

IDENTIFYING AMERICAN MISSIONARY PRESENCE IN THE  
CYPRIOT REPORTS:  
AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND THE EVOLUTION OF  
CYPRIOT EDUCATIONAL POLICIES  
(1898-1960)

A THESIS PRESENTED  
BY  
BETUL BASHIR  
TO

THE INSTITUTE OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

RELEASED UNDER THE  
FOIA ACT

REINTERPRETING AMERICAN MISSIONARY PRESENCE IN THE  
OTTOMAN EMPIRE:  
AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND THE EVOLUTION OF  
OTTOMAN EDUCATIONAL POLICIES  
(1820-1908)

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BİLKENT UNIVERSITY  
AUGUST 1997

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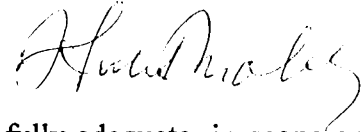
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## ABSTRACT

An interesting aspect of Ottoman educational modernization in the nineteenth century was its relation to the boom in the number of foreign schools in the Empire. This period witnessed the development of an educational web by American missionaries, in a very rapid and comprehensive manner compared to the development of other foreign schools in the same dominions. This development did not escape the attention of Ottoman rulers and bureaucrats, and there were significant efforts to provide for a regular inspection of these schools. The purpose of this study is to trace the evolution of Ottoman educational policies and their utilization with regard to the American schools in the Empire.

## ÖZET

Sosyal kurumlar hizmet ettikleri toplumların gereksinimlerine cevap verebildikleri ölçüde ayakta kalırlar. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun gerileme döneminde, diğer birçok kurum gibi, Osmanlı eğitim kurumları da geçerliliklerini büyük ölçüde yitirmiş ve değişen toplumsal yapının gerisinde kalmışlardır. Ondokuzuncu yüzyılda tüm Avrupa'yı kasıp kavuran değişim rüzgarları Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na da uğramış ve imparatorluk sınırlarında farklı unsurlara daha katılımcı ve eşitlikçi eğitim ve kalkınma imkanları hazırlayacak bir sistem oluşturulması için küçümsenemeyecek kadar çaba sarfedilmiştir. Ancak, Osmanlı devlet adamları ve bürokratlarının karşısına bir çok engel ve sorun çıkmış, çıkarılmıştır.

Bunların en çetin, ve bir o kadar da ilginç olanlarından biri de ondokuzuncu yüzyılda Amerikan misyoner okullarının imparatorluk genelinde gösterdikleri gelişmedir. Bu çalışmanın temel amacı, sözkonusu gelişmenin karşısında Osmanlı devlet adamlarının geliştirdikleri eğitim politikalarını incelemek ve irdelemektir. Araştırmalar esnasında Osmanlı kaynaklarına ağırlık verilmekle beraber, mümkün olduğunca orijinal Amerikan kaynaklarından da yararlanılmıştır. Şüphesiz, Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri'nde tasnifi halen devam etmekte olan Maarif Nezareti'ne ilişkin belgelerin araştırmacılara açılmasıyla, bu konuda olduğu kadar, geniş anlamıyla Osmanlı ve Türkiye eğitim tarihine dair çok daha detaylı bilgiye ulaşma şansı da doğmuş olacaktır

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Any adequate expression of the contributions I have received in the preparation of this thesis would have to include all the names of the writers of the books and articles I have read and those of all the professors, colleagues and friends with whom I have discussed the problematics of my topic.

I should however particularly like to mention some of the people who have shared with me their ideas, given me corrections or have answered questions during various stages of writing the thesis, as well as reading and commenting on the whole or large parts of the final draft: Halil İnalçık, Akşin Somel, Mehmet Kalpaklı, Nur Bilge Criss, Howard Reed, Frank A. Stone, Nejdet Gök and especially Oral Sander who has invigorated the desire for historical research in my mind and heart.

I am principally indebted to my supervisor Akşin Somel for his support and guidance in my hunt for archival material, without which I would have lost weeks of precious time.

I am individually grateful to my family and Burçin Değirmencioğlu for their constant moral support and infallible belief in me.

And of course, I am thankful to my classmates for putting up with my endless complaints and for reminding me that I was not alone!

*To dreams, lost and unknown...*



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## INTRODUCTION

The nineteenth century was presumably the most dynamic and, at the same time, the most painful period in Ottoman history. The Ottoman Empire entered this century as a militarily backward power trying to preserve the unity of its dominions. The idea of military reform based on Western models was already established among Ottoman administrators, and the nineteenth century witnessed the intensification of this trend. There were deep rooted relations between Europe and the Ottoman Empire and in general, the concepts of reform and modernization were heavily dependent on European models, mainly French. Ottoman foreign policy was largely dominated by European power politics.

In 1830, the Ottoman Empire established formal relations with the young American nation. The acquaintance of the Ottomans with the Americans took place in an entirely different way. Relations with Europe had developed within the framework of military confrontations, diplomatic relations as well as trade connections due to geographic closeness. Unlikely, most of the first Americans landing on the distant Ottoman soil were Protestant missionaries who came to spread the Gospel among the "heathen". Shortly after their arrival, they dominated the missionary field surpassing their Catholic and Orthodox counterparts, particularly in the field of education. The proliferation of American institutions in the Empire soon caught the attention of the Ottoman administrators, however an effective government policy regarding foreign schools could not be established. Policies varied in different periods in accordance with the structural changes the Ottoman state and society underwent throughout the nineteenth century.

Unlike most of the available studies in Turkey, the aim of this study is not to demonstrate how detrimental the effects of American missionary activity in the Empire proved to be. The purpose is rather to trace the evolution of an educational policy relating to the American institutions in the Empire. The following study begins with an introductory chapter, briefly discussing the background of American missionary superiority in the Ottoman Empire. Three chapters dealing with the dynamics of the evolution of Ottoman educational policies in three respective periods follow suit.

The first period began with the arrival of the first American missionaries in 1820 and lasted until 1839. The major development of this phase was the signature of the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between the Ottoman and American governments in 1830. During most of this period, Americans were treated with admiration, especially for their technical superiority in shipmaking. Their educational activities were not suspected, and in some cases they were even appreciated. It was in the second period lasting from 1839 to 1876 that preventive measures against foreign schools, and American schools in particular as they were the greatest in number and significance, began to be taken. This period saw the initiation of crucial internal reforms, primarily in 1839 and 1856, which resulted in the disturbance of the traditional balances in the society. The status of the non-Muslim subjects of the Sultan were improved to be legally equal to that of the Muslims and this situation increased the existing tension between different elements of the society. Furthermore, it began to be increasingly perceived that the former were in many ways, such as economically and educationally, in an advantageous position compared to the latter. Therefore, to prevent further tensions and to sustain the welfare of its subjects, the

Ottoman government had to provide equal opportunities for all. The Regulation of 1869 on Public Education was the result of the educational extension of this concern, aiming at a uniform educational system and a common sense of loyalty among all elements of the society, regardless of religious belief.

However, it was during the Hamidian period that this concern was intensified and profound measures to prevent the proliferation of foreign schools on the one hand, and the improvement of the public educational system on the other were implemented. It should be recalled that for the Ottoman Empire this period was one of isolation and growing political and economic problems on the international era. Especially after the 1877-78 Ottoman-Russian war, British policy of preserving Ottoman territorial integrity was given up. In 1881, the government's primary sources of income were seized by the Europeans in return for its debts. Nationalist movements among Ottoman Christians under the spiritual protectorate of European states increasingly aggravated. These conditions understandably heightened Abdülhamid's xenophobia. The American reputation, which was initially favorable compared to that of the European states, deteriorated particularly due to the American missionaries' association with the outgrowth of Armenian nationalism in Anatolia. All these factors were formative of Abdülhamid's educational policy vis-à-vis the foreign schools in the Empire and his concept of educational reform in general.

The major sources of this study were Ottoman primary sources, and secondarily, the microfilmed collection of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Diaries, travel notes and memoirs published by the missionaries contributed to the understanding of the American perception of what was going on in

the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. However, there was one fundamental difficulty with the conduct of Ottoman archival research. Unfortunately, the classification of the documents of the Ottoman Ministry of Education has not been completed, yet. Due to this obstacle, my research was limited to the available material scattered in various different collections in the Prime Ministry Directorate of Ottoman Archives. Likewise, the archives of the Turkish Ministry of Education which contain a large number of documents concerning the late Ottoman period, are not classified and cannot be used by researchers. When these classifications are finalized and the collections are opened to all researchers, we will be able to find more data concerning the educational policies relating to foreigners in the Empire, the implementation of these policies, and Turkish educational history in general.

## THE BACKGROUND OF AMERICAN MISSIONARY ENDEAVOR IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

### 1.1 Religious Revival in New England:

One of the outcomes of the Revolution in America was the end of an established church tradition, and the emergence of an element of indifference to religion. However, future factors brought about a revival of religious belief and these revivals swept inner New England during the early 1800s, stirring many believers.<sup>1</sup> Among them, were most of the men and women who later committed themselves to missionary service in the Near East.

The religious movement called the Second Great Awakening or the Great Revival intensified the religious feelings of existing church members and mobilized enormous numbers of people who previously did not belong to any church. As a result, Protestant churches entered a period of denominational rivalry. The number of college graduates willing to go into the ministry declined, and the older Calvinist<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A. L. Tibawi, American Interests in Syria. 1800-1901, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> See, Karl Rahner (ed.), Encyclopedia of Theology: The Concise Sacramentum Mundi, (New York: Crossroad, 1982), pp. 162-167; E. A. Livingstone (ed.), The Concise Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 84.

churches -the Congregationalists<sup>3</sup> and Presbyterians<sup>4</sup> - formed separate colleges and seminaries for the education of professional ministers. The newer denominations -the Methodists<sup>5</sup> and the Baptists<sup>6</sup> - recruited their preachers more casually and this new group of preachers proved to be more capable of establishing relations with the common people whom they sought to convert. By 1820, the Methodists and the Baptists were already the largest denominations in America. The process of evangelical revivalism was most successful in the West which consisted of fast-growing new territories where the inhabitants were in need for some kind of community and order.<sup>7</sup>

It was in this extremely religious setting that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hence ABCFM) was founded. To the rigid Congregationalists living in the interior towns and villages, the above-mentioned liberal developments in religion indicated the undermining of both faith and morals. This group was more orthodox, pious and ardent, and they formed the nucleus of the men and women devoted to foreign missions. Dartmouth, Williams, Brown, Andover, New Haven, Union and Amherst were among the centers where this fervor progressed.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See, Livingstone, pp. 125-126.

<sup>4</sup> See, *Ibid.*, p. 413; Alister McGrath (ed.), The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Modern Christian Thought, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ltd., 1993), pp. 466-472.

<sup>5</sup> See, Livingstone, pp. 334-335; McGrath, pp. 373-376.

<sup>6</sup> See, Rahner, pp. 66-78; Livingstone, pp. 48-49; McGrath, pp. 28-30.

<sup>7</sup> Bailyn, Bernard and Robert Dallek, David Brion Davis, David Herbert Donald, John L. Thomas, Gordon S. Wood, The Great Republic, A History of the American People, (Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1992), Fourth Edition, Vol. 1, p. 356. See also; Frank Andrews Stone, Academies ..., University Press of America, 1984, pp. 1-5.

<sup>8</sup> Stone, Academies..., pp. 3-4.

The nucleus of the ABCFM was formed at Williams College by Samuel J. Mills and a group of young men dedicated to be missionaries to the “heathen”. During a meeting in August 1806, a sudden rain storm forced them to hide under a haystack where, according to an eyewitness, they talked about the ‘moral darkness of Asia’ and planned to send missionaries to the “*pagans of Asia and the disciples of Mohammed*”.<sup>9</sup> In September 1808, they formed the Society of Brethren. After graduation from Williams, four of these young men went to the newly opened Andover Theological Seminary where they signed a petition to form their society. These four men were Samuel J. Mills, Adorium Judson, Samuel Newell and Samuel Nott. On June 27, 1810, the American Board came into being when their proposal was favorably accepted by the Massachusetts Association of the Congregational Churches.<sup>10</sup> In 1811, another organization was formed at Andover called the Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions. Many pioneer missionaries to the Ottoman Empire, for example Pliny Fisk, Levy Parsons, Elnathan Gridley, Elias Riggs, Josiah Brewer, Eli Smith, H. G. O. Dwight and William G. Schauffler<sup>11</sup>, came originally from this society.<sup>12</sup> The chief priority of these pioneer missionaries to the Ottoman Empire was the revitalization of the Oriental Churches. They perceived the traditional hierarchies in the Ottoman Empire as the local parallels of their own

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 4.

<sup>10</sup> For the formation of the ABCFM and other missionary societies, see Tibawi, pp. 4-6; and Stone, Academies ..., Chapter 1.

<sup>11</sup> See William Schauffler, Autobiography of William G. Schauffler, (Michigan: UMI Books on Demand, 1996).

<sup>12</sup> Jeremy Salt, Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Empire. 1878-1896, (London: Frank Cass, 1993)



conservative church, and '*leavening the Levant*', as they put it, naturally appealed to them.<sup>13</sup>

Another significant phenomenon was the emergence of the belief in millennialism in a radically new way. Many ministers developed a belief that America was leading humanity into the millennium. Thus, the millennium became to be perceived as an actual phase in the history of America, to such an extent that every worldly development was interpreted in millennial terms. By giving the millennium such a concrete temporal and material character and by identifying the Kingdom of God with the prospects of the United States, the Protestant ministry contributed greatly to nineteenth century Americans' growing sense of mission. By improving and prospering, the United States - it was thought - was destined to "*redeem the world*."<sup>14</sup> This way of thinking was characteristic of the nineteenth century evangelistic fervor in general. Accordingly, all mankind needed the Christian message and the material triumphs of the European civilization stood out as the proof of its superiority.<sup>15</sup>

The third major movement which was deeply related with the developments in missionary education was the Academy Movement. Academies were privately operated secondary level institutions that aimed at college preparation as well as education for life's pursuits. Their programs included a variety of intellectual and practical subjects with emphasis on vernacular studies. Unlike the Latin Grammar Schools which preceded them, the academies were to some extent democratic and

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> Bailyn, p. 359.

<sup>15</sup> Salt, p. 12.

non-elitist. Administrative control was often quasi-public and, at least in theory, academies were open to all. The Academy Movement was particularly active in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maine and New York; the major region from which American Board missionaries came. Many of the American Board members received part of their education in an academy, or in female seminaries/institutions which were sister institutions to the academies. In fact, the Andover Seminary where the ABCFM flourished had grown out of the Philips Academy as the result of a significant donation.<sup>16</sup>

The thirty year period following 1825, during which academies in the Massachusetts region proliferated, was also formative for Protestant missionary education in Asia Minor. The academy model, like some other models which later took root in the United States, was repeatedly copied in the Ottoman Empire. Although the first missionaries settled in port cities like İzmir and İstanbul, and opened schools in urban centers, soon they set out to *conquer* or *occupy* the interior. The pioneer American schools in the Ottoman Empire were located in the interior of Anatolia and this resulted from an intentional attempt at protecting the students from the “*perverse influence of the wicked city*”.<sup>17</sup> Coming largely from conservative, farming communities, the American Board missionaries seem to have been attracted to the rural Anatolian setting.

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<sup>16</sup> Stone, *Academies ...*, pp. 5-7.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

## 1.2 Missions in the Ottoman Empire:

Missions in the Ottoman Empire went hand in hand with educational activity. Usually, religious institutions and missionary organizations initiated schools with the purpose of preaching their religion. There were Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant schools functioning in the Ottoman Empire and there was always conceived rivalry between them. This rivalry also provided an impetus for the Ottomans to improve their schools in order to be able to compete with the foreigners.

Major reasons which made the Ottoman lands attractive to Christian missionaries were mainly geostrategic, financial and economic, and religious.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, as Jeremy Salt put it, the simple fact of being where it was, created complications for the Ottoman state.<sup>19</sup> It opened on to the Persian Gulf in addition to the Aegean, the Black Sea, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Its North African territories stood as a gate for penetration towards the interior. To the East, it opened to the Caucasus, Central Asia and Iran while the Arabian rump lay at the heart of the maritime route to India. In other words, “*no imperial power worthy of the name could fail to covet the sultan’s dominions.*”<sup>20</sup> Religion was another element of interest in these dominions. The issue of the Holy Lands and concern for Ottoman Christians were most often the foremost considerations in contentions between the Ottoman and European states. Utilization of the religious privileges arising from the Capitulations developed a problematic situation whereby Ottoman Christians could

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<sup>18</sup> See, Salt, pp. 9-10; Hidayet Vahapoğlu, Osmanlı’dan Günümüze Azınlık ve Yabancı Okulları, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yay., 1992), Second Edition, p. 17.

<sup>19</sup> Salt, p. 10.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

turn to foreign powers as their protectors against unjust treatment and/or as springboards for greater rights and freedoms. Yet, the Crimean War stood out as an example of how religious sentiment, entirely different in essence, could be exploited to cover deeper aspirations.<sup>21</sup>

Frank A. Stone mentioned that the American missionaries found the conditions in the Ottoman Empire remarkably similar to the ones in their homeland. For example, both the American and the Ottoman cultures were derivative cultures: New England was based on an Anglo-Saxon heritage in a similar way by which the Ottomans inherited the Arabic and Persian traditions through Islam. Higher education in New England was based on Oxford and Cambridge models which played a role in their educational system similar to that played by the '*mekteb*' and the '*medrese*' in the Ottoman system. Ottoman population was more diverse, however, as Stone pointed out, its Greek, Armenian and Jewish minorities were equally bound to foreign sources in education.<sup>22</sup> High rates of illiteracy among Ottoman subjects made the missionaries even more inclined towards education. The ideal of spreading the Gospel required at least simple literacy training. The American Board missionaries stressed the Christian doctrine of disinterested benevolence according to which the missionaries were under no obligation to limit their educational work to projects that would quickly yield proselytes.<sup>23</sup> According to the assumptions derived from this doctrine, they struggled vigorously to create a 'more enlightened Near East' .

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>22</sup> Stone, Academies..., p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 8; Tibawi, p. 11.

On the other hand, another common view held that there could be no similarities between the two countries in terms of education, industry, press and what not. For example, in 1831 the Americans had two hundred steamboats while the Ottoman Empire had none. When the first steamboat arrived in the early 1830s, an American from İstanbul wrote: “ *The Turks have been squatting down here for ages, smoking their pipes with all gravity, and reading the Koran without once being disturbed; when lo! a streamer dashes right in among them, and they have to scramble out of the way.*”<sup>24</sup>

This quotation is a good example of how the missionaries perceived not only the Ottoman Empire, but the East in general. The ideal of creating a more enlightened Near East rested largely upon the preconceived notion of a system of backwardness and corruption under Islamic rule. The Oriental mind ruled that “ *the Turks swung on a pendulum between sloth and fanaticism and that Ottoman Christians lived perpetually at the point of a sword.*”<sup>25</sup> However, it seems that the missionaries’ perception of the Ottoman Empire was shaped by a combination of the above-mentioned views. American missionaries would hardly be so enthusiastic to copy currents in their homeland, such as the Academy Movement, had they not perceived certain similarities between the two societies. Yet, their efforts were primarily directed at the Christian and Jewish minorities, not by any means the Muslims. Consequently, observing certain similarities between the American and Ottoman societies did not necessarily require a positive approach to Islamic rule.

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<sup>24</sup> David H. Finnie, Pioneers East, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1967), pp. 8-9.

<sup>25</sup> Salt, p. 21. On Orientalism, see Edward W. Said, Orientalism, (NewYork: Vintage Books, 1979),

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the majority of the foreign schools in the Empire were organized under the Catholic Church. The first Catholic schools were initiated by the Jesuits in İstanbul as early as 1583.<sup>26</sup> The Saint Benoit College was established at this date for the education of the Latins in the Ottoman Empire. The Christians living in Pera had demanded educational support and the Pope sent some Jesuits to İstanbul upon this request which was communicated to him via the French envoy in İstanbul.<sup>27</sup> The rise of Protestantism posed a major threat to the Catholic faith and Catholic missionaries continued their propaganda under the material and spiritual support of the French through out the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>28</sup> Their main target was composed of the Greeks, Armenians and partially the Jews. The major difficulty with the Muslims aroused from the simple fact that the conversion of Muslims was not allowed under Islamic rule. Therefore, earlier attempts at converting Muslims were later discarded.<sup>29</sup> Along with education,

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<sup>26</sup> It is known that prior to this date there were Catholic institutions called *Custodia della Terra Sancta* around Syria and Palestine. These institutions provided primary education, as well as offering food and shelter for Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem. There existed similar institutions in the Balkans, especially in the Albanian region, which belonged to certain Catholic religious orders. See Stavro Skendi, The Albanian National Awakening, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967), pp. 129-144. The date mentioned above refers to the first school established in the Sultan's domains by Catholic citizens of another country. See, Osman Nuri Ergin, Türkiye Maarif Tarihi, (İstanbul: Eser Kültür Yay., 1977), Vol. 1-2, pp. 769-775, 778-782; İlhan Tekeli-Selim İlkin, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Eğitim ve Bilgi Üretim Sisteminin Oluşumu ve Dönüşümü, (Ankara: TTK Yayınları, 1993), p.37.

<sup>27</sup> Ergin, p. 769; Tekeli and İlkin, p. 37.

<sup>28</sup> Ergin, pp. 810-811; Vahapoğlu, pp. 18-21.

<sup>29</sup> For more information on Catholic missions see, M. Belin, Histoire de L'Eglise Latine de Constantinople, (Paris: Challamel Aine, 1877); Stephan Neill, A History of Christian Missions, (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1980).

