottoman government was responsible for this civic turmoil, and that the Kurds who came to Istanbul from Anatolia shortly before the turmoil were the agents of the Ottoman rulers to attack the non-Muslim millets. Soon, the missionaries grew to mistrust the Ottoman authority, deciding that the Ottoman Sultan and Sublime Porte had turned hostile and begun intimidating the non-Muslim subjects. More accurately, their missions suffered from the Ottoman financial problems and the shortage of manpower to maintain the domestic peace.⁹²

In terms of the missionary support from home, US official papers indicate that the American government's protection of the missionaries, and their consular immunity from arrest and freedom to publish and preach in Istanbul did not appear until the last decades of the 19th century. Before, the American administration became involved only piece-meal, through its representatives in Istanbul, after the missionaries had requested diplomatic help against the Ottoman applications that handicapped their activities. From the 1880s on, the American missionaries directly contacted Washington D.C.⁹³

⁹⁰ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 29-30, *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 6 December 1897, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 571-583.

⁹¹ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi. Hariciye Kısmı. Dosya: 2803. Gömlek: 2, 15 July 1890.

⁹² Cornelia Lyman Barlett, *Diaries. 1870-1898* vol.5 (1894-1898); Appendix VI.

⁹³ *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*, 6 December 1897, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1898), 571-583, 898-911; *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the*

Furthermore, the American administration came to rely on the missionary experience and information to form its foreign policy with the Ottoman Empire. For instance, President James Garfield declared in 1881 the Ottoman Empire as an unsafe realm after two missionaries were killed in the field, affecting American travel and trade with the Near East.⁹⁴

The last notable missionary address to the people in Istanbul during the 19th century was in March 1899 when George Crubb and Edward C. Millard of the British Evangelicals together with the American missionaries talked to the Protestant Community of Istanbul and lectured on four successive Sundays. They also visited Pera, Üsküdar, Hasköy, and Bebek, and advised the missionaries in the field on various topics such as how to interpret the latest events and in what ways the missions should continue and attract new followers of Christ.

As the address concluded, the spiritual motives and results showed various changes in the late nineteenth century from earlier. Although the Ottoman Empire underwent troubles times, the improvement of morality among the missionary addressees and the great by-products of missionary work like education and medicine became vital in missionary concern and would win “popular approval in increasing measure” during the next century.⁹⁵

United States, 9 December 1891, (1892), 749-767; *The Treaty Rights of the American Missionaries in Turkey*, 8 April 1893; Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 43-46; Stanford Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, 239; Appendix V.

⁹⁴ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Hariciye Kısmı, Dosya: 68, Gömlek: 44, 14 March 1882.

⁹⁵ Eddy Brewer, *The Social Aspects of the American Board's Work*, 7.

CHAPTER V:

EPILOGUE

*Look not Persons into the Past. It Comes not Back Again, Wisely Improve the Present. It is Thine; Go Forth to Meet the Shadowy Future, Without Fear and With Manly Heart.*¹

— Henry W. Longfellow

Istanbul was the capital of the Ottoman Empire and the political, economic, and social center of the Near East. Therefore, the American Board's representatives could easily appeal to the British and American diplomats in Istanbul, train their colleagues for further missions towards the rural and Anatolian hinterland and test their future agenda in the cosmopolitan and sophisticated milieu of Istanbul.²

A few scholars are mistaken while they argue that the notion of "evangelical Protestantism," which the ABCFM promoted in the Near East, focused on "instantaneous conversions" during the 19th century, and the missionaries failed in their missions because there were not many conversions.³ As the missions to Istanbul laid bare, the missionaries did not make such a deliberate effort at conversion. In fact, it was the effects of their activities that led to the conversion. The missionaries often let their addressees decide to convert. In this way, they regarded themselves like the apostles that

¹ A Missionary prayer from "Pilgrim Place in Claremont" (Tokyo: ABCFM Treasures) In Theda Belle Phelps, *Commonplace Book* (n.d), v.1, envelope 1, p.12 [ABC 76. * 73 M-100, in Houghton Library, Boston]

² David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*, 61-62.

³ Robert W. Stookey, "The Holy Land: The American Experience, the Christian American Concern" *Middle East Journal* 30 (1976): 351-368.

carried the Gospel to as many people as possible who might choose to follow. As Joseph K. Greene summarized in 1866.

The missionary, too, is a messenger from without, called by God to proclaim his truth and to carry to others the impulse to a new and spiritual life; but history tells us of no nation converted to Christianity, or reformed and quickened in its spiritual life, save by the instrumentality of men of its own flesh and blood.⁴

It is accurate that the numbers of converts were not substantial. But those who once converted to Protestant Christianity represented an evangelical way of Christianity as the missionaries wished. Moreover, various former graduates of missionary institutions and converts led “the Student Volunteer Movement of the Turkish Empire” soon after its establishment in the 1910s. They encouraged and supported the missionaries further, and often helped the missionaries on the field.⁵

The American missionaries meant to refurbish Eastern Christianity relying only on the Gospel, and the missionaries always endorsed a simple, non-ornamented and primitive form of Christianity.⁶ This was perhaps a reason for why they did not approve the existing Patriarchates in Istanbul and their ostentatious religious practices with ostentation. The Christian life they offered was intended to break the peoples away from their old churches.⁷ In the end, such Protestant churches as in London appreciated American missionary work for the Gospel in the Ottoman Empire.⁸

⁴ Joseph K. Greene, “Our Native Co-Laborers” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 53; *Duty of American Christians to the Heathen* (Boston: Published by the Board, 1866) [Pamphlet 817.83 ABCFM no:3 Available on request from Harvard Depository Brittle]; *Facts Up-to-date Regarding the American Board, 1920-1922*, 2.

⁵ S. Ralph Harlow, *Student Witnesses for Christ*, 3-11.

⁶ James S. Dennis, *Islam and Christian Missions*, 9-21.

⁷ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 139-158.

⁸ Appendix VIII.

Personal correspondence of the ABCFM missionaries to Istanbul helps understand the roots of American-Ottoman relations, and the missionaries' attitudes towards their predecessors, relatives, and fellow countrymen in the United States. For instance, the missionaries that arrived later in the Istanbul station highly respected and were inspired by the previous missionaries, most of whom were their grandfathers.⁹

The American missionaries often informed their families and friends at home about the missions to Istanbul and their personal circumstances.¹⁰ They kept aware of political, economic, and social events in America, and sent to America letters about Ottoman conditions, which were published in the *Missionary Herald* and other American newspapers, thus providing important public information about the Ottoman Empire to Americans.¹¹

The American missionaries in Istanbul paid particular attention to their use of language. They tried to speak with faultless accuracy and precision and as purely as possible because they thought it would influence their audience and enable the congregations of their missions to understand them better. For instance, George W. Dunmore advised George F. Frederick, "Don't use Arabic words [to Turks], use Tartar words [the language of the person you speak to], so a *hamal* [street porter] can

⁹ See letters 69 to 73 written to Henrietta Hamlin Washburn, 1863 to 1910; 59 letters to [Mrs. E.H.] Washburn, 1858 to 1901 and letter from George Washburn to Anna Washburn, Istanbul, 15 October 1899. In *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*; *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 2; "Letter from Rev. G. C. Reynolds" [London, 6 March 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 23; "Letter from Rev. Dr. George Washburn, Ex-President of Robert College" [New York, 17 February 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 48.

¹⁰ Letter from George Washburn to Mrs. George Hamlin Washburn, Robert College, 1 March 1903, *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*.

¹¹ Letter from Cyrus Hamlin to Rev. Dr. Alken, Istanbul, 28 January 1839; from John S. Kennedy to George Washburn, Maine, 29 August 1906; from Leon Elion to George Washburn, Istanbul, 28 July 1910, *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*; also Appendix XVI.

understand”¹² In literary works, the American missionaries’ contribution was manifold. For instance, the missionaries in Istanbul usually wrote the hymns and inspired the Christian songs of the Istanbul station. Translations and the references to Christianity in the newspapers, pamphlets, songs and religious extracts of the region successfully appealed to the missionary audience in the city of Istanbul.¹³

As a result of the missionary enterprise in Istanbul during the nineteenth century, the ABCFM missionaries in the field introduced new technologies into the Near East and acquired a reputation and appreciation among the natives. For instance, a trader with the help of Cyrus Hamlin introduced the telegraph to Sultan Abdul Medjid for the first time.¹⁴ In terms of the Ottoman perception of missionaries,

It is reported in Constantinople that 40 years ago tourists were advised by guides and residents to see the old walls about the ancient Stamboul, the Hippodrome, the Cisterns, the palaces of the sultan, and Dr. Hamlin.¹⁵

The missionaries had several cultural impacts. For instance, the working of female missionaries seemed to be an innovative idea for the Ottomans of Istanbul at the time; because the Ottoman women typically had to stay at home doing what the men told them to do, housekeeping and looking after children and pleasing their husbands. The female missionaries, on the other hand, worked outside their homes, teaching and preaching to many female natives.¹⁶ Along with the use of houses as centers of missions,

¹² George F. Frederick, “The First Missionaries to Turkey” *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 45.

¹³ Eddy Brewer, *The Social Aspects of the American Board’s Work*, 11.

¹⁴ “Letter from H. N. Barnum” [Harpoot, 2 April 1906] *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 15.

¹⁵ A newspaper column by James L. Barton, D.D., *The Congregationalist*, 2 August 1900 [In the Congregational Library, Boston]

¹⁶ *New Turkey* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d.) [Pamphlet BV 3160. Z9]; Betül Başaran, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire*:

the missionaries' educational investment in women resulted in various innovative ideas in advantage of the natives of Istanbul.

In essence, the American Protestant missionaries in Istanbul were remarkably family-oriented. In regard to the Istanbul station during the nineteenth century, all the missionaries came to Istanbul married with children. As records reveal, only thirty-one missionaries out of 129 recorded missionaries on the field of Istanbul were single and two-thirds of the thirty-one singles who operated in Istanbul at the turn of the twentieth century were the woman missionaries who began to flow into Istanbul.¹⁷

In the early nineteenth century, American missionaries believed that "educated women were needed mainly as wives for the native pastors." But, the late 19th century saw new female establishments with the leadership of women missionaries, which changed the idea and convinced the ABCFM missionaries that educated and intellectual women could lead other women and their children as well as themselves.¹⁸ The wives of male missionaries were missionaries themselves and their houses became the most effective place of missionary activity in nineteenth-century Istanbul.¹⁹

Houses, especially boarding ones, were the real places where missionaries worked for the Gospel truth. Ottoman officials at the close of the 19th century prepared an official report informing the Sublime Porte of the American missionaries who turned

American Schools and Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies, 1820-1908; Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 86-125.

¹⁷ See Appendix II.

¹⁸ "Qualifications of a Missionary's Wife" In E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*; Marcia and Malcolm Stevens, *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*, 153.

¹⁹ Edward B. Haskell D.D., *The Lure of the Missionary Adventure* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d.) [817.83 Pamphlet], 3-5; Charles C. Tracy, "Salient Points in Mission History" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 67.

their homes into churches.²⁰ It was true in many ways. For instance, the diary of Penka Racheva, a Bulgarian female student at the Istanbul Home, illustrated that the missionaries were working for the Gospel Truth even in their homes, and preaching and religious services were held there everyday. She later became the chair of the Robert College Alumni Association in Bulgaria. The missionaries' main objective was to represent evangelical Protestantism among the Ottomans and the Eastern Christians in particular, and the missionary houses became the most perfect place to represent the outward forms of Protestant evangelism and to preach its religious principles.²¹

Public health conditions available in Istanbul were the most nagging hardship in terms of the missions to Istanbul, not official harassment. After their missionary journey from Boston through Izmir to Istanbul, which took seventy-five days, the American missionaries had various physical difficulties in adjusting to Istanbul.²² As the missionary correspondences illustrate, the missionaries struggled to adapt to the weather conditions and climate. Their papers even tell about the natural deaths and show the missionary complaints about life-threatening epidemics, bad nutrition, and the frequency of city fires, more than the Ottoman preventive measures against their activities.²³

The values, practices, and daily life were so different in Istanbul from New England that the ABCFM missionaries were sometimes confused in what way to behave, the American or the Ottoman. However, they did not give up their roots in American

²⁰ Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Hariciye Kısmı, Dosya: 71, Gömlek: 23, 26 December 1890.

²¹ Carolyn McCue Goffman, "Masking the Mission: Cultural Conversion at the American College for Girls" In *Altruism and Imperialism: The Western Religious and Cultural Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East* (Middle East Institute Conference at Bellagio, Italy, August 2000); also Appendix XIII.

²² "Substance of an Address by the Chairman, Dr. Edward Riggs" *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople*, 6.

²³ Two Letters from H.B. Mattarsian to George Hamlin Washburn, Pera, 1 February 1910 and 26 February 1915; Letter from George Washburn to Anna Washburn, Istanbul, 16 April 1899, *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*; Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 200-205.

ways.²⁴ Their schools, published materials, houses, public preaching with songs, hymns, teachings, use of American English and native languages, sense of humor, their everyday affairs and most important their religious thought, all illustrated and represented a transatlantic and American identity. In so doing, the missionaries also introduced American values and culture deliberately, or not.

A few last remarks regarding the evangelical American Protestant enterprise in Istanbul and its consequences during the nineteenth century should address changes in the Ottoman and American governments' attitudes toward the American missionaries, and the tangible consequences of the missions to Istanbul. First, the Ottoman official attitudes toward the missionaries changed during the late nineteenth century in that the Sultan granted the ABCFM missionaries the rights and privileges to develop their schools because of pressure from Britain and the United States, or in line with the reformation attempts to fortify and modernize the Ottoman Empire. Second, the American government especially after the late nineteenth century began to support steadily its missionary citizens in Istanbul.²⁵

Instances like Hamlin's establishment of the bakery in Istanbul and the idea of founding an engineering school showed that the missionaries to Istanbul attempted to integrate into the economic and industrial life of Istanbul. This reflects the missionaries' broad view of religious missions to encompass commerce and industry. In addition, it reflects their adaptation to circumstances different than anticipated in Boston.²⁶

²⁴ Henry Otis Dwight, *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*, 159-197.

²⁵ See Appendix V.

²⁶ Appendix XII.

Last, soon after the nineteenth century, there were a hundred and forty eight organized Protestant churches in the Near East with fifteen thousand five hundred members. Most of them were opened as a result of the missionary activity. Missionary schools educated native pupils both male and female. Relying on the statistics from the field, Eddy estimated that twenty five thousand students studied in missionary village schools. He argued that they were “*the leaders of the next generation.*”²⁷

There was truth in Eddy’s words. For example, Halide Edip Adivar, a Turkish graduate of the Üsküdar Home College for girls, became a leader of Turkish freedom movement shortly after the First World War. Her famous speech of independence in Sultanahmet Square during the “Izmir Protest Meeting of Invasion”, encouraging many women as well as men to get involved in the Turkish War of Independence, was a reflection of her exposure to a New England evangelical tradition. In her life she also exhibited various other attitudes cultivated by missionaries: racism, egalitarianism, consensus-building, pragmatism, and esteem for hardwork. Overall, she illustrates an example that the leaders of the next generation were the students of the American evangelical Protestant missionaries.²⁸

Adivar was a Turkish woman who promoted evangelical Protestant values for Turkey. There are interesting similarities between her novels *Kubbede Hoş Seda* and *Yeni Turan*, and missionaries’ image of *Paradise Lost*. While *Kubbede Hoş Seda* and *Yeni Turan* analyzed the past and re-envisioned the paradise in which Turks believed

²⁷ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board’s Work in the Near East*, 77; Carl Marx Kortepeter. “American Liberalism Establishes Bases: Robert College and the American University of Beirut” *Journal of the American Institute for the Study of Middle Eastern Civilization* 1 (1980): 22-37.

²⁸ Halide Edip Adivar, *The Turkish Ordeal* (New York, London: The Century Company, 1928); *Izmir’den Bursa’ya Hikayeler, Mektuplar ve Yunan Ordusunun Mesuliyetine Dair Bir Tetkik* by Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri, Falih Rıfkı and Mehmed Asım (Istanbul: Akşam, 1919 [H. 1338]); *Halide Edip Adivar: Yaşamı, Sanatı, Yapıtlarından Seçmeler* M. Uyguncer ed. (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1994).

they all would eventually be happy and in peace, *Paradise Lost* found a place in the New England Puritan tradition, on which the American missionaries to Istanbul always relied. *Paradise Lost* represented the paradise in which missionaries believed all the evangelical Protestants would eventually meet Christ and live in high spirits and peace.²⁹

Although the ABCFM missionaries to Istanbul highly appreciated the conversions among the inhabitants of the city of Istanbul, they could not succeed in proselytization substantially. But they accomplished more than that. They lived an ideal Christianity as they conceived it, contributed to the reformation of the Ottoman Empire and led most of their target audience to become sympathetic to them at least. Later during the twentieth century, their native friends, the graduates of their schools like Adivar, a few converts, and the missionary establishments promoted many missionary principles originated from the Puritan New England tradition.³⁰

²⁹ Halide Edip Adivar, *Yeni Turan* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1973); Halide Edip Adivar, *Kubbede Kalan Hoş Sada: Hikayeler, Mensur Şiirler, Sohbetler* (Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1974); Keith W. F. Stavely, *Puritan Legacies: Paradise Lost and the New England Tradition, 1630-1890* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987).

