

**American Missionaries, Armenian Community,
and the Making of Protestantism in the Ottoman
Empire, 1820-1860**

By

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This manuscript has been read and accepted by the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

American Missionaries, Armenian Community, and the Making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860

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This dissertation explores how missionaries of *the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)* started their journey to the East hoping to reach Jerusalem to “save” souls and “convert” Jews and Muslims in the Bible lands (1819), ultimately landed in Istanbul (1831), and partitioned the Armenian Church in the Ottoman Empire into two (1846). The study focuses upon American Protestant missionaries and examines their complex relations with the indigenous population of the region, especially the Armenians. Missionary relations with the “heathens” (as missionaries often referred to the locals) led to the formation of the “Protestant millet” in the Ottoman Empire.

This study argues that American missionaries had contradictory impact on the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire. On the one hand, they introduced missionary services, most importantly education, to the Armenian community in the

Ottoman capital and across Asia Minor, preparing Armenians for the financial and spiritual challenges of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, they divided the same community, transforming and creating new factions.

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Introduction

On Friday, July 13th, 1860, a Protestant Armenian died in Balat, a European quarter in Istanbul. His family and friends planned to bury him in the Armenian cemetery, where his wife owned a space, the following day. For almost a decade Protestant Armenians had buried their dead at the old Armenian cemeteries without any difficulties. According to the rules of the Armenian Apostolic Orthodox Church in the city and the Ottoman Sublime Porte, these places belonged to the Armenians as "community" (*millet*) and not as a religious "sect." When the funeral procession arrived at the place of burial on Saturday, July 14, a mob "of the lowest class of Armenians," suddenly, rushed upon them with loud yells and fierce threats, declaring that no Protestant should be buried in that ground.¹

The small police force there could not clear the crowd, so they sent a messenger to the Armenian Patriarch, the head of the Armenian Church, who lived in Istanbul. The messenger later returned with a large police force and an order from the Patriarch himself for the immediate burial of the man. The crowd

¹ "Outbreak at Constantinople," *The New York Observer*, 23 August 1860, sec. Religious Department. The story here and below draws on this source as well as the Ottoman document on outbreak in Istanbul, B.O.A.K.: Tarih: 29/Za/1276(Hicri), Dosya No: 19, Gömlek No: 836, Fon Kodu: İ.MMS. *Protestan mezhebinden ölen adamın cenazesinin defnedildiğine ve muhalefet edenlerin cezalandırılmasına dair.*

still refused to allow the burial, and drove off the officer of the Patriarch, nearly beating him to death. As time progressed, the crowd increased in size, and the police stood their ground, protecting the body and the clergyman who was to deliver the funeral sermon. Having made no progress that evening, they spent the following two days, Sunday and Monday, running back and forth between the Sublime Porte and the Armenian Patriarchate, while the crowd continued to grow. Owing to the violent temperament of the crowd, the police increased their force. After being informed of the situation at the Armenian Cemetery, the Ottoman Sublime Porte intervened. The Porte decided that the right of burial belonged to the Protestants. Furthermore, the authorities ordered the general in charge of the troops to clear the grounds, and allow the Protestants to bury their dead.

On Tuesday, the Armenian Patriarch changed his position. He now sided with the crowd and cancelled his instructions of the previous day and ordered that this body should be buried elsewhere. The Ottoman authorities in the city became extremely frustrated by this, as it completely undermined their authority. Adding to their frustration was the extent of unruliness of the crowd. The news spread quickly in town and the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Sir Henry Bulwer, along with the American Ambassador, Honorary James Williams, heard of the

incident. They immediately called upon the Armenian Patriarch together and demanded that he give his consent to the burial in the cemetery without further delay. Under great pressure from the British and American political establishments in town, the Patriarch consented. They also asked the Ottoman authorities to send a proper military force promptly to the cemetery so that the Protestant could be honorably buried.

Accordingly, on the day after, Wednesday, the Minister of War, Rıza Pasha, accompanied by several hundred troops, the Armenian Patriarch, the head of the Armenian Protestant community in Istanbul, a small number of Armenian Protestants, and a large number of Orthodox Armenians again gathered on the grounds. A place for burial within the cemetery was selected as per the agreement between the Porte representatives, the Armenian Patriarch, and the Protestants; a grave was dug and the order given to put in the body. Unwilling to accept this order, the crowd attempted to push "in a sudden rage of anger and fury" forward nearer the site. In this chaotic situation, Rıza Pasha ordered the grave re-filled with soil and another one dug in on the middle of a neighboring carriage road.