Catholic missionaries also provided a variety of services including health care and other social services.<sup>30</sup>

Prior to the nineteenth century, Protestant missions in the Ottoman Empire were dominated by English missionaries.<sup>31</sup> The first Protestant missionaries were members of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804) and they soon began to distribute Bibles inland from İzmir.<sup>32</sup> Engaged in religious as well as political rivalry with the French and the Russians, England seemed quite willing to create and utilize Protestant masses in the Middle East. However, after 1820s Protestant missionary activism in the Ottoman territory was increasingly dominated by the Americans, namely the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.<sup>33</sup> Until 1870 the ABCFM carried out all American missionary activity in the Ottoman Empire by itself. After this date, it transferred some of its missions to the Board of Foreign Missions for the Presbyterian Church. In addition, the educational programs for girls and women in Turkey were inspired by another group of American women's missionary societies.<sup>34</sup> The examination of the Board's organization and educational activities in the Ottoman Empire can give us an idea about the operation of missions

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<sup>30</sup> Vahapoğlu, pp. 27-30.

<sup>31</sup> Ergin, pp. 811-815.

<sup>32</sup> Salâhi R. Sonyel, Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire, (Ankara: TTK, 1993), p. 192.

<sup>33</sup> For details, see Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika, (İstanbul: Arba Yay., 1989), pp. 16-19 and Stone, Academies ..., Chapter 2: The Origins of American Board Education in Turkey, pp. 27-49.

<sup>34</sup> Stone, Academies ..., pp. 17-21; Kocabaşoğlu, Anadoluda'ki ..., pp. 126-127. See, Mary Mills Patrick, Under Five Sultans, (Michigan: UMI Books on Demand, 1996).

in general, as well as an insight into an issue which later evolved into a chronic problem for the Ottoman government and the Ministry of Public Education.

According to the organization of the Board in the Ottoman Empire, the basic unit of activity was the mission and each mission was directly responsible to the headquarters in Boston. Each mission wrote its own constitution, by-laws and parliamentary procedures based on the models provided by the Board. All decisions were subject to Boston's approval. Regular elections were held to chose the secretariat. Missions were divided into stations which were further divided into out-stations. The stations were autonomous in their internal affairs and they contributed to the decision-making process of the missions. Unlike the missions and the stations, the out-stations were headed by a member of the local community and they did not participate in decision-making at any level. However, due to strong opposition, the need to integrate local communities into the larger framework of activities eventually became inevitable.<sup>35</sup>

According to a letter sent from Boston, there were mainly four groups of activity within the framework of the mission: development of the missionaries' skills in local languages, preparation of publications, education, and augmentation of social contact between the missionaries and the local communities.<sup>36</sup> The missionaries worked to achieve these goals through a number of closely related mechanisms, such as schools and the printing press.

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<sup>35</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki ...*, pp. 131-135.

<sup>36</sup> Letter from H. G. O. Dwight dated July 17, 1834. Papers of the ABCFM, ABC 16.9, Reel 562, Vol. 2, No 25.



The first thing a missionary had to do was to develop an audience who would later be exposed to written and oral persuasion. To be able to do this, educational facilities had to be provided for those who were receptive to the missionaries and for their children. At the initial level, the education of the local community, to enable them at least to read the Bible, would begin in the church. In the later stages, Sabbath Schools for the adults and primary/common schools for the children would be established. After the completion of this first phase, two new requirements would emerge: the need to supply the churches with priests and preachers, and the schools with teachers. This led to the foundation of more advanced schools--theological seminaries and high schools.<sup>37</sup> This pattern was adopted from the Philips-Andover model of a pious secondary academy that would later develop into an institution devoted to preparing ministers and teachers and it was repeatedly copied in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>38</sup> First, common schools were inaugurated and disseminated, which soon required the institution of secondary schools to prepare the requisite teachers. Eventually, these were supplemented with female seminaries, theological departments and collegiate institutes.<sup>39</sup> The missionaries seem to have been aware that their schools could be effective only if they provided better opportunities than the Sublime Porte, the local Christian clergy and other foreign schools established by the rival missionaries. In 1841, it was expressed at the American Education Society that

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<sup>37</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki ...*, p. 23.

<sup>38</sup> Stone, *Academies...*, p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

“better Protestant educational institutions were the sole means of offsetting such Popish Schools’”.<sup>40</sup>

American missionaries established their first press in Malta in 1822. In a period of four years about eight million pages of material was published. These were in Greek, Armenian, Arabic and to a very little extent in Turkish. The press published books for schools, mostly religious, and also a Turkish translation of the Bible in Armenian letters.<sup>41</sup>

The signature of the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between the Ottoman Empire and the United States in 1830, and the establishment of diplomatic relations in the following year, justified the existence of American institutions in the Empire.<sup>42</sup> At this initial stage, it was decided that the press would be transferred to İzmir where it operated until 1853 when it was finally transferred to İstanbul.<sup>43</sup>

Periodicals and libraries were an important part of the communication web between the local communities and Boston, at the center of which were the missionaries. The

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>41</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda XIX. Yüzyılda Amerikan Matbaaları ve Yayıncılığı", Murat Sarıca Armağanı, (İstanbul: Lybay Yayınları, 1988), p. 270. For details about the press and its publications, see Tibawi, pp. 51-58.

<sup>42</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, Anadolu'daki ....., p. 47.

<sup>43</sup> İzmir was a cosmopolitan city where many foreigner merchant families lived and it was normally free of the restrictions of other purely Muslim centers. For example, in 1840 a French and an English newspaper, called *Courier de Smyrne* and *Manzari Shark* were being published without censorship. See, Finnie, p. 24. In addition, a number of Americans had already visited and lived in İzmir. For example, David Offley had been acting there as the official Commercial Consular Agent of the United States since 1823. These seem to be significant factors in the transfer of the American press to İzmir rather than anywhere else. Due to the relative openness of the city and its society, and the trading facilities, İzmir became the natural Eastern beachhead for the Americans in the early 19th century. Americans had the chance to epistomize the America from which they came in İzmir, with their "curious mixture of commerce and piety, contentiousness and charity, and their somewhat defensive admiration for their British cousins". Finnie, p. 44.

first of these periodicals was *The Friend of Youth*, published in 1832. It was four pages in length, the first three in English and the last in Greek. *The Journal of Useful Information* appeared in 1837, in Greek, and it had 1200 subscribers by 1839.<sup>44</sup> There were a number of other periodicals in Armenian, Greek, Arabic, Bulgarian and English. One of the most influential publications was *Avedaper*, a semi-monthly magazine printed in Armenian, and later in Armeno-Turkish which, according to a missionary, became “*the means of conveying Western ideas to natives beyond the direct reach of the mission schools or independent colleges.*”<sup>45</sup> The missionaries also established libraries in each mission and many of the stations.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> Kocabaşođlu, *Anadolu'daki ...*, p. 48.

<sup>45</sup> Robert L. Daniel, *American Philanthropy in the Near East. 1820-1960*, (Ohio: Ohio U. P., 1970), p.102.

<sup>46</sup> In 1836, the İstanbul library had 155, the Bursa library had 113, and the library in İzmir had 1100 books which included about twenty academic periodicals. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

### The First Period (1800-1839): Getting Acquainted

In 1795 the United States negotiated a treaty with the dey of Algiers to prevent the attacks of the pirates in the region. Accordingly, US ships were promised security in return for an annual tribute of \$21,600. But, this area was nominally under Ottoman rule and the efficiency of the treaty without a similar one with the Ottoman Empire was puzzling John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Despite growing pressures for the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Sultan, not much action was taken. The United States was concerned about the problems of the young nation and the shaky international arena due to the outbreak of the war between France and England. The first official American visit to İstanbul was that of Captain William Bainbridge of U.S.S. *George Washington* in 1800. Actually, this was a compulsory visit. The dey of Algiers, after accepting the naval stores called for under the 1795 tribute treaty, had asked Bainbridge a favor: he was to kindly deliver the presents of the dey to the Sultan. The captain yielded in fear of losing his ship and crew.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> The presents were: 100 black women and children, 4 horses, 150 sheep, 25 horned cattle, 4 lions, 4 tigers, 4 antelopes, 12 parrots and several ostriches, funds and regalia of about \$ 1,000,000 in value in addition to the Algerian ambassador and his suite of a hundred persons. Finnie, p. 48.

In the Dardanelles Bainbridge succeeded in doing something which no Western ship had ever done. Theoretically, the Sultan's permission was required for passage through the Straits. Bainbridge just pretended he had the permission and fired an eight-gun salute on his way which was returned by the fort. And Bainbridge simply sailed on past. This “*astonished every Christian ambassador here*”, in İstanbul.<sup>48</sup> The captain and his ship was greeted warmly, especially by the British. The Ottoman government had difficulty figuring out to which state the flag exactly belonged. Finally, a messenger from the Porte came and asked whether America was otherwise called the New World and being answered in the affirmative, assured the captain of Ottoman cordiality and welcome. Indeed, the fine order of the ship and the healthy crew became topics of general conversation in Pera and different ministers received Bainbridge in their palaces. During his stay, he was received by Hüseyin Paşa<sup>49</sup>, the future *kapudân-ı deryâ* (High Admiral and Minister of Marine), to discuss the possibilities of a treaty with the US. Nothing came of the idea, but David Offley who arrived in İzmir eleven years later took it as his first duty to arrange such a treaty.<sup>50</sup> The turning point would come after the Ottoman fleet was burnt down by a combined British, French and Russian force at Navarino in 1827 when the United States seemed to be the only available source of help.

The negotiation of a treaty with the Porte was crucial for the United States mainly for reasons of trade, as it was the most tangible link with the East. American

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> For his life and services, see H. İnalçık, “Hüseyin Paşa”, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 5/1, (İstanbul: MEB, 1964), pp. 609-616; “Khosrew Paşa”, (ed.), *EI<sup>2</sup>*, Vol. V, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), pp. 35-36.

<sup>50</sup> Finnie, pp. 50-51.

trade with the Levant had begun as early as the colonial times when American ships worked under the British flag. An American flag vessel was spotted in İstanbul as early as 1786. In 1802, William Steward was appointed by President Jefferson as the first American consul in İzmir. But he had no jurisdiction at the absence of a treaty between the United States and the Ottoman Empire and by custom the US vessels were under British protection. So leaving a proconsul to make record of the arriving ships, Steward left. In 1805, the proconsul reported 6 vessels which brought mainly coffee, pepper, tea, sugar, rum, and Havana sugars. In İzmir they loaded a great deal of opium, for China, as well as raisins, figs, and salt.<sup>51</sup>

David Offley came to İzmir in 1811. He was a partner in the Philadelphia trading firm of Woodmas and Offley which had been trading in İzmir since 1805. Offley, too, recognized the difficulties of American merchants who could not escape high tariffs (Americans paid 6% as against 2%) due to the lack of a treaty. Moreover, after 1812, the British did not allow them to fly the British flag to make use of the much more favorable terms offered to them under the Capitulations. From then on, the Americans had to pay fees amounting to some 4 or 5 thousand dollars to the [English] Levant Company for consular protection.<sup>52</sup> A mutual antipathy grew up for Offley as he struggled to put an end to this unfair British profiteering. Soon he managed to get assurance from the Porte that henceforth American imports would be subject to the going tariffs. But he had to wait until the end of the 1812 war between the US and Great Britain resulting in the effective blockade of American shipping to

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., pp. 25-26, 30-31.

<sup>52</sup> Tibawi, p. 2.

get his colleagues to support him in renouncing British consular protection. From then on, the Americans were on their own. In 1823 Offley was officially appointed as Consular Commercial Agent. But what he needed was a treaty. Meanwhile, his firm made a lot of money: 24 out of 78 US vessels in İzmir during 1811-12 belonged to Offley's firm.<sup>53</sup>

The main object of American trade with İzmir was opium for China. Americans opened the opium trade in 1804 and more or less cornered the market. Opium was largely in the hands of great family firms of Salem and Boston. Other Ottoman exports included fruits, nuts, silver, raw wool, and hides. From the United States came mostly cotton goods, tobacco, gun powder and breadstuffs, and rum.<sup>54</sup> The volume of trade between the two countries had exceeded \$1,000,000 as early as 1820s. In 1816, eight merchant vessels visited the port of İzmir. In 1830, this number had reached thirty-two.<sup>55</sup>

The first official American negotiator was Luther Bradish, who returned from İstanbul without much success adding that the negotiation of a treaty could be possible only if all dealings were kept secret to avoid European interference. The Greek uprising and sympathy for the Greeks all over the West, including the United States, was making it very difficult for Secretary Adams to deal with the Ottomans at a time when Washington was disapproving of any assistance to them. In 1823, he secretly appointed a new agent, George Bethune English, who knew Hüsrev Paşa and

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<sup>53</sup> Finnie, pp. 20-45.

<sup>54</sup> Joseph Grabill, Protestant Diplomacy in the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1971, p. 36; Tibawi, p.2.

<sup>55</sup> Orhan F. Köprülü, "Tarihte Türk Amerikan Münasebetleri", Belleten, (Ağustos 1987), p. 933.

spoke some Turkish. He met Hüsrev Paşa and they agreed on the possibility of a secret meeting somewhere in the Aegean islands. Hüsrev Paşa wanted preferably the commander of the Mediterranean Squadron as the US negotiator. After a good deal of struggling with President Monroe and Secretary Adams, English got the commander, Commodore John Rodgers, appointed and the meeting finally took place on July 5, 1826 at Tenedos island near the gate to the Dardanelles. After the cordial meeting, Hüsrev Paşa promised to talk to the Sultan and to give an answer within several months. The answer never came but the Rodgers mission was still significant regarding the impression made by the US navy on the Ottomans and Hüsrev Paşa.<sup>56</sup>

By 1827, Hüsrev Paşa had been promoted to the position of Commander in Chief (*Serasker*), and right after Navarino he sent a friendly letter to Offley, inviting him to İstanbul to discuss the negotiations. Offley realized that at the existence of a treaty of friendship between the two nations, the Ottomans would be allowed to have vessels of war built in the United States, so as to replace those lost at Navarino. Offley and Montgomery Crane, Rodgers' successor, met in İzmir and Offley alone went to İstanbul in November 1828. He gave up in three months, because he was not authorized to decide about the ships that the Ottoman state wanted.<sup>57</sup>

Four days after Offley left, Jackson became president and Martin Van Buren the secretary of state. Buren went into the matter personally and appointed Charles Rhind to travel to the Ottoman capital alone. Rhind met Offley and the new commander of the Mediterranean Squadron, Biddle, in İzmir and went to İstanbul

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<sup>56</sup> Finnie, pp. 55-56.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, p. 57.



alone. To everyone's surprise, on May 7, 1830 he signed the treaty on the basis of full most-favored nation treatment for the United States. When Offley and Biddle joined Rhind, they were totally disillusioned. In addition to not consulting them before the final signature, Rhind had spent \$ 9,000 for presents which he expected to be repaid out of government funds. Plus, he had accepted a secret clause in order to consummate the treaty: the Sultan was granted the privilege of making contracts for cutting timber in the US and building vessels, if he pleased.<sup>58</sup> Biddle and Offley objected to this clause for mainly two reasons. Firstly, it was US policy to establish purely commercial relations with Europe and to avoid political entanglements as declared in the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. Secondly, they argued that the secret clause could impinge on legislation the US Congress might want to enact. In other words, the Congress would not be able to enact legislation forbidding contracts by foreigners for vessels in the United States without breaking the treaty with the Ottoman Empire.<sup>59</sup> However, on May 30, 1830, they signed the treaty deciding that the lesser evil to the nation was to sign. Two days later, Rhind wrote to the secretary of state that it had been necessary to show Mahmud II that something was being granted for the concessions he had made. In the short run, Offley and Biddle proved to be right, for the Senate voted the secret clause down 27 to 18 because it was secret, it impinged on the government's policy of neutrality, and all shipbuilding facilities

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<sup>58</sup> For the English and Turkish texts of the agreement and the secret clause see, Armaoğlu, Fahir, Belgelerle Türk Amerikan Münâsebetleri, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1991); and J. C. Hurewitz, The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics: A Documentary Record, Vol. 1, (New Haven: 1975), pp. 102-105.

<sup>59</sup> Finnie, pp. 60-61.

were required domestically. The remainder of the treaty was ratified by an overwhelming majority.<sup>60</sup>

But the task was not completed, yet. Ratifications had to be exchanged and Buren needed an explanation as to why the treaty was only partially ratified by the US government. Following Rhind's plan, but keeping him out of the picture, a naval architect, Henry Eckford, was provided for the Porte to help rebuild the burnt fleet. In addition, David Porter was appointed as the first US minister with instructions to give personal assurance of naval assistance if required. Before the exchange took place, Porter wrote a formal note to the Porte on Sept. 27, 1831 telling that he would be ready at all times to give friendly advice to the Ottoman government on obtaining battle-ships, and wood and timber for their construction without violating the laws of the United States.<sup>61</sup>

Eventually, Eckford took over the shipyard of the Ottoman navy on the Golden Horn, and began working on a magnificent battleship, the *Mahmud*, described to be the largest vessel in the world. Besides US craftsmen, Eckford's establishment employed about 600 Greeks, "Turks" and Italians.<sup>62</sup> The operations were held entirely under US regulations and control. Indeed, Mahmud II had little alternative trying to rebuild a totally destroyed navy. US ships were of very good quality, and the United States showed no sign of political ambitions in the Mediterranean. It was not only American shipbuilding skill but also its lack of

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., p. 71. What Finnie means by "Turk" is not clear from the text. He might be referring to Muslims or Ottoman subjects in general.

political motives that brought Mahmud to seize on the opportunity created by the American treaty to engage Eckford. Even after Eckford's sudden death from cholera in November 1832, the establishment continued under the leadership of Foster Rhodes who soon became appointed as the constructor in chief. He served until 1839 when the entire Turkish fleet was turned over to Mehmed Ali (to be returned as a result of direct British intervention). Many who came and saw the establishment praised Rhodes' work. A missionary bride, Judith Grant, wrote in 1836: "*He has acquired the confidence of the Sultan to a greater degree than any other foreigner-- is admitted to personal interviews with him and walks arm in arm with him through the garden of the Scraglio.*"<sup>63</sup>

## 2.1 Pioneers to the Ottoman Empire:

The first American missionaries, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, arrived in the Ottoman lands in 1820. The first thing they had to do was to mingle with the local communities and to learn the local languages.<sup>64</sup> They were instructed by Boston to investigate the religious conditions, the position of the local clergy, the conditions of education, and the moral state of the local people. In this letter of instruction, they were referred to as '*soldiers of holy conquest*' and were told to take back the holy lands through a new, unarmed crusade.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>64</sup> As Tibawi pointed out, Parsons and Fisk were graduates of Andover Theological Seminary and apart from their knowledge of theological studies, they were ignorant of the history and languages of the Near East, where Protestantism was by no means acknowledged as superior. This was a serious handicap which was not overcome for several years. See Tibawi, p. 13-16.

<sup>65</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki ...* p. 33, from "Letter to Johnston and Schneider" dated December 1, 1833, in Papers of the ABCFM, ABC 8:1, Vol.2, No 13-22.

Fisk and Parsons travelled in the Ottoman lands, following the main trade routes from İzmir to Jerusalem and Beirut to Alexandria, until Parsons died in 1822. They founded the Syrian Mission with two stations in Malta and Beirut. They entered upon their work with no thought of proselytising<sup>66</sup>, that is they recognized the essential Christian character of the churches and their aim was to introduce a higher conception of what constituted the Christian life rather than a new creed. They found almost absolute ignorance of the Bible; complete domination by the religious hierarchy; and a general feeling that church life was so thoroughly identified with the national life that, to leave the church was to leave the nation, and that every heretic was also a traitor. Anyone placed under the ban, had no rights that anyone was bound to respect, like being baptized or buried, getting married, having a job or going to court for defence.<sup>67</sup>

In 1823, the second group of missionaries arrived in Beirut. One of these missionaries was William Goodell. He reported in 1824 that his group met strong opposition from the local Catholic community and that the British consuls were helping American missionaries overcome such difficulties.<sup>68</sup> Goodell and Isaac Bird

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<sup>66</sup> On the policy of non-proselytism, see Leon Arpee, Armenian Awakening, (Chicago: Chicago UP, 1909), pp. 158-172.

<sup>67</sup> Sonyel, Minorities ..., p. 193; quote from Edwin Bliss, Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities, Philadelphia: 1896, pp. 303-304.

<sup>68</sup> There was natural solidarity between the British and American missionaries due mainly to common language and tradition. Americans were initially greatly dependent on English missionary societies for intelligence, advice and support. See Finnie, pp. 125-128; Tibawi, p. 7. There was also diplomatic support. “*The English consul and his lady have treated us as if we had been their children and by taking us under the wings of their protection and, as it were, identifying our interests with their own, have given us an importance and respectability in the view of the natives [of Beirut] which we could not otherwise have enjoyed.*” Finnie, p. 125; Salt, p. 30. Ironically, American missions developed rapidly and eventually eclipsed the British institutions as sources of Western education and gospel instruction. See, Salt, p. 30.

settled in Beirut, together with their wives, and began to work on the local languages. In 1824, the missionaries founded their first school in Beirut. It started functioning with seven students and after only one year, there were ninety students studying in this school, and in addition, four new schools had been started.<sup>69</sup> However, in 1828 the Syrian Mission was suspended due to the unfavorable conditions which emerged as a consequence of the Ottoman-Russian war. The staff and their Armenian converts<sup>70</sup> moved to Malta where they joined the press staff. In the following years, as a result of Rufus Anderson's 1829 investigation tour and the researches of two missionaries in Asia Minor, Armenia and Persia during 1830-1831<sup>71</sup>, it was decided that the activities be directed towards the Eastern Churches including the Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, Jacobite, Nestorian, Chaldean and Maronite Churches among which the Armenian was believed to be the most promising one.<sup>72</sup> The Prudential Committee in Boston approved of the decision and Goodell was appointed as the commander of the Anatolian mission.<sup>73</sup>

The Goodells moved from Malta to İstanbul in June 1831, a few weeks before David Porter who was appointed as the first American Chargè d'Affaires to Turkey following the Treaty of Navigation and Commerce signed between the two states. Goodell had already studied Arabic and Turkish while he was working in the Syrian

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<sup>69</sup> Kocabasoglu, Anadolu'daki ..., p. 59.

<sup>70</sup> The first converts were Dionysius Carabet and Gregory Wortabet, initially attached to the mission as language teachers and translators, and two European women. See, Tibawi, pp. 35-38.