³⁰ Fuad Şaban, *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: The Roots of Orientalism in America* (Durham, N.C.: Acorn, 1991).

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1. Primary Sources:

“Annual Report,” 1830, *ABCFM 16.9.1*. Houghton Library, Boston.

“Memorandum Regarding Possible Lines of Cooperation between Constantinople Woman’s Language and Robert College,” *ABC 8: Histories of the Board and Individual Missions*. Houghton Library, Boston.

“Pilgrim Place in Claremont,” Tokyo: ABCFM Treasures [Theda Belle Phelps, *Commonplace Book* (n.d), v.1, envelope 1, p.12 [ABC 76, * 73 M-100, Houghton Library, Boston]

“Protestan Milleti Nizamnamesi,” *Düstur*, Tertib 1, vol.1. Istanbul: Matba‘a-yi ‘Âmire, 1856, 652-654.

“Should the Christians Convert the Muslims?” *Time* 4 August 2003: 34-37.

“What the Missionaries are doing at Constantinople,” *Boston Journal* 2.10.1868. [Papers of the ABCFM, ABC 16: Reel 583 16.9.3: 541-542]

52 Weeks in the Turkey Mission of the American Board. Stamboul: Souhoulet Press, 1925.

Adivar, Halide Edip. *Kubbede Kalan Hoş Sadu: Hikayeler, Mensur Şiirler, Sohbetler*. Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1974.

Adivar, Halide Edip. *The Turkish Ordeal*. New York, London: The Century Company, 1928.

Adivar, Halide Edip. *Yeni Turan*. Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi, 1973.

A Tour in Turkey, Land of Change and Challenge: A Visit to the American Board Mission. New York: Congregational Christian Churches, 1958.

An Eastern Palimpsest: Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Egypt. London: World Dominion Press, n.d. [ABCFM Box II in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

- Anderson, Rufus D.D. *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872.
- Barlett, Samuel Colcord. *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey* [With supplement]. Boston: ABCFM, 1896.
- Barlett, Samuel Colcord. *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey* [With supplement]. Boston: ABCFM, 1872.
- Barlett, Samuel Colcord. *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey* [With supplement]. Boston: ABCFM, 1889.
- Barton, James L. *Daybreak in Turkey*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, c1908.
- Barton, James L. *The Congregationalist* 2 August 1900 [The Congregational Library, Boston]
- Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Hariciye Nezareti Siyasi Kısım, 2803/2, 68/44, 71/23, 81/59 [Istanbul]
- Berat, Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayunu Başkitabet Dairesi. 5225 and 3754, in E. Kırşehirlioğlu, *Türkiye 'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*. Istanbul: Bedir Yayınları, 1963, 145,143.
- Bezjian, Zenope A. *Protestant Colleges in Turkey: An Address Delivered by Professor Bezjian Before the Cilician Union of the Evangelical Churches at its Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting Held in Aintab, June 29, 1903* [Pamphlet LG321.Z91, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- Capen, Edward Warren. *American Board History Manuscript*. Boston: ABCFM, 1908?, Houghton Library, Boston.
- Catalogue of Missionary Publications*. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d. [817.81 ABCFM Box no.1, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- Centennial of Constantinople Station, 1831-1931/ Near East Mission of the American Board*. Constantinople: The Board, 1931.

- Clark, N. G. *Annual Survey of the Work of the American Board Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Board at Detroit, Michigan. 1882-1883*. Boston: ABCFM, 1883 [ABCFM Box no.2 in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- Clark, N. G. *General Survey of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Annual Meeting at Hartford, October 1876*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1876, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston.
- Clark, N. G. *General Survey of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Annual Meeting at Providence, October 1877*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1877, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston.
- Condensed Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Asiatic Turkey*. Boston: 1910, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston.
- Constitution and By-laws of the Turkey Mission Including Amendments and Approved Changes and Suggestions up to July 1926*. Constantinople: Zellitch, 1926.
- Controversy Between the Missionaries of the American Board and the Evangelical Armenian Churches in Turkey*. New York: Issued by the Armenian Young Men's Christian Association, 1882.
- Cyrus Hamlin: The Man for the Times* (n.p., n.d.) [bMS Am 1729 (42), Houghton Library, Boston]
- Dennis, Rev. James S. *Islam and Christian Missions*. New York: Funk and Wangalis, 1889 [Reprinted from *The Missionary Review of the World*, August 1889, ABCFM Pamphlet D, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- Doane, Etta. "Jubilation at Gedik Pasha" Detached from *Life and Night for Women*, May 1914 (Boston) [Pamphlet LG 321.Z91, Andover Harvard Theological Library]
- Doane, Etta. *Gedik Pasha: Its Needs and Opportunities*. Boston: Woman's Board of Missions, 19- [Pamphlet LG 321.Z91, Andover Harvard Theological Library], 6 pages.
- Düstur*, Tertib 1, vol. 1 and 2. Istanbul: Matba'a-yi 'Âmire, 1856.
- Duty of American Christians to the Heathen*. Boston: Published by the Board, 1866 [Pamphlet 817.83 ABCFM no:3 Available on request from Harvard Depository Brittle, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

- Dwight, Henry G. O. *Missionary Herald*. 11 May 1859. Boston: ABCFM, 1821-1934, Houghton Library, Boston.
- Dwight, Henry Otis. *Constantinople and Its Problems: Its Peoples, Customs, Religions and Progress*. New York: Young People's Missionary Movement, c1901.
- Eddy, Brewer. *The Social Aspects of the American Board's Work*. Boston: ABCFM, n.d. [817.83 A.B.C.F.M. (Box), Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- Eddy, David Brewer. *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*. Boston: ABCFM, [c1913].
- Ermeni Komitelerinin Emelleri ve Ihtilal Hareketleri : Osmanli Imparatorlugu Dahiliye Vekalati Yayini*. [s.l. : s.n.], 1916.
- Eutujian, H. Simon "To the Christian Public", Istanbul, May, 1869, *The American Missionaries and the Armenian Protestant Community* [Pamphlet 815 ABCFM Box II, Andover Harvard Theological Seminary]
- Facts Up-to-date Regarding the American Board, 1921-1922*. Boston: ABCFM, n.d. [817.83 A.B.C.F.M. 1 box, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- Fifty-two Weeks in the Turkey Mission of the American Board*. Stamboul: Souhoulet Press, 1925 [Pamphlet BV 3160.Z91, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston.
- Gold, E. Robert "Robert College" *Education* 11 (1890): 1-11, no:1.
- Goodell, William. *The Old and the New: or, The Changes of Thirty Years in the East, With Some Allusions to Oriental Customs as Elucidating Scripture*. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853.
- Goodsell, Fred Field. *Ye Shall Be My Witnesses*. Boston: ABCFM, 1959.
- Guide to the Microfilm Collection: Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. Woodbridge, Connecticut: Research Publications International, 1994.
- Hamlin, Cyrus. *Among the Turks*. New York: R. Carter and Brothers, 1878.
- Hamlin, Cyrus. *My Life and Times*. Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and

Publishing Society, 1893.

Hamlin, Cyrus. *The Oriental Churches and Mohammedans*. Boston: ABCFM, 1853
[Missionary Tracts No.11, 815.L9 in Widener Library, Boston]

Hartzler, J. S. and J. S. Shoemaker. *Among Missions in the Orient and Observations by the Way*. Scottdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1912 [Available on request as Harvard Depository Brittle Book in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

Haskell, Edward B. *The Lure of the Missionary Adventure*. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d. [817.83 Pamphlet ABCFM Box, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey. Boston: Published by the Board, 1872 [ABCFM Pamphlet B in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in Turkey, in European Turkey, Asia Minor, and Armenia. New York: John A. Gray, 1861.

Izmir'den Bursa'ya Hikayeler, Mektuplar ve Yunan Ordusunun Mesuliyetine Dair Bir Tetkik. Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri, Falih Rıfkı and Mehmed Asım. Istanbul: Akşam, 1919 [H. 1338].

Language School of the American Board in the Near East. Constantinople: Constantinople Language School, 1920.

Marden, Etta Doane. *Gedik Pasha: Its Needs and Opportunities*. Boston: Woman's Board of Missions, [19-].

Marden, Etta Doane. *Jubilation at Gedik Pasha*. Boston: 1914.

McNaughton, James P. "Turkey's Triple Tragedy" *The Man from the Field* [Reprinted from the Missionary Herald in 14 June 1916, A.B.C. F.M. 11.3, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

Missionary Herald, 1830. Boston: ABCFM, 1821-1934 [Houghton Library, Boston]

Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn [Manuscripts presented by Mrs. Basil D. Hall, 1878 Main Road, Westport Point, MA, received: Aug. 28, 1963, the

Congregational Library, Boston]

Papers of the ABCFM [ABC 16.9.3: Reels 582, 588, 589, 591, 596, 607, Bilkent University, Ankara]

Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States. Washington: Government Printing Office, [1830 to 1914]

Perry, Henry T. *Diaries*, 2 boxes [the year 1891 in the first box and the year 1911 in the second box, ABC 55: 39 volumes in two black boxes, Houghton Library, Boston]

Prime, E. D. G. *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire, or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell*. New York: Robert Carter, 1876. [Biography]

Revival Tidings from Foreign Lands. Boston: ABCFM, 1883.

Riggs, Charles Trowbridge "The Making of Robert College" 1 vol. Istanbul, n.d. [*73 M – 100 ABC 8: *Histories of the Board and Individual Missions*, Lamont Library, Boston]

Riggs, Charles Trowbridge *History of the Work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Near East and More Especially in Turkey, 1819 till 1934*. ABCFM 31:4, Unpublished, n.d., Houghton Library, Boston.

Scott, Helen *A Week End at Gedik Pasha, Constantinople* [Pamphlet LG 321.Z91, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

Scott, Helen Elgie. *A Weekend at Gedik Pasha, Constantinople*. N.p.: n.d. [Pamphlet LG 321.Z91, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople. Gloucester: John Bellows, 1906? [817.601 A512.1 A512se, 1906, Houghton Library, Boston]

Smith, Eli. *Papers, 1819-1869*. Houghton Library, Boston.

Southgate, Horatio *A Letter to a Friend, in Reply to a Recent Pamphlet, from the Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at Constantinople*. New York: D. Appleton & co, 1845.

Southgate, Horatio *A Letter to the Members of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the*

- United States from the Rev. Horatio Southgate.* New York: Stanford ad Swords, 1844.
- Stevens, Marcia and Malcolm. *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin.* New York: University Press of America, 1988.
- Taha, Ahmet. "Din Degil, Muslumanlar Elden Gidiyor," *Ilkadim* May 2002.
- Thain, A. R. *Cyrus Hamlin D.D., LL.D., Missionary, Statesman, Inventor: A Life Sketch.* Boston: Published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, n.d. [ABCFM Box, no. 817.83. Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- The America School at Gedik Pasha, Constantinople.* Boston: ABCFM, 1933 [Detached from *Missionary Herald at Home and Abroad* in 1933; and Available as Pamphlet LG 321.Z91 in Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- The American Board Missions in Turkey and the Balkans.* Boston: ABCFM, 1915-1918.
- The American Missionaries and the Armenian Protestant Community* [Pamphlet 815 ABCFM Box II, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- The Cõnstitution and Bylaws of the Constitution.* Constantinople: The Press of the Journal de Constantinople, 1854.
- The Field, the Force, and the Work, 1881-1882.* Boston: ABCFM, 1882 [Pamphlet 817.83 ABCM No:3 Available on request from Harvard Depository Brittle, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]
- The Gospel in Asia Minor.* Boston: ABCFM, 1879.
- The Men from the Field.* Boston: ABCFM, [19-].
- The Missionary Herald: Reports from Ottoman Syria, 1819-1870.* Eds. Kemal Salibi and Yusuf K. Khoury. Jordan, Amman: Royal Institute of Inter-Faith Studies, 1995.
- The Problem of Turkey as the American Board Views It.* Boston: ABCFM, 1923 [Pamphlet BV3160.Z91 in Andover Harvard Theological Library]
- The Treaty Rights of the American Missionaries in Turkey, 8 April 1893* [ABCFM Pamphlet Box, Andover Harvard Theological Library in Boston]

The Work of the American Bible Society in the Turkish Empire from the Seventy-Seventh Annual Report, 11 May 1893 New York: 1893? [Pamphlet BV 2370. A5 Z91, Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

Tracy, Charles. *A Cry to Heaven from a Housetop*. Boston: ABCFM, [1893?].

Tracy, Charles. *Silkenbraid: Or, A Story of Mission Life in Turkey*. Boston: ABCFM, [1893?].

United Church of Christ, *A Tour in Turkey: Land of Change and Challenge, A Visit to the American Board Mission*. New York: Congregational Christian Churches, 1958.

Washburn, George. *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909.

Wheeler, C.H. *Ten Years on the Euphrates: or, Primitive Missionary Policy Illustrated*. Boston: American Tract Society, 1868.

2. Secondary Sources:

Alanya Summer Camp of Georgetown University [Online] Available: <http://www.georgetown.edu/programs/oip/os/sites/mideast/alanya.htm> [accessed: July 3, 2001].

Ameer, John Pierre. *Yankees and Nestorians: The Establishment of American Schools among the Nestorians of Iran and Turkey, 1834-1850*. Boston: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Aydın, Mahmut. *Monologdan Diyaloga: Cagdas Hristiyan Dusuncesinde Hristiyan-Musulman Iliskileri*. Ankara : Ankara Okulu, 2001.

Badr, Habib. *A Mission to "Nominal Christians": The Practice of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and Its Missionaries Concerning Eastern Churches Which Led to the Organization of a Protestant Church in Beirut, 1819-1848*. Princeton University: Ph.D. Dissertation, 1992.

Başaran, Betül. *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire:*

- American Schools and Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies, 1820-1908.*
Bilkent University, Ankara: M.A. thesis, 1997.
- Brown, Arthur Judson. *The Nearer and Farther East: Outline Studies of Muslim Lands and of Siam, Burma, and Korea.* New York: The McMillan Company, 1908.
- Brown, William. *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen since the Reformation.* London: Duncan & Cochran, 1814.
- Browne, George. *History of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* 2nd v. London: British & Foreign Bible Society, 1859.
- Coakley, J. F. "The ABCFM Collection of Harvard" *Harvard Library Bulletin* 9 (1998): 3-4.
- Concern" *Middle East Journal* 30 (1976): 351-368.
- Çakır, Musa. *Anadolumuz Asla Hristiyan Olmayacak: Misyonerler, Memleketinize Dönünüz.* Istanbul: M.S. Matbaası, 1966.
- Daniel, Robert L. *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1960.* Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1970.
- Davidson, Roderick H. "The Milletts as the Agents of Change in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire" In *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis eds. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982.
- Dennis, James S. *Islam and Christian Missions.* New York: Funk, 1889.
- Einige Muster in der Weltgeschichte und Wie Sie Benutzt Werden Können, um die Zukunft Vorauszusagen* [Online] Available:
<http://www.worldhistorysite.com/d/predictiond.html> [Accessed: February 15, 2004]
- Engels, Friedrich. *Der Krimkrieg* [Online] Available:
http://www.mlwerke.de/me/me11/me11_231.htm [Accessed: February 15, 2004]
- Field, James A. *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882.* Princeton: University Press: 1969.
- Finnie, David H. *Pioneers East.* Boston: Harvard University Press, 1967.

- Fischer, David Hackett. *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Ganimet, Hâris Yûsuf. *El-Protostânt va 'l-Inciliyyûn fî 'l-'Irâk*. Baghdad: Matba'at-ü'n-Nâşirü'l-Mektebî, 1998.
- Goddard, Hugh. *Christians and Muslims: From Double Standards to Mutual Understanding*. Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995.
- Goddard, Hugh. *Christians and Muslims: From Double Standards to Mutual Understanding*. Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995.
- Goffman, Carolyn McCue. "Masking the Mission: Cultural Conversion at the American College for Girls," *Altruism and Imperialism: The Western Religious and Cultural Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East*. Middle East Institute Conference at Bellagio, Italy, August 2000.
- Goodell, Fred Field. *They Lived Their Faith, An Almanac of Faith, Hope and Love*. Boston: ABCFM, 1961.
- Goodrich, Thomas D. *The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A Study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi and Sixteenth Century Ottoman Americana*. Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1990.
- Gordon, Leland James. *American Relations with Turkey, 1830-1930: An Economic Interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Grabill, Joseph L. *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.
- Greenwood, Keith M. *Robert College: The American Founders*. Bogazici University Press, 2000.
- Gurock, Jeffrey S. *American Zionism : Mission and Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Hatchinson, Nathan O. *The Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven:

Yale University Press, 1989.