The new site was considered by the Protestants "an improper and dishonorable" place for burial. As previously advised by the

ambassadors and missionaries, they refused to bury the dead man there. The authorities did not yield, and the Protestants ultimately gave up. As a result, the body was finally buried in the street. Once buried, the huge crowd rushed over the grave, trampling and spitting upon it. After this, Rıza Pasha ordered that the road should be turned aside and demolished, and a space enclosed around the grave. This was done. The grave was guarded by a company of soldiers for days after the incident.

Several days later, the crowd drove the Protestants from their homes not only in Balat, but also from Samatya and Hasköy, districts of Istanbul which were on the European side of the city. The police suspended Protestant worship to prevent new outbreaks. Consequently, on Saturday, July 21, 1860, the American Embassy in Istanbul sent a formal notice to Americans residing there stating that the greatest caution was necessary, as affairs in Istanbul were in a tumultuous state. They warned of the possibility of another outbreak at any time.

Thousands of miles away, readers of *the New York Observer* in the United States read of this incident via a letter sent from Istanbul dated July 24, 1860. The letter covered the incident in depth, and stressed the turmoil was a result of a disagreement amongst Christians, -- Armenian Orthodox and

Armenian Protestants - and thus not Christians vs. Muslims. It concluded that friends of American missionaries in Turkey have no cause, as yet, to fear for their *personal* safety.²

The story of the funeral procession of a Protestant Armenian in Istanbul and the events afterwards in the summer of 1860 are critically important in the analysis and narrative of the American missionary encounter with the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. They provide us with a detailed narrative of the chaotic atmosphere of the funeral episode itself with respect to the complex players on the ground. More importantly, however, the story helps us to construct a space in history in which to review, reconsider, and reevaluate the dynamics and limits of the communal relations of one local ethnic entity, *the Armenians*, in Ottoman Istanbul and perhaps across Anatolia in the middle of the nineteenth century. How did the Armenian community come to this juncture? What caused this rift within the community? Answers are as challenging as the plot and depend on a complex foundational narrative of the stories from the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s. These were the years of some of the earliest encounters between American Protestant missionaries, the Armenian community, and the Ottoman Empire.

² "Outbreak at Constantinople," *The New York Observer*, 23 August 1860, sec. Religious Department.

This dissertation explores how missionaries of *the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)* started their journey to the East hoping to reach Jerusalem to “save” souls and “convert” Jews and Muslims in the Bible lands (1819), landed in Istanbul (1831), and partitioned the Armenian Church in the Ottoman Empire into two (1846). They accomplished this through a process of “restoration” and “reformation” of the Church structure by creating a Protestant community (*millet*) out of it (1850). After working for two decades in the Ottoman capital and in Asia Minor with the help of indigenous assistants (mostly Armenian converts), the missionaries created a new community that eventually became as autonomous as the other millets of the Ottoman Empire.

This work argues that instead of reforming the Armenian Church, the missionaries split it. For Armenians supporting the Patriarch, or hoping to reform the church, it was a big blow. For Americans, it was an achievement. This story illuminates local Armenian history within communal boundaries during the mid-nineteenth-century. All in all, American missionaries had contradictory impact on the Armenian community in the Ottoman Empire. On the one hand, they introduced missionary services, most importantly education, to the Armenian community in the Ottoman capital and across Asia Minor, preparing Armenians for

the financial and spiritual challenges of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, they divided the same community, transforming and creating new factions.

Overview of the Study

Reconstructing the story of American missionaries, the Armenian community, and the making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire requires a balance of perspectives and the employment of a variety of sources. These include the Annual Reports of ABCFM; incorporated in 1810 in Boston; missionary journals, primarily the *Missionary Herald*; magazines and papers published by the Board in the US and abroad; missionary letters and diaries; and finally American Embassy reports as primary sources. These were available at the Houghton and Andover-Harvard Theological Libraries of Harvard University, which house official archives of the ABCFM in general; the Union Theological Seminary of New York City; and the New York Public Library. In addition, other university libraries hold private collections from graduates who later became overseas missionaries. Some examples are the papers of William Goodell at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. These and others have been used here.

Almost all of the American Board missionary accounts that have been located in libraries in the United States were edited

and eventually published by the American Board itself. It is imperative to probe these sources in depth and study their ingredients, in a manner of speaking, their genetic make-up.