<sup>71</sup> Eli Smith, "Researches in Armenia" in Papers of the ABCFM, ABC 16.7.3, Reel 535, Vol. 1-2; and H. G. O. Dwight, "Researches in Armenia" in Vol. 3.

<sup>72</sup> Sonyel, Minorities ..., p. 193.

<sup>73</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, Anadolu'daki ..., p. 38.

mission, and he also brought with him a Turkish translation of the New Testament written in Armenian characters which he had prepared with the help of two Armenian priests in Beirut. He was commissioned primarily to work among the Armenians of İstanbul, and he got to work with the collaboration of Dwight who joined him in the summer of 1832. However, after the fire which burnt down their house in Pera, the Goodells were settled in the vicinity of Büyükdere and Ortaköy. This region was populated largely by Greek communities and Goodell inevitably became involved in Greek education. In November 1831, he established four Lancestrian<sup>74</sup> schools for the Greek children -- one in the city and the others in the surrounding villages.<sup>75</sup>

A striking incident in the early 1830s enabled the cooperation of Sultan Mahmud II, Commodore David Porter and the American missionaries. When some “*enemy of the missionaries informed*”<sup>76</sup> the authorities about the new schools for the Greek children, a commission of military officers visited the schools. The word ‘informed’ seems to tell us that at this period, mission schools were being started without any kind of notification, let alone permission, of the Ottoman government. To the missionaries’ surprise, members of the commission were pleased with the new system and it is said that one of the officers even donated 500 *guruş* to the school in

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<sup>74</sup> This kind of schools were initiated in England during the 18th century by a schoolmaster called Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838). See International Encyclopedia of Education, ed. Paul Monroe, (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 1990), Vol. 1B, pp. 356-357. The schools operated based on the principle that brighter students could be used as monitors who would teach what they had been taught to their fellow pupils. In fact, a very similar system had been devised by an Anglican clergyman, Dr. Andrew Bell (1753-1832) during his mission in India. See *Ibid.*, Vol. 3B, pp. 621-622. However, since he was a dissenter, the Americans preferred to follow Lancaster. Stone, Academies..., p. 37.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Arnavutköy.<sup>77</sup> After the investigation, the Sultan decided for the establishment of similar schools at the military barracks in Dolmabahçe and Üsküdar.<sup>78</sup> Under the supervision of an Azim Bey who was appointed to head up the project, and the assistance of the mission staff, two schools were opened and instruction began with about a thousand students. Courses included reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, topographical and military drafting, and astronomy at various levels. Soon, eight military barracks had such schools attended by some 2,000 soldiers. It was mentioned that by 1836 they were being carried out in a splendid style and with remarkable success.<sup>79</sup> These schools were by no means under ABCFM control but the mission staff had stimulated their growth by taking care of all the necessary translations and other requirements for the adaptation of the Lancastrian system to meet the needs of the troops. Porter wrote: “*It has been astonishing; perhaps among the greatest benefits which the Empire has derived from the alliance with the United States, is the means she has acquired of giving instruction to the people.*”<sup>80</sup>

In the second half of the 1830s opposition against Protestant missionaries began to take root among the Greek and Armenian communities. Opposition was generally headed by the religious leaders and/or the wealthy notables as a result of their vested interests in the system. For example, the academy which was started in 1834 for Armenian boys at Pera was soon in dire economic crisis as a result of the declining support of the wealthy Armenians who feared the intervention of the

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<sup>77</sup> Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 38; Finnie, p. 104.

<sup>79</sup> Stone, *Academies...*, p. 38.

<sup>80</sup> Finnie, p. 104.

government. Similarly, in 1836 the Greek ecclesiastical leaders in İzmir forced the suspension of a number of American schools with almost 800 students, despite the community's strong demand for adequate schooling regardless of whom it was provided by.<sup>81</sup> The same year, the patriarch of the Roman Catholic Armenians denounced the Protestant missionaries and their publications.

According to one estimate, in 1836 there were 3 American schools in İstanbul with 120 students 46 of whom were girls. The Bursa station had 200 students, and in İzmir more than 300 students attended the Greek and Armenian schools assisted by the American missionaries.<sup>82</sup>

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Despite the beginning of opposition, from the standpoint of American influence in the Ottoman Empire, the 1830's was a high point. The Americans had made a good beginning. They obviously left a good, at least a preferable, image on the authorities in İstanbul. The American-made ships sailed in the Mediterranean for many years. *“More than the traders, more than the missionaries, these Yankee shipbuilders brought to the East an awesome vision of America's talent and character at a time when the New World was scarcely more than a myth.”*<sup>83</sup> Occupied heavily

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<sup>81</sup> Stone, *Academies...*, p. 41.

<sup>82</sup> Kocabasoglu, *Anadolu'daki ...*, p. 61. Either these estimates did not take into account the Lancelian schools for Greeks, or, by this date they had for some reason ceased to function. The latter is not very unlikely, because the mission schools in general had very high mortality rates. For example, the school for Armenian boys which was opened at Pera in the summer of 1834 was soon taken over by the local community and within a year it collapsed due to the withdrawal of support of the wealthy Armenians. See, Stone, *Academies...*, p. 41.

<sup>83</sup> Finnie, p. 81.



with political and military problems such as the Greek insurrection, the Egyptian crisis and the French occupation of Algiers on one side, and internal reforms on the other, Mahmud II had his reasons to sympathise with the Americans who did not seem to be of any harm to any one at the present time. However, it should be emphasized that the creation of this image was in a minor sense connected with the missionaries. True, Porter and Goodell assisted the establishment of a number of schools for the Sultan's troops. However, they were welcomed in their capacity as educators rather than missionaries seeking proselytism among the subjects of the Empire. It could be argued that the great majority of the Americans who made themselves welcome in İstanbul were engineers, merchants, educators or diplomats rather than missionaries. Due to this favorable perception shaped largely by admiration for technological superiority on the one hand, and the perceived benevolence of the distant American government on the other, the Porte probably did not feel the necessity to develop particular policies relating to the position of American institutions in the Empire.

### The Second Period (1839-1876): Advancement

The promulgation of the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayûnu* (Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber)<sup>84</sup> on 3 November 1839 marks in Ottoman history the beginning of systematic modernization in administration and policy-making. Taken together with the *Islahat Fermanı* (Imperial Edict of Reforms)<sup>85</sup> dated 18 February 1856, it constitutes the period of reform in Ottoman history known as *Tanzimat*<sup>86</sup>, meaning 'regulation and reorganization'.<sup>87</sup> The policy of Ottomanism<sup>88</sup> conceptualized the idea of all reforms drafted in this period. As the official policy of reform, Ottomanism designated "*conferring equal duties and privileges on all Ottoman*

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<sup>84</sup> *Düstür*, 1. Tertib, 1. Cild, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289), pp. 4-7; Hurewitz, Vol. 1, pp. 113-116.

<sup>85</sup> *Düstür*, 1. Tertib, 1. Cild, pp. 8-14; Hurewitz, Vol. 1, pp. 149-153.

<sup>86</sup> See Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, Second Edition, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); Roderick H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963); *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, 31 Ekim-3 Kasım 1989, (Ankara: TTK, 1994); *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Dönemi Semineri - Bildiriler*, 13-14 Mart 1985, (Ankara: TTK, 1987); *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, (Ankara: TTK, 1992); *Tanzimat (I)*, (İstanbul: İstanbul Maarif Matbaası, 1940); Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat*, (Ankara: TTK, 1985); E. Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, Vol. 5, (Ankara: TTK, 1970), 3rd Edition, pp. 169-196.

<sup>87</sup> Salahi R. Sonyel, "Tanzimat and its Effects on the Non-Muslim Subjects of the Ottoman Empire", *Tanzimat'ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, 31 Ekim - 3 Kasım 1989, (Ankara: TTK, 1994), p. 359.

<sup>88</sup> Şükrü Hanioglu, "Osmanlıcılık", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 1985), Vol. 5, pp. 1389-1393.

*subjects under a common citizenship, regardless of their faith and language, but within the Muslim traditions of the Ottoman state*’’.<sup>89</sup>

The *Tanzimat* period provided the favorable atmosphere for the missionaries to prosper in many ways. The reforms, based on the extension of security and equality before the law to non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, included the following: Firstly, the spiritual heads of non-Muslim communities would be able to take direct part in the election of the members of the various tribunals and councils, and to participate in them. Secondly, they would be allowed to intervene with the local authorities and, and if disregarded, represent the case to İstanbul through their official agents (*Kapı Ağası*), expressly appointed by the Porte to be the medium of communication between them. Finally, whatever impediments existed heretofore for the construction of new churches and synagogues, would be removed, and natives and foreigners would be free to construct and consecrate them - a privilege of which they had availed themselves, particularly the foreigners, whose chapels, schools and convents were to be found in most of the populous districts and towns including Christian populations. To this effect the American missionaries fully testified.<sup>90</sup>

The Ottoman government had to deal with a two-fold opposition in carrying out its new policies. In addition to the complaints of the Muslims who felt confused and raged for having to become equal to the infidel, there were the religious communities themselves “*whose intolerance and jealousy of each other, supported by foreign influence, was a matter of notoriety*”.<sup>91</sup> In fear of losing their traditional

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<sup>89</sup> Sonyel, “Tanzimat and Its Effects...”, p. 386.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, p. 370.

privileges and exemptions, religious leaders of the non-Muslim communities turned against the reforms.<sup>92</sup> For example, when the *Islahat Fermanı* was read out and put back into its red pouch, the Greek metropolitan of İzmit remarked: “God grant that it is not taken out of this bag again”.<sup>93</sup> The non-Muslim subjects treated the reforms with equal scepticism. Equality meant not only privileges, but also obligations. They were now liable for military service<sup>94</sup> and equal taxation<sup>95</sup> which followed with the abolition of all exemptions, such as that of Christian religious endowments. It seems that the reforms were far from providing a harmonious social environment in which Muslims and non-Muslims could live together.

As the government feared, each group tried to interpret the reforms from its own perspective.<sup>96</sup> The American missionaries regarded the *Islahat Fermanı* as a charter sanctioning the full range of their activities, and concluded from its sixth article that their way for extensive work among the Muslims had been opened.<sup>97</sup> The

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<sup>91</sup> Ibid., p. 371.

<sup>92</sup> Halil İnalçık, “Tanzimat’ın Uygulanması ve Sosyal Tepkileri”, *Bellekten* XXVIII (1964), No:109-112, p. 632; Karal, Vol. 6, (Ankara: TTK, 1976), 2nd Edition, pp. 7-12; İlber Ortaylı, “Tanzimat Döneminde Tanassur ve Din Değiştirme Olayları”, *Tanzimat’ın 150. Yıldönümü...*, (Ankara: TTK, 1994), pp. 481-487, p. 487; Edward Mead Earle, “American Missions in the Near East”, *Foreign Affairs*, April 1929 (7), p. 400-402.

<sup>93</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, (İstanbul: Hil Yay., 1995), 3rd Edition, p. 103; Sonyel, “Tanzimat and Its Effects...”, p. 368.

<sup>94</sup> In 1863, the Ottoman Council of Ministers (*Meclis-i Vükelâ*) decided to cancel the Christians’ liability for military service. See Karal, Vol. 7, pp. 182-183. This decision aroused mainly from the perceived difficulties of training Christians of different and usually hostile creeds, the language of instruction, religious practices of the various sects, etc. Therefore, they were relieved from military service by the new military tax (*bedel-i askerîyye*) which replaced the poll tax. The Christians were only recruited into the naval forces. See, Sonyel, “Tanzimat and its Effects...”, p. 368.

<sup>95</sup> The unrest created by the new taxation policy was discussed by Halil İnalçık in the case studies of the uprisings in Nish (1841) and Vidin (1850) in “Tanzimat’ın Uygulanması...”, pp. 640-649.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p. 624.

<sup>97</sup> Salt, p. 34.

government's counter argument was that each community was ensured the free exercise of its worship along with the obligation of not hindering or annoying others in the profession of their religion. However, carrying the Gospel to Muslims in the streets of İstanbul was a violation of this obligation. Foreign Minister Ali Paşa pointed out to the distinction between religious toleration and systematic propagandism and said: "*Can it be supposed ... that at the same time she was proclaiming liberty to all non-Mussulman creeds, she (the Sublime Porte) had given them arms against Islamism?*"<sup>98</sup> Proselytism among Muslims did not become an official policy but work among them always continued although on a small scale.<sup>99</sup> In 1878, Hamlin estimated that 50 Muslims had been converted in the past twenty years.<sup>100</sup> This is hardly a great number. However, the abusive and provocative attitude of the missionaries was one of the chief elements blemishing the American image in the Empire.<sup>101</sup>

In what ways was this period of *settlement*, as Kocabaşoğlu<sup>102</sup> calls it, a period of expansion for the American missionaries? First of all, between 1840-1871 the number of missionaries appointed by the Board to Anatolia increased from 13 to

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<sup>98</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>99</sup> On cases of collective and individual conversions, and the related government policies, see Ortaylı, "Tanzimat Döneminde Tanassur ...", pp. 481-487.

<sup>100</sup> Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (London, 1878), p. 91; Salt, p. 35. On the other hand, Kocabaşoğlu wrote that the mission among Muslims was a complete failure: *Söz gelimi Müslümanlar arasından bir çivi bile sökmek mümkün olamadı*. See, Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki...*, p. 76.

<sup>101</sup> Salt uses the word 'provocative' to describe the nature of many of the missionary activities beginning from an early stage. See, Salt, p. 35.

<sup>102</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki ...*, pp. 71-118.

35; missions from 1 to 3<sup>103</sup>; mission stations from 5 to 17; mission out-stations from 2 (this estimate belongs to 1846) to 188; and native helpers from 18 to 372.<sup>104</sup> Secondly, American educational web spread out eastwards from İstanbul to the remote areas of Eastern Anatolia. By 1870, the missionaries had started 4 theological seminaries (74 students), 9 secondary level boarding schools for girls (189 students), and 220 primary schools (5617 students).<sup>105</sup> The third and the most significant expansion was caused by the recognition of the Protestants as a separate *millet*<sup>106</sup> in 1850<sup>107</sup> which provided a turning point in the history of the Board.

As mentioned earlier, the Board had initially adopted a policy of non-proselytism in the Ottoman Empire. The original intention was to ameliorate the “nominal” Christians of the East by introducing them “a higher and more perfect development of Christianity”.<sup>108</sup> The change in policy was due to a number of factors, the chief one being the strength of opposition from the local ecclesiastical leaders. Beginning from an early stage, patriarchs of various sects declared anathema against Protestant missionaries and anything related with them. For example, as early

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<sup>103</sup> In 1860, the Anatolian (Armenian) mission was divided into three and named the Western Turkey Mission, Central Turkey Mission and Eastern Turkey Mission respectively. See map in Kocabaşoğlu *Anadolu'daki ...*, p. 96 This division was closely linked with the Protestant Emancipation of 1850 which will be dealt with separately in the following pages.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>106</sup> The word *millet* does not have the connotation of nationality in this context. It only implies a religious group. On Ottoman *millets* in the nineteenth century, see Roderick H. Davison, “The *Millets* as Agents of Change in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire”, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publications, 1982), pp. 319-337.

<sup>107</sup> “Protestan Milleti Nizamnamesi”, *Düstûr*, 1. tertip, 1. cild, 652-654.

<sup>108</sup> Salt, p. 32.

as 1826 the Maronite patriarch forbade his flock from getting in any kind of relation with the American missionaries. In 1836 the Patriarch of the Roman Catholic Armenians, and in 1839 patriarchs of the Apostolic Armenians and the Greeks followed suit with the threat of excommunication.<sup>109</sup> In 1837, the Gregorian patriarch ordered the parents of all Armenian students enrolled in Protestant schools to withdraw their children from these institutions. A patriarchal circular forbidding all Armenians to participate in any Protestant activity followed this order.<sup>110</sup> Such kind of a ban entailed serious outcomes. The patriarchal anathema forbade all intercourse between the 'pious' and the 'new sectaries'. An excommunicated person would be deprived of all his/her rights and privileges, such as the right to engage in trade (since his license would be taken away by the guild he used to belong to), or to live with his/her family.<sup>111</sup>

Why were the religious leaders of local communities so hostile towards American missionaries? The Armenian community had been subject to intensive propaganda by Catholic missionaries in the previous century. In many occasions the Patriarchate had issued bulls against Papal Armenians. 10,000 Roman Catholic Armenians had been striped off their property and expelled from İstanbul in 1828. Agitation continued until finally in 1830, a separate Armenian Latin church was recognized. The Board's profound commitment to the Armenians understandably disturbed the Patriarchate in fear of similar developments with the Protestants.

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 33; Stone, *Academies...*, p. 51-53.

<sup>110</sup> Sonyel, *Minorities ...*, p. 216.

<sup>111</sup> Arpee, p. 119; Sonyel, *Minorities ...*, p. 216.

Moreover, Protestantism was even more disturbing than Catholicism, because the missionaries were telling people that their traditional practices such as confession, adoration of the Virgin and prayers for the dead were all un-Biblical. They were also disturbing the traditional hierarchies in the community by educating poor Armenians in their schools some of whom later gained upper mobility and threatened the privileged status of the commercial magnates, the *amiras*, who had long been in control of the Patriarchate and did not intend to be replaced by the Protestant upstarts.<sup>112</sup>

As a result of the persisting unrest, a separate constitution was formally adopted by the evangelicals of İstanbul on July 1, 1846. This first Armenian Evangelical Church had forty members, three of which were females, and Absalom Haçaduryan, later called Ütücüyan, was elected the first pastor of this church.<sup>113</sup> Within a short period of time, four petitions requesting the separation of the evangelicals from the Armenian church and the granting of the necessary *berat* (charter) were sent to the Sultan. Due to the mediation of the British embassy, the imperial rescript recognizing the Protestants as a separate community and granting them freedom of conscience and worship was obtained on November 15, 1847.<sup>114</sup> However, it was not until 1850 that the Protestant community was permanently

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<sup>112</sup> Stone, *Academies...*, p. 53.

<sup>113</sup> Arpee, p. 136. For the whole text of the constitution which is made up of 12 articles, see pp. 134-136.

<sup>114</sup> Sonyel, *Minorities ...*, p. 219; Arpee, p. 138.



recognized and their rights and privileges defined in detail by an imperial edict which was publicly read out on December 13, at a popular meeting of the community.<sup>115</sup>

The ten years following the recognition of the Protestant *millet* were times of unprecedented growth for the Armenian missions of the Board. Before emancipation, there were seven mission stations in the Armenian field -- İstanbul, Bebek, Bursa, İzmir, Trabzon, Erzurum and Antep; with outstations in İznik, Adabazarı, Rodosto, Diyarbekir, Urfa and Kayseri. The Armenian mission included eighteen missionaries and twenty female assistant missionaries; five native pastors and one native preacher; twenty native teachers and other helpers; eight churches with about two hundred and forty members; two seminaries with nearly fifty students of both sexes; and seven free schools with one hundred and ten pupils.<sup>116</sup> However, following the edict of 1850 there was increased readiness to listen to the Protestants, and the whole country was opened for missionary 'conquest'. By the year 1860, the field had become so extensive that its subdivision into three separate missions called the Western, Central and Eastern Turkey missions became inevitable. At the beginning of 1860, estimates for the three missions combined were as follows: twenty-three stations; sixty-five outstations; over fifty male missionaries and about as many female assistants; about one hundred and eighty native teachers, preachers and other helpers; forty churches with nearly thirteen hundred members; seven pastors and thirty-three unordained

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<sup>115</sup> It was only after this firman that the Protestant community was authorized to elect a chancellor or civil head. After 1847, they were allowed only to appoint a *vekil* who was to serve under the title of *Kapu Ođlanı* or Agent at the Porte. See, Arpee, p. 138. The Protestant Charter of 1847, Imperial Protestant Charter of 1850 and Imperial Firman of 1853 which was issued for the insurance of the strict enforcement of the previous charters are available in English in E. D. G. Prime, Forty Years in the Turkish Empire (or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D. D., (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1877), pp. 483-485.

<sup>116</sup> Arpee, p. 146.

preachers; two schools of higher learning with about ninety students of both sexes, and one hundred free schools with almost twenty-eight hundred pupils.<sup>117</sup>

After the recognition of the Protestants, the Board's resources were totally directed towards the Armenians. Why were the Armenians chosen, and why were the missions to the Greeks and Jews terminated? It is true that the missions to the Greeks and Jews of the Ottoman Empire never proved as successful as that among the Armenians. To begin with, the Greek Insurrection and the connected suspicion of the Ottoman government toward its Greek subjects made work among the Greeks very difficult for the missionaries. Members of the Greek clergy were uneasy about the hanging of Patriarch Gregory V along with fourteen members of his Holy Synod in 1821, and they did not want to get entangled with the Americans in fear of a similar intervention by the government. For example, they had forced the Board schools in İzmir to close down in 1836 which enrolled as many as eight hundred students.<sup>118</sup> Likewise, the major opposition came from the Greek clerics to the school started by the Schneiders in Bursa in the 1830s. True, the Lancestrian system had worked perfectly with the Greeks who were operating more than thirty schools of this type in İstanbul in the 1830s. They had even started a school for the education of teachers to go into the system in the Galata section of the city. These cheap Lancestrian schools appealed to the 'poverty stricken'<sup>119</sup> Greek Patriarchate in providing the community with alternative schools since enrollment in foreign schools were strictly restricted.

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<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 147-148. For the chief results of the Protestant reformation in the Armenian church, see pp. 150-155.

<sup>118</sup> Stone, Academies..., p. 41.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

However, the Board was not able to develop an educational program for the Greeks. In 1844, the Greek mission was terminated<sup>120</sup> and attention was focused on the Armenians, the official name of the mission becoming Mission to the Armenians. For similar reasons of set-backs, the Jewish mission was likewise terminated in 1856<sup>121</sup> after the Chief Rabbi of İzmir got the converted school teacher arrested by the Ottoman authorities. The efforts which had previously been started among the Jews of İstanbul, Selânik and İzmir were turned over to British and Scottish missionaries. At a time when it suffered from a shortage of both money and personnel due to the American Civil War, the Board decided to utilize all the available means for the Armenians. In 1856, the Mission to the Armenians was split into two. The Southern Armenian Mission consisted of the stations in Antep, Maraş and Antakya; and the North included İstanbul, İzmir, Trabzon, Erzurum, Kayseri, Tokat, Sivas, Arabkir and Harput.<sup>122</sup> Their initial contacts with the Armenians had taught the missionaries that urban Armenians had already progressed past the basic level of literacy training. Contact with the West had caused their educational situation to be much better than the other subjects of the Empire. One of the missionaries wrote: “*The Armenians were found to be well supplied with spelling books, reading-books, arithmetics and grammars in the modern languages, also with works on geometry and trigonometry. There was, therefore, much less preparatory work to be done for them in the way of education than was supposed.*”<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>121</sup> Earle, p. 400; Stone, Academies..., pp. 44-45.