Halide Edip Adivar: Yaşamı, Sanatı, Yapıtlarından Seçmeler. M. Uyguner ed. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1994.

Hambrick-Stowe, Charles E. *Charles G. Finney and the Spirit of American Evangelism.* Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1996.

Harlow, S. Ralph. *Student Witnesses for Christ.* Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1916.

Hawley, John C. *Historicizing Christian Encounters with the Other.* Basingstoke, HA.: Macmillan, 1998.

Haydaroglu, Ilknur Polat. *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Yabancı Okullar.* Ankara: Ocak, 1993.

Howe, Daniel Walker. *Making the Americanself: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Hurewitz, J.C. *Middle East Dilemmas: The Background of the United States Policy.* New York: Harper, 1953.

Hutchison, William R. *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Inalcık, Halil and D.Quataert eds. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1994.

Inalcık, Halil. "Istanbul: An Islamic City" In *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 1-23.

Ishak Effendi, *Sie Waren Nicht Imstande Zu Beantworten* [Online] Available: <http://www.hakikatkitabevi.com/deutsch/beantworten1.htm> [Accessed: February 15, 2004]

Khalaf, Samir. "Leaving the Levant: New England Puritanism as a Cultural Transplant" In *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* [Malta] 7(1997): 268-292.

Kırşehirlioğlu, E. *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri.* Istanbul: Bedir Yayinlari, 1963.

- Kocabasoglu, Uygur. *Kendi belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. yuzyilda Osmanli Imparatorlugu 'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okullari*. Istanbul: ARBA, 1989.
- Kortepeter, Carl Marx "American Liberalism Establishes Bases: Robert College and the American University of Beirut" *Journal of the American Institute for the Study of Middle Eastern Civilization* 1 (1980): 22-37.
- Kuklick, Bruce. *Puritans in Babylon : the Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880-1930*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- La guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine, 1861 – 1865* [Online] Available: http://perso.club-internet.fr/dazio/Histoire/Histoire_Indépendance-Américaine.htm [Accessed: February 15, 2004]
- Martin, Edwin M. *The Hubbards of Sivas*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1991.
- Mathews, Donald G. "The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780-1830: An Hypothesis" *American Quarterly* 21 (1969): 23-43.
- McGrath, Alister. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993.
- Merk, Frederick. *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History: A Reinterpretation*. New York: Knopf, 1963.
- Miller, Perry. *Errand into the Wilderness*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Neal, Mark. *The Culture Factor: Cross-national Management and the Foreign Venture*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Business, 1998.
- Nordmann, Bernard Frederick. *American Missionary Work among Armenians in Turkey, 1830-1923*. Urbana, Illinois: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1927.
- Osmanlı'da Hoşgörü: Birlikte Yaşama Sanatı*. İstanbul : Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı, 2000.
- Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs. *Salname-i Nazaret-i Umur-i Hariciye*. Istanbul, 1318.

- Partick, Mary mills. *Under Five Sultans*. Michigan: UMI, c1996.
- Patton, C. H. *The Business of Missions*. New York: Macmillan, 1924.
- Pauli, "Peter Heyling: der Erste Evangelische Deutsche Missionar" *AMZ* 3 (1876), 206-223.
- Philip, M. and Ethel Klutznik, *Pilgrims and Travelers to the Holy Land*. Omaha, Neb.: Creighton University Press, 1996.
- Rabe, Valentin H. *The American Protestant Foreign Missions Movement: 1820-1920*. Harvard university: Ph.D. Dissertation, 1965.
- Redford, Scott. *An Introduction to the History of Architecture (Ancient, Classical, Medieval) from the Monuments of Turkey* Available: <http://www.georgetown.edu/programs/oip/os/sites/mideast/McGhee/coursedescriptions.htm#Monuments> [Accessed: July 3, 2001]
- Reed, James Eldin. "American Foreign Policy: The Politics of Missions and Josiah Strong, 1890-1900" In *Church History* 41(1972): 230-245.
- "Remarks of Ambassador Robert Pearson" *Universities in the New Millennium* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University, 12 October 2000) [Online] Available: <http://www.usemb-ankara.org.tr/AMBASADR/ARCHIVE/pear1012.htm> [Accessed: 24 October 2003]
- Richter, Julius. *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*. New York: AMS Press, 1910.
- Rosman, Doreen M. *Evangelicals and Culture*. Hampshire: Gregg Revivals, 1992.
- Saliba, Issa A. "The Bible in Arabic: The 19th Century Protestant Translation" In *Muslim World* 65(1975): 254-263.
- Salt, Jeremy. *Trouble Wherever They Went: American Missionaries in Anatolia and Ottoman Syria in the 19th Century* (Bellagio, Italy: Middle East Institute Conference, 2000) [Online] Available: <http://www.ciaonet.org/conf/mei01/saj01.html#note81> [Accessed: 14 October 2002]
- Shaw, Stanford and Ezel Kural. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. vol. 2 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

- Shaw, Stanford J. *Studies in Ottoman and Turkish History: Life with the Ottomans*. Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2000.
- Shuster, W. Morgan. *The Strangling of Persia : Story of the European Diplomacy and Oriental Intrigue that Resulted in the Denationalization of Twelve million Mohammedans, A Personal Narrative*. New York: The Century Co., 1912.
- Skocpol, Theda. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Harvard University Press, 1992).
- Somel, Selçuk Akşin. *Das Grundschulwesen in den Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches während der Herrschaftsperiode Abdulhamids II*. Egelsbach: Hansel-Hohenhausen, 1995.
- Sonyel, Salahi R. *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993.
- Sonyel, Salahi, R. "Tanzimat and its Effects on the Non-Muslim Subjects of the Ottoman Empire," *Tanzimat 'in Yildonumu Uluslarasi Sempozyumu*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994, 353-358.
- Staveland, Keith W. F. *Puritan Legacies: Paradise Lost and the New England Tradition, 1630-1890*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Stone, Frank A. *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of Rationale, Program, and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984.
- Stookey, Robert W. "The Holy Land: the American Experience" In *Middle East Journal* 30(1976): 351-368.
- Strong, William Ellsworth. *The Story of the American Board: The Centenary of American Foreign Missions*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1910.
- Şaban, Fuad. *Islam and Arabs in Early American Thought: The Roots of Orientalism in America* Durham, N.C.: Acorn, 1991.
- Textiles, 5,000 Years: An International History and Illustrated Survey*. Ed. Jennifer

Harris. New York: H. N. Abrams, 1993.

Turan, Ömer. "American Protestant Missionaries and Monastir, 1912-17: Secondary Actors in the Construction of Balkan Nationalisms" In *Middle Eastern Studies* [Great Britain] 36(2000): 119-136.

Turan, Ömer. *Avrasya'da Misyonerlik*. Ankara: ASAM, 2002.

Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri. Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1996.

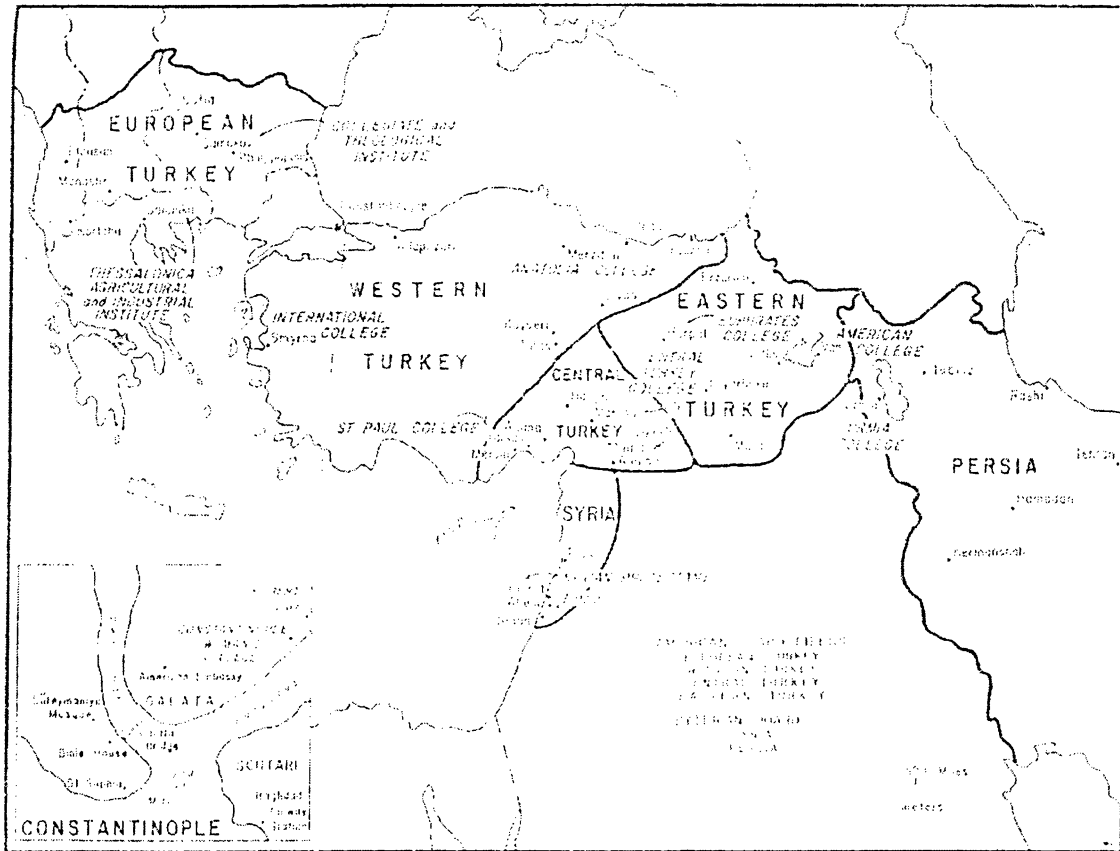
Vahaboğlu, Hidayet. *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okulları*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yayınları, 1992.

Walker, Mary A. "The Archives of the American Board for Foreign Missions" *Harvard Library Bulletin* 6 (1952): 52-68.

APPENDICES

Appendix I

The American Board fields, stations, and colleges up to the early 20th century. Mapped out from Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, 17



Appendix II

American Protestant Missionaries Sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for Particular Missions to Istanbul

Charted from *Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Microform* [The reels between 502 and 735 out of 6 units on 858 microfilm reels]

Allen, Mrs. H.M., Ellen R [1893 to 1898, also 1903 to 1911]
Allen, Herbert M. [1893 to 1898, also 1903 to 1911]
Baldwin, Mrs. T.A., Matilda J. [1867 to 1910]
Baldwin, Theodore A. [1867 to 1910]
Barker, Annie M. [1894 to 1934]
Barnum, Mrs. H.S. Helen [1869 to 1915]
Barnum, Henry S. [1867 to 1915]
Blake, Susan [1881 to 1885]
Bliss, Mrs. E.E., Isabella H. [1843 to 1897]
Bliss, Edwin E. [1843 to 1892]
Bobb, Mrs. P.F., Ruth H. [1927 to 1931]
Bobb, Paul F. [1920 to 1931]
Byngton, Mrs. T.L., Margaret E. [1858 to 1888]
Byngton, Theodore L. [1858 to 1888]
Clark, Mrs. W., Elizabeth W. [1852 to 1861]
Clark, William [1852 to 1861]
Dewey, Mrs. A.W., Elsie [1919 to n.d.]
Dewey, Albert W., M.D. [1919 to n.d.]
Dodd, Isabelle F. [1886 to 1909]
Dodd, Mrs. W.F. [1953 to n.d.]
Dodd, Mrs. W.F., Mary B. [1922 to 1937]
Dodd, Wilson F., M.D. [1922-1939]
Dwight, Charles A.S. [1884 to 1893]
Dwight, Cornelia P. [1871 to 1878]
Dwight, Mrs. H.G.O., Elizabeth [1830 to 1837]
Dwight, Mrs. H.G.O., Mary [1839 to 1860]
Dwight, Mrs. H.O., Ardelle M. [1874 to 1884]
Dwight, Mrs. H.O., Frances [1900 to 1902]
Dwight, Mrs. H.O., Isabelle H. [1887 to 1894]
Dwight, Mrs. H.O., Mary [1867 to 1872]
Dwight, Henry Otis [1867 to 1902]
English, Mrs. W.F., Janet S. [1887 to 1892]
English, William F. [1887 to 1892]
Everett, Mrs. J.S., Seraphina [1845 to 1854]

Everett, Jeal S. [1845 to 1856]
 Fowle, Mrs. L.R., Helen [1912 to n.d.]
 Fowle, Luther R. [1912 to n.d.]
 Gile, Mrs. Pavetoff, Lydia A. [1890 to 1892]
 Gleason, Martha J. [1879 to 1891]
 Goodell, Isabelle H. [1855 to 1856]
 Goodell, Mary E. [1855 to 1915]
 Goodell, Mrs. W., Abigail P. [1830 to 1867]
 Goodell, William [1830 to 1867]
 Goodsell, Mrs. F.F., Lulu K. [1907 to 1930]
 Goodsell, Fred F. [1907 to 1930]
 Greene, Mrs. J.K., Mathilda H. [1895 to 1911]
 Greene, Mrs. J.K., Elizabeth A. [1859 to 1894]
 Greene, Joseph K. [1859 to 1911]
 Greene, Mrs. P.F., Ruth A. [1921 to 1922]
 Greene, Philip F., M.D. [1921 to 1922]
 Griffiths, Gwen [1904 to 1908]
 Hallet, H. Arlene [1927 to 1934]
 Hamlin, Mrs. C., Mary E. [1855 to 1859]
 Hamlin, Mrs. C., Harriet M. [1845 to 1857]
 Hamlin, Mrs. C., Henrietta A. [1838 to 1850]
 Hamlin, Cyrus [1838 to 1859]
 Helton, Anna M. [1944 to n.d.]
 Herrick, Mrs. G.F., Helen M. [1861 to 1912]
 Herrick, George F. [1859 to 1912]
 Hinsdale, Mrs. A.K., Sarah C. [1841 to 1855]
 Hitchcock, Mrs. M.H., Lucy [1869 to 1883]
 Hitchcock, Milan H. [1869 to 1883]
 Homes, Mrs. H.A., Anna W. [1835 to 1856]
 Homes, Henry A. [1835 to 1850]
 Honiss, Lillian J. [1927 to 1939]
 Isley, Mrs. M.N., Mildred M. [1920 to n.d.]
 Isley, Merrill N. [1920 to n.d.]
 Jones, Anna B. [1890 to 1931]
 Kinney, Mary E. [1907 to 1930]
 Kreider, Mrs. H.H., Hettie [1926 to 1941]
 Kreider, Herman H. [1926 to 1941]
 Ladd, Mrs. D., Charlotte H. [1836 to 1869]
 Ladd, Daniel [1836 to 1869]
 Lord, Agnes M. [1881 to 1905]
 Lucas, Gladys M. [1932 to n.d.]
 Lyman, Mrs. J.K., Bessie M. [1913 to n.d.]
 Lyman, James K. [1913 to n.d.]
 Markham, Mrs. R.F., Evangeline [1920 to 1939]
 Markham, R. Finney [1920 to 1939]
 McNaughton, Mrs. J.P., Rebecca [1885 to 1931]

McNaughton, James P. [1887 to 1931]
 Melvin, Helen E. [1883 to 1894]
 Newell, Mrs. Fannie B. [1881 to 1898]
 Nolan, Myrtle [1920 to 1924]
 Nosser, Marian A. [1925 to 1928]
 Noyes, Charlotte L. [1872 to 1875]
 Odell, Elsie J. [1927 to 1939]
 Olmstead, Susan H. [1889 to 1898]
 Parsons, Ellen C. [1875 to 1883]
 Parsons, Mrs. J.W., Catherine [1850 to 1898]
 Parsons, Justin W. [1850 to 1880]
 Patrick, Mary M. [1871 to 1913]
 Peabody, Mrs. J., Mary L. [1841 to 1864]
 Peabody, Josiah [1841 to 1864]
 Peet, Mrs. W.W., Martha H. [1881 to 1920]
 Peet, William W. [1881 to 1925]
 Pettibone, Ira F. [1855 to 1893]
 Prime, Ida W. [1884 to 1911]
 Putney, Ethel W. [1915 to n.d.]
 Rappleye, Julia A. [1870 to 1881]
 Riggs, Mrs. C.T., Mary R. [1900 to 1946]
 Riggs, Charles T. [1900 to 1946]
 Riggs, Mrs. E., Martha J. [1832 to 1887]
 Riggs, Elias [1832 to 1901]
 Ryan, Mrs. A.C., Edith H. [1911 to 1921]
 Ryan, Arthur C. [1911 to 1921]
 Sanderson, Edith M. [1923 to 1929]
 Schaffler, Mrs. H.A., Clara [1865 to 1872]
 Schaffler, Henry A. [1865 to 1872]
 Schaffler, Mrs. W.G., Mary R. [1831 to 1858]
 Schaffler, William G. [1831 to 1858]
 Shank, Dora F. [1929 to 1934]
 Sheldon, Marion E. [1886 to 1939]
 Spaulding, Mrs. W.A., Georgia [1871 to 1874]
 Spaulding, William A. [1871 to 1874]
 Tomson, Mrs. Cora [1873 to 1879]
 Trowbridge, Isabella [1900 to 1937]
 Wadsworth, Mary L., M.D. [1871 to 1883]
 Washburn, Mrs. G., Henrietta E. [1859 to 1868]
 Washburn, George [1858 to 1868]
 Wells, Helen A. [1925 to 1929]
 West, Sarah E. [1853 to 1862]
 Williams, Cornelia P. [1879 to 1925]
 Wood, Mrs. G.W., Martha B. [1841 to 1853]
 Wood, Mrs. G.W., Mary I. [1855 to 1862]
 Wood, Mrs. G.W., Sarah A.H. [1869 to 1897]
 Wood, George W. [1838 to 1887]

Woodward, Sarah E. [1929 to 1946]
Yarrow, Harriet [1927 to n.d.]