Incorporation of other sources alongside the missionary writings is the most essential part of the methodology of this study. In order to balance perspectives, missionary writings are combined with Ottoman Turkish documents. Ottoman Turkish archival materials are central to the study of activities of the American missionaries in Istanbul and the Anatolian hinterland and will be utilized and examined in detail in chapter five.

These documents, located at *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* in Istanbul (Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives), focus on an ethnic entity during the 1830s, 1840s, and especially the 1850s. Such materials help contribute to the growing literature on missionaries by emphasizing how the local community saw the missionaries. The material also shows how members of the local community responded to one another on their own terms. This results in a greater awareness of the roles missionaries played in Istanbul and wider Anatolia and of their impact on Armenians. Consequently, this study also brings to light changing patterns in behavior, attitudes, and relations within the community. This is a key element of this study's contribution to the literature

on missionaries, as well as to Ottoman social and communal history in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

The Ottoman documents reveal stories of kidnapping, excommunication, sabotage, abuse, conspiracy, and other illicit behavior within the Armenian community. Eventually the community was divided as a result of the injection of new beliefs, ideas, and behaviors. Interestingly, these stories have been hitherto ignored.

There are various explanations for why these sources have been ignored. These include unfamiliarity with such sources, difficulty in accessing the Ottoman materials, and the inability to translate Ottoman Turkish. The material may also have been ignored by those unwilling to cast negative aspersions on American-Armenian relations in that period. One assumes that this rests on the question of how historical data is perceived, read, and presented in writings with arguments.

Ottoman materials shed light on alternative stories within the same community. This will take us beyond the general approach. This should allow for a chance to evaluate, from another perspective, the dynamics of communal relations of Armenians during and after the split in Istanbul and beyond. This study, in particular, aims to analyze a number of Ottoman

documents that contain individual or group petitions of Protestant Armenians in various parts of the empire to the local Ottoman authorities, primarily in Istanbul and wider Anatolia, against their mistreatment at the hands of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul or its representatives and/or members elsewhere. Exploring these Ottoman documents together with missionary and diverse secondary sources will provide us with a better picture of the collective history of American missionaries, the Armenian community, and the Ottoman Empire.

This study uses Ottoman Turkish sources to access an Armenian perspective. It would be important and fascinating if the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul would allow access of their archived documents to researchers regarding this subject matter. It is certain that there is a rich treasury awaiting discovery and analysis. The secondary sources covering American missionary involvement with Armenians in the Ottoman Empire or histories of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire are also utilized. This study also makes use of secondary sources on the social, economic and political history of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century.

Organization of the Study

This study is organized in five chapters and an epilogue. Chapter one focuses on the historical narrative of the missionaries in the Middle East. It demonstrates that the Biblical lands, being the birth place of Jesus and Christianity, were always of significant importance. It argues that the importance of the Biblical lands is especially true among Catholic and Protestant missionaries, both in their collective historical memoirs and religious consciousness over the centuries. This chapter also presents the historical background of the Armenians in the Ottoman Empire and their first communal split, which led to the formation of the "Catholic Millet" in the Ottoman Empire. The historical narrative of the first split amongst the Armenians is critically important for us in order to better understand the turmoil that the Armenians were going through in the capital, across Asia Minor, and the Levant at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It contributes to the general setting of this study, namely how a new missionary organization (ABCFM), far away from Istanbul, directed their attention to the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire shortly after its first communal split.

Chapter two charts the religious revivalism of the Second Great Awakening in the United States (1800-1850). This awakening took place in the northeastern states and provided the context for the founding of the ABCFM as a foreign mission society. This part also investigates how in a short period of time the ABCFM became a Protestant missionary recruiting center, sending out missionaries to various parts of the world, including the Ottoman Empire. Then the focus will turn to the early nineteenth-century Ottoman social, religious, political, and regional reality. It thus sets the context for Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, the first two missionaries of the American Board appointed to the Ottoman Empire in the early 1820s.