<sup>122</sup> Kocabaşoğlu Anadolu'daki ..., p. 94-95.

<sup>123</sup> Stone, Academies..., p. 39.

This quotation is reminiscent of the argument that the missionaries were originally committed to the spread of the Biblical faith which required the diffusion of literacy, and gaining access to as many people as possible. As one missionary put it, '*of what use are books to people who can't read?*'.<sup>124</sup>

If emancipation was one turning point in the acceleration of the activities of the missionaries, the extension of American diplomatic security to its citizens in the Empire was another. Prior to 1840s, David Porter argued that there was no article in the 1830 treaty which allowed the missionaries to proselytise, and thus he was not authorized to take part with the missionaries in disputes vis-à-vis the government. In 1841, upon the complaint of the Maronite Patriarch to the government, the entire American presence in the Mount Lebanon region was put under threat. Once more David Porter repeated his argument and declared that "*any attempt to excite the mind of the inhabitants to change their rites and religion must be done at their [the missionaries'] own risk and on their own responsibility*".<sup>125</sup> Upon the protests of the missionaries, American Secretary of State Daniel Webster instructed Porter that "*that aid and protection to which they feel themselves entitled*" should be provided for the missionaries as American citizens.<sup>126</sup> This was an encouraging development for the missionaries and their future activities were marked by increased boldness and aggressiveness.<sup>127</sup> As Arpee put it, as far as a policy of non-proselytism had been a matter of expediency it was then flung to the winds.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p. 45.

<sup>125</sup> Arpee, p. 169; Salt, p. 33; Finnie, p. 127.

<sup>126</sup> See Arpee, pp. 168-169 (whole text of the dispatch dated February 2, 1842); Tibawi, pp. 95; Salt, p.33.

Various aspects of American missionary expansion as discussed above, did not escape the attention of the Ottoman authorities. Particularly following the recognition of the Protestant *millet*, and the declaration of the *Islahat Fermanı*, Ottoman perception of the Americans began to be seriously challenged. Instead of the respected engineers and educators of the 1830s, the government was now dealing with men of an inferior religion, carrying away hundreds of its subjects including even some Muslims. Their churches and schools were spreading rapidly in the remote areas of Anatolia. The *Islahat Fermanı* which was after all intended to ‘reform’ the existing social order, was becoming in turn a weapon turned against the Sultan, as “*the Magna Charta [sic] of the subject races of Turkey and a yardstick by which the Ottomans could be judged*”.<sup>129</sup>

As suspicion began to replace admiration, the Ottoman government did not hesitate to take preventive measures against American missionaries in cases of perceived threat. For example, beginning with 1864 the government began to interfere with the distribution of publications, severely limiting the places of sale. In addition, it was required that foreigners become subject to the jurisdiction of Ottoman law and courts in order to be allowed for publication.<sup>130</sup> Similarly, in 1867 the Porte announced that foreigners would have to conform to Ottoman police

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<sup>127</sup> The United States government granted more protection to its citizens in the Empire as it became increasingly involved in the Near East towards the end of the nineteenth century. The İstanbul officer was given ambassadorial rank in 1906, and the Division of Near Eastern Affairs within the State Department was organized three years later. See Grabil, p. 38.

<sup>128</sup> Arpee, p. 169.

<sup>129</sup> Salt, p. 37-38.

<sup>130</sup> *Matbû'ât Nizâmnâmesi, Düstûr*, 1. Tertib, 2. Cild, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1289), pp. 220-226.

regulations, submitting to Ottoman jurisdiction and paying the usual taxes in order to own real estates; thus forswear their capitulatory privileges.<sup>131</sup>

### 3.1 Initial Attempts at Educational Reform:

The idea of educational reform in the Ottoman Empire began to develop in the first half of the nineteenth century. An imperial decree issued by Mahmud II dated 1240 (1824/1825), and the memorandum (*tezkire*) prepared by the *Meclis-i Umûr-ı Nâfi* (Council of Public Works) in 1838, stressed the need to spread primary education in the Empire and establish primary education as a legal obligation for all Ottoman subjects.<sup>132</sup> After the return of Reşit Paşa to his post as the minister of foreign affairs in 1845, an imperial decree was issued by Abdülmecit in which it was stated that the entire reform project, excluding the military aspects, had been misinterpreted and misimplemented by government officials, due primarily to the poor condition of education in the country.<sup>133</sup> Following this decree, a temporary commission for inquiring the situation of schools in the Empire was set up. The commission submitted a report in August 1846 in which the members proposed the establishment of a state system of education outside the control of the *ulemâ* and the

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<sup>131</sup> Ecânibin emlâka mutasarrıf olmaları hakkında nizâm-nâme, *Düstûr*, 1. Tertib, 1. Cild, pp. 230-236.

<sup>132</sup> Mahmud Cevad ibnü's-Şeyh Nâfi, *Maarif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti Tarihce-i Teşkilâtı ve İcraatı*, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1338), pp. 1-20; Ali Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilatında Reform (1836-1856)*, (İstanbul: Eren Yay., 1993), pp. 222-226; Faik Reşit Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış*, (Ankara: MEB, 1964), pp. 81-89; Bayram Kodaman and Abdullah Saydam, "Tanzimat Devri Eğitim Sistemi", *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız, (Ankara: TTK, 1992), pp. 476, 480-483; Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, (İstanbul: Doğu-Batı Yayınları, 1978), pp. 174-179; Tekeli and İlkin, pp. 62-63; Tekeli, pp. 466-467.

<sup>133</sup> Mahmud Cevad, p. 30; Tekeli and İlkin, pp. 63-64; Lewis, pp. 113-114; Davison, *Reform...*, pp. 244-245.

foundation of a commission of public education.<sup>134</sup> *Meclis-i Maarif-i Umumiye* was immediately set up, and it evolved into the Ministry of Education in 1857.<sup>135</sup>

The *Tanzimat* statesmen were not unaware of the extent of the educational problem. They were conscious of the qualitative gap between the state schools and some of the non-Muslim *millet* schools and foreign schools. For example, Midhat Paşa<sup>136</sup> evaluated the educational situation in the province of Syria as follows: Whereas on the one hand, the non-Muslims acquired a solid knowledge of crafts and literature in the various French, British and American schools, on the other hand, the Muslim population constituting about 80% of the population in the province was left in ignorance. He wrote that in some of the towns there was only an old secondary school, but no primary schools, let alone any higher level institutions.<sup>137</sup>

Therefore, the problem could not be confined to increasing the number of schools. Reforms had to include the improvement of the quality of education with improved curricula and staff. Moreover, the celebrated policy of Ottomanism necessitated the promotion of mixed schools for Muslims and non-Muslims to create

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<sup>134</sup> Mahmud Cevad, pp. 6-20, 27; Unat, pp. 81-89; Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)*, (İstanbul: MEB, 1970), pp. 52-55.

<sup>135</sup> Mahmud Cevad, pp. 20-30, 109; Unat, pp. 89-90; Akyıldız, pp. 231-249; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Tanzimat Öncesi ve Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Bilim ve Eğitim Anlayışı", *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, pp. 364-366; Kodaman and Saydam, pp. 477-479; Nafi Atuf (Kansu), *Türkiye Maarif Tarihi*, (Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi, 1931), pp. 88-90; Rıza Kardeş, "Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı'nın İlk Kuruluşu", *Türk Kültürü*, 17.195.1979, pp. 161-166; Hasan Ali Koçer, *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin...*, pp. 63-64.

<sup>136</sup> Roderick H. Davison, "Midhat Paşa", *EF*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), Vol. VI, pp. 1031-1035; and M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, (İstanbul: MEB, 1971), Vol. 8, pp. 270-282.

<sup>137</sup> Ali Haydar Midhat, *Midhat Paşa. Tabsıra-i İbret*, (İstanbul: Hilal Matbaası, 1325), pp. 209; Atuf (Kansu), pp. 137-138; Necdet Sakaoğlu, "Eğitim Tartışmaları", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye...*, Vol. 2, p. 481.

a common sense of loyalty.<sup>138</sup> This was considered by a special commission discussing the reforms of 1856, and it was decided that to have non-Muslim children in Ottoman schools was better than letting them enroll in foreign schools.<sup>139</sup>

The perceived need for educational reform and the policy of Ottomanism culminated in the declaration of the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*)<sup>140</sup> which was a conscious attempt at ratiouzing the system by integrating and centralizing all types and levels of education from the elementary to the university level. The Regulation was prepared by the *Şûrâ-yı Devlet Maarif İdâresi* (Office of Education under the Council of State) under the leadership of Sadullah Paşa, under French influence. In 1867, some of the European governments had proposed alternative projects for educational reform in the Empire and the Ottoman administrators had favored the plan prepared by the French minister of education.<sup>141</sup> Sultan Abdülaziz's visit to Paris in 1867 seems to have played an important role in this choice.<sup>142</sup> Consisting of 198 articles, the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education stands as the first serious attempt at systematizing education and the administration of schools in the Ottoman Empire, as well as in the history of modern Turkish education. Prior to these regulations, there was not a legal basis for

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<sup>138</sup> İlhan Tekeli, "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Eğitim Sistemindeki Değişmeler", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye...*, Vol. 2, p. 466.

<sup>139</sup> Davison, *Reform...*, p. 246.

<sup>140</sup> *Düstur*, Tertip:1, Cild:2, pp. 184-219, Mahmud Cevad, pp. 469-509; Unat, pp.92-119; Atuf (Kansu), pp. 129-140; Tekeli and İlkin, pp. 67-68; Vahapoğlu, pp. 82-87; Koçer, pp. 82-118; Tekeli, pp. 469-470.

<sup>141</sup> Karal, Vol. 7, (Ankara: TTK, 1977), 2nd Edition, pp. 199-200; Kodaman and Saydam, p. 486; İhsanoğlu, p. 387; Tekeli and İlkin, p. 65; Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, (Ankara: A. Ü. Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Yay., 1982), pp. 111-112.

<sup>142</sup> Cemal Kutay, *Sultan Abdülaziz'in Avrupa Seyahati*, (İstanbul: Boğaziçi Yay., 1991), PP. 37-46.



either the foundation of schools by foreigners, or their restriction by the government. We will now try to briefly discuss those articles which refer to the functioning of foreign schools in the Sultan's domains.

In the first article, schools were divided into two as public schools (*mekâtib-i 'umûmiyye*) and private schools (*mekâtib-i husûsiyye*). Foreign schools were included in the second group. Following this categorization, the Ottoman state claimed all rights and responsibilities regarding public schools. However, the responsibility of founding and administrating private schools rested with their founders. It was stated in the same article that regarding private schools, the Ministry of Education had only the right of inspection.

At the primary (*sıbyan*) and junior secondary (*rüşdiye*) levels of education, Muslims and non-Muslims were required to attend separate schools where religion would be taught by each community's own clergy, and some courses including the history and geography of the Ottoman Empire would be instructed in the vernaculars. This regulation later provided one of the limitations on the Ministry of Education in inspecting minority schools and the content of the courses.<sup>143</sup> At higher levels of education, Muslim and non-Muslim subjects could attend the same schools provided that they met the requirements for acceptance.<sup>144</sup>

Article 129 regulated the foundation of private schools and was the most significant one with respect to foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire. Private schools were defined as those founded by Ottoman subjects or citizens of foreign

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<sup>143</sup> See articles 3-32.

<sup>144</sup> See articles 33-53.

countries and which generally required tuition fees. Founders were directly responsible for all the expenses relating to their schools. There were three requirements which enabled legal foundation of private schools in the Empire:

1. All teachers who were to teach in private schools had to get a diploma, *şehâdctnâme*, from the Ministry of Education or the Educational Directorates in the provinces, *vilâyet*.<sup>145</sup> Those teachers who already possessed official diplomas were required to get approvals before starting new jobs in private schools.<sup>146</sup>

2. Programs, text books and curricula of private schools had to be examined and approved by state authorities to prevent any teaching contradicting the established morals.

3. After the above-mentioned approval, an official license, *ruşat-ı resmîyye*, had to be issued for each private school.

Unless these three requirements were met, no private school would be allowed to operate . Those schools established before 1869 had to meet these requirements as well, in order to function legally. Article 130 forbade arbitrary physical punishment of students for their misbehaviour or laziness in public and private schools.

Members of the commission preparing the Regulation were aware of the need to establish an effective control mechanism to make the system function, properly. The second chapter of the Regulation, dealing with administrative issues, regulated

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<sup>145</sup> The word *vilayet* is used to indicate the administrative unit composed of smaller units called *sancak* and *kaza*.

<sup>146</sup> On the employment of teachers, see Yahya Akyüz, *Öğretmenlerin Toplumsal Değişmedeki Etkileri. (1848-1940)*, (Ankara: Doğan Basımevi, 1978).

the foundation of a council of education called *Meclis-i Kebir-i Maarif* (The Grand Assembly of Education) in the capital and subordinate councils called *Meclis-i Maarif* (Council of Education) in the provinces. Each provincial council would be composed of Muslims and non-Muslims in equal numbers, and would be governed by a director of education (*maarif müdürü*). These councils were given the responsibility of executing the regulations in the provinces and provincial subdivisions. One of the chief duties of the provincial councils were to keep under inspection all kinds and levels of schools. In cases of necessity, two additional inspectors, one of them being non-Muslim, could be appointed in the provincial subdivisions.<sup>147</sup> However, this new structure of administration, and the stipulations of the Regulation of 1869 in general, could not be realized until the early 1880s. This was primarily due to the lack of qualified personnel to implement the new structure of organization in the provinces, as well as the deficiencies of the period of political instability between 1871 and 1876.<sup>148</sup>

Despite its comprehensive scope, the Regulation of 1869 did not include any stipulations on the schools of crafts (*sanat okulları*) in the Empire. The first example of these schools, which later became increasingly important as a means of impairing the influence of foreign schools on Ottoman subjects, was opened in 1847 in order to train students for the production of cotton required for the textile factory to be opened in İstanbul, this being called *Amel-i Ziraat Mektebi* (School of Agricultural Works). American and French experts were invited to teach at this school, however it was

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<sup>147</sup> See articles 131-152.

<sup>148</sup> Selçuk Akşin Somel, Das Grundschulwesen in den Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches Während der Herrschaftsperiode Abdülhamids II (1876-1908), (Egelsbach: Hansel-Hohenhausen, 1995), p. 62.

closed down after a few years.<sup>149</sup> Another attempt was made in 1848 by Barutçubaşı Dadyan Efendi (Director of the government powder mills) who founded a workshop in the gun powder factory at Zeytinburnu, but this effort turned out to be a failure, as well.<sup>150</sup> What proved to be more enduring was Midhat Paşa's reformatories (*islahaneler*). He founded the first reformatory for the orphans in Niş (1860)<sup>151</sup>, a second one in Rusçuk (1864) and a third one designed for girls<sup>152</sup> in the same town (1865).<sup>153</sup> Similar schools were started in Sofya, Selanik, Şam, İzmir, Bursa, Kastamonu, Bosna, Trablusgarb. Trabzon, İşkodra, Erzurum and Diyarbakir<sup>154</sup> and an inspectorate was founded in the province of Tuna.<sup>155</sup> Although they were called differently, these were in essence schools of crafts in which handicrafts such as tailoring, shoe making, cart making, typesetting, lithography and weaving were taught.<sup>156</sup> In 1862, a commission for the development of crafts (*Islah-ı Sanayi Komisyonu*)<sup>157</sup> was established and the initiation of a big school at Sultanahmet in

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<sup>149</sup> Ergin, Vol. 1-2, pp. 564-570, 627; Tekeli and İlkin, p. 72; Bayram Kodaman, "Tanzimat'dan II, Meşrutiyet'e Kadar Sanayi Mektepleri", *Türkiye'nin Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihi (1071-1920)*, eds. Osman Okyar and Halil İnalçık, (Ankara: Meteksan, 1980), p. 288; Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>150</sup> Ergin, pp. 627-628; Unat, pp. 80a-80b; Tekeli and İlkin, p. 72.

<sup>151</sup> Nejat Göyünç, "Midhat Paşa'nın Niş Valiliği Hakkında Notlar ve Belgeler", *İ. Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi*, No: 12, 1981-1982, pp. 279-316; Ergin, p. 628.

<sup>152</sup> Ergin, p. 686; Unat, p. 80d.

<sup>153</sup> Ergin, p. 629; Atuf (Kansu), pp. 121-124; Tekeli and İlkin, p. 72; Karal, Vol. 7, pp. 210-211.

<sup>154</sup> Unat, p. 80b, 13ff; Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, p. 117; Koçer, 69.

<sup>155</sup> Unat, p. 80b; Kodaman, "Tanzimat'dan ...", p. 288.

<sup>156</sup> Ergin, pp. 628-629; Atuf (Kansu), p. 122.

<sup>157</sup> Adnan Giz, "Islah-ı Sanayi Komisyonu", *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyete Türkiye ...*, Vol. 5, pp. 1360-1362; Ergin, pp. 629-631, ; Sakaoğlu, p. 481.

which nineteen different crafts would be taught was planned.<sup>158</sup> This school called *Mekteb-i Sanayi* was started in 1868, with the help of the personal commitment of Midhat Paşa as the head of the Council of State.<sup>159</sup> The administration of the school was arranged by the regulations dated November 17, 1868.<sup>160</sup> A separate set of regulations had already been formulated for the administration of the schools of crafts in the provinces.<sup>161</sup> In 1870, a separate school of crafts for girls called *Kız Sanayi Mektebi* was started at Yedikule<sup>162</sup> where the duration of education was seven years, including *iptidai* and *rüşdî* classes.<sup>163</sup> In 1874, there were 420 male and 150 female students in the schools in İstanbul.<sup>164</sup> In addition, between 1878 and 1879 three more schools for girls began to function at Üsküdar, Aksaray and Cağaloğlu areas in İstanbul.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Midhat, pp. 62-63; Ergin, pp. 633-634; Unat, p. 80b; Koçer, p. 69.

<sup>159</sup> Midhat, pp. 62-63; Unat pp. 80b-80c; Ergin, pp. 629-631; Akyüz, Türk Eğitim Tarihi, p. 117; Karal, Vol. 7, pp. 211.

<sup>160</sup> Düstûr, 1. Tertip, 1. Cilt, pp. 258-276; Ergin, p. 635.

<sup>161</sup> Düstûr, 1. Tertip, 2. Cilt, pp. 277-295.

<sup>162</sup> Ergin, p. 686; Atuf (Kansu), p. 122; Tekeli and İlkin, pp. 72-73; Unat, p. 80e; Akyüz, Türk Eğitim Tarihi, p. 118.

<sup>163</sup> Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maarif-i Umûmiyye. 1314, (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire), p. 295

<sup>164</sup> Karal, Vol. 7, pp. 211.

<sup>165</sup> Ergin, pp. 686-696.

On the whole, the Regulation of 1869 was important because it displayed the government's conscious attempt at establishing a centralized system of education, including not only public schools but minority and foreign schools, as well. This policy of centralization in education was in perfect tune with the period's celebrated policy of Ottomanization. Since the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire constituted the majority of the students in foreign schools, the ideal of Ottomanism could only be achieved by incorporating foreign schools into the system. Paradoxically, the missionaries contradicted this policy, because they established parochial institutions serving particular minority groups, thus promoting awareness of distinctive cultures. They contributed to the growth of nationalism educationally and culturally, not politically, but this was no less effective in undermining the policy of Ottomanization.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Davison, Reform..., 88; Daniel, pp. 110-111.

### The Third Period (1876-1908): Dire Straits

The reign of Abdülhamid II signalled the beginning of a new period in the history of reciprocal relations between the Americans and the Ottoman government. The beginning of the first constitutional period signified a new step taken in the way of further liberties in the Empire. However, it was quite short-lived and Abdülhamid II's autocratic rule continued for some thirty years, bringing the *Tanzimat* period to an end.<sup>167</sup> Ironically, it was in this period that significant attempts at reforming the educational system were inaugurated. Archival evidence suggest that this idea of reform in education was closely related with the existence and condition of foreign schools in the Empire.

The early years of Abdülhamid's reign was quite perplexed due to the political instability created by the temporary constitutional experience, in addition to the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian war and the beginning of the financial crisis which finally led to the seizure of the government's primary sources of income by the Europeans. In fact, the Hamidian rule was substantiated only after the 1880s and it

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<sup>167</sup> For the period of Abdülhamid, see Karal, Vol. 8, (Ankara: TTK, 1983), 2nd Edition; Orhan Kolođlu, *Abdülhamid Gerçeđi*, (İstanbul: Gür Yay., 1987); Ali Fuat Türkgeldi, *Mesâil-i Mühimme-i Siyâsiyye*, ed. Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, Vol. I-III, (Ankara: TTK, 1957-1966); Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol. 2, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Lewis, pp. 173-207; Ahmet Rasim, *İki Hatırat Üç Şahsiyet*, (İstanbul: Çağdaş Yay., 1976); Sultan Abdülhamid, *Siyasi Hatıratım*, (İstanbul: Dergah Yay., 1987), 5th edition.

was after 1881 that the administrative structure defined in the Regulation of 1869 began to be implemented.<sup>168</sup> Prior to this date, there were very few successful attempts such as the foundation of councils of education in the provinces of Tuna and Bağdat in 1872.<sup>169</sup>

A memorandum sent from the Ministry of Public Education to the Porte on December 23, 1881 suggests that one of the primary aims of founding councils of education in the provinces was to gain the upper hand in the education of the non-Muslim subjects and to prevent teaching contrary to the established policies of the government. This was an urgent necessity, because the foreigners were making use of the shortcomings of the system and the failure of the implementation of the Regulation of 1869, thus manipulating the education of the non-Muslims in the Empire. It was argued that they did this by beguiling and deceiving the honored purpose of spreading knowledge and skills.<sup>170</sup> To diminish foreign influence, it was suggested that the state finance the needs of the minority schools. This kind of funding could increase the actual degree of state control over the schools. In addition, the foundation of local councils of education had to be hastened, beginning with those provinces in which the foreigners were influential and the condition of education was relatively poor, such as Diyarbekir, Mamuretü'l-Aziz, Sivas and Van.<sup>171</sup> By 1883, councils of education had been founded in Edirne, Suriye, Aydın Selanik, Yanya and Manastır, in addition to the above-mentioned provinces.<sup>172</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Somel, p. 62.