Appendix III

A letter by Dr. Herrick from Istanbul [29 February 1869] quoted from *Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Microform* [Reel no: 583]

Let me attempt, though it has often been done, to give some idea of the spiritual atmosphere and spiritual soil where we are called to labor. For comparison with Constantinople take New York. The population is about the same in each; each is the commercial center of a country of some thirty-five millions of people. You must, however, add Washington to New York to make it the political center also. Now regard each as a field for Evangelical Christian labor. First, consider the obstacles. Have you a heterogeneous population? So have we, to a far greater extent; and while the various populations of New York assimilates, here it does not. Politically, religiously, and socially, men are here found in separate hostile clans and camps. Have you Romish influences? So have we, and that too sustained directly by one of the most influential of embassies. Have you worldliness? We have it in a form far more engrossing, more universal, and more sordid. Have you vices which attend high civilization:—e .g. pride of knowledge, luxury, false refinement, and growing effeminacy among the rich and well-born. We have pride of knowledge without the knowledge, luxury and waste of which the imperial establishments are the most bloated and appalling example, with no solid wealth – luxury and wealth of the few built upon the crying oppression and misery of the many. Our refinement is gaudy Paris, more grossly, cheaply, and meretriciously decorated. Have you a growing class of indolent, place-seeking, labor-hating parasites in the community? We have such class, already so large that it has no room to grow, - venerable mushrooms, represented on the one hand by the polite, gentlemanly hanger-on of great men, and on the other, by the swarm of dirty, lazy, beggarly idlers that throng around any door where they may hope for a piece of bread earned by the sweat of other brows than their own. Has New York political scheming? Add Albany and Washington to New York, throw the “Eastern Question” into the seething cauldron; take out all but the fewest grains of patriotism, moral principle, and the fear of God; lose conscience out of life of the masses, and you have the political atmosphere and influence of Constantinople. Have you materialism in philosophy, liberalism in religion, and both culminating in indifferentism? We have materialism more gross and unintelligent, and an indifferentism more hopeless, because enslaved to a cringing fear which governs the outward conduct, and masked under the profession of a state or national faith. Now for the forces enlisted in behalf of truth and righteousness. What have you in New York? Of Evangelical churches how many? Of Bible, Missionary, and other Christian societies, how many? How many Christian hospitals, asylums, homes? How much of lay activity?

–Sabbath schools, union prayer meetings, city-mission enterprises? And with all these, do Christian men feel that the cause of Christ, of faith and a pure Gospel is very near its hour of victory in New York? Is any man ready to crown or to be crowned with laurel yet? Now look at Constantinople. For the native population, there has been erected out but one church or chapel. There are some six or eight places “Where prayer is wont to be made,” in private houses or school-houses...

Constantinople, February 29, 1869
Dr. Herrick,

4

Appendix IV

[Rev. R. Anderson] “Mr. Anderson’s Commission and Instructions as Agent to the Mediterranean, November 15, 1828” In *Papers of the ABCFM* [ABC: 8.1. Instructions to Missions in ABC: 8 Miscellaneous]

To M. C. Jackson, and others (including W. Goodell):

Beloved brother,

One of you is destined to the mission in Asia Minor; the others go to the missions in Syria and the Holy Land. The field included in the plan of these missions embraces all the countries in Western Asia, lying on this side... Ararat, the Caucasus;—in other words it is Asiatic Turkey—the most interesting portion of the earth, both for historical and religious associations. 15 years have elapsed since we first entered this field; and we now have stations at Jerusalem, in the Holy Land; at Bayreuth, in Syria; at Smyrna and Brousa in the Western districts of Asia Minor, and at Trebizond on the Northeastern Turkey, to which Mr. Jackson is destined. We have stations also on the Bosphorus, in the metropolis of the Turkish Empire;—all stations function well...

Appendix V

Two Official Letters from *Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States*,
6 December 1897, 910-911.

The Secretary of State to Minister Leishman

No: 930
STATE

DEPARTMENT OF

Washington, November 11, 1905

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch, No.1171, of the 9th ultimo, in further relation to the interference by the Turkish authorities with the colportage of Bibles in Turkey, and reporting that, while the vigorous representations made by you and the British ambassador have had the effect of restraining the Ottoman Government from making any further efforts to enforce the restricting order issued by the grand vizier, you have not as yet been successful in securing an official reply to your identic notes, and the embargo placed upon several colporteurs has not been officially raised.

You will continue to press the matter on the same lines as your British colleague, keeping in touch with him, in view of the identity of interests involved.

I am, etc.,

Elihu ROOT.

The Secretary of State to Minister Leishman

No: 943
STATE

DEPARTMENT OF

Washington, November 24, 1905

SIR: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your dispatch, No.1191, of the 4th instant, inclosing a copy of recent correspondence between you and the Porte on the subject of the colportage and unrestricted sale of the Bible in Turkey.

The Department commends your note to Tewfik Pasha, in which you take exception to the manner in which certain regulations were to be applied, for the reason, as you say, that while the stipulations mentioned in the note of the Porte would appear to be just, the right to determine the necessity of putting such restrictions into operation could not safely be left in the hands of local officials.

I am, etc.,

Elihu ROOT.

Appendix VI

Two Ottoman Imperial edicts issued during the reign of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Hamid II, concerning the American missionaries and their establishments. Cited in E. Kırşehirlioğlu, *Türkiye 'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, 145, 149-150.

A Firman, 11 Cumadalula 314, 9 Teşrin-i Evvel 312 (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayunu Başkitabet Dairesi, No.5225)

Bebek'te bulunan Robert Koleji nam mektebin müdiri ile mualliminin Rumeli Hisarı civarında meskun bulunan Ermenilerin hicretlerini teshil ile beraberbunlara muavenet-i nakdiyede bulunmakda oldukları mesmu-ı ali buyurulduğundan bu babda komisyon-u mahsus ifası vesayayı mukteziyye kılınmak üzere bermantuk-ı emr ü ferman-ı hümayun-u mükukane beyan-ı keyfiyetine ibtidar olunur. Olbabda emr ü ferman hazret-i veliyyülemrindir.

*Serkatib-i Hazret-i Şehriyari
Tahsin*

A Fermañ, 23 Cumadalula 322, 28 Temmuz 321 (Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, Yıldız Saray-ı Hümayunu Başkitabet Dairesi: No.3754)

Seviyyi sami-i sadaretpenahilerine leffen irsal kılınan telgrafnameler Amerikalıların hareketi hakkında birtakım işaat-ı muzırrayı havı olmasıyla ve böyle şeylere meydan verilmemesi Bab-ı Aliye ait vezaiften bulunmasıyle iktiza-yı halin ifası bermantuk-ı emr ü ferman-ı hümayun-u Hazret-i Hilafetpenahi tebliğ olunur.

Tahsin

Appendix VII

An Original Copy of "Constitution and By-Laws of the Turkey Mission Including Amendments and Improved Changes and Suggestions, up to July 1926" (Constantinople: Printed by Zellitch Brothers, 1926) [Pamphlet BV3160 Z91]

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS LIBRARY

4 --

shall obtain first-hand information concerning the work and problems of all stations, and make this information available to the Mission, the Committee ad Interim, and the Board. He shall visit the Stations as frequently as possible with a view to coordinating their work and informing himself as to conditions therein. He shall keep in touch with missionaries on vacation with a view to their return to the field; also with the Board offices with regard to newly appointed missionaries and their fitness for special lines of work. Copies of the correspondence of the Recording Secretary and of the Field Secretary shall be reciprocally exchanged between their offices.

ART. 4. The Treasurer shall make an annual report to the Mission, and a semi-annual report to the Missionary House, concerning all funds entrusted to his care.

ART. 5. The Auditors shall carefully examine the semi-annual accounts of the Treasurer with vouchers, and shall endorse on said accounts their opinions respecting them, and shall report to the Mission annually or oftener, informing the Mission as to the result of their examination.

ART. 6. It shall be the duty of the Committee on Publication to superintend the issuing from the

CONSTITUTION.

..

ARTICLE 1. The Mission shall have the following officers: — a Chairman, Recording Secretary, Field Secretary, Treasurer, Assistant Treasurer, two Auditors, a Librarian; also a Committee on Publication, an Educational Council, a Health Committee, a Committee on the Language School, a Board of Managers of the School of Religion, and a Committee ad Interim. These shall be chosen annually by ballot: — the Chairman *one year in advance*, the Recording Secretary at the commencement of the Annual Meeting, and the remaining officers towards its close.

ART. 2. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of all the doings of the Annual Meeting and of the Committee ad Interim, preserve on file all the documents of the Mission, conduct its official correspondence, prepare the Annual Tabular View of the Mission and forward it to the Missionary House, a copy being retained for examination at the succeeding Annual Meeting.

ART. 3. The Field Secretary shall have such executive functions as are specifically delegated to him by the Mission or the Committee ad Interim. He

— 5 —

press of works approved for publication, and to present to the Mission an Annual Report.

ART. 7. The Educational Council shall consist of nine members, three of whom shall retire each year, their places being filled by election by the Mission. This Council shall be charged with the development of policy and technique in educational affairs of the Mission, on approval of the Mission. The Chairman shall be a member of the Committee ad Interim.

ART. 8. The Health Committee shall arrange for an annual medical examination of every member of the Mission. Any exception to this rule shall be with the knowledge and consent of the Medical Secretary of the Board. The Chairman of the Health Committee shall be elected at Annual Meeting. He shall appoint his own Committee.

ART. 9. The Committee on the Language School, in cooperation with representatives of such other organisations as may now or hereafter be entitled to share therein, shall have general oversight of the management of the Mission Language School and its courses of study, and shall grant certificates to those who successfully complete the assigned work. They shall present an Annual Report to the Mission.

ART. 10. The Board of Managers of the School of Religion shall exercise a general superintendence over it, attending the examinations and directing as to the course of study, rules of discipline, expenditure of funds, shall issue certificates or diplomas, etc., and shall make an Annual Report to the Mission.

ART. 11. The Librarian shall keep a complete catalogue of all the books belonging to the Mission Library and shall present an Annual Report to the Mission, and arrange for the circulation of books in the various stations.

ART. 12. The Committee ad Interim shall have authority to act in behalf of the Mission in the interval between the Annual Meetings. It shall be their duty to communicate to all the stations the measures adopted by them from time to time, and to report the same in full to the Mission at its Annual Meeting. Members of the Mission visiting Constantinople from other stations are entitled to attend the meetings of the Committee ad Interim.

ART. 13. It shall be the duty of each Station to present at the Annual Meeting a report in duplicate of the work within its bounds, and an estimate of the probable amount of funds needed for local personnel, schools, etc., during the ensuing calendar year; also to forward to the Recording Secretary

having twenty members, of whom four are ex-officio delegates, should elect its delegation on the basis of sixteen members.

Women's work, and the work of special institutions, should ordinarily be represented within the limits of the regular station delegation. All members of the Mission, whether men or women, are eligible as delegates.

ART. 16. No newly appointed missionary shall have a vote at the Annual Meeting until after having been for one year a member of the Mission.

ART. 17. On questions as to the expenditure of funds, and the location or retirement of missionaries, a two-thirds vote shall be required; in all other cases a majority shall decide.

ART. 18. There shall be a Mid-year Council of the Mission, to meet in December or January, to be composed of (1) the members of the Committee ad Interim, and (2) a representative of each station not represented on the Committee ad Interim. Other members of the Mission may attend the meetings and take part in the discussions, but without vote. Fraternal delegates from the American Board personnel in the Syria, Bulgaria, and Cau-

of the Mission for the Tabular View, an annual schedule of its affairs, as soon as possible after January first.

ART. 14. The time and place for holding the Annual Meeting of the Mission shall be designated by the Committee ad Interim, after consultation with the stations as far as practicable. The Committee ad Interim shall also, through a Program Committee or otherwise, definitely arrange for the Program of the Annual Meeting, fixing the day and hour of such important events as the Annual Sermon, and sessions with the native Church Union, and preparing the list of corresponding members, who shall be invited in advance.

ART. 15. Each station is entitled to be represented at the Annual Meeting by one delegate, and an additional delegate for every three members of the station or major fraction thereof. Thus, a station having three or four members is entitled to two delegates, five to seven members, to three delegates, etc. Ex-officio delegates represent the entire Mission, and should not also be counted in determining the size of the delegation from the station to which they belong. Thus: a station

casus areas, may be sent at the discretion of the workers in those areas. It is understood that the Mission will meet the travel expenses of all delegates.

ART. 19. This Constitution may be amended at any Annual Meeting of the Mission by vote of two-thirds of the delegates appointed to attend such meeting.

BY-LAWS.

•••••

ART. 1. Every member of the Mission not a delegate, and also members of other Missions of the A.B.C.F.M. who may be present at the Annual Meeting, shall have a right to engage in discussions, and to act on committees; and each Annual Meeting has the authority, should it so desire, by unanimous consent, to extend the right of voting, on any or all questions, to all members of the Mission present. The Mission may also invite other individuals to sit as corresponding members. The Treasurer of the Mission, the Assistant Treasurer, if there be one, the Recording Secretary, the Field Secretary, the Chairman of the Publication Committee, the President of the School of Religion, and the Director of the Language School, shall be *ex-officio* delegates to the Annual Meeting.

ART. 2. The Committee on the Docket shall be appointed by the Mid-year Council preceding each Annual Meeting. Near the commencement of the Annual Meeting the following Standing Committees shall be appointed, on nomination by the Committee on the Docket:

1. Committee on Religious Exercises (Chairman, the Annual Preacher.)

-- 12 --

- Reading of the Minutes of the last Meeting or of extracts therefrom.
- Reading of letters from the Mission House or of extracts therefrom.
- Report of the Committee ad Interim.
- Report of the Committee on the Docket, and Appointment of Standing Committees.
- Reports of the Stations.
- Report of the School of Religion.
- Report of the Committee on Publication.
- Report of the Committee on the Language School.
- Report of the Treasurer.
- Report of the Librarian.
- Reading of the Annual Tabular View.
- Reading of the Annual Estimates.
- Business laid over from the preceding Meeting.
- Miscellaneous Business.
- Reports of Standing Committees.
- Choice of the officers and committees provided for in Article 1 of the Constitution and of a Preacher for the succeeding Annual Meeting, with his substitute.
- Reading and amendment of the Minutes.
- Adjournment with Singing and Prayer.

2. Committee on Plans and Measures.
3. Committee on the Press.
4. Committee on Education.
5. Committee on Finance.
6. Committee to write to the Mission House.
7. Committee to write to Bible, Tract, and other Societies.
8. Committee on Nominations.

ART. 3. A majority of the number who have appeared as delegates at the Meeting must be present to form a quorum for daily business.

ART. 4. If a quorum be assembled at the appointed hour, and the Chairman be absent, the Meeting shall appoint a chairman *pro tempore*.

ART. 5. If a quorum be not assembled at the appointed hour, any two members shall be competent to adjourn from time to time.

ART. 6. The business of each Annual Meeting shall be conducted in the following order:—

Calling the meeting to order by the Chairman, or, in his absence, by the Secretary of the Station.

Opening of Meeting by prayer.

Receiving the names of the delegates appointed.

Choice of Recording Secretary.

-- 13 --

ART. 7. Members desirous of leaving before the adjournment of the Meeting must apply to the Meeting for permission.

ART. 8. At the final adjournment, after singing and prayer, the Chairman or some one appointed by him shall pronounce the Apostolic Benediction.

PARLIAMENTARY RULES.

All questions of parliamentary procedure shall be determined by Robert's Rules of Order, of which the following is a brief summary.

ART. 1. The Chairman shall decide questions of order; but if any member thinks the decision of the Chair to be incorrect, he can appeal to the Meeting.

ART. 2. When the Chairman has declared a vote, any member who thinks there has been a mistake, may demand that the votes be counted.