In the third chapter, the focus is on Reverend William Goodell and other missionaries along with their families, and their efforts to establish a Protestant community in the region. This chapter will present how early in the 1820s the American Board missionaries began their journey to the East, aiming for Jerusalem, hoping to reach the hearts and minds of "the heathens" of the region to provide many with "true salvation." It will also demonstrate how later in the 1820s, the missionaries ended with relative success but great fear for the future of their mission. The early missionaries, Goodell in particular, were disappointed at their reception, particularly

by Catholics in the region. Specific attention will be given to Goodell, because he was one of the first American Protestant missionaries appointed to the Middle East. He was the first missionary of the American Board in Istanbul with a special mandate. In June 1831, he established the Board's first continuous missionary station in the Ottoman Empire, called "the Constantinople Mission." He resided in Istanbul until his retirement in 1865. The intended purpose of Goodell's mission was to reach the Armenian population of the city. The second part of the chapter discusses Malta and the missionary printing press as part of the missionary efforts in the Mediterranean world. It will argue that the press was absolutely integral to the missionary effort, because literacy was key to the project. Protestants aimed to by-pass traditional religious hierarchy and clerics, taking the Bible directly to people in a language they could comprehend. The missionary press served this purpose for many decades through the region.

Chapter four examines how the American missionaries pushed the Armenian community in "supportive" commitment with "enlightenment and reform" policies, encouraging them to reform their own church: the Armenian Apostolic (Gregorian) Church. It discusses the perceptions of the early missionaries of the Eastern Churches and draws upon examples of missionary

engagement with so-called "reform-minded" Armenian evangelicals. Rather than bringing reformation or restoration to the Armenian Church, however, this action split the members of the Armenian community in the years to come. The chapter also discusses the limits of the missionary activities of Goodell and others, especially Cyrus Hamlin, founder of the Bebek Seminary, in evangelical education in Istanbul and Asia Minor. Finally it explores the educational policy of ABCFM in general, and then, shows how one local institution - the Bebek Seminary -- challenged it over time.

Chapter five, which is also the center of the dissertation, analyzes the missionary impact and dissension amongst the Armenians. The Ottoman Porte allowed missionaries in; however, it forbade them from proselytizing among Muslims. Thus, the Protestant missionaries and their indigenous converts sought instead to reform the Armenian Church. This was a direct assault on the church hierarchy, practices, rituals, and powers. As a result, this became the most prominent reason for the negative response of the Patriarchate, its members, and followers in the city and through Anatolia towards the missionaries and their converts. Consequently, the principle opposition to the Protestant missionaries of the capital came not from the Ottoman government, which protected Muslim subjects from missionaries,

but from the patriarch of the Armenian Church. As early as 1840s, the Armenian Apostolic Church began to excommunicate Armenians who turned towards Protestantism; those who persisted were hated, ignored, and more importantly impoverished. This chapter centers on the response of the Armenian Patriarchate in the city and that of the local Armenians to the American Board, its missionaries, and their fellow Armenian converts in the Ottoman capital as well as across Asia Minor from the mid 1830s onwards.

The epilogue of the study surveys how Turkish writings on missionaries developed chronologically and contextually over the years. Specific focus is given to publications over three time periods: 1930s, 1960s, and late 1990s and early 2000s. But they represent the ingredients of the general missionary literature in modern Turkey colored with nationalist sentiments in a broad sense. This study will suggest that building a parallel correlation over three periods may take us unto a stage in which we may better understand the constructed space of missionaries and their roles in history through Turkish writings today. The writings of these authors are now being debated, challenged, and questioned by many scholars.

Anglo-American Scholarship on Missionaries in the Middle East

In order to study one of the American missionary organizations (The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions - ABCFM) and its experience in a particular geographical unit and space of time, as in the case of this study, it is fundamental to analyze the major approaches to missionaries, their roles, and debates with respect to imperialism, modernism, and nationalism. The historiographical part of the introduction thus analyzes specific approaches and scholarship on these issues. The key question to be evaluated in this part is how and through what perspectives historians, scholars, and independent researchers writing in English differ in assessing missionaries in history.

Today "imperialism" and "modernity" are the two common analytical frames for European and American histories of missionaries. With regards to imperialism, numerous studies present the idea that missionaries universalized "Western culture" over time, by equating it with "Christian revelation." They also argue that they transformed the "others" in foreign lands and sometimes at home, to be like them during the formative years of Western imperial impact on vast colonial territories. Some call this "cultural imperialism," whereas others identify it as a "culture of imperialism."