<sup>169</sup> Bayram Kodaman, Abdülhamid Devri Eğitim Sistemi, (Ankara: TTK, 1991), p. 27; Somel, p. 62.

<sup>170</sup> "... neşr-i ilm ü marifet vazife-i muhteremesine rû-pûş-i hile ve mekidet ederek..." Somel, p. 63, narrated from Aziz Berker, Türkiye'de İlköğretim. I: 1839-1908, (Ankara: 1945).



There exists three major reports relating to the position of foreign schools in the Empire, which deal primarily with the existing Protestant American schools and institutions.<sup>173</sup> The earliest one, dated 1309/1893, is a report prepared by the Minister of Education Ahmed Zühdü Paşa<sup>174</sup> who served for the ministry between 1891 and 1902. His report on American Protestant schools in the Ottoman Empire<sup>175</sup> was sent to the Secretary of the Imperial Chancellery (*Mâbeyn-i Humâyûn Baş Kitâbeti*) on July 20, 1309.<sup>176</sup> The first part of the report consisted of the information collected mainly from the Educational Directorates (*Maarif Müdürlükleri*) in the provinces, *vilayets*, upon the order of the Sultan. We learn from the report that in 1893 there were a total of 392 Protestant and American schools in the Ottoman Empire for girls and boys at various levels, 108 of which were established during Abdülhamid's reign. Despite the requirements of the Regulation of 1869, only 51 of them had taken official licenses from the government. The minister observed that this was the result of the negligence and carelessness which prevailed among Ottoman officials.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid., pp. 63-64.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>173</sup> A fourth report commonly mentioned in secondary sources was prepared by Mihran Boyacıyan in 1892, and dealt mainly with the situation in Beyrut accounting for the competition between the French, British and the Germans in the province of Beyrut.

<sup>174</sup> For his life and services, see; Atilla Çetin, "Maarif Nâzırı Ahmed Zühdü Paşa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Yabancı Okullar Hakkında Raporu", *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 10-11, 1983, p. 189-201.

<sup>175</sup> BOA, YEE 35-232-100-102 (See Appendix No. 1). See also Yahya Akyüz, "Abdülhamit Devrinde Protestan Okullarıyla İlgili Orijinal İki Belge", *A. Ü. Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, Vol. 3, No. 1-4, 1970, pp. 121-130.

<sup>176</sup> This date is obviously in *Mâlî* form. Therefore, to take it as 1891, as it appears in some sources, is incorrect. The exact date would be August 1, 1893.

<sup>177</sup> "... 341 'adedi mahalleri me'mûrîn-i hükümetiniñ müsâmahasından bi'l-istifâde vaktiyle bilâ-ruḥşat te'sîs ve küşâd olunmuşlardır". BOA, YEE 35-232-100-102. In another report, he wrote: "...bu haller vaktiyle mahalleri hükümet me'mûrlarının gösterdikler gallet ve 'adem-i dikkatleri

working enthusiastically to impose their own faith into the minds of innocent Ottoman subjects.<sup>180</sup>

One of the most significant implications of the report is that the state was unable to inspect American schools within its boundaries. Zühdü Paşa explained that government inspectors were prevented from entering American schools for inspection, and that the inspectors were told they had to apply to the related consulates and embassies.<sup>181</sup>

The minister proposed as a solution the systematization and legalization of the American schools by way of issuing official licenses for all of them. Only in this way, he argued, the schools could be claimed to have the legal obligation to abide by the requirements of the Regulation of 1869. However, as quoted in the footnotes, foreign embassies were interfering in the process, putting forward that they had the right of protection over their subjects and property. Zühdü Paşa believed that due to the inefficiency of the system, children were being educated and their minds shaped by the foreigners who taught them about Western traditions and way of life. Accordingly, after graduation they did not suit to the Ottoman society any more. Unless foreign schools were somehow incorporated into the Ottoman educational

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<sup>180</sup> He wrote: "... mekâtib-i mezkûreniñ te'sis ve küşâdından maqşadları şüret-i zâhirede 'âlem-i medeniyyete neşr ü i'lân êtdikleri gibi mañzâ envâr-ı 'ulûm u ma'ârifîñ kıı'a-i cesîme-i şarkîde ve huşûsiyle memâlik-i mañrûsede neşr ve tamamiyle cem'iyyet-i beşeriyyeniñ zulmet ü cehâlet ü nâdânîden kurtarılması fikr-i insâniyyet perverânesine hiç bir vakit müstenit olmayub ... talebe-i ma'sûme-i tebe'aniñ zihinlerini kendi mezheb ve meşreblere i'mâl ve tahvili..." YEE 35-232-100-102.

<sup>181</sup> "... Şâyed bir dereceye kadar meslek ve revişlerinin hakâyıkına kesb-i vuqûf etmek mütâla'asıyla hükümet me'mûrları ve ma'ârif müfettişleri mektebin birisine gitmek isterler ise, mektebe kabûl êtmedikten başka, müdür ve mü'essis ve mu'allim ve mu'allimelerin mensûb oldukları konsoloshânelere ve oradan selârâta mürâca'at olunması lüzûmunu bi'l-beyân, haqq-ı teltîş kapusını kapayarak ecvibe i'tâsından imtinâ êtdikleri her gün tesâdüf olunan vuqû'atdandır". YEE 35-232-100-102.

necessary license from the government. However, these numbers were far from being exact. In the first place, if some kind of education by foreigners was being offered in an existing building, such as someone's house for example, and the founders had not appealed to the government for a permit, then it could be quite unlikely for the authorities to figure out exactly what kind and level of education was given in that particular place. Secondly, if the founders had applied for a construction permit and they were granted a license, then the authorities knew of a school but, as Zühdü Paşa pointed out, they lacked the means to check what kind of a school was built, if it was built at all.<sup>187</sup>

Theoretically, for a new building to be constructed and any institution to be started by foreigners, in the first place the Sultan's permission and order (*irâde-i seniyye*) for construction had to be issued. This permission would be issued upon the founders' applications and after an investigation had been carried out. Consequently, an Imperial order (*emr-i âli*) containing the building permit would be arranged.<sup>188</sup>

Zühdü Paşa's proposals for providing a better and more effective policy for the inspection of foreign schools were as follows:

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<sup>187</sup> This was a serious handicap, because most often American schools had their attachments, such as orphanages, kindergardens or workshops as well as a church and sometimes a press. During the rule of Abdülhamid II, which was a period of various limitations on behalf of the missionaries, it was not unlikely that the founders of schools applied for one permit instead of asking for separate licenses for each insitution. As this was the case, the statistical information about American property in the Ottoman Empire could not be trusted.

<sup>188</sup> "...Memâlik-i şâhâncede ecnebler tarafından mekteb ve emsâli müessesât te'sisi ve inşâsı hakkında ahden sarâhat ve salâhiyet olmayub mücerred müsâ'ade-i mahsûsadan ve o gibi müessesât inşâsı için vuku' bulan müsted'ayât ve mültemesât üzerine tedkikât icrâsıyla bi'l-istizân İrâde-i seniyye şeref-müte'allik buyurulur ise inşâyâ mutazammın emr-i âli tanzîm ve tasdîrinden ibâret olmasıyla Divân-ı hümâyûnce ma'lûm ve mukayyed olan mekâtib-i ecnebiyye bi'l-hassa inşâ olunanlara münhasır ve fermân-ı âli isdârından sonra bunların yapılıb yapılmadığı meçhul olduğu gibi..." Çetin, p. 194.

1. In the first place, the employment of foreign teachers, especially of Greek, Serbian and Rumanian origin, in non-Muslim minority schools had to be prevented.

2. The foundation of foreign schools had to be strictly prevented in places that lacked a sufficient number of foreign children who needed education.<sup>189</sup> Official licenses were to be issued only if this requirement was met and in addition, only if the founders accepted regular inspection by the government authorities. In addition, all Ottoman subjects, Muslim and non-Muslim alike, had to be prevented from attending foreign schools. Those Ottoman subjects already attending foreign schools would have to continue until the necessary measures were taken to handle this problematic situation.

3. The instruction of Ottoman Turkish<sup>190</sup> in public and private schools alike had to be secured. By starting training schools (*darü't-ta'lim*) for non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, where they would be instructed by trust-worthy non-Muslim graduates of Ottoman schools, students would be educated in Ottoman Turkish as well as their own language and religion. According to Zühdü Paşa, if this kind of an education could be provided for the non-Muslim minorities then a common sense of loyalty among Muslims and non-Muslims could be achieved, and thus the inclination toward foreign schools could be limited, if not totally discarded.

4. In places like İzmir, Beyrut, Selânik, Suriye and Halep which were among the provinces most vulnerable to foreign influences, additional agents to help the directors of education were to be appointed. These agents would have to be chosen

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<sup>189</sup> See also; BOA, Ya. Res. 122/88 [Nisan - Ağustos 1319 (1903)].

<sup>190</sup> For the situation in the early twentieth century, see; Richard Preuser, "Enebi Mekteplerinde Türkçe Tedrisâtı", *Muallimler Mecmuası*, Sayı 46, 1926 Kânûn-ı Evvel, pp. 1960-1964.

among the Muslims and they would have to be skillful in foreign languages. In addition, these agents and the directors of education would have common responsibility to inspect schools and thus provide a regular policy of inspection.

5. Finally, the minister reminded the Sultan of the problem of foreign officials as a barrier to the establishment of governmental control over foreign schools which had constituted one of the major points of his previous report.

Before concluding, Zühdü Paşa pointed out the insufficiency of his ministry's budget and provided some statistics to enable comparison. In 1894, the yearly educational expenditures in England amounted to 7.700.000 Ottoman pounds, in France to 8.900.000, in Rumania to 860.000, in Bulgaria to 430.000, in Greece to 320.000 and in Serbia to 170.000 Ottoman pounds excluding all kinds of donations. On the other hand Zühdü Paşa's budget was limited to 50.000 pounds. Understandably, he concluded his report by noting that he was trying to do his best with the limited amount of available resources and that if the above-mentioned measures were to be employed that would require money as well as political determination.

Considered together, the two reports prepared by Abdulhamid II's long-time minister of education Ahmed Zühdü Paşa demonstrate the weight of the problem of foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire. They indicate the extent and the seriousness of the situation whereby the Empire was short of inspecting, let aside controlling, those schools in which a considerable portion of its non-Muslim subjects were being educated. Another indication of the reports refers to Abdulhamid II's policy of education in general and his perception of foreigners. It should be remembered that for the Ottoman Empire this was a time of isolation in Europe. The last quarter of the

nineteenth century stood for the proliferation of financial and political problems vis-à-vis the West. This atmosphere of increased antagonism heightened the Sultan's phobias relating to foreigners and all kinds of foreign activity in his realms. His attempts to inquire foreign educational activity and efforts to incorporate foreign schools into his educational system should be considered within this larger context.

Before introducing our third major document on American schools, it is important to point out to the Instruction Concerning the Duties of Directors of Education in the Imperial Provinces (*Vilâyât-ı Şâhâncede Ma'ârif Müdîrlerinin Vezâ'ifini Mübeyyin Ta'lîmât*)<sup>191</sup> dated 1314/1896. This body of instructions constituted Abdülhamid's primary legal measure in his struggle against the foreign schools in his Empire and taken together with the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education, it provided the framework for his efforts to found a new system of education.

The Instruction was basically composed of some orders to enable the strengthening of the authority of the directors of education and to provide them with assistants to achieve a more effective policy of inspection in public and private schools in the provinces. It was prepared during the ministry of Ahmed Zühdü Paşa and there are striking similarities between his reports and this Instruction. The main idea was similarly to incorporate private schools, including foreign schools, into the existing educational system, and to minimize the differences between the facilities offered to Muslims and non-Muslims. Articles of the Instruction regulated the process of issuing licenses and the rules of inspection as well as an effective division

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<sup>191</sup> *Salnâme-i Maarif*, (İstanbul: 1316), pp. 136-156.

of labor between the directors of education and their new agents. These were mainly derived from the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education and Ahmed Zühdü Paşa's suggestions for the improvement of the educational system. It seems that a number of his suggestions were legalized in the Instruction of 1896. For example, the minister had suggested in his second report that official licenses be issued on condition that the founders of the foreign institution in question accepted regular inspection by government officials. Similarly, article 39 of the Instruction required a written contract from the founders whereby they promised to obey all regulations, especially those regarding inspection.<sup>192</sup>

Likewise, parallel to the minister's suggestion of additional agents to assist the directors of education, article 51 provided the directors of *idadi* schools and the *muallim-i evvel* (the headmasters) with authority to inspect the minority schools and foreign schools in their environs in order to assist the directors of education and to enable as many inspections as possible.<sup>193</sup>

On December 16, 1898, roughly four years after Zühdü Paşa's second report, Şakir Paşa<sup>194</sup> sent from Amasya a confidential memorandum<sup>195</sup> in which he reported almost exactly the same situation in Anatolia. In addition, he stressed the economic

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<sup>192</sup> "...devletiñ kavânîn-i hâzıra ve müstağbelesine ri'âyet edeceklerine ve 'inde'l-iğtizâ mekâtibiñ teftişinde ve kitâblarıñ mu'âyesinde müşkülât göstermeyeceklerine dâ'ir mü'essis ve müdürleri tarafından mümzâ veya mahtûm ta'âhüdname alız u hıfız olunacaktır". *Salnâme-i Maarif*. 1316, pp. 150-151.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid., pp. 154-155.

<sup>194</sup> For his biography and services as General Inspector of Anatolian Reform, see; Ali Karaca, *Anadolu İslahatı ve Ahmet Şakir Paşa*, (İstanbul: Eren Yay., 1993).

<sup>195</sup> "Mâbeyn-i Hümayûn Baş Kitâbet-i Celîlesine, fi 4 Kânûn-i evvel sene 314, maḥremâne, Amasya'dan" BOA, YEE, A-24/X-24-132 (December 16, 1898). (See Appendix No. 2)

aspects of the increasing hostility between the different elements of the society, arguing that the situation was caused by the teaching of certain crafts in foreign schools. He wrote that by acquiring the necessary skills in their schools, the non-Muslims were preparing to monopolize the economy and this enhanced the present antagonism between them and the Muslims, thus paralysing the harmony desired by the Porte.<sup>196</sup>

For the improvement of the situation, Şakir Paşa proposed two options: First, these schools had to be either closed down or, their curricula taken under control by the government, and secondly, new schools for the Muslims, better than those of the foreigners or at least equal in quality, had to be provided. However, Şakir Paşa's own words immediately following the above-mentioned options revealed the delicate position of the Empire vis-à-vis the Westerners. He wrote that despite the obviousness of the purpose of the foreigners, their schools could not be closed down. This would not be wise, since it would result in complaints and accusations against the government, and have a destructive effect on foreign policy.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> .. *... mekâtib-i mezkûrede tahşil olunan ma'ârif ve şinâ'ât hasebiyle tebe'a-i gayr-i müslimeniñ servet ve ticâret-i memleketi kendilerine hâşr edebilmek yolunu tutmuş olmaları ahâlf-i islâmiyyenin muhâsedesini dâ'î olub zaten hâşıl olan beynûnet ve tefriķa bu każiyyeden dolayı sâ'at-be-sâ'at müzdâd ve hükümet-i seniyyece maţlûb ve marzî olan hüsn-i âmîziş ve imtizâc esâsından harâb ve berbâd olmaķda idüĝine binâ'en...* YEE, A-24/X-24-132. See also, BOA, YEE 31-76/44-76-81 (10 Kânûn-i evvel 1314 - December 22, 1898); and BOA, YEE, 14-1357-126-10 (the date could not be determined).

<sup>197</sup> .. *Gerçi mekteb mü'essisleriniñ memleketlerinde dahî neşr-i ma'ârif każiyyesi muhtâc-ı i'âne iken memleketlerini bıragub memâlik-i saltanat-ı seniyyede maşârif ihtiyâriyle mektebler te'sis kıldığını ihtiyâr etmelerinden maķşad ne olduĝu ve bu maķşad ve[sic] maķşad-ı saltanat-ı seniyyeye ĝayr-ı muvâfık bulunduĝu meydânda ise de mekteblerin bi'l-külliyeye laĝvı cihetine teşebbüs olunduĝu takdîrde saltanat-ı seniyyeyi düşman-ı ma'ârif olmakla tavşîfe müsâr'at ve îķâ'-ı envâ'-i şemâtet ü şikâyet edeceklerinde ve bu şikâyetin umûr-ı hâriciyye-i devlete sû'-i te'sîrâtı mücib olabileceğinde iştibâh olmadıĝından...* YEE, A-24/X-24-132.



Considering these limitations Şakir Paşa proposed some alternative solutions. His major proposal was the institution of a number of professional schools in which primarily certain crafts would be taught especially in those provinces where American schools were dominant.<sup>198</sup> In the beginning, two schools of crafts called *medrese-i sanâyi* had to be founded. These would be located in Erzurum and Amasya which were considered to be under the strongest American influence. Harput and Kilis would later follow suit.<sup>199</sup> Şakir Paşa explained that he believed these schools would render improvements in the condition of all the levels of society and secure the future of the crafts and artifacts in Anatolia.<sup>200</sup> He also drafted the rules and regulations to be followed for the maximization of the contributions expected from these schools in the second part of his report in the form of 29 articles.<sup>201</sup>

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In the light of these three major documents, how would the situation be evaluated? It seems that in the 1890s, the Ottoman government was alarmed about the proliferation of American Protestant schools within a relatively short period of

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<sup>198</sup> "... Protestan misyonerlerinin eñ muzırırı dahî Erzurum ve Bitlis mevki'lerinde bulundırılanları idüği meşhûd ü mesmû'-i 'âcizânem olmuştur. Bu mektebler tebe'a-i gayr-i müslime eflâliniñ ta'lim ve tadrîs ile ve Erzurum ve Bitlis misyonerleri dahî eflâl-i mezkûre akrabâsınıñ i'âne tevzî' şüretiyle hükûmet-i meşrû'a menâfi'ne gayr-i muvâfık şüretde fikrlerini devletce arzu olunmayacak bir cihete sevk iderek zihnlerini tağlîl itmekde pek mü'essir görineyor." YEE, A-24/X-24-132. (See Appendix 2/b)

<sup>199</sup> YEE, A-24/X-24-132. (See Appendix 2/b)

<sup>200</sup> "... Anađolu-ı Şahâne sanâyi'-i dâhiliyyesiniñ te'mîn-i istiğbâli ve elkâr-ı muzırır ve müside oldıkça kuvvetden düşürilüb her sınıf tebe'aniñ ıslâh-ı hâli kazıyyelerine pek büyük hîdmet eđeceđi mü'tâla'asına binâ'en..." YEE, A-24/X-24-132.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

time. The reports of Zühdü Paşa and Şakir Paşa demonstrate that the state lacked the means, not the will, to prevent the proliferation of these schools as well as those for effective inspections. The legal basis had been established by the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education, and the Instruction of 1896.<sup>202</sup> However, financial obstacles coupled with foreign policy considerations arising from the delicate position of the state vis-à-vis the West, intensified the problem. If one of the reasons for the inefficiency of the regulations was the negligence of government officials in their dealings with the American institutions, the other was the interference of foreign embassies. Zühdü Paşa wrote that foreign envoys were preventing the license and the inspection processes, because they had the purpose of increasing their influences on the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire.<sup>203</sup> He added that government officials were being prevented from entering foreign schools for inspection.<sup>204</sup>

According to the regulations involving the real estate ownership of foreigners in the Empire, the owners were legally bound by all the obligations pertaining to the subjects of the Sultan.<sup>205</sup> In addition, in 1896 the state secured for itself the right to inspect all non-Muslim minority schools and foreign schools at least three times a year.<sup>206</sup> However, in the original copy of the protocol to be signed by the

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<sup>202</sup> See above, pp. 46-49, 62-63.

<sup>203</sup> "... Vaktiyle açılan mekâtib-i ecnebiyyeye ruhsat almağa ve maârif me'murları tarafından teftiş olunmağa süferânın bu bâbdaki 'adem-i muvâfakatleri mahzâ kendi devletlerinin tebaa-i gayr-i müslime-i şâhâne üzerinde teksîr-i nüfûzları emelinden münba'is olub..." Çetin, p.196.

<sup>204</sup> YEE 35-232-100-102.

<sup>205</sup> Ecnebilere verilecek emlâk tasarrufu hakkına dair kânunname, dated gurre-i cemâziyü'l-evvel 1284/1867, Düstûr, I. tertib, I. cild, pp. 230-236.

<sup>206</sup> Article 51 of the Instruction Concerning the Duties of the Directors of Education in the Imperial Provinces read: "Ma'arif müdiri me'mûr olduğı vilâyet dâhilindeki mekâtib-i gayr-i müslime ve ecnebiyyeyi senede lâakal üç def'a devr iderek ahvâl-i 'umûmiyye ve husûsiyye ve tedrisiyye ve

ambassadors of friendly foreign governments<sup>207</sup> the second paragraph explained that government officials would not be allowed to enter foreign property at the absence of the officials from the related embassy.<sup>208</sup> If this stipulation was valid, it would mean that the American school administrators had the legal right to refuse inspection by Ottoman officials without the accompaniment of their consular representatives. However, the two texts mentioned above are not identical. The statement quoted from the copy of the protocol does not exist in the text published in the *Düstûr*. It is therefore uncertain whether the authorities who refused to accept government inspectors into their schools were referring to this statement, or to their capitulatory rights in general.