ART. 3. As a general rule, the speaking of a member must be either in the way of introduction to a distinct motion, or upon some definite proposition already submitted and under consideration.

ART. 4. No discussion shall take place on a motion, until it has been seconded, and repeated aloud by the Chairman.

ART. 5. Any motion must be reduced to writing, if the Chairman or any member request it.

ART. 6. A motion made and seconded cannot be withdrawn after debate has taken place without the leave of the Meeting.

ART. 7. When a proposition is under debate no motion can be received, except a motion to amend, to commit, to postpone, to take the previous question, or to adjourn.

ART. 8. The motion last made is the only one under consideration, and is the first to be voted upon, so that, when several motions are before the Meeting, the order in which they are to be voted upon shall usually be the reverse of the order in which they were made.

ART. 9. A motion to adjourn is always in order, except that, when a member is speaking, it cannot be made but with his consent.

ART. 10. Amendments may be moved on any motion, and an amendment may also be proposed to a motion of amendment.

ART. 11. When a motion under debate contains several parts, any member may call for a division of the question, and then the vote shall be taken on each part separately.

not in other cases, unless the Meeting be equally divided, when, if he does not choose to vote, the motion is lost.

ART. 18. The yeas and nays on any question shall be recorded, when required by one third of the members present.

ART. 19. No member can be interrupted in speaking, unless on a question of order, or to correct mistakes.

ART. 12. The Previous Question shall be in this form—Shall the main question be now put? and until it is decided, it shall preclude all amendment and debate on the main question.

ART. 13. A question cannot be again called up or reconsidered at the same session of the Meeting in which it has been decided, unless the motion to reconsider be made by a person who voted with the majority. If the motion to reconsider is passed, the original proposition is before the Meeting, just as if no action had been taken upon it.

ART. 14. The Chairman, in putting a motion to vote, must first clearly state the question, and while the vote is being taken, there can be no debate or new proposition made.

ART. 15. The first named on any Committee shall be considered Chairman thereof.

ART. 16. When the report of a Committee has been read, it is before the Meeting for discussion, and motions may be made for its postponement, or for its amendment, or for its recommitment. A motion to "accept", or "adopt" the report, when carried, makes the action of the Committee the action of the Meeting.

ART. 17. When a vote is taken by ballot, the Chairman may vote with the other members, but

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
FOR
FOREIGN MISSIONS LIBRARY

Appendix VIII

A Public Address concerning the American Missionaries in Turkey by the Earl of Shaftsbury in 1860 in the City of London from E.D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.*, v.

I do not believe that in the whole history of missions; I do not believe that in the history of diplomacy, or in the history of any negotiations carried on between man and man, we can find any thing to equal wisdom, the soundness, and the pure evangelical truth of the body of men who constitute the American mission. I have said it twenty times before and I will say it again—for the expression appropriately conveys my meaning—that “they are a marvelous combination of common sense and piety.” Every man who comes in contact with these missionaries speaks in praise of them. Persons in authority, and persons in subjection, all speak in their favor; travelers speak well of them; and I know of no man who has ever been able to bring against that body a single valid objection. There they stand, tested by years, tried by their works, and exemplified by their fruits; and I believe it will be found, that these American missionaries have done more toward upholding the truth and spreading the Gospel of Christ in the East, than any other body of men in this or in any other age.

Appendix IX

An Original Copy of Graphic Presentation of the Foreign Work of the Congregational Churches of America, ABCFM No: 3

If any of the statements contained in this leaflet interest you and you would like further information we shall be glad to have you write us. We welcome every opportunity to get into touch with the people who are standing behind this work.

THE OFFICERS OF THE BOARD

**The American Board of Commissioners
for Foreign Missions**

14 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

INCORPORATED IN MASSACHUSETTS 1817

Corresponding Secretaries
JAMES G. BARRETT, D.D., CHURCHES 14, DARTMOUTH, D.D.
EDWARD LANSING SMITH, D.D.

Treasurer
FRANK H. WAGGIN

Editorial Secretary
WILLIAM E. STRESSER, D.D.

Assistant Secretaries
REV. ENOCH F. BELL REV. D. BREWER EDDY

Publishing and Purchasing Agent
JOHN G. HOUSTON

District Offices
New England District: SECRETARY PATTON *in charge*
14 Beacon Street, Boston
Middle District: SECRETARY SMITH *in charge*
197 Fourth Avenue, New York
Western District: A. N. HITCHCOCK, D.D.,
19 South La Salle Street, Chicago
Pacific Coast District: HENRY H. KELSOY, D.D.,
417 Market Street, San Francisco, Cal.

American Board Charts

A graphic presentation of the
Foreign Work of the Con-
gregational Churches
of America

ANDOVER-HARVARD
THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
JUN 13 1916
ANDOVER
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

AMERICAN BOARD
OF COMMISSIONERS FOR
FOREIGN MISSIONS

14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

A DEMONSTRATION

These charts show the magnitude, variety and growth of the American Board's work. They help you to realize that every dollar you invest through this society is multiplied in its purchasing power, reaches the point of greatest need, accomplishes the largest spiritual results.

OUR OWN SHARE OF THE WORLD

is seventy-five million souls to relieve, to uplift, to make Christian. The world fields have been divided among the various Boards to insure efficiency and unity of effort. Competition and overlapping have been practically eliminated on the foreign field.

OUR INVENTORY

A world-wide enterprise, impressive in its breadth and scope. Through the figures can you sense the thrilling story of the work? Each church assembles the people to hear the Word of God, each school offers its record of trained leaders, each hospital reveals its triumphs of skill over suffering, and all combine into the perfect harmony of practical Christian service. In such ways the Board is seeking to meet its vast responsibility.

Exclusive Responsibility of American Board 75,000,000 Souls

AFRICA	1,103,000
BALKANS	9,800,000
TURKEY	17,775,000
INDIA	6,587,000
CEYLON	178,000
CHINA	23,000,000
JAPAN	12,000,000
MICRONESIA	32,000
PHILIPPINES	700,000
MEXICO	1,027,000
SPAIN	1,499,000
AUSTRIA	1,525,000
<hr/>	
TOTAL	75,027,000

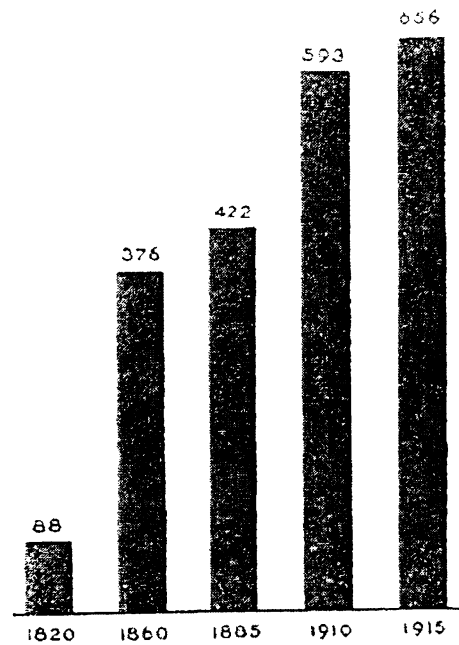
The Board in Action

MISSIONARIES	656
CHURCHES	676
COMMUNICANTS	80,844
COLLEGES	18
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES	14
BOARDING & HIGH SCHOOLS	122
OTHER SCHOOLS	1,432
PUPILS	83,592
INDUSTRIAL PLANTS	25
HOSPITALS	33
DISPENSARIES	49
TREATMENTS, 1914	399,839
PRESSES	12
OUTPUT OF PRESSES, 1914	20,549,799 pp.

Increase in Missionaries

THE MISSIONARY FORCE

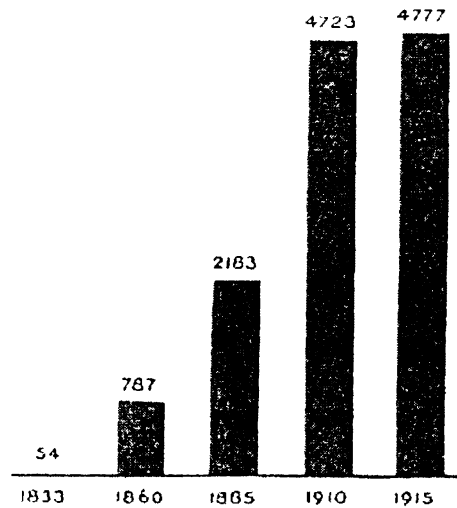
Each missionary means a well qualified leader to direct the native force, or to occupy a new district. Note the great increase in the early decades when the work was beginning. Today each missionary represents a vastly larger work in schools, churches and converts than in the former decades. No class of men in the world is more carefully selected than the missionaries of the American Board.



Increase in Native Workers

THE NATIVE FORCE

The idea of the Board is that the world is to be converted not so much by foreign missionaries as by native workers. Our policy is to establish a strong native Church and then expect it to become self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating. The rapidly growing army of native workers shows that our confidence is not misplaced.



Appendix X

From Charles C. Tracy, "Salient Points in Mission History" In *Services at the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Establishment of the American Mission at Constantinople* [817.601 A512.1 A512se], 67

After the foregoing presentation of stages in work, I find it important that we take some view of salient points in its development [American Board's Turkey mission], though with the greatest brevity. We should notice,—

- I. The importance of the missionary is evangelism. This is pioneer work, and may, in large measure, cease to be the main occupation of missionaries, but its importance is not belittled by time and progress. Evangelism must be carried on, though not principally by foreigners, to the end of the world.
- II. The great influence of the work of translation and publication is one point very eminent among others. The Scriptures, in tongues familiar to the common people, the religious treatise or tract, the book of spiritual songs, the family newspaper,—how large is the fruitage of their influence!
- III. The planting of independent evangelical churches. This, from the very beginning of missionary work in the days of the Apostles, has been looked upon as the thing of first importance. Only in this way can progress and permanence be secured. Much as this has been emphasized, it is to be regretted that it has not been yet more emphasized. This is, still, not only a salient point, but a salient problem, causing much thought and anxiety.
- IV. Educational work. This is now our main business as missionaries. We have long since learned that we cannot accomplish the work that must be done, and that the only possible method is that of the New Testament, to commit the interest to faithful men, who shall also teach others. Experience has also most thoroughly taught us that we cannot compass the end in view—for years we tried, in vain, to do it—by taking under instruction a certain limited number of persons for the special purpose of evangelization, and expecting them all, or nearly all, to enter upon and continue in religious work. We have demonstrated the necessity of a much larger system of education, including high schools and colleges, supported in considerable part by the students themselves. From among these men or women, sifted, tested, and proved, we must select men to be especially trained as religious leaders, while the remainders, under the influence of sound Christian education, are expected to become useful and influential in other callings. The results are justifying this judgment and the method.
Under this same head in the main is the uplifting of womanhood.

A Chicago millionaire, on the occasion of a conference with him, suddenly turned to my wife, and asked, "What is the greatest thing accomplished through your work? The question exploded so suddenly that she was taken b surprise, but answered without a second's hesitation, "The elevation of womanhood." I think she was right. The elevation of woman to her true place in the Christian household and community is probably the most salient point of progress in all this work, accomplished by missionary and native effort...

- V. Medical work. This, according to the present method of its prosecution is, compared with others, of late development. The importance, not simply as a means of alleviating human misery, but as a means of access to people, of enlightenment, and of physical and spiritual salvation, is of inconceivable importance.
- VI. There is also another form of effort which has been, and doubtless will be, of great significance, that is, relief work. Following events of the past, great efforts have been put forth in this line. There is no telling what results are to follow from such work as the sheltering and training, in our Turkish missions...

•

Appendix XI

Bible House, Constantinople, *Trustees' minute book, Records 1866-1923* vol.1 [ABC 26]

Certificate of Incorporation of the Bible House Constantinople

We the undersigned E. Dodge, William A. Booth, David Hoadley, Robert Carter, Samuel B. Scheiffelin, William Lambert and William H. Aspimirall, all being citizens of the United States of America and citizens of and residents within the State of New York, of full age, being desirous of associating ourselves together for the benevolent and charitable purpose herein after mentioned in order to become a body corporate and politic in pursuance of act entitled

“An act for the incorporation of benevolent, charitable, scientific and missionary societies” and the acts amendatory thereof, hereby certify as follows.

First. The name by which such society shall be known in law shall be the “Bible House of Constantinople”

Second. The particular business and objects of said society are to establish and maintain a Bible House in Constantinople or in some place in the Turkish Empire, or in the countries adjacent thereto, as a depository for the sale and distribution throughout the Turkish Empire and adjacent countries of the Holy Scriptures in the various languages of the East, and to furnish a location for the various Protestant Bible, charitable and missionary societies of the United States operating in Turkey and to apply the income of such establishment from time to time as may be desired necessary or expedient in formation of the objects above specified.

Third. The member of Trustees to manage the said Society shall be seven: and the names of the Trustees of such society for the first year of its existence are

William E. Dodge
William A. Booth
David Hoadly
Robt. Carter
Samuel B. Scheiffelin
William D. Lambert
William H. Aspimirall

Fourth. The place of business as the principle office of said society shall be in the city of New York.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names of the City of New York this twenty-first day of December in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty six.

Witness
Frederick Bull [Notary Public, 58 Wall Street]
William E. Dodge
William A. Booth

David Hoadly
Robt. Carter
Samuel B. Schefflin
William D. Lambert
William H. Aspimirall

The Bible House of Constantinople

Preamble

Whereas it has been deemed advisable by certain persons in the United States of America to establish at Constantinople Turkey, a Bible House as a depository for the sale and distribution of the Holy Scriptures in the East and to furnish offices for the various Protestant Bible, Charitable and Missionary Societies of the United States of America, operating in Turkey, now therefore the following constitution and By Laws are adopted.

Article I

There shall be a Board of Trustees, to be called The Trustees of "The Bible House of Constantinople" consisting of seven persons, who with their successors, shall be native born citizens of the United States of America and permanent residents of the City of New York or its... vicinity. The Board of Trustees shall be self-perpetuating. Vacancies shall be filled as soon as practicable after they occur. The consent of two-thirds of the remaining members being necessary to fill such vacancy.

Article II

The offices shall consist of a President, Treasurer and Secretary. The President shall be elected from the members of the Board and the signatures of the President and Treasurer shall be requisite for the execution of all documents. It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to open and keep such books of account as may be necessary to record the receipts and explanation of the Board. It shall be the duty of the secretary to preserve full minutes of the proceedings of the Board, these minutes to be read and passed upon at the next meeting. The Treasurer may discharge the duties also of secretary.

Article III

An Annual Meeting shall be held on the third Monday of January of each year at which a report of the entire transactions of the previous year shall be presented. Special meetings may be called, at the request of the members. A quorum of three shall be sufficient for the transaction of business. The approval of at least three of the members shall be required for the investments of funds or for remitting to Constantinople.

Article IV

The Trustees shall have power to appoint a committee of at least three gentlemen, Americans and others, a majority of whom shall be residents of Constantinople, Turkey, or its vicinity, to attend to the affairs of the "Bible House". The Trustees shall have power to appoint other committees for special purposes.

Article V

The Committee at Constantinople shall be accountable to the Trustees for the safe keeping and disposition of all funds or other property of "The Bible House" placed in their charge. This committee may be entrusted with all questions of local business and management in the erection of the Bible House. They shall take all necessary measures to keep the building insured and in suitable repair. They may also rent such parts of the building as may be for rent, applying the proceeds from such rents to such purposes as

may be ordered by the Trustees.

Article VI

All the real and personal property of the said institution wherever it may be shall be rested directly in the Trustees so far as practicable and they shall have control thereof- also of all the affairs of the Bible House whether relating to persons things in this country or elsewhere.

In case of political or local changes rendering it desirable or necessary; or whenever from any other cause two thirds of the Trustees shall come to the conclusion that the Bible House is not answering its original design, the Trustees shall have power to change the location of the Bible House or to sell all the property thereof at then association to the general purpose of Bible distribution among an o the nationalities of the Turkish Empire or the countries which it now embraces.

Article VII

The Board of the Trustees shall have authority to employ such Agents, and to adopt such other measures as may be necessary for the execution o their trusts.

This Constitution and By-laws may be amended by a vote of two-thirds of the Board of Trustees at any annual meeting or at a meeting regularly called for that purpose.

The Certificate above was adopted as By Laws of the Society incorporated under the name of the Bible House of Constantinople at a meeting of the Trustees in January 24, 1882.

4

Appendix XII

Letter from Haroutine Mugurditch Dadavrian (1878-?) to Anson Phelps Stokes, New Haven, 7 January 1909, *Papers of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn, 1850-1915*

Rev. Anson Phelps Stokes, Jr. Woodridge Hall, City.

Stokes took "active interest in the plan of providing Turkey with engineering education."

My dear and Mr. Stokes; I was so glad to receive your letter and to know that you are taking active interest in the plan of providing Turkey with engineering education. The more I think about the importance of a pioneer engineering school, with a Christian atmosphere, upon the future of the Turkish Empire, the more I realize the need of such an institution. You can imagine the field it will have when you remember the fact that Asiatic Turkey alone is three and a half times as large as Germany and is by far the richer in undeveloped natural resources.