Andrew Porter argues that the very term "cultural imperialism" presents us with a semantic minefield, and can easily be stretched to include any instance where awareness of a wider world of the West has influenced cultural change. He states that "cultural imperialism" carries the connotation of winners and losers in a battle for influence and control, when in practice, identification with another culture and a critical approach to one's own are not necessarily associated with the constraints and domination integral to "imperialism" and colonial rule.³ According to him, there are important practical distinctions to be drawn in any given society between the significance of a missionary presence, the extent of missionary influence, and the possibility of missionary imperialism. Therefore, he suggests that for all the enthusiastic commitment of missionaries to a common Christianity, the history of missions illustrates forcefully the fluidity of both religion and culture.⁴

Supporting this view of missionaries and their connection with "cultural imperialism," Jeremy Salt argues that

³ Andrew Porter, "Imperialism, Altruism, and Missionary Enterprise: the British Protestant experience since the late eighteenth century," in *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, edited by Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 8-9.

⁴ Porter, "Imperialism, Altruism, and Missionary Enterprise," 9.

missionaries went abroad fully equipped with the notions of racial and civilizational superiority common to European men. He points out that whether in the Ottoman Empire or in India or China or in the Sandwich Islands, missionaries were not only the bearers of "Gospel truth" but came as representatives of the Anglo-Saxon "race" and the representatives more generally of a "superior" civilization in all material and spiritual aspects.⁵

In constructing European empires, missionaries and their enterprises played essential roles. Over the centuries, missionaries also contributed to the formation of a space in which colonial European powers, agents, travelers, and writers distinguished themselves from the colonized people and lands in their cultural and religious habits. By doing so, consciously or unconsciously, they contributed to the building of "the other."⁶ As Porter points out, missionaries contributed to the differentiation and classification of communities, both of which were at the highest levels of historical or linguistic scholarship; and contributed also in the perpetuation of stereotypes in popular missionary literature. That is to say, the global expansion of the evangelical Protestant activity not

⁵ Jeremy Salt, "Trouble Whenever They Went: American Missionaries in Anatolia and Ottoman Syria in the 19th Century," in *Altruism and Imperialism*, 162.

⁶ See Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

only reflected the worldwide distribution of relative power, but also assisted in defining the boundaries between various religions. Such distinction between religions also created competition amongst them.⁷

As now commonly acknowledged, before World War II, the United States did not promote itself as an "imperial power" in world affairs. Thus, they had a limited presence politically, economically, and militarily in the Middle East. During decades of residence in the region, American missionaries were usually dependent on British and, sometimes, French political protection. This was so, even though, American diplomatic relationships with the Ottoman Sublime Port had started as early as 1830s and fully established through her embassy in Istanbul and consulates across the region.⁸ Instead of being "conscious agents" of American imperial design on the Empire, American missionaries contributed to bringing the region into the consciousness of the United States' political establishment in Washington D.C. The missionaries not only helped to raise consciousness in the US capital about the region, but also

⁷ Porter, "Imperialism, Altruism, and Missionary Enterprise," 8.

⁸ For the establishment of American-Turkish relations, see Leland J. Gordon, "Turkish-American Treaty Relations," *The American Political Science Review* 22. No. 3 (1928): 711-721.

contributed to the construction of US foreign policy in the Middle East.

David H. Finnie discusses the missionaries in connection with American relations in the Middle East. In his classic work on missionaries, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East*, he suggests that missionaries played a unique role in the formation of the American relations within the region. They not only had a seminal influence on the development of Arab nationalism, but were the prime source of information. That is, in terms of American awareness and knowledge of the area, the prime source of information was - until the mid 1950s - the missionaries who lived, traveled about these regions and who learned the languages out of professional necessity, according to him. As late as World War II, the U.S. government, he suggests, drew heavily on the experience of men of missionary background. As he states, the continuity of specialized knowledge is important. What the missionary organization did was provide later American generations with a framework within which to develop the knowledge of the region.⁹

Like Finnie, Heather Sharkey emphasizes the roles of missionaries not only as Christian evangelizers but also as

⁹ David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 135-36.

ambassadors for the U.S. and as promoters of American culture and "modernity." In her study, "Empire and Christian Evangelism: The Local and Global Consequences of American Missionary Encounters," she argues that despite a century of work among Egypt's Muslim majority and indigenous Coptic Christian minority, they gained relatively few converts. American missionaries nevertheless exerted a "social impact" on Middle Eastern societies. They expanded educational opportunities for both Muslim and Christian Egyptian females and contributed to the local reconfiguration of gender roles and relations. They transmitted information and opinions that influenced the formulation of US foreign policy in the Middle East. According to Sharkey, they also shaped the underpinning of "American Orientalism." Within American universities they helped to define the area studies field called Oriental, Near Eastern, or Middle Eastern Studies. She argues that missionary encounters were intensely global and local at the same time. Sharkey also states that American missionaries were an integral part of one of the defining forces in modern Middle Eastern history, namely in the process of global expansion and of cultural, economic, and political imperialism.¹⁰