#### 4.1 Improvement of the Public Educational System:

Unable to effectuate a policy of inspection, Abdülhamid had to consider seriously the alternative of reforming the educational system efficiently enough to alienate his subjects from the influence of the foreigners. It is clear that the Ottoman government during his reign was aware of the delicate situation resulting from the increasing attendance of its subjects in American schools. Aware of the shortcomings of taking severe measures against these schools, let alone closing them down, the

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*inzibâtiyye ve sâ'irelerini telfîş idüb bunlara müteferri' ve şâyân-ı ehemmiyyet olanları hakkında ma'âm-ı nezârete râportlarla mâ'lumat virecek ve icâb itdikec nezâretten alacağı ta'limât ve tebliğât ve tenbîhâtı mekâtib-i mezkûreniñ müdür ve mü'essiserine veyâhüd hükûmet ma'rifetiyle rü'esâ-yı rûhâniyyeye resmen ve tahrîren ve şifâhen bildirecekdir."*

<sup>207</sup> "Düvel-i müte'hâbe süferâsıyla imzâ olınacak mazbâtanıñ şûreti". BOA, YEE 33-1407-73-91 (9 Cemaziyü'l-evvel 1284 - September 8, 1867). (See Appendix No. 3)

<sup>208</sup> "... tebe'a-i ecnebiyyeniñ dahi meskeni hasbü'l-mu'ahede ol vechle dahl ü ta'aruzdan berî olub tebe'a-i ecnebiyyeden olan hâne şâhibiniñ mensûb oldığı konsolos veyâ adamları bulunmadıkça zâbiha me'mûrlarınıñ derûnına duhûli câ'iz olamayacaktır." Ibid.

Ministry of Education was left with the sole option of preventing interest in foreign schools via competent reforms in public schools.<sup>209</sup>

Evidence suggests that there were two main considerations within the framework of educational reform. The first and the fundamental concern was the augmentation of the number and type of schools. Many documents stressed the insufficiency of the existing schools, quantitatively as well as qualitatively<sup>210</sup>. In 1899, a commission of inquiry composed of Tevfik Paşa, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zühdü Paşa, Minister of Education and Celal Bey, director of the Bureau of Secondary Schools (*Mekâtib-i Rüşdiyye İdâresi*) proposed that the primary concern of educational reform in the Ottoman Empire was the foundation of modern primary schools for all *millet*s in the Empire and the institution of schools for orphans called *dârü't-terbiyye*.<sup>211</sup> The commission detected that in the six Eastern provinces (*vilâyât-ı sitte*) there were 6331 non-Muslim orphans and about the same amount of Muslim orphans. If the government could provide efficient schools for the orphans, then there would not be any need for the orphanages under foreign protection. In fact, the majority of the non-Muslim orphans were made up of the Armenians who lost their families during the disturbances of the late 1890s and European governments were compelling the Porte to provide adequate schooling in the six Eastern provinces, as well as in Halep, Trabzon and Ankara.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Ya. Hus. 101/39 (19 Safer 1317 - June 29, 1899).

<sup>210</sup> BOA, İrade-Maarif, 1319 B 30 - 10 (486-1727); BOA, İrade-Maarif, 1319 B 10 - 3 (480-1545), BOA, Ya. Hus. 101/39.

<sup>211</sup> Ya. Hus. 101/39. The second page of this report including the first five measures to be taken is unfortunately missing. For the first page, see Appendix No. 4.

Secondly, in addition to the *dârü't-terbiyye*, in the provinces of Suriye, Beyrut, Haleb, Aydın, Hüdavendigâr, Diyarbekir, Mamuretü'l-Aziz, Adana, Sivas, Edirne, Selanik, Manastır and Yanya new training schools (*dârü't-ta'lîm*) at the primary (*iptidâî*) and junior secondary (*rüşdî*) had to be founded. These schools would be coeducational; that is students from various *millet*s would be instructed together. The duration of education would be six to seven years and the curricula would be prepared after the examination of the local requirements, present conditions and the programs of foreign schools. Instruction would be free for the poor, and 100 *guruş* annually for those who were capable of paying. Non-Muslim teachers to be appointed would be selected among the trustworthy and capable graduates of Ottoman schools. These new schools would have a capacity of two to three hundred students depending on the local requirements which would be divided into three major classes. The members of the commission suggested that this kind of a coeducational system could produce a common faith based on the principal of loyalty to the state, and thus impede the inclination to foreign schools.<sup>213</sup>

The third suggestion was the institution of schools of crafts (*sanayi mektepleri*) which would provide the students with the necessary skills to work in the market and to make their living. In his report Şakir Paşa wrote that these schools would have a crucial role in the preparation of especially the Muslims to take equal part in the economy and prevent the monopoly of foreigners and non-Muslims. If these schools were effectualized, the attendance of Ottoman subjects in foreign

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<sup>212</sup> See, Somel, pp. 229.

<sup>213</sup> Ya. Hus. 101/39. (See Appendix No. 5)

schools could be minimized.<sup>214</sup> As mentioned earlier, initial efforts at establishing and spreading this kind of schools had been made during the *Tanzimat* period. However, these schools had not been functioning efficiently and during the Hamidian period efforts were made to improve the previously established schools. A commission for the promotion of crafts (*Heyet-i Teşvikiye-i Sanayi*) was set up and new schools were started in İstanbul, Edirne, Adana, İzmir, Bağdat, Bursa, Halep, Selanik, Şam, Kastamonu, Kosova, Sivas, Trablusgarb, Yemen, Beyrut, Manastır and Erzurum.<sup>215</sup> In some of these provinces, the existing schools were improved and provided with new buildings, and they were renamed as *Hamidiye Sanayi Mekteb-i Âlisi* (the Hamidian High School of Crafts).<sup>216</sup> In addition, there were three schools of crafts for girls in İstanbul<sup>217</sup> and others in Şam and Trablusgarb.<sup>218</sup>

Mehmet (Küçük) Sait Paşa<sup>219</sup> was one of the leading statesmen who stressed the importance of the education of crafts during the Hamidian period.<sup>220</sup> He reasserted this view in his memorandums and reports relating to the improvement of the educational system in the Empire.<sup>221</sup> In 1888, he wrote that the major

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<sup>214</sup> YEE, A-24/X-24-132.

<sup>215</sup> Kodaman, “Tanzimat’dan ...”, p. 290; Tekeli, p. 472. For the offered courses, see *Salnâme. 1294*, (İstanbul [?]: Halil Efendi, 1294[?]), pp. 397-399.

<sup>216</sup> Unat, pp. 80c-80d; Kodaman, “Tanzimat’dan ...”, p. 290; Tekeli and İlkin, p. 76.

<sup>217</sup> *Salnâme-i Nezâret-i Maarif-i Umûmiyye. 1314*, pp. 295-296.

<sup>218</sup> Unat, pp. 80d-80f; Kodaman, “Tanzimat’dan ...”, p. 292.

<sup>219</sup> About Mehmet Sait Paşa, see *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, Vol. 10, pp. 82-86.

<sup>220</sup> Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Dönemi...*, pp. 82-83; Kodaman, “Tanzimat’dan ...”, p. 290; Atuf (Kansu), pp. 122-124; Tekeli and İlkin, p. 81; Karaca, p. 187, 5 ff.

<sup>221</sup> See, Sait Paşa, *Hâtırât*, (İstanbul: 1328), Vol. I-III; Karal, Vol. 8, pp. 383-387.

impediment of the public schools was the irrelevant schedules and the lack of practical knowledge. Accordingly, this gave rise to the elevation of inept graduates some of whom later took government posts, as well as the degradation of the national economy.<sup>222</sup>

The fourth requirement for educational reform was the foundation of local teachers' seminaries which would provide teaching staff for primary education (*ibtidâ'i dârü'l-mu'allimîn*) and train teachers for the new schools.<sup>223</sup> This was necessary because teachers from İstanbul were unwilling to teach in other provinces as the salaries were dissatisfactory.<sup>224</sup>

The second major concern of educational reform was the revision of the curricula of the schools so as to meet the current requirements and purposes. It was already detected that one of the reasons for attendance in foreign schools was the complex and irrelevant programs in Ottoman schools. The reorganization of the curricula had to involve the clearance of the programs from unnecessary crowding, (*izdihâm*), and the addition of extra courses on religion and new courses on agriculture and industry. An official report signed by the members of the *Meclis-i Mahsûs-ı Vükelâ* (the cabinet) explained that there was need for more schools in villages and towns, and the curricula of the new schools had to include courses on

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<sup>222</sup> Atuf (Kansu), pp. 122-123; Kodaman, *Abdülhamid Devri ...*, pp. 107-108.

<sup>223</sup> "... mu'allimliklere ma'âşlarıñ aqalliyetinden dolayı buralara tâlib bulunamayarak mahallerince tedârük ve istihdâm olunmağda olduğundan uşûl-ı cedîde üzere mu'allim-i şânî ve sâliş yetişdirilmek üzere vilâyât merkezlerinde bulunan ibtidâ'i dârü'l-mu'allimînlerinde rüşdî sınıflarınıñ dahî te'sîsi ve kaşabât ve kurâ mekâtib-i ibtidâ'iyyesi için uşûl-ı cedîde-i tadrîsiyyeyi tahşîl etmiş mu'allimler vücûdî elzem olmağla bu maqşadıñ dahî hüşûli zımnında elviye merkezlerinde de birer ibtidâ'i dârü'l-mu'allimînleriniñ ihdâsı..." Ya. Hus. 101/39.

<sup>224</sup> See, Karaca, p. 189.

agriculture and crafts, which were the major occupations in such areas, as well as courses on religious precepts.<sup>225</sup> Another report prepared by Şakir Paşa in which a very detailed reform package was proposed to the Sultan warned that the new schools had to be good enough to prevent students from attending European schools, and the curricula had to be moderated by avoiding unnecessary crowding. Courses on religion had also to be taken seriously.<sup>226</sup> In addition, in places such as Erzurum, Suriye and Bağdad which were located at a long distance from the capital, the senior high schools (*idâdî mektepleri*) would be provided with the necessary facilities to offer four-year training in law and medicine. This was thought to have an encouraging effect on the students who could not afford to study in İstanbul.<sup>227</sup>

With the accomplishment of these reforms and the prevention of the further proliferation of foreign schools, the influence of the foreigners in the field of education was to be eliminated. The second step would be the gradual transfer of Ottoman subjects enrolled in foreign schools to the newly established national schools. With the incorporation of the schools for orphans into the system, the unification of education would be achieved.<sup>228</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> "... ve kıra ve kaşabâtdaki mekâtib ihtiyâcâta nisbetle gayr-i kâfi olmasıyla bunların teksîr-i a'dâdıyla berâber programlarının akâid-i dîniyyeden soñra ahâliniñ mâbeü'l-ıstığâli olan zurâ'at ve şınâyî'e â'id fünûn-ı nâli'a tahşîli esâsına göre tanzîm ..." İrade-Maarif, 1319 B 30 - 10 (486-1727). On the stress on religious education, see also Yahya Akyüz, "Maarif Nazırı Haşim Paşa ile İlgili Orijinal Bir Belge ve Bazı Eğitimsel Görüşler, Sorunlar", *Bellekten*, Vol. XLV/2, No. 179, July 1981, pp. 205-213.

<sup>226</sup> "... mekâtib-i mevcûdeniñ tederisâtca aşhâb-ı tahşîli Avrupa mekâtibine mürâca'atdan müstağni bulunduracak derece-i tekellüme işâliyle dürüsüñ izdiñâmına meydân verilmeyerek mümkün olduđu kadar tahlîli esbâbınıñ istikmâli ve akâ'id-i İslâmiyyeye â'id dersleriñ dahî nazar-ı i'tinâyâ alınması lâzımeden olduđuna bina'en ..." İrade-Maarif, 1319 B 10 - 3 (480-1545).

<sup>227</sup> This idea of providing additional courses in law and medicine was later given up, mainly due to the lack of sufficient funding. Ya. Hus. 101/39.



## 4.2 Control Mechanisms:

### i. Inspections

As mentioned earlier, the Ottoman Government was unable to inspect regularly the foreign schools within its boundaries. In order to alter the situation in favor of the Porte, on May 6, 1886 the Inspectorate of Foreign and non-Muslim Schools (*Mekâtib-i Ecnebiyye ve Gayr-i Müslime Müfettişliği*) was founded by Münif Paşa under the leadership of the assistant governor (*vali muavini*) of Selanik, Kostantinidi Paşa.<sup>229</sup> The aim of the Inspectorate was to formulate a regular and effective policy of inspection which would prevent teaching contrary to the established morals and state policy, the abuse of the granted privileges by the foreigners, as well as securing the application of the legal measures pertaining to the foreign and non-Muslim schools as defined in the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education.<sup>230</sup> It is evident that most of the American schools obtained licenses from the Porte after the initiation of this inspectorate.<sup>231</sup> In addition, the Instruction Concerning the Duties of the Directors of Education in the Imperial Provinces dated 1896 included stipulations aiming at increasing the efficiency of the inspections in all

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<sup>228</sup> "... ve el-yevm bu mekteblere müdâvim bulunan eflâl-i tebe'aniñ tedricen devâmdan men'iyâ devlet mekâtibine sevķ ü idhâli emrinde lâzım gelen tedâbir-i hüküniyâne ittihâz olındığı taķdîrde bu mes'eleniñ âfsi muhâfaza edilebileceğine ve memâlik-i şâhâneniñ ba'zı maħallerinde bulunan eflâl-i yetimeniñ devletce yapılacaķ mekteblerde tedrisine ... ve evlâd-ı ahâliniñ tevĥîd-i terbiyye ve ta'limleri..." Ya. Hus. 101/39.

<sup>229</sup> Unat, p. 148; Koçer, p. 158; Uygur Kocabaşođlu, "Amerikan Okulları", Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, p. 499.

<sup>230</sup> See details in Koçer, p. 158.

<sup>231</sup> See the lists in Ya. Res. 122/88; YEE 35-232-100-102; Çetin, pp. 207-217; and İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Amerikan Okulları Üzerine Bazı Gözlemler", Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Vol. 14, No. 3, 1982, pp. 87-96.

provinces. However, it seems that a regular policy of inspection as desired by the government could not be achieved and the efforts did not go beyond legitimizing the existing situation.

## ii. Reorganization of licenses

As mentioned earlier, the state was unable to renounce the existing American schools mainly for the sake of its foreign policy considerations and liabilities. Under these circumstances, restraining the proliferation of new schools was considered to be an appropriate policy. This required, in the first place, the reorganization of the license procedure as an effective means of control. In this way, establishment of new foreign schools would be strictly limited, while on the other hand, the foundation of modern state schools would dissociate the Sultan's subjects from the influence of the foreigners.

The process of issuing licenses for all kinds of schools in the Empire was regulated by article 129 of the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education. However, this process could not be firmly established everywhere. There were sometimes complications about the licenses issued by the Council of Education (*Maarif Meclisi*) and those of the local directors of education.<sup>232</sup> With an imperial decree dated 1309/1891-92, Abdülhamid ordered the reorganization of the license process. This *irade-i seniyye* ruled that from then on, before the issuing of new licenses to foreign institutions, the Municipality of İstanbul (*Şehremâneti*), the Police Department (*Zabtiye Nezâreti*) and the Ministry of Education (*Maarif Nezâreti*) were to carry out

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<sup>232</sup> Çetin, p. 196.

a joint inquiry about the institution in question. After that, the Inspectorate of non-Muslim and Foreign Schools (*Mekâtib-i Gayr-i Müslime ve İcnebiyye Müfettişliği*), the Council of Education (*Maarif Meclisi*), and the Ministry of Education were going to approve the institution before the official license would be prepared. In the provinces, the approval of the directors of education and of the local governors would be required.<sup>233</sup>

By 1900, the number of American schools in Anatolia had amounted to 417 and in these schools, a total of 17556 students were enrolled.<sup>234</sup> As another means of control, Abdülhamid ordered that each foreign government submit a complete list of its institutions within Ottoman dominions. The list prepared by the Americans included more than 400 institutions.<sup>235</sup> However, the investigations carried out by the Inspectorate of non-Muslim and Foreign Schools showed that this was both incomplete and inaccurate; it included a number of non-Muslim minority schools, avoided mentioning some of the American schools and in some cases, mentioned schools which did not exist or had been previously closed down.<sup>236</sup> For example, the list mentioned a theological seminary in Mardin, but the Ministry of Education reported that no such school existed in Mardin.<sup>237</sup> Likewise, the school in Akhisar had been closed down three years ago due to lack of attendance. The Inspectorate

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<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki ...*, p. 157

<sup>235</sup> İlknur Polat, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Açılan Amerikan Okulları Üzerine Bir İnceleme", *Belleten*, 52 (203), 1988, p. 637. The quotation mentions more than four hundred institutions, *dört yüzü müteâviz müessesese*. However, Polat took it as exactly four hundred.

<sup>236</sup> YA. Res. 122/88.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., Umumi 53826, Hususi 43.

prepared its alternative list and drafted the rules by which each American institution had to abide. In order to get the necessary approval, each school would have to obey article 129 of the Regulation of 1869 on Public Education; not be situated in Muslim neighborhoods; abstain from enrolling Muslim students; prevent employing suspected teachers and enrolling suspected students; and obey any measures to be taken by the government in order to prevent local and political detriments.<sup>238</sup>

Following the examination of the list submitted by the American delegation, the Porte replied that the institutions listed would not be granted the necessary approval unless they possessed all the required legal documents.<sup>239</sup> This reply must have been quite clear and convincing, because in December 1906 the American embassy submitted a memorandum including a second list which contained only ten group of institutions to be approved by the Porte.<sup>240</sup> These institutions were composed of various schools and their attachments such as hospitals, pharmacies, orphanages, churches and houses which were located in the vicinity of Kayseriyye and Talas, Tarsus, Selanik, Van, İzmir, Adana, Sivas, Maraş and Beyrut.<sup>241</sup>

How was it that the Americans obediently relinquished their claims over some four hundred institutions and restrained themselves to these ten group of institutions? What made them decide to obey, at least in principle, the regulations which they had

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<sup>238</sup> Ibid., Umumi 53826, Hususi 43; and Ibid. no. 1630. (See Appendix No. 6)

<sup>239</sup> Erol Kırşehirlioğlu, *Türkiye’de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, (İstanbul: Bedir Yay., 1963), pp. 164-165. Unfortunately, the author did not mention the classification types and numbers of the documents in the annex. Therefore, I failed to find the original texts.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid, pp. 163-164.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

previously evaded? In fact, this shift, if it may be called, in American policy emanated from not solely educational, but also social and economic interests vested in the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the governments of France, England, Italy, Germany, Austria and Russia were granted similar settlements which recognized the legal status of their schools, charitable and religious establishments; granted them tax and customs immunities stipulated in the treaties and conventions in force; and authorized the construction, repair or enlargement of their establishments destroyed during the events of 1894-1896.<sup>242</sup> Securing similar privileges for their own institutions became a major concern for the American legation in İstanbul. However, the Porte made it clear that the United States could in no way be considered for the grant of the desired privileges unless the legality issue was settled.<sup>243</sup> Thus, the Americans were driven into a tight corner and the new list was prepared.

With the submission of this new list, the Americans seemed to be the yielding party. However, it was a carefully designed move. First of all, the ten American establishments listed in the memorandum were not chosen at random. On the contrary, they seem to be the most comprehensive and the best supplied American institutions in the Ottoman Empire. With the attached hospitals, pharmacies, churches, orphanages and even printing facilities, these schools stood for the essence of American missionary endeavor in the Middle East. These institutions were

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<sup>242</sup> Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, ABC 16.5, Reel 505, Vol. 6, 133 (A); and 136; Kırşehirlioğlu, p. 154; Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, "Amerikan Okulları", Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye..., Vol. 2, p. 499; Polat, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Açılan...", p. 635.

<sup>243</sup> Polat, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Açılan...", p. 637.

supplied to appeal not only to the students educationally, but to an entire community for whom other services such as healthcare and relief work were provided.<sup>244</sup> This was indeed the best way of drawing attention for the missionaries, especially in rural areas where the Ottoman government was short of offering the same services.<sup>245</sup> If these institutions were legalized and the desired privileges granted, American missionaries would be able to proceed with their mission without further intervention. In addition, by yielding to the precepts of the Porte they automatically gained the upperhand in future conflicts. That is, they reserved a de facto right to push for the privileges they sought to seize from the Ottoman government. It seems that they did not hesitate to make use of this right. For example, in a report prepared by the *Meclis-i Mahsus* dated December 19,1906, it is stated that the American consul in İstanbul had made a speech whereby he intimidated the Porte by reasserting his obligation to inform his home government of the failure of the peaceful settlement of the license issue, which would turn the American public opinion completely against the Ottoman Empire and might result in the making of a decision contrary to the mutual friendship between the two governments.<sup>246</sup>

Having received the new list, the Porte initiated the investigation process. Archival evidence suggest that this process took a long time. For example, a report by the *Meclis-i Mahsus* dated December 19,1906, about years after the submission of the list, suggest that only those establishments in Selanik, Tarsus and Talas had been

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<sup>244</sup> See Hüseyin Nazım Paşa, *Ermeni Olayları Tarihi*, (Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, 1994), Vol. II, pp. 251-252; Sonyel, *Minorities ...*, p. 214.

<sup>245</sup> For American medical missions in Anatolia, see Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki ...*, pp. 127-128.

<sup>246</sup> Kırşchirlioğlu, p. 165.

considered by the government and they were refused the legal approval of the Porte.<sup>247</sup> This retardation in the process could be related with various factors. Firstly, if it is assumed that the above-mentioned multi-dimensional investigations (see pp. 75-76) were initiated before the grant of valid licenses, the process would understandably take some time before it could be completed within the existing state of affairs in the early twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, some of these establishments were highly suspected by the authorities of having and encouraging revolutionary tendencies among the subjects of the Sultan. Therefore, it seems to be very likely that Abdülhamid and his government deliberately procrastinated the decision-making process regarding the legal status of American institutions within its boundaries. Unable to eliminate them totally, this must have seemed to be the most proficient way of attacking them piecemeal.