Before answering Dr. Washburn's questions I will give you some information about a correspondence concerning the plan, which took place prior to our conference. A few months ago, I asked Mr. Kalaidjian, a recent graduate of the Yale Divinity School, to interview Dr. Barton of the American Board of Foreign Missions. Dr. Barton showed great interest in the plan and asked Mr. Kalaidjian to prepare a plan of cooperation and present it to the Prudential Committee. We prepared the enclosed plan and presented it to the Committee. Dr. Barton is corresponding with the president of St. Paul's Institute of Tarsus with the feasibility of the plan.

Coming to the place of location, I thoroughly agree with you about the great advantages of Constantinople. There are, however, a number of important facts worth considering, which are in favor of the vicinity of Tarsus. The following are some of them.

1. The cost of living is about 1/3 of that in Constantinople; therefore the instruction will be within the reach of 10 times as many young men.
2. There is no doubt that most of the engineering enterprises will be planned in Constantinople, on the other hand, on account of the superior natural resources of the surrounding country, Tarsus will be at the center of a region where agricultural, mining and engineering enterprises will be carried out.
3. Tarsus is more central with respect to Asiatic Turkey, which is by far the largest and the least developed part of Turkey.

I will now answer Dr. Washburn's questions in the order they appear in your letter... I am not married... I do not know exactly what Dr. Washburn means by, "Active Christian", yet I will try to answer it as well as I can. Until a year or two ago, I have had quite a little of religious activity as student and teacher of Bible classes, as member and president of Y.M.C.A., as member of Christian Endeavor societies, etc. but I have not been very active along these lines during the last year or two... I believe in Christ, in His teachings, and in His life. I do not consider Theological questions as an integral part of my religion... I was born in Everek, near Cesarea, Asia Minor. I graduated from, and taught at, St. Paul's Institute of Tarsus, Asia Minor, before coming to this country... I am

30 years old.

I am very glad to know that I will have the pleasure of meeting Dr. Washburn.

The Prudential Committee of the ABCFM

Gentlemen: -Realizing the urgent need for men to become the leaders of the industrial and commercial development of the Turkish Empire, the undersigned conceived the idea of opening a technical school in Turkey. After drawing a rough outline, we consulted some of our American friends, every one of whom showed great interest in the project and promised his support.

In view of the prominent position of the American Board as the leading educator of Turkey, we thought it advisable to consult its officers in order to enlist their sympathies and, if possible, their cooperation in this great work. Accordingly, one of us had recently an interview with Dr. Barton. Dr. Barton showed great interest in the project and asked us to present a plan of cooperation to the Prudential Committee.

The plan we would suggest consists in organizing St. Paul's Institute of Tarsus, in order to make it a scientific school, the character and scope of which is roughly sketched by the enclosed general plan. In order to effect its organization, the following additions and changes should be made:

1st - \$ 100,000.00, or more should be added to the funds of St. Paul's Institute.
(This we will try to raise)

2nd - Most of the members of the faculty should be replaced by able men to take charge of the different departments.

3rd - The administration of the school should be in the hands of professors, who will term the governing board.

4th - The preparatory department should be gradually eliminated by admitting no new department to this department.

We believe that the preparatory department is an unnecessary expense to the institution and detrimental to the department of the Secondary schools of the country.

M. T. Kalaidjian

3. Waldron Ave, Nyack, New York .

H. M. Dodavrian

152 Grove Street New Haven, Connecticut.

New Haven, Connecticut, Nov. 3, 1908.

The General Plan of the... Scientific School

1. Instruction: In the following departments of learning:

1. Dept. of Arts & Sciences - will offer a limited number of courses.

2. Engineering Dept. - 3 courses

a) Electrical and Mechanical Engineering.

b) Civil and Municipal Engineering.

c) Chemical and Mining Engineering.

The courses of instruction - 4 years. During the 1st two years, the subject of study will be the same for all students.

2. The Faculty: Professors, Associate Professors and Instructors. 7 men for:

1. Mathematics and Civil and Municipal Engineering.

2. Physics and Electrical and Mechanical Engineering.

3. Chemistry, Mining and Agriculture.

4. Philosophy, History and Social Sciences.
 5. Economics and Commerce.
 6. English and French.
 7. Native Languages.
3. Administration: The governing board (President, Secretary or Treasurer) - from full professors. Each year, it gives a complete statement of the college year.
4. Location: Temporarily in Adana, Asia Minor. Then, a convenient location on the southern slopes of the Taurus Mountains, near the Baghdad Railway. (A few miles away from Adana).
- The best location in the Turkish Empire for such an institution, on account of its natural resources and geographical position, it will become a great industrial and commercial center in the near future. Even at present it is one of the few prosperous sections of the Turkish Empire.
5. Languages: English medium, but native also takes place.
 6. Religion: The school will be Christian in its atmosphere with absolutely no sectarian aspect of it.
 7. Funds: Need an endowment of S 250.000 or over.

*

Appendix XIII

A Calendar from Language School of the American Board in Constantinople from Pamphlet LG321.Z91 – ABCFM Box, Schools and Colleges, Turkey, Report etc. [Andover Harvard Theological Library, Boston]

CALENDAR 1920-1921

September 15, 1920 Fall term opens
November 25 Thanksgiving Day
December 15 Examinations
December 16 to January 1, 1921 Christmas Recess
January 2 Winter term begins
January 6 Greek Christmas
January 19 Armenian Christmas
March 25 Examinations
March 26 to April 11 Easter Recess
April 12 Spring Term begins
May 30 Memorial Day
July 4 Independence Day
July 15 Examinations
July 16-31 Summer Recess
August 1 Summer term begins
September 14 Examinations

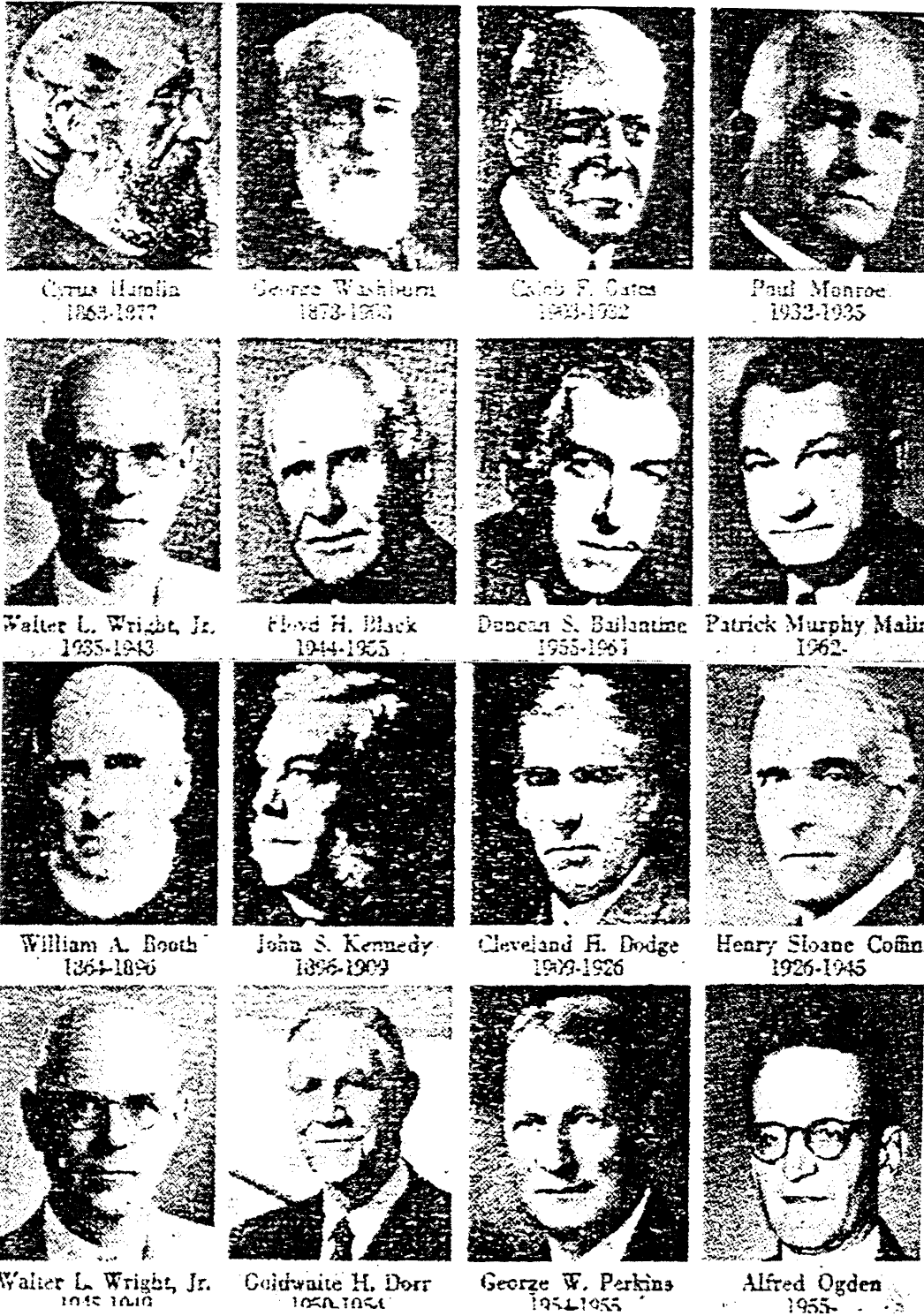
Appendix XIV

A variety of images taken from Robert College and its former leaders of the Board of Trustees, the Bible House at Constantinople, and Missionary publications and the Bible translations

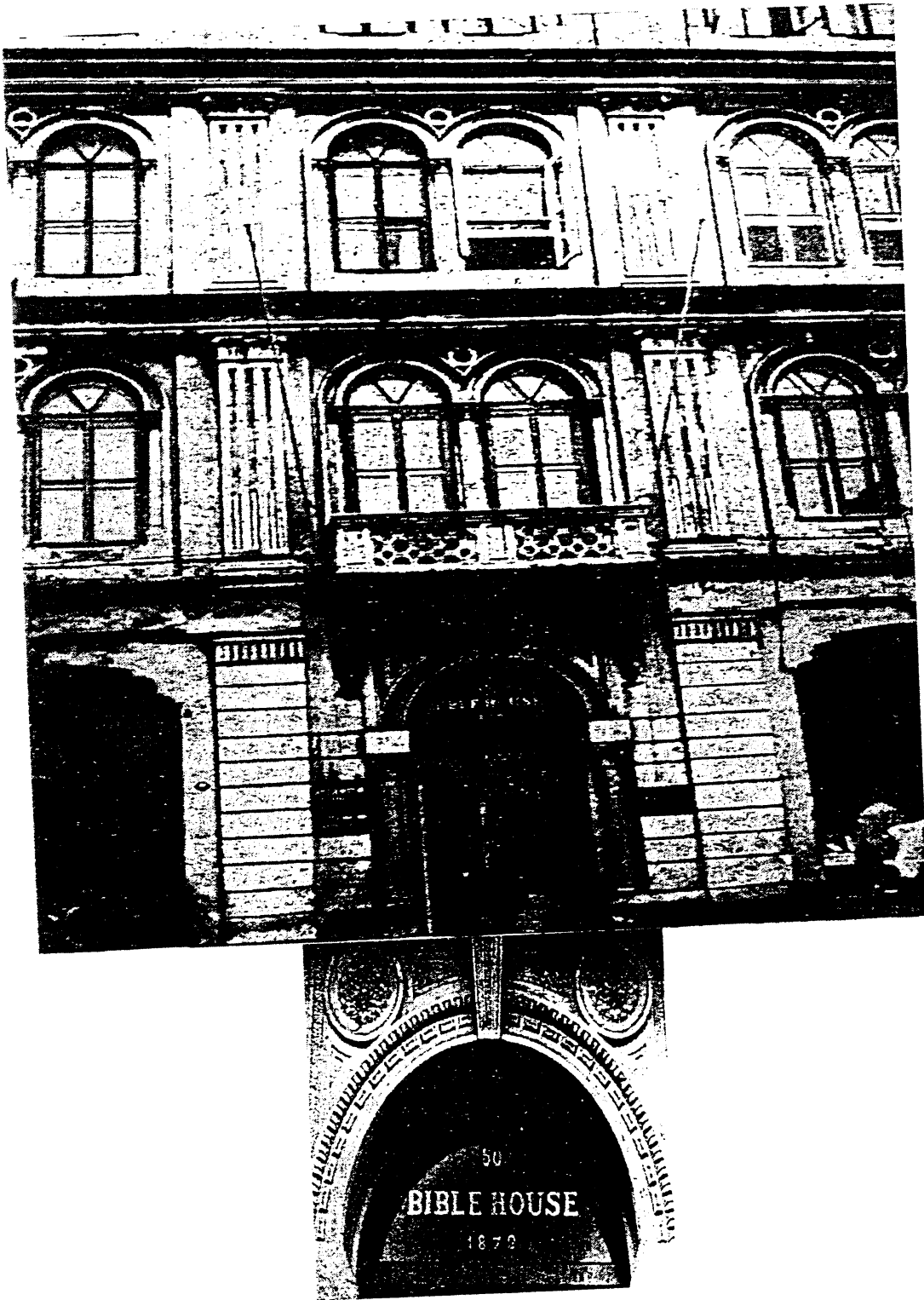
Adapted from the pictures in E. Kırşehirliođlu, *Türkiye 'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*



Robert College, est. 1863 in Istanbul



The Leaders of the Board of Trustees at Robert College, 1863-1863



"The Bible House at Constantinople" on the uphill of Rızapasha in Istanbul



The Bible and various books in native languages, which the missionaries published often in cooperation with the American Bible Society, were manifold in Istanbul. Above are a few examples.

783 TURKISH, NOGAI

S. Russia

زيرا الله دنياني شونڭ سويديك كندو بر بيجك اوغليڭ ووردى تاك
هر كيم اكا ايتانورسا هلاك اولما ايتا ابدى ديريكي اولما * 1935

784 TURKISH, OSMANLI

Turkey, etc.

Arabic char.

زيرا الله دنياني بو قدر سوي كى كندى اين وحيدىنى و
وردى تاك اكا هر ايمان ايندن هلاك اولانورسا ايتى ابدى حيات
مالك اولما * 1935

TURKISH, OSMANLI

Armenian char.

Յիշա Վրաց յիւնեայք որո դասար սեպտի քի
քէնտի իսկն ի վահարիսի վերտի. թա քի աւա ճեր
իման ետէն ճէլար օլմարցի անձազ եպէտի ճարարիս
մարիք օլա. 1904

TURKISH, OSMANLI

Greek char.

Zira 'Allax toungiyayih pou katara seβti, ki
kenti Ipti baχitini βep̄ti, ta ki ana χer iman
ēten χelak olmagiyeh; antzak ēpeti χayiatā malik
olē. 1909

TURKISH, OSMANLI

Roman char.

Zira Allah dünyayı öyle sevdi ki, biricik Oğlunu
verdi; ta ki, ona iman eden her adam helak olma-
sın, ancak ebedî hayatı olsun. 1943

With the pioneer works of the first American missionaries, the Ottoman capital perhaps for the first time observed the fastest and most widespread translations of the Gospel. Here are 5 examples of the Gospel translations out of 826 languages and of 26 different scripts.

Appendix XV

An Original Copy of the Catalogue of American Missionary Publications announced in Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Oriental Churches*, 2nd vol., 503-518

CATALOGUE OF PUBLICATIONS

ISSUED FROM THE MISSION PRESSES CONNECTED
WITH THE MISSIONS OF THE BOARD TO THE
SEVERAL ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

Compiled by Rev. John A. Vinton, Winchester, Mass.

THE sources of information were the "Missionary Herald" from 1821, and the Annual Reports of the Board from the beginning of these missions to the year 1871.

IN ITALIAN.

The Sabbath.
Dr. Payson's Address to Mariners.
Prayers for the Seven Days of the Week.
Dr. Ashbel Green's Questions and Counsel.
The Dairyman's Daughter, 78 pages, 1,000 copies.
William Kelley, 32 pages, 500 copies.
The Progress of Sin, 16 pages, 500 copies.
Dialogue between a Traveller and Yourself, 12 pages, 500 copies.
The Novelty of Popery.
An Address to the Children of Israel, 25 pages, 1,000 copies.
Christ's Sermon on the Mount, 16 pages, 1,000 copies.
The Negro Servant, 28 pages, 1,000 copies.
The Young Cottager, 72 pages, 1,000 copies.
The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, 12 pages, 1,000 copies.
Serious Thoughts on Eternity, 12 pages, 1,000 copies.
Dialogue between Two Sailors, 13 pages, 1,000 copies.

Previous to November, 1827, the number of books and tracts printed at the Mission Press in Italian, was 43; number of consecutive pages, 1,430; of copies, 55,500; whole number of pages, 1,700,000.