¹⁰ Heather Sharkey, "Empire and Christian Evangelism: The Local and Global Consequences of American Missionary Encounters," paper presented at a

Unlike many others, Ian Tyrrell is concerned much more with cultural expansion in the period of great missionary activities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that is consistent with the "networks of communication thesis." In his article, "Woman, Mission, and Empire: New Approaches to American Cultural Expansion," he integrates missionary expansionism of the nineteenth century with American Imperialism. He is referring not to territorial expansion, as with the British and French, but with a cultural imperialism. According to him, the morality aspect of the American Empire was closely connected with the way Americans needed to distance themselves from European empires. Therefore, he argues this issue of "morality" was closely connected with the role of women and missions, and the role of women, in turn, provided one of the key elements of distinctiveness that contributed to American exceptionalism. Women's role in cultural expansion, he points out, brought the

conference in honor of Prof. Robert L. Tignor, "*The Empire and Its Discontents*" Department of History, Princeton University, September 16-17, 2005. For more on American Evangelical movements in the Middle East, see Heather Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

themes of Christian evangelism, imperialism, and American exceptionalism together via transnational moral reform.¹¹

Although general scholarship on American Protestant missionaries discusses them and their roles in history with respect to their contribution to the formation of the United States' foreign policy, and does not commonly locate them in greater American imperialism, the nature of state-missionary relations among the French seem close, according to Elizabeth Thompson. In her study of Jesuits and the French mandate in Syria and Lebanon, Thompson argues that records in the French foreign ministry and Jesuit archives, as well as Jesuit publications, suggest that the political environment of the Third Republic and of the mandate profoundly shaped French missionaries' ideology and activity in the Levant.¹² As she states, the missionaries worked within the powerful French nexus that routinely privileged Christians over Muslims and men over women, in political and economic arenas. Citizens' protests

¹¹ Ian Tyrrell, "Woman, Mission, and Empire: New Approaches to American Cultural Expansion" paper presented at conference "*Competing Kingdoms: Woman, Mission, Nation, and American Empire, 1812-1930*" University of Oxford, April 27 to 29, 2006. See also, Willy Jansen, "Arab Women with a Mission. The Sisters of the Rosary," in *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern historical missions in the Middle East*, edited by Martin Tamcke and Michael Marten (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 41-61.

¹² Elizabeth Thompson, "Neither Conspiracy Nor Hypocrisy: The Jesuits and the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon," in *Altruism and Imperialism*, 68.

against the institutionalization of sectarian and gender privilege produced demands for true social rights universally and equally. According to her, the missionaries thus indirectly helped to lay the foundations of a colonial welfare state, but at great cost. Protection of religious minorities also institutionalized sectarian politics and gender hierarchy that outlasted the mandate. Thompson also points out that although the Jesuits' intent was to guarantee the survival of their missions and to protect missionaries from harm, the greater effect of their actions was to reverse Ottoman-era trends towards laicism and aggravate sectarian frictions.¹³

The missionaries from various countries sometimes intentionally and other times unintentionally focused attention on the status of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire. Long before the French mandate regime in Syria and Lebanon, in the early nineteenth century, they did this through the channels of their educational and religious establishments in the region. Through missionary activities and collaboration with the economic and political establishments of nationals in the region, they also helped to create a diplomatic mixture among the European powers. This gained them influence among religious minorities, such as

¹³ Thompson, "Neither Conspiracy Nor Hypocrisy," 69.

the Greeks, Armenians, Jews, Assyrians, Nestorians, and even among the Shi'ite Alevis across the region.¹⁴ This, along with many other social, political and economic factors, ultimately led the Ottoman government to initiate the reform and modernization process, starting with *Hatti Sherif of Gulhane* of 1839, and following through the decades of the Tanzimat period.