The reorganization of the process of issuing licenses and the imposition of additional limitations regarding the foundation and subsistence of foreign schools in the Empire was related to another, rather psychological factor. In addition to Abdülhamid II's phobias relating to anything foreign, the American missionaries had earned an untrustworthy reputation during this period. This reputation was closely related with their perceived entanglement in the Armenian disturbances of the 1890s, especially in the incidents in Merzifon, Sason and Bitlis<sup>248</sup>. For example, a police report from Van, dated 1896, referred to the American missionaries in the region as having nothing to else to do other than filling up the minds of the Armenians with

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<sup>247</sup> Bab-ı Âli- Meclis-i Mahsus, no: 3292 in Kırşehirlioğlu, p. 166.

<sup>248</sup> See Hüseyin Nazım Paşa, Vol. I, pp. 152-155, 172-178.

various intrigues and weakening their loyalty to the Sultan by way of founding a school there.<sup>249</sup>

The Ottoman government regretted this situation, arguing that the missionaries were abusing the atmosphere of autonomy and security they were granted in the Empire by distorting the issue and reflecting it as a religious cause.<sup>250</sup> Alarmed of the dangers of the situation, Cyrus Hamlin urged the American missionaries to give no support to the revolutionary committees and their incendiary designs. The US Legation in İstanbul was also concerned about the consequences of the sympathy of the missionaries with the Armenians “*which can only result in their endangering their interests in this Empire*”.<sup>251</sup> However, in the eyes of the Ottoman government it was difficult to avoid being deceived by the missionaries, sometimes inadvertently drawn into their personal machinations.<sup>252</sup>

One of the earliest incidents tightening the relations between the missionaries and the Porte took place in 1893 in Merzifon. On Jan. 6 of that year, which is the Gregorian Christmas Day, posters claiming revolution and the deposition of the

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<sup>249</sup> “... Van’da bir mekteb küşâd ederek Ermenilerin zihinlerini fesad ile doldurmak ve metbû-ı mulâhhamlarından tebrîd etmekten öte bir işi olmayan Amerika Protestan misyonerleri...” Hüseyin Nazım Paşa, Vol. II, p. 252.

<sup>250</sup> “... Protestan misyonerleri her yerden ziyâde memâlik-i şâhânedede mazhâr-ı himâyeye olmağda ve her tarafda açdıkları mekteplerde kemâl-i serbesti ile icrâ-yı ta’lîm etmekte oldukları ve hattâ ba’zı mahallerde mekâtib-i mezkûre ve mu’allimîni ba’zı fesâdeniñ şerrinden himâyeye bile edildiği hâlde Amerika’da bulunan tâ’ife-i ruhbânîñ Şaşun işine bir dîn ve mezheb rengini vîrnek istemeleri muğâyir-i inşâf olacağıniñ...” BOA, Ya. Hus. 321/68 (9 Ramazan 1312 - March 6, 1895). The missionaries were well aware of the tolerant atmosphere they lived in. Eli Smith, one of the pioneers to Syria, discounted the possibility of more freedom under native Christian rule and wrote: “It is true that we should have less liberty under any European government that might be extended over the country, unless it were that of one or two of the most tolerant protestant powers.” Salt, p. 110.

<sup>251</sup> Salt, pp. 64.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.



Sultan appeared on certain mosques, churches and schools. The Turkish authorities established after the investigation of the commission headed by the under-secretary of state for internal affairs (*dahiliye müsteşarı*) that the posters had been printed at the Anatolia College by a cyclostyle<sup>253</sup> and they arrested two native Armenian teachers called *Tomayan* and *Kayayan* for treason<sup>254</sup> as they were members of a revolutionary committee called ‘‘Balas’’<sup>255</sup>. Later that month, the new building of the college was burnt down<sup>256</sup> and George F. Herrick, president of the school, accused the local governor Hüsrev Bey for the fire. Another commission of inquiry was headed by an American consular official, Harrie B. Newberry who on the completion of his investigation affirmed the existence of revolutionary committees and the guilty position of the Armenian teachers.<sup>257</sup> Newberry denounced the pursuit of a policy of oppression in treating the Armenians as claimed by the British and asserted that the measures taken by the Ottoman government such as the imprisonment of suspects were of customary nature in any other country, as well.<sup>258</sup> Accordingly, the Armenian teachers were denounced and driven out of the college, and president

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<sup>253</sup> BOA, Ya. Hus. 269/129 (24 Receb 1310 - February 11, 1893). (See Appendix No. 7)

<sup>254</sup> BOA, Ya. Hus. 273/111 (9 Şevval 1310 - April 26, 1893).

<sup>255</sup> Ya. Hus. 269/129.

<sup>256</sup> BOA, Ya. Hus. 272/128 (26 Ramazan 1310 - April 13, 1893).

<sup>257</sup> ‘‘... mûmâ-ileyh Nevberî ile görüşmesi kendüsine ifâde olunarak istîzâhât-ı vâkı’asına cevâben orada bi’z-zât icrâ eylediği tahkîkâta ve me’mûrîn-i mahalliye tarafından dest-res olunan delâ’il ü emârât-ı kavîyye binâ’en merkûmuñ mücrimiyyeti husûsında kendüsince de kanâ’at-ı kâmile hâşıl olduğundan...’’ Ya. Hus. 272/128.

<sup>258</sup> ‘‘... İngiltere sefirine de Ermeniler hakkında mervî olan mezâlim ü i’tisâfâtın külliyyen bi-aşl ü esâs olub ancak firağ-ı fesâdiyye vücûdı misillü uşûl-i istisnâ’iyye hasebiyle şübheli olan ba’zî eşhâşın tevkiîl edildiğini ve bu gibi tedâbirin her memleketde câri olduğunu beyân etmiş...’’ Ya. Hus. 272/128.

Herrick was replaced by a man of benignant ideas.<sup>259</sup> However, despite this friendly attitude, American missionaries continued to agitate the situation abroad. For example, William W. Peet, treasurer of the ABCFM in İstanbul, charged that the disorders in Merzifon had been carried out at the order of the Sultan himself and his accusations appeared in the *Daily News* and the *Daily Telegraph* of London, stirring more anti-Ottoman feelings. Cyrus Hamlin argued that the missionaries were being insulted, mobbed, their property seized and confiscated.<sup>260</sup> Likewise, when the Armenian teachers were sentenced to death by the Ottoman tribunal in Ankara, there were outcries in Britain that they had not been given a fair tribunal. The British, German and American legations in İstanbul put pressure on the Ottoman government and eventually the death penalty was changed to exile.<sup>261</sup>

Concerned for the future of the school, the administrators began to press for the formal recognition of the Anatolia College by the pursuit of an official license. The abundance of the correspondence between the American Legation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education confirm the significance of the sustenance of the establishments in Merzifon for the missionary cause in the Ottoman Empire. For various times, the American ministers in İstanbul wrote or paid personal visits to the Porte to explain that the United States government and its representatives in the Ottoman Empire had no intention of intervening in the internal affairs of the

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<sup>259</sup> "... ve Amerika hükümeti tarafından mekteb müdürü Mösyö Heriks dağı Merzifon hâdişesi üzerine 'azl olunarak yerine eskâr-i selîmiyye aşhâbından birisiniñ ta'yiniyle..." BOA, Ya. Hus. 278/163 (27 Muharrem 1311 - August 10, 1893).

<sup>260</sup> Daniel, p. 116.

<sup>261</sup> See Ya. Hus. 273/111; BOA, Ya. Hus. 289/49 (24 Receb 1311 - January 31, 1894); BOA, Ya. Hus. 289/76 (27 Receb 1311 - February 3, 1894); and Salt, pp. 64-73.

Ottoman state and that they only wanted to guarantee the security of life and property of their citizens settled within the Sultan's domains.<sup>262</sup> They claimed that the American Legation had proved its friendly intention after the disturbances in Merzifon by denouncing the teachers and replacing the president of the college. Therefore, they wanted the immediate settlement of the license issue.<sup>263</sup>

However, the Ottoman government set up a commission for the prevention of Protestant missionary intrigue<sup>264</sup> which was designed to discuss the necessary measures to be taken in the region, and the reports of the commission were not in favor of the immediate recognition of the college. The commission detected that the school possessed a printing machine called cyclostyle which was used for printing harmful material which stimulated opposition to the government and seduced the Muslim population with revolutionary ideas. Furthermore, these publications were prepared by the Armenian teachers who held the citizenship of both the Ottoman Empire and the United States who were at the same time involved in the activities of the revolutionary committee in Merzifon. The commission also discovered that ammunition presumably belonging to the revolutionaries were stored in the attachments of the college.<sup>265</sup> The Anatolia College was finally recognized by the Porte in 1899.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> BOA, Ya. Hus. 277/128 (28 Zi'l-hicce 1310 - July 13, 1893).

<sup>263</sup> Ya. Hus. 278/163.

<sup>264</sup> .. *Protestan misyonerlerinin menn'-i fesâdı zınnında ittihâzı lâzım gelen tedâbiri müzâkere etmek üzere ... teşkili emr ü fermân buyurulan komisyon...* " Ya. Hus. 269/129.

<sup>265</sup> .. *zıkr olınan hezeyânnâmelerin aşl mürettibleri Merzifon'da kâ'in Protestan mektebiniñ Amerika ve devlet-i 'aliyye tebe'asından bulınan Ermeni mu'allimleri oldığı ve nâşirlerinin dağı Merzifon'daki fesâd komitesiniñ taht-ı tehy'e ve işâretinde olarak bilâd ve kaçabât-ı sâ'irede tertibât-ı askeriyyeyi taqliden müretteb olan fesâd fırkaları efrâdı bulındığı ve sebeb-i cü'retleri ...*

### iii. Customs regulations

According to the Customs Regulation of 1868<sup>267</sup>, all kinds of foreign books entering the Empire were exempt from customs duties. However, the government secured for itself the right to check the cargo addressed to foreigners. Yet, it could be assumed that this did not become a regular practice, since when this right was reasserted and announced to all foreign embassies in 1895 it aroused great opposition. According to the new announcement, a copy of each book would be examined by government authorities before the books could be given to their owners. In fact, ambassadors rightly complained that this would not be practical. They were right simply because the government did not have the necessary means to examine the books which were in various foreign languages and on a variety of different subjects. In 1908, founders of private schools were granted autonomy in choosing their

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*idâre-i 'âdile-i 'Osmâniyye hilâfında sû-i hâl göstererek tebe'a-i müslimeyi dahi igfâlden 'ibâret idüğü ... ve işbu mektebiñ hezeyânnâmeleriñ tab'ına merkez oldığı 'âdetâ tahakkuk etmiş ve müteferri'âtından bir maħalde silâh-ı mudahhar bulunduğı ihbâr kılınmış...*" Ya. Hus. 269/129. (See Appendix No. 8)

<sup>266</sup> There are complications about this date in various sources. In Ya. Res. 122/88, the date for the issuance of the official license for the college is stated as March 1, 1315 (March 14, 1899) and 9 Zi'l-ka'de 1312 (May 4, 1895). These two dates obviously do not match. It is possible that the scribe accidentally wrote 1312 instead of 1316. In this case, the 9 Zi'l-ka'de 1316 would give us March 21, 1899. This still does not resolve the inconsistency. The same incident is dated as 1899 in Stone, p. 187-188; as May 4, 1895 in Adnan Şişman, *Osmanlı Devletinde XX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Amerikan Kültürel ve Sosyal Müesseseleri*, (Balıkesir: Alem Yay., 1994), p. 38; and as March 1315 (1897) in Ortaylı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda...", p. 95. Şişman obviously used 9 Zi'l-ka'de 1312 (see appendix 13-14). On the other hand Ortaylı took March 1315 from the Salname for the year 1318 (1900). However, he seems to have been misled by converting the date to 1897 as if it was in *Hicri* not *Mali* form. Stone's narration from the English translation of the imperial ferman for Anatolia College in Papers of the ABCFM, ABC 16.5, Vol. 7 seems to be more reliable since it also matches with March 1, 1315 which appears in Ya. Res. 122/88.

<sup>267</sup> "Düvel-i 'aliyye ve düvel-i ecnebiyye tebe'asından ve mezâhib-i muhtelifeden bi'l-cümle ruhbân takımıyla bunlarıñ manâstır ve emâkin-i sâ'iresi hakkında gümrük mu'âfiyyeti nizâmnâme'si", *Düstür*, I. tertib, 2. cild, pp. 611-617; and "Düvel-i ecnebiyye cenerâl konsoloslarıyla konsolosları ve konsolos vekilleri nâmına vürüd idecek eşyanıñ gümrük rüsûmâtından şüret-i mu'âfiyyetiyle bunlar hakkında gümrükce icrâ olunacak mu'âmeleyi mutazımının nizâmnâme", *Ibid.*, pp. 618-620. A detailed evaluation of the related text as it appeared in the BOA, İ. HR No. 11907 is available in İlknur Polat Haydaroğlu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Yabancı Okullar*, (Ankara: Ocak Yay., 1993), pp. 18-20.

books<sup>268</sup> and thus the existing level of inspection came to an end. In the following years, it was proposed that a department of translation be set up for the systematic translation of Western school books in order to provide better educational facilities in public schools.<sup>269</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> “... *fakat kütüb-i tedrisiyyenin intihâbında mekteb müdirlerinin serbest bırakılması...*” Ibid., p. 65. Polat gives this information depending on the research she conducted in the archives of the Ministry of Education. Since these archives are not yet open to all researchers, the information provided needs further inquiry.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., p. 66.

## CONCLUSION

Social institutions, including educational institutions, are valid only as long as they appeal to the needs of the society in which they are functioning. Like many of its institutions, the educational system in the Ottoman Empire lost its validity during the so called period of retrogression. Ottoman rulers recognized the need for a more efficient organization in education, and eventually, the initiation of modern schools to function alongside the traditional *medrese* system became inevitable. Especially during the reign of Abdulhamid II, significant attempts to improve the quality as well as the quantity of educational institutions were made.

An interesting aspect of this period of educational modernization was the boom in the number of foreign schools functioning within the Sultan's domains. According to one estimate, at the end of the nineteenth century there were 72 French, 83 English, 7 Austrian, 7 German, 24 Italian, 44 Russian and 465 American schools active in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>270</sup> The development of an educational web by American missionaries was the most rapid and comprehensive one compared to the development of other foreign schools. This development did not escape the attention of Ottoman rulers and bureaucrats, and there were significant efforts to provide for a regular inspection of these schools. The initiators and founders of such schools benefited mainly from the Capitulations granted to their mother states and this was the greatest handicap Ottoman administrations tried to overcome in the later half of

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<sup>270</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki ...*, p. 25, and Tekeli and İlkin, p.112.

the nineteenth century. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a number of measures were taken to limit the spread of foreign schools that were generally conceived as educators of traitors to the Ottoman state. Considering the psychology of a decaying empire and the missionaries' pre-conceived notions about the Turks and Islam, it would not be wrong to argue that the nineteenth century was one of reciprocal misunderstanding in most cases.<sup>271</sup>

That the Hamidian period represents the disruption of the *Tanzimat* period and the reforms in general is not an uncommon view. However, it is evident that during this period the policy of Ottomanism was not discarded, at least in the field of education. The promotion of mixed schools for Muslims and non-Muslims was often emphasized as a means of obliterating the lines of demarcation between various elements of the society. The role of foreign schools, and especially the American schools which increased rapidly during the second half of the nineteenth century, in Abdülhamid's perception of the educational problem was in no way an inferior one. The reports prepared by the Minister of Education Zühdü Paşa demonstrated the weight of the problem of foreign schools, as well as the scarcity of the available

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<sup>271</sup> This atmosphere of misunderstanding is well demonstrated in the case of Ahmed Vefik Paşa who was known to be a friend of Cyrus Hamlin, famous missionary of the American Board and founder of the Robert College. Ahmed Vefik was said to have sold to Hamlin the land on which the Robert College was eventually built for a total of 36 thousand Ottoman pounds. Rumor has it that while Ahmed Vefik Paşa was in Paris as ambassador, he organized a number of receptions for the diplomatic circles there. Later the Ottoman government refused to pay for the expenses. Therefore, he had to sell the mentioned piece of land so that he could pay for his debt. Among Ottoman governmental circles, he was very much disapproved for this behavior. After his death, Abdülhamid II ordered that Ahmed Vefik be buried to the Kayalar cemetery, wishing that the bells of the Robert College would ring in his ears until the end of the world: "*Kayalar kabristanına defn ediniz ki Robert Kolej'de çalınan çan sesleri kıyamete kadar kulaklarında çınlasın dursun.*" See Ergin, Cild: 1-2, pp. 783-784; Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 6th Edition, (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1923), First Edition - 1893, pp. 430-431.

means to improve the situation as the Ottoman Empire was in an extremely delicate position vis-à-vis the West.

In this delicate environment, Abdülhamid used his right to legislate, which was presumably least liable to foreign intervention, and tried to deal with the situation within the legal framework. As there seemed to be no way of closing them down, the Ottoman government initially tried to integrate foreign schools, which functioned free of any control mechanism, into the state educational system by subjecting them to the valid regulations and establishing an effective system of regular inspection. In addition to the Regulation of 1869, the Instruction for the Directors of Education in the Imperial Provinces dated 1896 constituted Abdülhamid's legal base in his initiatives to establish central control over foreign schools in the Empire. However, due largely to the intervention of foreign embassies, the prevention of Ottoman officials into foreign property, and the lack of qualified staff, the mechanism of inspection as desired by the government could not be established. Therefore, the Porte was left with the obligation of creating alternative policies.

The alternative was two-fold. On the one hand, the foundation of new foreign schools and the sustenance of the existing ones would be restrained while on the other hand, the demand for foreign schools were curbed via the foundation of competent state schools. To prevent the proliferation of foreign schools, the Porte imposed new control mechanisms, such as the reorganization of licenses, and used this as a policy tool with associating the license issue with the grant of further privileges desired by the American government. To this effect, Abdülhamid was successful since the



American school administrators committed themselves to obtaining the necessary licenses from the Porte, thus running after what they had previously been escaping.

There were several reasons for the deterioration of the relations with the Americans. First of all, their conscious or unconscious contributions to the Armenian nationalist movement earned the American missionaries a notorious reputation among Ottoman government circles. Due mainly to the misperception, if not distortion, of the reforms and especially the sixth article of the *Islahat Fermanı* which guaranteed the free exercise of religious beliefs, the missionaries gradually eradicated the impression of the 'American' created in the 1830s and came to be perceived as agents implanting seeds of revolution in their schools and churches. They contradicted the ideal of reforms by making it difficult for the government, already accused by the Muslim majority for being too generous to the Christians, to pursue its unifying policy. In addition, they contributed to the shaping of the American image of the Turk and the Muslim in the nineteenth century. If this image has been uninformed, misinformed or prejudiced the missionaries are largely to blame. Interpreting history primarily in terms of the advance of Christianity, they generally gave a distorted picture of Islam and the Ottomans.<sup>272</sup>

Secondly, the Ottoman state found itself in open hostility with the United States government. Due to the Armenian disturbances of the late 1890s, the public

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<sup>272</sup> "Missionaries apparently did not expect that invigoration of the Armeno-Turkish language by a modern Bible translation and maintenance of many schools among the Armenians would encourage nationalism. American Board members neglected their indirect livening of the [Turkish-Armenian] conflict. Instead, they cried out against Ottoman injustice, and gave the Turks a terrible reputation in the United States... The American Protestants did not imagine how they might have behaved if for several decades in their homeland a foreign educational system directed by Muslims had devoted itself to, say, Afro-Americans, with the result that the black Islamic minority became more proficient than the majority of white Americans." Grabill, p.47. See also, Earle, pp. 403-404.

opinion throughout Europe and the United States turned increasingly against the Ottomans. Missionaries immensely contributed to the turning of the public opinion against the Ottoman Empire, as they were the major channel by which information flowed. By the end of the nineteenth century, American educational and philanthropic investment in the Ottoman Empire had become so extensive that the United States could no longer ignore the complaints of the American missionaries. These complaints generated mainly from the damages American property suffered during the disorders in Merzifon, Harput and Maraş (1893-1895). Upon the request of the missionaries, the United States government demanded an indemnity amounting to \$100,000.<sup>273</sup> The issue became so complicated that the United States began to threaten the Ottomans by sending to İstanbul two battle ships which were visiting various ports in the Mediterranean.<sup>274</sup> The Porte denied all responsibility for the damages and in December 1900, a battle ship -the *U. S. S Kentucky*- was indeed dispatched to Constantinople but there was no use of force. In fact, the officers of the ship were received cordially at the Yıldız Palace, where the captain was seated immediately to the right of the Sultan, in order to remove any impression that the visit was a hostile one. But there was no mention of the indemnity. This issue was settled on June 12, 1901 when \$83,600 were deposited in the Ottoman Imperial Bank to the credit of the US government.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>273</sup> BOA, YEE CII - 233 - 234 - 54 - 136 (October 11, 1898).

<sup>274</sup> BOA, YA. Hus. 324/114 (22 Şevval 1312 - April 18, 1895).

<sup>275</sup> Abdülhamid approved of this payment only after he signed a contract with the Americans for the purchase of a cruiser. In this way he planned to pay behind the screen in order to avoid the legitimization of similar claims put forward by other European powers. For details about the indemnity issue, see; Leland James Gordon, American Relations with Turkey, 1830-1930, (Philedelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), pp. 227-244.

Under these circumstances, dealing with American institutions became increasingly difficult for the Ottoman government. One of the most evident aspects of Ottoman educational policy vis-à-vis American schools in the Empire was calculated procrastination. Undoubtedly, there were delays due to the inefficiency of the bureaucracy. However, it seems that once the Ottoman government took up the initiative in an issue, it deliberately delayed finalizing the bureaucratic process to gain extra time. For example, it took six years of struggle between the Ottoman Empire and the United States before the Anatolia College in Merzifon was granted the official license. The process began in 1893 immediately after the disturbances in the city. A letter sent from the American legislation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs dated 1895 reminded that the Porte had promised to issue the license one year ago, but that the problem was still not settled. The United States demanded immediate settlement within two or three days and reminded the Porte of the two battle ships in the Mediterranean.<sup>276</sup> Two days after this letter, on April 20, 1895 Grand Vizier Cevad Paşa wrote to the Sultan providing him with the required information about the Anatolia College.<sup>277</sup> This document suggests that on this date the investigation about the college was already concluded. Yet, the official license recognizing the legal existence of the school was issued four years later.