IN MODERN GREEK.

The Dairyman's Daughter, 119 pp.
The Negro Servant, 22 pp.
Payson's Address to Mariners, 22 pp.
Short Prayers for Every Day in the Week, 70 pp.
Tract on Redemption, by Dr. Naudi, 72 pp.
Sixteen Short Sermons, 18 pp.
Progress of Sin, 29 pp.
Dialogue between a Traveller and Yourself, 14 pp.
Life and Martyrdom of John the Baptist, 24 pp.
Serious Thoughts on Eternity, 16 pp.
The Young Cottager, 87 pp.
The Shepherd of Salisbury Plain, 73 pp.
William Kelley, 45 pp.
Watts's Catechism for Children, 16 pp.
Address to the Children of Israel, 34 pp.
Chrysostom on Reading the Scriptures, 26 pp.
Content and Discontent, by Mrs. Sherwood, 24 pp.
Serious Address to Young and Old, 27 pp.
Life of James Covey, a converted Sailor, 18 pp.
Life of the Virgin Mary, from the Bible only, 20 pp.
An Appeal to the Heart, 34 pp.
Exhortation to Seamen, 20 pp.
Christ's Sermon on the Mount, 16 pp.

The following were printed from 1820 to 1833:—

Historical Selections from the Old Testament, 84 pp.
Life of Abraham, 36 pp.
Life of Joseph, 60 pp.
Life of Moses, 36 pp.
Life of Samuel, 24 pp.
Life of David, 64 pp.
Life of Elisha.
Life of Elisha.
Life of Daniel, 36 pp.
Life of Esther, 20 pp.
Abridgment of the Old Testament, 140 pp.
Abridgment of the Gospels, 48 pp.

Abridgment of the Acts, 60 pp.
 Lessons for Children.
 Bickersteth's Scripture Help, abridged.
 Lyttelton on the Conversion of St. Paul.
 The Ten Commandments.
 Ecclesiastical History.
 Dialogues on Grammar.
 The Alphabetarian, 120 pp.
 The Greek Reader, 156 pp.
 The Little Philosopher, 72 pp.
 The Child's Assistant, 60 pp.
 The Child's Arithmetic, 48 pp.
 Adam's Arithmetic.
 History of Greece.
 History of Rome.
 History of England.
 History of France.
 History of the Middle Ages.
 History of the Sandwich Islands.
 The Priest and Catechumen, a Dialogue, 12 pp.
 Peter Parley's Geography, with lithographed maps, 168 pp.
 Pincock's Catechism of Greek History, with remarks, 150 pp.

The amount printed in Modern Greek, while the press remained at Malta, was about 350,000 copies, mostly 12mo, comprising 21,000,000 pages. Many of the editions were of 4,000 copies each. In the year ending October 1831, 4,760,000 pages were printed.

After the removal of the press to Smyrna, in December, 1833, there were printed in Modern Greek, —

Woodbridge's Geography, 296 pp.
 Scriptural Teacher, 116 pp.
 Questions on the Pentateuch, 88 pp.
 Several Hymns for the Mission Schools.
 Child's Book on the Soul.
 Tract on Self-Examination.
 Difficulties of Infidelity.

The Magazine of Useful Knowledge — a monthly publication commenced in 1836 or 1837, and continued till 1843, when

it was transferred to Mr. Nicholas Petroskokino. It had, in 1833, 1,200 subscribers.

About thirty million pages in Modern Greek had been printed by the mission between July 1822 and 1837.

At Smyrna, in 1847 and 1848, were printed, Barth's Church History, 354 pages, 4,000 copies; 1,962,000 pages.

At Constantinople, after the removal of the press, in 1853: Hymn Book, 112 pages, 2,960 copies; 224,000 pages.

In 1854, a tract of 29 pages, 2,000 copies; 40,000 pages.

In 1855, tracts, 5,000 copies, 40,000 pages.

In 1853, tracts, 6,000 pages.

Printing in Modern Greek, at Athens, under the supervision of Dr. King. —

Up to 1-11, 32 books and tracts, 3,717 consecutive pages, 128,275 pages in the whole.

In 1845, 2,500 copies, 664,000 pages.

In 1846, 3,000 copies, 190,500 pages.

In 1843 to 1856, a collection of the publications of the American Tract Society, vol. I.—V., making 2,500 consecutive pages of the five volumes.

In 1855, Chrysostom on Reading the Scriptures, 180 pages.

Two volumes of Sermons, 48 in number, by Dr. King.

A volume of Miscellanies, including his Farewell Letter to his Friends in Palestine and Syria.

IN GRÆCO-TURKISH (THE TURKISH LANGUAGE IN GRÆK LETTERS).

Christ's Sermon on the Mount, 16 pages, 450 copies.

History of Moses, of Samuel, of Elijah, of Elisha, of Daniel, of Esther; each a volume by itself; total, 524,000 pages.

From 1849 to 1853, were printed 53,000 copies of the Scriptures.

In 1854 and 1855, the Bible in 8vo, 7,000 copies, 2,456,000 pages.

In 1854, 72 pages, 3,000 copies; in all, 216,000 pages.

In 1857, the Tract Primer, 5,000 copies, 340,000 pages.

In 1862, a Hymn Book, 264 pages, 2,000 copies; 528,000 pages.

IN ANCIENT ARMENIAN.

The New Testament, 636 pages, 2,000 copies. At Smyrna, 1828.

The Four Gospels, printed separately, 1,000 copies.

The Acts and Epistles, of the same edition, 1,500 copies, in 1843.

The Psalter, 274 pages, total 548,000 pages; 3,000 copies printed in 1841; 2,000 copies in 1846.

The New Testament, 2,000 copies, 1,164,000 pages; in 1853.

The Christian Teacher, 136 pages, 500 copies; in 1838.

Daily Food for Christians, 62 pages, 1,000 copies; in 1838.

In 1862, printed 268 consecutive pages and 1,250 copies.

IN MODERN ARMENIAN.

Abercrombie on Mental Culture, 84 pages, 4,500 copies; 124,000 pages. Printed in 1844, at the expense of the author.

Against Infidelity, 16 pages, 3,000 copies.

Almanac for 1837, 3,000 copies.

Almanac for 1839, 1,000 copies.

An Arithmetic, 1866.

An occasional paper, 4to, 20 pages, 500 copies.

Answer of Evangelical Armenians to the Patriarch's Manifesto, 104 pages, 1,000 copies.

Anxious Inquirer.

Assembly's Shorter Catechism, with references, 104 pages, 2,000 copies.

Astronomy, 104 pages, 3,000 copies.

Aveduper (The), or Messenger, a religious periodical in Modern Armenian, and in Armeno-Turkish. Published since January, 1855; once in two weeks, with a circulation, in each language, of 1,000 copies.

Balbalith's Confession, in the form of a letter from a converted Jew, giving reasons for his profession of Christianity, 62 pages, 4,000 copies.

Baptism and the New Birth, 112 pages, 1,000 copies.

Baxter's Saints' Rest, 1854.

Bible Dictionary, 1854.

Bible Hand-book, 240 pages, 360 copies.

British Martyrology, 1850.

Child's Entertainer, 296 pages, 1,000 copies, containing Waiter's

Divine and Moral Songs in Armenian verse, evangelical anecdotes, some natural history, etc. 1838.

Child's Instructor, 74 pages.

Concordance to the Bible, 8vo, 504 pages, 2,000 copies.

Dairyman's Daughter, 48 pages, 3,000 copies.

Evidences of Christianity.

False Claims of the Pope, 77 pages. It has been published in English by the American Tract Society.

Five Wounds (The) of Conscience, by Flavel, 1,500 copies.

Forever! 4 pages, 1,000 copies.

Fidelity Letters to Sufferers by the late Fire, 16 pages, 500 copies.

Good Works: a Tract on Justification, 48 pages, 1,000 copies.

Grammar, English and Armenian; 112 pages, 500 copies.

Another edition of 272 pages, 1,000 copies.

Guide to Parents, 61 pages, 1,000 copies.

Guide to Repentance, 288 pages, 1,000 copies.

Harmonies, (four) each one page, containing, The Decalogue; A Contrast between the Deaths of Halliburton and Voltaire; The Christian Sabbath; The Death-bed of a Modern Free-thinker; 4,000 copies.

History of the Church of God.

History of Joseph, 326 pages, 3,000 copies.

History of the Reformation by Merle d'Aubigny. In 2 vols. 8vo, with an Appendix of 50 pages, 1,000 copies. 1846. An enlarged edition was printed in 1866.

Holy Spirit, a Work on the, 1850.

Hymns, 25 pages, 500 copies.

Jones's (Rev. C. C.) Catechism, 203 pages, 4,000 copies.

Joy in Heaven, 24 pages, 3,000 copies.

Key to Reading, 8 pages, 1,500 copies.

Lancasterian Cards, 80 to the set, 100 sets.

Light of the Soul, 46 pages, 3,000 copies.

Lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets, 300 pages, 1,000 copies.

Lord's Supper, Treatise on the, 84 pages, 1,000 copies.

Mary Lothrop, 56 pages, 3,000 copies.

Messenger, The. See *Avodaper*.

Mother at Home, 288 pages, 500 copies.

Monthly Evangelical Preacher, commenced January, 1845, and suspended at the close of the year, 284 pages, 1,000 copies.

Monthly Magazine, four vols., for 1839-1842. The first year, 1,100 copies, each following year, 1,000. Reimprinted for want of funds. Resumed 1844, continued till 1848.

New Testament, 545 pages, 5,000 copies in 1842 and 1843. A new translation, carefully executed by four of the best scholars in the Armenian nation, and compared by Dr. Adger, word by word, with the original Greek.

New Testament with marginal references and parallel passages. Prepared by Dr. Adger and Dr. Riggs. 705 pages. 1845 and 1849.

New Testament, in the Ararat or Eastern Dialect of the Modern Armenian, with Scripture references, 8000 copies.

New Testament, in the Ararat or Eastern Dialect of the Modern Armenian, with the Ancient Armenian, in parallel columns.

Old Testament, in four volumes, 500 copies.

Old Testament, imperial edition, 5,000 copies.

Payson's Thoughts, 180 pages, 2,000 copies.

Pentateuch, 68 pages, 1,500 copies.

Progress of Sin, 24 pages, 2,000 copies.

Pilgrim's Progress, with notes, 314 pages, 1,000 copies.

Protestant Confessions, 265 pages, 1,000 copies.

Psalter, in the Western Dialect of the Modern Armenian, 275 pages, 3,000 copies.

Psalter, in the Ararat or Eastern Dialect of the Modern Armenian, 275 pages, 5,000 copies.

Reply to Archbishop Matteos.

Scripture Rule of Faith, 364 pages, 1,000 copies.

Scripture Texts, 58 pages, 500 copies.

Scripture Text Book, 622 pages, 1,000 copies.

Sermon for the Whole World, 16 pages, 2,000 copies. It is the Sermon on the Mount.

Sin no Tride, 16 pages, 2,000 copies.

Spelling Book, 60 pages. At least four editions.

Sunday-school Hymn Book, 8vo, 134 pages, 8,000 copies.

Sunday-school Hymn and Tune Book, 8vo, 128 pages, 5,000 copies.

The Two Lambs, 48 pages, 2,000 copies.

Tract on Self-Examination, 52 pages, 1,000 copies.

Upham's Intellectual Philosophy.

History of a Bible, 34 pages, 2,000 copies.

Hymn Book.

Littemperance, Tract on, 46 pages, 2,000 copies.

Jones's (Rev. C. C.) Catechism, 305 pages, 1,000 copies.

Light of the Soul, 48 pages, 2,000 copies.

Mary Lodrup, 172 pages, 2,000 copies.

Narrative Tracts, in one vol., 152 pages, 1,000 copies.

Nell's (Felix) Dialogues on Sin and Salvation, 140 pages, 1,000 copies.

New Testament, with marginal references.

Old Testament, with marginal references, royal 8vo.

From 1849 to 1863, 8,500 copies of the Scriptures were printed.—

Physiology, Treatise on, 272 pages, 3,000 copies.

Pike's Persuasive to Early Piety, 70 pages, 2,000 copies.

Reader, No. 1, 63 pages, sixth edit., 5,000 copies. 1867.

Reader, No. 2, 72 pages, 5,000 copies. 1869.

Reader, No. 3, 84 pages, 5,000 copies. 1869.

Sabbath, A work on the, 116 pages, 2,000 copies.

Scripture Titles of Christ, 104 pages, 1,000 copies.

Serious Inquiry, 20 pages, 2,000 copies.

Sermon for the Whole World, 28 pages, 2,000 copies. It is the Sermon on the Mount.

Sermons fourteen in one vol., 316 pages, 1,000 copies.

Spelling Book, 64 pages, 1,000 copies.

Theological Class Book.

The Ten Commandments, a handbill, 2,000 copies.

Without Holiness no Man shall see the Lord, 11 pages, 1,000 copies.

In Armeno-Turkish there were printed in 1869, 398 consecutive pages and 16,000 copies.

IN ARABO-TURKISH (SOMETIMES CALLED THE OSMANLI-TURKISH. TURKISH IN THE ARABIC CHARACTER).

Under the direction of Dr. Schaeffler, an edition of the New Testament, of very beautiful typography, was issued in 1862. Also, Matt. v. in separate form.

A Commentary on Matthew and Mark, 400 pages, 1,000 copies. 1864.

Vivian's Three Dialogues, between a Minister and his Parishioner, 2000 copies.

What is to be believed? 20 pages, 2,000 copies.

What is to be believed? 12 pages, 5,000 copies.

Whitcomb's Evidence of Christianity, 102 pages, 2,500 copies.

There were also many common school books.

The sum total of printing in the Modern Armenian in the year 1869, was 1,865 consecutive pages, and 25,920 copies.

IN ARMENO-TURKISH.

Printing in this language was commenced at Malta in 1828. In August, 1829, the number of publications was nineteen. The printing of the Armeno-Turkish New Testament was begun January 8, 1830, and the last sheet was corrected before the close of January, 1831. A second edition of the same was printed at Smyrna in 1843, consisting of 4,000 copies. The Old Testament was printed at Smyrna in 1841, 3,000 copies. The Pentateuch was printed in a separate form, 2,000 copies. The Book of Psalms, in a separate form, was printed in 1844, 2,000 copies.

The following publications have also been issued:

Abbot's Young Christian, 350 pages, 2,000 copies.

Arithmetic, 66 pages, 3,000 copies.

Avodajer (Messenger), a monthly magazine. See *Avodajer* in the preceding list.

Barth's Church History, 408 pages, 1,000 copies.

Bogue's Essay, 444 pages, 1,000 copies.

Capalose, Dr. Memoir of, 52 pages, 1,000 copies.

Catechism on Christ, 82 pages, 1,000 copies.

Chrysostom on Reading the Scriptures, 106 pages, 2,000 copies.

Commentary on Matthew, 1,000 copies.

Essay on Fasts, etc., 220 pages, 1,000 copies.

False Claims of the Pope, 112 pages, 2,000 copies.

Forever! 11 pages, 1,000 copies.

Gallaudet's Child's Book on the Soul, 126 pages, 1,000 copies.

Gallaudet's Natural Theology, 233 pages, 2,000 copies.

Good Works, A tract on, 44 pages, 2,000 copies.

Grammar, 213 pages, 3,000 copies.

Guide to the Use of the Fathers, 318 pages, 2,000 copies.

The Dialogue, one page, 1,000 copies. 1867.

The Beatitudes, one page, 1,000 copies. 1867.

Selected Texts, one page, 1,000 copies. 1867.

Selected Texts, one page, 1,000 copies. 1867.

On Belief and Worship: an Explanation of the Christian Religion as understood and professed by Protestants, 128 pages, 3,000 copies.

The Prisoner, 64 pages, 3,000 copies. 1867.

Notes on the Dialogue, 80 pages, 3,000 copies.

Teachings of the New Testament, concerning the Judgment, 16 pages, 5,000 copies.

Friend of the Bible in relation to the Protestant community, 300 copies.

In this dialect, in 1869, were printed 161 consecutive pages, 13,300 copies—total, 541,300 pages.

In the Khorish Dialect, previous to 1863, 13,000 copies of the Scriptures had issued from the mission press.

IN BULGARIAN.

In the year 1844, a small volume in this language was issued at Smyrna. It was Part I. of Gallaudet's Child's Book on the Soul, 61 pages, 2,000 copies.

In 1851 and 1852, several Tracts were printed, in all 8,000 copies.

In 1853, the Book of Psalms.

In 1880, 50,000 copies, in part of the New Testament, and in part of other books and tracts, making 3,332,000 pages.

In 1861, the New Testament, Biblical Catechism, Child's Book on the Soul, etc., 1,155 consecutive pages, and 60,000 copies.

In 1863, 1,896,000 pages. Up to this time, 4,000 copies of the New Testament.