Bruce Masters illuminates this specific interpretation of the roles of missionaries in history in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Roots of Sectarianism*. He argues that missionaries served to intensify questions of religious identity and leadership of the established religious communities - Catholics, Orthodox, Jews, and for the first time Muslim. He states that Protestant missionaries set off a cultural war wherein European powers, such as Austrian, Italian, French, British, Russian, sought proxies in an escalation of competition

¹⁴ For missionaries and their relations and impact on minorities, see Esra Danacioğlu, "American Missions, Armenians, Jews and Nestorians in the Ottoman Empire," paper presented at conference "The History of American-Turkish Relations 1833-1989" Boğaziçi University, June 5-8, 2006. Also see, Hans-Lukas Keiser, "Some Remarks on Alevi Responses to the Missionaries in Eastern Anatolia (19th-20th centuries)," in *Altruism and Imperialism*, pp. 120-142. Barbara J. Merguerian, "Missions in Eden: Shaping and Educational and Social Program for the Armenians in Eastern Turkey (1855-1895)," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006), pp. 241-261. Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "The Middle East: western missionaries and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1815-c.1914*, edited by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 458-472.

to influence the various religious communities of the empire.¹⁵ This was evident especially in Eastern Anatolia as missionaries established an undisputable presence among the Armenian community in the region. This assisted them to enlarge their national aspirations through the medium of educational and philanthropic endeavors there.¹⁶

Turning from discussion of the roles of missionaries in imperialism, some scholars focus on missionaries' roles in carrying "Western modernity" to new lands. Such studies not only characterize them as "modernizers" but also suggest that missionaries were capable of carrying out good works. The "good deeds" helped to prepare people materially, intellectually, or spiritually for the challenges of the nineteenth century. Robert L. Daniel discusses missionaries in his article "American Influence in the Near East before 1861," looking at their impact in the Ottoman Empire through educational, religious, philanthropic, and publication efforts. According to him, the missionaries had a divisive impact on Ottoman society. He also states that by 1860, Turkey was less stable than it had been at

¹⁵ Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 146.

¹⁶ Further on this, see Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians 1878-1896* (London: Frank Cass, 1993). Also see, Eleanor H. Tejirian, "Faith of Our Fathers: Near East Relief and the Near East Foundation-From Missions to NGO," in *Altruism and Imperialism*.

the beginning of the century. Europeans were desirous of deposing the Sultan for not going far enough with reform; Muslim subjects were humiliated because of the concessions that had been forced on Turkey; Christian subjects reportedly were plotting revolution. While the Americans were not prepared to prevent the disintegration of the Ottoman state, their work helped speed the Westernization of Turkey.¹⁷

Ussama Makdisi argues that both Protestant missionaries and European colonial administrators thought of themselves as representing modernity in the periphery of the "civilized" and "Christian world."¹⁸ Yet, Protestant missionaries, as Heleen Murre-van den Berg states, were responsible for several projects. They propagated a form of modernity which included good education for all, domestic hygiene, efficiency in the household as well as in the public domain, fair dealings in commerce, democratic institutions instead of authoritarian governments, a free press, equal relationships in marriage, and women's active participation in public life through education.

¹⁷ Robert L. Daniel, "American Influence in the Near East before 1861," *American Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 1. (Spring 1964).

¹⁸ Ussama Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 102, No. 3 (June, 1997), 680-713.

According to her, American Protestants were the most typical proponents of such views of modernity since Europeans often tended to be more conservative. In her article, "The Middle East: western missionaries and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism," she suggests that in line with the assumption that Islam was not easily compatible with modernity, the missionaries usually did not consider modernization as a goal in itself. For most of the century, in the Middle East as in other Protestant mission fields, "civilization" was seen more as logical and irresistible result of the conversion process rather than either a prerequisite for conversion or a separate object of mission.¹⁹

In the debate on modernity and civilization, Paul William Harris, biographer of Rufus Anderson, argues that indigenous people had the ability and will to act constructively on their own behalf. Indigenous clients of the American Board, according to him, were quite capable of borrowing selectively and wisely from the West. Rather than looking into the question of whether missionaries civilized or modernized the "natives," he is more concerned with whether missionaries offered indigenous peoples a variety of resources from which to fashion effective responses

¹⁹ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "The Middle East: western missionaries and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1815-c.1914*, edited by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 465-66.

to their situation. In that sense, according to him, "civilizing" strategies, though radically antagonistic to indigenous ways of life, could afford more useful sources of assistance.²⁰

Education, as Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon suggest, became the most important means of pursuing the missionaries' proclaimed goals of making the people of the Middle East modern and creating an elite, often a non-Muslim one, to accomplish this purpose.²¹ American Protestant missionaries in particular emphasized the importance of education and literacy among the "heathens" of the region. Through projects such as the printing press and translation work of the missions in Izmir, Beirut, Urmia, and elsewhere, education was seen, in time, by the various missionary groups, as one of the most powerful elements in their mission of evangelizing the "heathen." Therefore, one of the main enterprises of the missionaries in the region turned out to be the founding of schools. They created first home schools, then public elementary and secondary schools, and finally seminaries

²⁰ Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8.