To what extent the Hamidian policies succeeded is not within the scope of this research. However, evidence suggest that the reason behind the failure, or rather the limited success, of these policies was mainly financial. Both Zühdü Paşa and

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<sup>276</sup> YA. Hus. 324/114.

<sup>277</sup> BOA, YA. Hus. 325/32 (24 Şevval 1312 - April 20, 1895).

Şakir Paşa stressed the need for a much larger budget for education. Zühdü Paşa compared the budgets of the European states to that of the Ottomans' and added that even the smallest states in the Balkans such as Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia reserved 6% to 11% of their annual budgets for education. However, Zühdü Paşa's budget was composed of 50,000 Ottoman pounds in 1894 which constituted 1.5% of the budget.<sup>278</sup> Zühdü Paşa stated that with the available funds, it was impossible to do anything but open five or six additional secondary schools, at best.<sup>279</sup> In addition, Şakir Paşa complained that the taxes on education could not be collected and utilized effectively.<sup>280</sup> Due to the financial situation, the Ottoman state could not originate a body of qualified personnel to enliven the system it envisioned. Besides, the ideal of Ottomanism could not be attained as the non-Muslims continued to define themselves as Armenian, Greek and so on, instead of Ottoman. It seems that only the men of the *Tanzimat* period believed in this ideal.<sup>281</sup>

It is clear that the Ottoman administration possessed a strong will, but lacked the means to improve the quality of education and to attain a uniform system in which the role of foreign schools were compensated by modern, competent state schools.

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<sup>278</sup> Çetin, pp. 204-205.

<sup>279</sup> "... *Maârif Nezareti mahsus olarak Hazine-i celile-i maliyeden îtâ olunmakda olan elli bin lira tahsisât-ı senevîyye varidât-ı umumiyye-i devletin yekûnuna nazaran yüz guruşdan on para ve hisse-i maârifle beraber yüzde bir buçuk guruş raddesinde olduğundan bu mikdar akçe ile ancak idâre-i hâzıra hâsıl ve fevka'l-âde tasarruf icrâsiyle beş altı idâdi mektebi daha teşkili kabil olabilib bundan başka bir şey yapılabilmek imkânın hâricinde kalmışdır.*" Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>280</sup> Karaca, pp. 185-186. A detailed plan for raising the required funds for the improvement of the calibre of public education to obliterate the demand for foreign schools was attached to the commission report dated 1901. See; YA. Res. 101/39.

<sup>281</sup> Atuf (Kansu), p. 85. See also Ziya Gökalp, *Milli Terbiye ve Maarif Meselesi*, (Ankara: Ankara Basım ve Cilt Evi, 1964).



از آنجا که این گروه از افراد بزرگوار و دانا که از طرف دولت در اختیار گرفته شده و در جهت رسیدن به اهداف عالیه و سعادت جمعی در راه مبارزه با کمپانی نفت مشغول شده اند و در این راه از تن و جان خود بی پروا هستند و در این خصوص دولت و مقامات عالی رتبه باید به آنها توجه بیشتری داشته باشد و در جهت تسهیل امور آنها اقدامات لازم را اتخاذ نماید.

دولت باید به این افراد امکانات لازم را در اختیار بگذارد و در جهت تسهیل امور آنها اقدامات لازم را اتخاذ نماید. همچنین دولت باید به این افراد توجه بیشتری داشته باشد و در جهت تسهیل امور آنها اقدامات لازم را اتخاذ نماید. این افراد در جهت مبارزه با کمپانی نفت مشغول شده و در این راه از تن و جان خود بی پروا هستند.

این افراد در جهت مبارزه با کمپانی نفت مشغول شده و در این راه از تن و جان خود بی پروا هستند. دولت باید به این افراد توجه بیشتری داشته باشد و در جهت تسهیل امور آنها اقدامات لازم را اتخاذ نماید. همچنین دولت باید به این افراد امکانات لازم را در اختیار بگذارد.

دولت باید به این افراد امکانات لازم را در اختیار بگذارد و در جهت تسهیل امور آنها اقدامات لازم را اتخاذ نماید. همچنین دولت باید به این افراد توجه بیشتری داشته باشد و در جهت تسهیل امور آنها اقدامات لازم را اتخاذ نماید. این افراد در جهت مبارزه با کمپانی نفت مشغول شده و در این راه از تن و جان خود بی پروا هستند.

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سازمان عالی نفت

شماره ۱۹۲، ۱۹۳

سازمان عالی نفت

7  
ماده تعلیمیه باینکه به صیغه نهایه  
کتابخانه امامیه

توجه به این محتاج تفصیل اولیین اوزره اناطه لایحه نامه سه  
تبعیه و معدنک سو صولک بر قیام سه رده فرضی علییه و کتاب  
تالیفیه مخالفه سادک اولیینک مسلک نا کهورک بفتحه  
و صولک بر قیام و یا آنسزیه لفا اولیه شیوید و فته  
مصول و نتیجه اولییه بجه صولایه سیه ندره آنصا و نتیجه  
بنی بر ضیح زمانه در برو بود  
انکه در افکار اهالیات با نتیجه شیوید و فته  
ایوکی انکا اولیه بر صبه صیغه ندره

ماده نامه نسبت به عدسینه اولییه اناطه لایحه نامه سه  
اصبی ندره لایحه نامه سه  
کهور بر صولک سدییه تراکم کهور شیوید و فته  
انکا  
انکا اولیه مایه ای به لایحه نامه اولییه صیغه نامه  
منو به فته نامه و صولک ندره آنک ایله و کتاب فته نامه  
بدرستی انکا نتیجه اساسی انکا اولییه  
فته نامه و برید عطفه صولک انکا اولییه  
به فته نامه بر صولک در لایحه نامه لایحه نامه  
مقا صولک سیه اتصاله لایحه نامه فته نامه  
انکا اولییه

توجه به این محتاج تفصیل اولیین اوزره اناطه لایحه نامه سه  
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ایوکی انکا اولیه بر صبه صیغه ندره



تجارت

حکمیت متغیر است و بر این اساس در صورت وقوع بحران ...  
 این موضوع را باید در نظر گرفت که هر چه بحران ...  
 فاکتورهای مختلفی در این زمینه نقش دارند ...  
 در نتیجه باید در نظر گرفته شود که ...  
 همانا سیاست باید در جهت کاهش ...  
 فواید این موضوع را باید در نظر گرفت ...  
 و در نتیجه باید در نظر گرفته شود ...

صاحب اختیار به تصمیم اولیاء ...  
 اولیاء اینجاست که باید در نظر گرفته شود ...  
 این موضوع را باید در نظر گرفت که ...  
 در نتیجه باید در نظر گرفته شود ...  
 همانا سیاست باید در جهت کاهش ...

اما در مورد این موضوع ...  
 این موضوع را باید در نظر گرفت که ...  
 در نتیجه باید در نظر گرفته شود ...  
 همانا سیاست باید در جهت کاهش ...

تا جایی که ممکن است ...  
 این موضوع را باید در نظر گرفت که ...  
 در نتیجه باید در نظر گرفته شود ...  
 همانا سیاست باید در جهت کاهش ...

این موضوع را باید در نظر گرفت که ...  
 در نتیجه باید در نظر گرفته شود ...  
 همانا سیاست باید در جهت کاهش ...

در صورت وقوع بحران

در این زمینه باید در نظر گرفته شود ...  
 هر چه بحران ...  
 در نتیجه باید در نظر گرفته شود ...













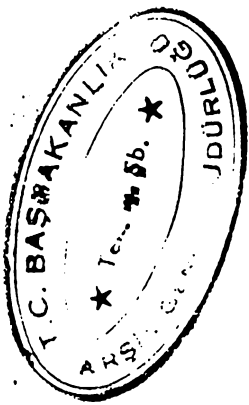
اريفقا مؤسسای ميبه و تقويم حكومت سنيك مؤسست مذكوره به دول سانه نك مؤسست مائوسه اعطاوله به ويا ويرا بريك اولوعيه استيازي احابه بوسه  
 التماهي و بودونك سوبونسيه ائري اولدره نقصانه اولمى حتمى بولنديغه به بولايه مطعوب اولداسى تقرر ايته كه نه صكح حكومت سنيه جراسين بولر ده رايه بخصيت  
 اعطاي ايده حتمى و بعضه افاده به مقصده اريفقا سفارته به وريته تقرر بريك لفيقه خارجيه نظر رنده به كلا تذكرو اولرينه سوبه ايده استاره جوبان معارف نظر رفته  
 وار اولدانه كى لرا و رانه شعريه ايده بريك يانه بركانه برك قرايت و مطا لداوندى معارف نظر آنك تذكرو رنه سالف الذكر دفعده محور مؤسسته به نظر رته  
 معاه ايده اليوم انيه و طبعى موجود مكاتب و ايتامه لرا بريكيا اولدره تدريسات جاري اولمكتوبه به عبارت اولوب بولمامل اولوب دفعده تقرر كورد به تقويمه اولدره لفيقه  
 سفارته كى دفعده در سعاده موجود كومتريته درت مؤسسه ايمى حتمى و قيله فرما على سرفضا در اولين و برى رخصت لرا بوليني در رخصت اولداسى جمعيت مخصوص  
 لرا و رسته كى دفعده اليوم تدريسات اجرا قديمى و دولتيه كى مؤسسه حتمى بولايه اجرا قيه به عبارات اولرينه مكاتب غير سيمه و جنبه مفسكده به تنظيم اولداسى به دفعده تقرر  
 و جرد سفارته به وريته دفعده كى مؤسست عدد و موقع عبارت سيمه لرا حتمى بولايه مؤسست مرقوم نك بعضى حتمى بولر معلومات و برير مدي و بعضه لرا رخصت  
 مؤسست كومتريه كى بعضى دفعده سد و بوليني و برط قمي بولايه فرما على استوصال اولوب و برط قمي رخصت رسيمه به برط و بعضى رخصت اولداسى بولر سلك اولدره  
 محدود و سيمى بوليني بايله اليوم انيه موجود و در دفعده طبعه بولايه اريفقا مؤسسه حتمى معارف عموميه نظر مده سلك بولر بريكى تقويمه مده سى احكامه سيمه رعايه لفيقه  
 اولدره رخصت رسيمى استوصال ايده ملك و اسدم كومتريه بولر و اطفا سيمه لفيقه و رطه سورا اولدره ميم قول ايده ملك و اولدره محدود و سيمى بوليني اولدره سيمه لفيقه  
 حكومت سنيه جراسين و معاهده موافقت كوتيك سلك سطر طبعه اسلى مكاتب جنبه به ايتامه سلك اجراسى در سيمه اولدره لفيقه به ايجاب لدره المذاك صورت  
 استاره نظر اولدره جراسين اريفقا مكاتبه به سيمى بولايه فرما على استوصال اولوب جراسين رخصت رسيمه به برط و برط قمي در رخصت اولداسى كلاسيمه و سفارت سولايه  
 طب و استعمى رخصت رسيمه به برط اولدره ديكر مكاتب جنبه نك نائل اولدره معافيه استافه لفيقه در رخصت اولدره سيمى ساعده اولدره بعضى بولر سيمه  
 رخصت و بولر مكاتب ايجاب موقفا و سياسته محدودى اولدره بوليني جرد استاره به اولدره بر مقدر لرا رخصت اولداسى سورا و معارف نك سفارت سولايه بولر ايتامه و در  
 دفعده موقفي محور اولوب محدودى اولدره و اليوم انيه موجود و در دفعده طبعى بولايه اريفقا مؤسسه حتمى با لدره عرصه اولداسى و جرد اسدم كومتريه بولر سيمه رخصت  
 رسيمى استوصال ايده ملك و اطفا سيمه قول اولدره و رطه سورا اولدره ميم لفيقه و معارف عموميه نظر مده سلك بولر بريكى تقويمه مده سى احكامه رعايه لفيقه سطر طبعه اسلى  
 مكاتب جنبه به ايتامه معارف نك اجراسين ديكر بريك نظر اولداسى معافيه بولر دفعده سيمى اولدره و سيمى مؤسست مذكوره بولر بريك ايتامه ايجاب اولدره مده و جراسين  
 تجر به بولر سيمى حتمى كوتيك بولر رسالت و لقا اعتنا ايده سلك اولدره و نك اولدره طبعه عرصه و تقويمه سيمه لفيقه صورت معروضه موافقه رايه رنه حضرت خدمت اولدره  
 اولداسى حاكمه ايده مقصده حتمى و معارف نظر بولر رسالت امانته و بولر ايتامه بولر حتمى حواله اولدره حتمى ساعده لفيقه اولدره  
 ا جراسين اريفقا



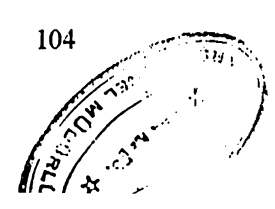
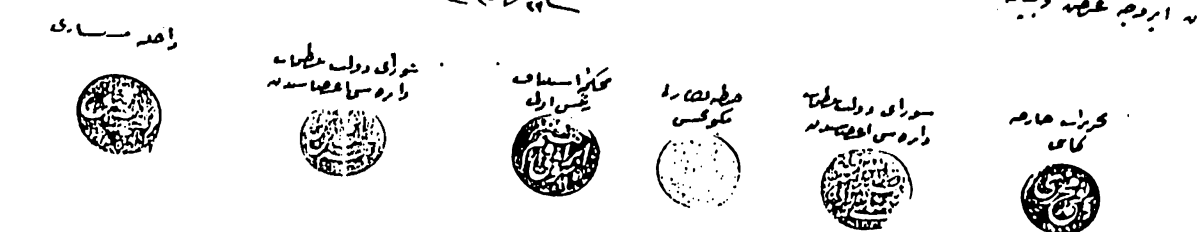


درینجا بیوزرینت مع مفاسدیه ایجه انخازده لازم کلامه تدبیرن مذکوره خضی رقیه سناره بت اوق عفتدینت  
 ربانه اوق برنکوده لازده بنه عفتد خذرتیه نیکه اولده قویسویج تدبیراندینیا حادده تنظیم اولده رقیه ۱۷  
 نیکه وضعی تازده بو عوه رقیتم ایشیکه بیع فراردرینفونکما بررئشانه مقننیت دوله عید درینجا بنسوخ اولده  
 ایشیکه معادله درینجه دوزده فایده طبعی عیینه مکتب سبقتونه برینیده برنکه بولیشه بید بوند خویس دیانت  
 ایشیکه مکتب مکتب فایده ایشیکه معادله درینجه دوزده فایده طبعی عیینه مکتب سبقتونه برینیده برنکه بولیشه بید بوند خویس دیانت  
 مکتب ریسوبانیت خدی رقیه اولده بولنده بولنده برنکه فایده بولنده فایده معادله درینجه دوزده فایده طبعی عیینه مکتب سبقتونه برینیده برنکه بولیشه بید بوند خویس دیانت  
 مذکور قویسویج بلکه رقیه تنظیم اولده رقیه اولده بولنده بولنده برنکه فایده بولنده فایده معادله درینجه دوزده فایده طبعی عیینه مکتب سبقتونه برینیده برنکه بولیشه بید بوند خویس دیانت  
 ایشیکه مکتب مکتب فایده ایشیکه معادله درینجه دوزده فایده طبعی عیینه مکتب سبقتونه برینیده برنکه بولیشه بید بوند خویس دیانت  
 عوه عیینه عیینه مکتب مکتب فایده ایشیکه معادله درینجه دوزده فایده طبعی عیینه مکتب سبقتونه برینیده برنکه بولیشه بید بوند خویس دیانت

صدراعظم دیاردرکم  
 حواله



معمود هذبانه نامدار ماده سند لودیه تحقیقات لوزر اجریس ایجریه مزینفونه اعظم قلمسه اولیه سواس استیفاف معنی عمومیکندنه انانیه تمخرفانه نام لقبه  
علیه قفرت جیدسندنه فقیدم اولوب حواله جریبونه تذکره منقوف غلامنامه ایله بربر مینا هاکارمزده طلبه اولدی  
تذکره غلامنامه ذکر اولنده هذبانه نامدارک اصل مرتبزی مزینفونه کانه پروتسانه کتبخ امریکا دولت علیه نرسنده برلنامه ارضی معامری اولدین و سرتزیر  
مزینفونکی فساد قومیه سنک قفرتیز و سارنده اولدیه بلور و فضیلت سازه در تربیت عسکریه تقیلاً مرتب اولدیه فساد فوقرلی افزای بولدین  
دسب جزندی هذبانه نامدارکی مال و ازاره عارله عثمیه خوقنده سوهال کوسته رک نبد ستمیه رضی اغفالده عبات ایوکی تطبیقات و تحقیقات و قفرت  
و سارنده بعضیلت افزای ایله ثابت اولدین و کتب مزبور جسم بر عسکر قدسی تکلمده جلا رفعت کسار اولوب امریکانو مسوزل اداره سنده اولدیه  
سازدیزو هر طرفک ارضی الحاکم حکومت معلوس اولمیه بر صخم سید نریس قلمقه و دروسته هذبانه نامدارک فتح ایجریه برده هسه طبعی س بولنده  
ایوکی و سب کتب فسادات واقع نامک منی اولس حقیه و تحقیقات فنه هره بولند قریس در کاتک آنجول الزم کوزمکه البسه تعقیبات قعیله  
هذبانه نامدار اولمشکیه شیدیه بعضه معنیله اجاب طرفنده الیه اولمیه انار نوسه فعلیله بعضه محامیزه دوسته برکده بولدین و مع مافایسته  
بریزیر افزای بولند هذبانه نامداره اجریس متوقف ایوکی بیا قلمقه و سواس درینده واضع نفعات هیدینه وارد اولوب نوبت قفرت  
غلامنامه رضی مذکور هذبانه نامدارک باریس اجاب اینترک استغف قفده نظیره اولدیه و بعدا مضررتی لبعف میلانه ویرطامک اوزره بولند طبعیه  
سختیشیل دینلده ماکه نامک مکنده الیریس لاندونه بولدین و بولماکنک الیریس تحقیقات کتک ابرک ایچ هکی کی انقرا ناسه ده سرتزیر  
موجب اولدین بیا اولدیه استیافه معمله ایله و اخیراً رضیه تطرفه تاکید قلمده  
۱۸ صتیج نامکده تجریر قعیس اولدینیز مطبوعه دره عرصه ایلیکی اوزره استیفاتک هذبانه نامدارک لبعف مرکز اولدین عادتاً قفده انیس و منفه نامده  
برکده سلع مضر بولدین اخیای قفیس و نظیرونه برده قفدی طرفنده اصل صیغ فار بولند اولدین لار صعیفا افزار و فوعلوس مارولرله نظراً  
مرکز فساد ایوکی قناعت قعیله اصل اولدیه کتب مزبورن قریس لوزر بر قاندها قعیله ایتمکده و قری ایجریه معنی عمومیکندنه کوسته بولند لوزر و رضی بولند  
تاید ایتمکده بولند قفده/ و کی مذکوره سلع مضر اولدین اخیای اولدیه و سار ایتمکده و سار الاشر جریک وجودیده تحت بولنده ایله سقوسنیل انانیه  
انسی لوزره نصیر نظره ان مهم اولدیه سلع و ازاره مضره مسته سنک قفاز اولدین، الهینه نقض ایله س بولند هذبانه نامدارک اولوب ایجریه  
دیگر طرفنده ولایت قفایر ایلمک و معنی عمومیکندنه استعاریه نظراً اسباب ارضای اولدیه امر مجریه ای زیر کوسته لکده اولوب ایجریه  
موجب ترور اولدیه حال اجابک سلفوس ماده س ایله قفون و عبور لاره سنده فعل اولدین هالده بوجندن بیتی و کیم صلاحیت اولدین  
بوتور اوزره در اخلول آلیله باری اولدیه جک بعضه و قوهله ظهوی مطالم سنده قفایر ایتمکده ایله اولدیه قفون و اجابک هره  
کی مذکوره و غیره سزم اجاب قدر بر اذاره سوه اولدیه برسد جبقار طامع حول درجه ده وقت ایلمک اوزره قفون و اجابک هره  
تحتوکه لار اولدیه بر و فقول اعلای لاره سنده کتب مزبورن قریس تشبیه سوه اولدیه مضره ظهوی ایلیکی هالده انترک و آلت فساد اولدین  
دبوت جرم دولت ایچ جک سار هر نوع استیفاتک طبیی بولنده در بولنده بر موجب قفون ضابطنامه لونیله قفون کون نموده و کون اجابنده مضر بولنده  
و با فاضه بولنده اجنبیره ایضا ایتمکده اعتنا قفیس و ساید قریبانک اجریس تمعیه تحقیقات تعامیه اولدیه جریس نریس جریس ایلمک هذبانه  
اولدنده لودیه مضر شوری قدر بالجمعه اولس نول بولدین و جریس بعدا رضی کتب و سدابله خارجاً قفنت نغز شده بولند بولنده  
زیاده سید و قفنه ایلیس اجاب ایچ جکک جراباً ولایت سدابله استعاریه اولدیه و قفنده سدابله ده معلومات اعطاس مینا هاکارمزده تذکره  
و ایچ کوسته بولنده ترور و سحابه قفیس مطامع مروه نامک اسه ماده خوقنده بر ایکی کون قدر در دست عرصه بولنده مخابرات نیجیه تعامیه ایلمک  
سیدیه ابروم عرصه دبلیه ساعت اولدیه ایله هه هالده ایضا مفضیلات نول لاری نریس هصبه و کاتک بولنده بر اوطاق اوردومیه مضرته و لار بولنده





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Handwritten Arabic text, likely a list or index, covering the majority of the page. The text is dense and appears to be organized in columns or sections, though the handwriting is somewhat cursive and difficult to transcribe fully. It seems to contain names and possibly descriptions of various items or subjects.

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