In 1864, 300 copies of tracts, etc., 30,000 consecutive pages.

The issue of the Old Testament, following the New, commenced 1866.

The *Zornitz*, or Day Star, a small monthly sheet, was commenced about 1863, having 750 subscribers.

After this time, the printing was as follows:—

	Pages.	Copies.	Total Copies.
The Bible, commenced, imperial, 2vo.	524	3,000	3,120,000
The Pentateuch	352	1,000	352,000
Book of Genesis	167	1,000	167,000
Book of Proverbs	31	2,000	182,000
Hymn and Tune Book, finished	44	3,000	132,000
Dr. Goodell's Sermons	522	3,000	1,566,000
Sermon on the Sabbath	12	2,000	24,000
Commentary on Matthew	240	3,000	720,000
Spiritual Worship	156	2,000	312,000
The Bible and Tradition	35	3,000	105,000
Protestants the Ancient Orthodox	43	3,000	129,000
Baptists	28	3,000	84,000
The Lord's Supper	24	3,000	102,000
The Pope and the Roman Catholic Church	74	3,000	220,000
Answer to Infidel Objections	36	3,000	108,000
Brush on Prayer	48	3,000	144,000
The Way of Salvation	8	3,000	24,000
Poor Joseph	8	3,000	24,000
The Two Lambs	18	3,000	54,000
On Fasting, third edition	16	3,000	48,000
The One Thing Needful, second edition	7	3,000	21,000
The Enlightened Priest, second edition	22	3,000	66,000
Index to Sermons	4	3,000	12,000
The Heavenly Voice, and What it is to believe in Christ	15	3,000	45,000
Confession of Faith	4	1,000	5,000
Zornitza, "The Day Star," 12 Nos. 4to.	96	2,500	192,000
	2,769	70,000	7,964,000

In the Bulgarian, in 1859, were printed 519 consecutive pages, and 19,000 copies.

IN HEBREW AND HEBREW-SPANISH.

The Psalms, 3,000 copies, 1836. An edition in 1853, 5,000 copies.

The Pentateuch, 500 copies. Second edition of 2,000 copies.

The Old Testament, printed at Vienna, 3,000 copies.

The same, second edition, 5,000 copies, printed at Smyrna.

Oppenheim's Hebrew Grammar, at Smyrna, 2,000 copies. It was designed to lead the Jews from a fanciful to a grammatical construction of the Hebrew Oracles.

A Hebrew Vocabulary.

vol. ii. 33

Confession of Faith, 50 pages, 400 copies.

On Temperance, by Mrs. Whiting, 98 pages, 2,000 copies.

Child's Book on the Soul. Part II., 118 pages, 2,000 copies.

Little Henry and his Bear, 84 pages, 2,000 copies.

The Acts of the Apostles, 150 pages, 2,000 copies.

Arabic Syntax, 74 pages, 2,000 copies.

The Passion of Christ, as in Matt. xxvii., 16 pages, 6,000 copies.

Thomas à Kempis, revised, 343 pages, 2,000 copies.

The First Sixteen Psalms, for Schools, 23 pages, 1,000 copies.

The Office and Work of the Holy Spirit, 236 pages, 2,000 copies.

Spelling Book, 63 pages, 2,000 copies.

The Westminster's Assembly's Catechism, 43 pages, 2,000 copies.

Good Works, their place, 87 pages, 2,000 copies.

Nevins's Thoughts on Popery, 156 pages, 2,000 copies.

Watts's Catechism for Children, 2,000 copies.

The Assembly's Shorter Catechism, with proofs, 1,500 copies.

In 1842, the Arabic printing at Beirut amounted to 1,708,000 pages. In 1843, to 13,000 copies, and 1,232,000 pages. Number of pages from the beginning, 6,077,000.

After the year 1845, the printing proceeded from year to year, and the number of copies and pages was reported as formerly; but the titles do not occur in the printed Reports, except as follows:—

The Spelling Book, from Bible; 50 pages, 1,500 copies.

Letter to the Syrian Clergy, 20 pages, 1,200 copies.

The Book of Genesis; 136 pages, 1,200 copies.

Union Question Book, Vol. I., 1,500 copies.

An Arithmetic, by Butrus el Bistany.

Mrs. Whiting on Temperance, second edition.

Mr. Johnston's tract on Good Works, their Place, second edition.

Mr. Bird's Reply to the Maronite Bishop, second edition.

Mr. Callahan's Companion to the Bible.

Dr. Van Dyck's Geography.

Dr. Alexander's Evidences of Christianity.

Dr. Van Dyck's Algebra.

Dr. Van Dyck's Sermon on the Second Commandment.

A small Arabic Grammar

Dr. Meshakah on Skepticism.

A Hebrew-Spanish Primer, of 29 pages.

A Hebrew-Spanish Lexicon, in part; extending to 187 consecutive pages; number of copies 8,000. So far in 1851. It appears to have been since completed.

In 1855, just before the close of the Jewish mission, 319 pages of Hebrew-Spanish literature were printed in Constantinople, 2,000 copies.

Between 1840 and 1860, 23,000 copies of the Hebrew-Spanish Scriptures, under the supervision of missionaries of the American Board.

IN ARABIC.

Previous to the arrival of the Mission Press at Beirut, the following tracts had been issued from it at Malta:—

Farewell Letter of Rev. Jonas King to his friends in Syria, in 1825.

Assad Shidiak's Statement of his Conversion, and of his Persecutions.

Mr. Bird's Reply to the Maronite Bishop of Beirut, 535 pages.

In 1836, amounting to 380,300 pages, as follows:—

Spelling Cards, 3 pages, 500 copies.

Watts's Catechism for small children, 16 pages, 1,000 copies.

A Lithographic Copy-book, 200 copies.

Elements of Arabic Grammar, 188 pages, 1,200 copies.

Hymn Book, 24 pages, 200 copies.

Alphabet, lithographed, 200 copies.

The Dairyman's Daughter, 96 pages, 2,000 copies.

Since 1836, the issues of the press were as follows:—

Extracts from Chrysostom, 166 pages, 2,000 copies.

Extracts from Thomas à Kempis, 60 pages, 2,000 copies.

Smith's Arithmetic, 84 pages, 1,200 copies.

Proverbs of Solomon, 4,000 copies.

On Self-Examination, 40 pages, 4,000 copies.

Sermon on the Mount, 12 pages, 6,000 copies.

Tract on the Cholera, 12 pages, 4,000 copies.

Child's Book on the Soul. Part I., 104 pages, 2,000 copies.

Epistle to the Ephesians, 24 pages, 3,000 copies.

The Psalms of David, 276 pages, 5,000 copies.

Dr. Schneider on Rites and Ceremonies.

A new edition of the Psalms of David.

The New Testament, in the version made by Dr. Eli Smith, assisted by Butrus el Bistany, and revised by Dr. Van Dyck, with references, and also a Pocket Edition of the same, without references, of 5,000 copies, was issued from the press in March 1860.

The printing of the WHOLE BIBLE IN ARABIC was finished in March 1865. Upon this great work Drs. Smith and Van Dyck had labored with zeal and energy sixteen years, from 1838. Of this translation, ten different editions, of the whole, or of parts, had been printed in 1866, comprising over 40,000 copies.

Two hundred copies of the first three chapters of the Gospel by John were printed in raised letters, for the use of the blind.

Printed in 1866: volumes of all kinds, 28,434. Copies of Tracts, 23,000. Copies of Scripture, 14,554. Pages of Tracts, 838,000. Pages of Scripture, 3,372,000.

Printed in 1867:—

Edwards's History of Redemption.

Bickerstein's Scripture Hand-book.

A large Psalm and Hymn Book.

A Psalter, versified.

A Children's Hymn Book.

A Monthly Missionary Arabic Journal.

Mr. Bistany's Elements of Grammar.

Two editions of his Arabic Lexicon.

In 1867, were printed 16,800 volumes of all kinds, and 20,700 Tracts.

In 1868, 726,000 pages of Scripture, and 1,300,000 of other works.

In 1869, 5,147,000 pages of all kinds.

The reports for subsequent years are defective.

MODERN SYRIAC. (THE LANGUAGE OF THE NESTORIAN PEOPLE.)

The printing, in the year 1843, was 860 volumes, 6,340 tracts, and 611,530 pages.

In 1844, the Four Gospels, and the Dairyman's Daughter, were printed. Whole amount, 437,800 pages.

The New Testament, with the ancient and modern Syriac in parallel columns, was printed in 1846. In that year, 2,500 books and tracts, and 1,114,000 pages, were printed; of which about 1,000,000 pages were quarto. Among the books was a new and enlarged edition of the Nestorian Hymn Book, a Spelling Book, and a Question Book.

The Pilgrim's Progress was commenced in 1847.

A monthly paper, entitled "The Rays of Light," was begun in 1848, and has continued till the present time.

In 1853 and 1854, an edition of the New Testament entire, was printed; also a Hymn Book, and a volume entitled Scripture Facts.

In 1855, Green Pastures for the Lord's Flocks, 392 pages.

In 1856, Barth's Church History, and a Scripture Geography. Whole number of volumes printed this year, 3,000; 880,000 pages.

In 1857, 334,000 pages, of which 768,000 were of Scripture, in large quarto.

During the eighteen years following the arrival of the press, from 1840 to 1858, 68,000 volumes were printed, comprising 13,493,020 pages.

In 1860, the New Testament, with references, had been printed.

The Old Testament is spoken of as having been previously printed in that form.

A Christian Almanac was issued in 1862.

The Word of God was largely printed from year to year.

In 1866, Rays of Light, a monthly paper, 8vo, 384 pages, 400 copies. Wayland's Moral Science.

Volumes printed in 1866, 1,250. Tracts, including the monthly paper, 5,500. Pages of Scripture, and other works, 381,300.

Whole number of volumes from the beginning, 91,350. Number of pages, 18,052,050.

In 1867, Dr. Perkins's Commentary on Genesis; also a Christian Almanac.

In 1869, Rays of Light, monthly, 104 pages, 400 copies.

Night of Toil, 224 pages, 300 copies.

Signet Ring, 65 pages, 200 copies.

Revival Hymns, 32 pages, 200 copies.

Dialogue on the Papacy, 12 pages, 200 copies.

Almanac, 14 pages, 200 copies.

Dr. Perkins's Commentary on Daniel, 154 pages, 500 copies.

Printed in 1867, 632 consecutive pages, 2,200 copies.

Total pages from the beginning, November 1840, to the close of 1869, 19,529,150.

Appendix XVI

A short analysis of the American Missionary enterprise during the early 19th century in the *Missionary Herald* from a missionary perspective
[Available in the box filed as *Miscellaneous* as ABC 14.2 in Houghton Library, Boston

PROGRESS IN FIFTY YEARS.

Stamboul as Mrs. Walker found it half a century ago.

It is difficult now in this 20th century to realize the conditions of life that prevailed here at the close of the Crimean War: let us look back nearly fifty years yielding gradually to the pressure of Western modes and innovations.

Can we, at the present time, still trace, in the steep but not precipitous high way—suggestively known as "step street"—the famous cascade of stones that, passing through a half-ruined stone-way—below the entrance of the rue Yazdji, served at that time as a main thoroughfare between Pera and Galata? Is the great part of the ancient fortifications, a similar gate-way, connected with a tower, removed for some years at the point where the line was now traced from the entrance of Sema Street to begin its adventurous course? Do the memory reconstruct these venerable walls, and the broad moat, where now we see opposite streets and solid modern dwellings? Can we even remember the old approach to the stone bridge, so narrow, that the opposite houses seemed to knock their crooked eaves together?

Half a century since, the city was unlighted; the streets without written names; the houses without numbers. There was no organized fire-brigade; no local post, no telegraph, tramways, nor railway lines, no street cars, but the native *talika*: with dogs the only scavengers. At that time the narrow, sombre alleys in the heart of Pera were the scene of almost nightly assassinations: Galata and Topkapiah were utterly unsafe after sunset. The artist may indulge in a quiet lament over the picturesque "haik" and comments of Eastern type and character that have perished in this flood of practical improvements, but all residents daily and hourly appreciate the material comfort that they have brought to the every day life of the city.

Some of the most interesting remains of antiquity have, in this past half century, been partially destroyed, a few have been utterly swept away, such as the residence of the celebrated Bashaquis, Genoa Ambassador to the Great Sultan; the fine archway of Taki-Serafi; the noble towers at Vlonga Baska—but yet enough remains of imperishable beauty, of archaeological interest, of historical truth, and of legendary lore, to render Constantinople one of the most attractive cities in the world.

In order to describe the changes that time and Western ideas have effected here, I propose to follow the line of the Pera high street, just mentioning that, as I had come to the "Sunny East" expecting, in conformity to the unchangeable conviction of Western Europe, that the East meant perpetual sunshine, orange groves, palm trees and perfumed breezes, to find the winter of 1857 was a considerable revelation. It snowed for six weeks, without one complete break or thaw; the Golden Horn was frozen over; the road way in Pera almost impenetrable between mounds of snow several feet high;

the oxen and mules from the best parts of the Balkan Peninsula, that they could carry more than any manufacture of iron or copper, and, depending to cross the island, having beyond the city in early dawn, perished with their animals.

It was in the autumn of 1857 that, from a window overlooking what is now known as Galata-Serafi, I saw workmen busily engaged on the foundations of the present stone edifice: it took the place of a vast wooden building which had, at one time, been occupied during the Crimean War by English military officials: previously to that, by persons connected with the Sultan's household.

The high street was exceedingly narrow, but as there were no carriages, and many fewer inhabitants, than at the present time, people walked quite comfortably in the road way—and if you met a string of camels, there was always a heap of rough stones, or a door step on which you might take refuge. Neither the French Hospital, in its present form, nor the Greek Cathedral, near the Taxim, were in existence, and when, at Easter time, companies of gaily-dressed harem came dancing down the street, from their especially chosen spot of high festivity—an enormous mound of refuse and rubbish that had accumulated for years opposite to the end of what is now known as the Municipal or Taxim garden;—there was nothing to impede their hilarious progress. They were a simple-minded, hard-working race, and their conception of holiday enjoyment seemed incapable of rising to more ideal heights, than a mimicry of their daily labours: it was not uncommon to see a band of them, carrying their long, massive poles, moving with every appearance of intense strain and fatigue the burden hung in the centre—an egg!

In Pera, for some years after my arrival there were only two private carriages: one belonging to the British Embassy, the other to M. Baltazzi; the roads beyond the city being impassable for any vehicle except the native "*Talika*," a painted, creaky little conveyance, generally without springs. Carts were practically unknown; all building material and other burdens were loaded on pack horses, mules, donkeys, and even—when possible—in patient, much enduring Armenian hounds.

The story goes that a traveller meeting one of these supporting on his leather hump a small cart, suggested that the load might have been better completed by a couple of ponies; one under each arm! It was not until the Russian war in 1877 and 1878 that families of Mussulman refugees from Bulgaria, reaching the capital in their rough carts, realized that their vehicles might be made profitable. Roads were repaired; the loaded animals for the most part disappeared from the principal thoroughfares; the uneasy *talikas* followed, and were thenceforward only used, if at all, for excursions into the country; Sunday school treats and other similar gatherings.

In those early days steam launches had not been introduced into the beautiful waters of our unrivalled Bosphorus: caïques of all sizes and degrees of importance, from the Sultan's magnificent barge, with 28 rowers, the stately 5 pairs of the great Pasha, to the 3 pair of lesser dignitaries, even the 2 and the 1 pair, for hire, held the water, and made splendid and graceful pro-

grass where now steam is triumphant and un-
 ailingly.

The steamers on the Bosphorus, and, especially, those to Kadiköy, were not at first provided with benches; people sat about as they could, on little straw stools, and it was only very gradually that greater comfort for travellers was thought of.

There was ample opportunity for conversation; it took fully two hours to reach Therapia, and I have a vivid recollection of a day when two old gentlemen had before the starting of the boat, entered on a lively discussion as to the comparative use or advantage of counting the hours according to the Turkish or the European mode of calculation; they talked eagerly and incessantly during the whole time, and reached Therapia without having achieved the slightest solution of the problem.

A matter which will appeal to careful housewives is the fact that, for long after my arrival here, real fresh butter was unknown—an-

that at the time when the English gravestones were removed, the governing powers had decided to deal in the same manner with the Armenian graves, but they had to negotiate with a class of wealthy bankers and capitalists, whose good will was of the highest importance. A large amount of money was offered by one of these, by which more than on State official benefitted, and the Armenian cemetery, with its remarkable tablets and its fine terebinth trees, was saved.

We must now turn backwards, and look across and over the military exercise ground. An insignificant row of small wooden houses crested the hill, and looked, from the back, over a deep valley. It was on a Sunday, 5th June, 1870. A woman in one of those small houses was carrying a brazier down the stair; a high wind was blowing, and the muslin curtain of an open window, touching the lighted embers, sprang into flame; the wind increasing to a gale, the whole row of wooden houses caught fire—the blazing tufts of cotton—used in bedding and all