²¹ Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, "Introduction," in *Altruism and Imperialism*, viii.

for the education of boys and girls across the region. Although the stated purpose of these schools was to develop native preachers and teachers by instilling knowledge of the Bible and Christian history, eventually they helped to generate "self" and "shared" consensus among the natives. This resulted in the emergence of an elite class, Muslim and non-Muslim, within various communities in the Middle East, including the Balkans, in the second part of the nineteenth century.

In his work, *The Arab Awakening*, George Antonius interprets missionaries as being indispensable tools for spreading nationalism. Missionaries were viewed as being a part of the emergence of Arab nationalism along the course of a "secular" and "liberal" Arab awakening with the aim of overthrowing Western imperialism from the region. Unlike Antonius, Albert Hourani bases his thesis of Arab nationalism on "Islamic modernism," formulated as a response to imperialist encroachments and, as such, he stresses an "Islamic unity" against Europe. Therefore, while Islamic modernist ideas led to an enhanced Arab consciousness, this did not translate into a political agenda that undermined the legitimacy of the Ottoman state, according to him.²² Nonetheless, this was the problem

²² For more on Arab nationalism, see George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening; The Story of the Arab National Movement* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1946); Albert Habib Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939* (Cambridge;

associated with the modernizing process of missionaries in other regions.

As Heleen Murre-van den Berg points out, a connection between the missionaries' involvement with the Christian communities on the one hand, and the deterioration of inter-communal relationships on the other, cannot be denied.²³ In the course of the incorporation of the Ottoman economy into the world economy in the nineteenth century, the local non-Muslim communities - Greeks, Armenians, and Jews - developed very rapidly. Their communities grew quickly in terms of wealth, power, and influence, as opposed to the Muslim communities of the region.²⁴ Mostly non-Muslim groups benefited from the inter-connections of the two worlds.²⁵ This inter-connection between the local non-Muslim communities and the Western merchants, the

New York : Cambridge University Press, 1983.) and *A History of the Arab Peoples* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1991).

²³ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "The Middle East: western missionaries and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism," 470.

²⁴ For Ottoman Empire and World economy, see Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The nineteenth century* (Albany, NY: State University of New York, 1988). Also see Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The Commerce of Smyrna in the Eighteenth Century, 1700-1820* (Athens: Center for Asia Minor Studies, 1992).

²⁵ For the origins of the sectarian conflict and shared roles of missionaries within it in the Middle East, see Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley, Calif. : University of California Press, 2000). Also see, Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

political establishments, and the missionaries resulted in a rise of consciousness of their shared interests. This also led to a growing nationalism among the Armenians in the end of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, these overall complex relations of interests in Western modern imperialism in the region, during the course of the nineteenth century, ended sadly. Such was the case of Turkish-Armenian relations before and during the First World War.²⁶

In addition to the printing press, translation works, and founding of schools, the missionaries also brought Western medicine and medical care to the region. By having a missionary physician in the field, they not only took care of the health of the members of missionary institutions but they also delivered services to the natives in the region. This was done in order to reach the hearts and minds of local people across the Middle East, and most of these services were free. This includes modern Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and some of the Gulf States. In the second part of the nineteenth century, women played an important role on the mission field as physicians and nurses.

²⁶ For more on this point, see Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians 1878-1896*.

In that respect, Fatma Hassan al-Sayegh credits the missionaries in her article "American Women Missionaries in the Gulf: Agents for Cultural Change" and suggests that the missionaries' working plan for Arabia depended largely on their humanitarian and secular agenda. Medical care, education, and social services, according to her, provided the tools for securing converts, and were justified primarily on those grounds to mission supporters at home. She also argues that while missionaries made it their job to transplant all aspects of Western culture to their new environment as part of the Christian "package," women missionaries and their supporters in the Church saw "women's work for women" as a liberating agent of change for women in "heathen lands." According to her, although women missionaries had not, in any real sense, liberated women in Arabia, they pioneered and remained leaders in providing female education and medical mission services. Their methods were eclectic and their goals ambitious. She states that missionaries' commitment to the social and charitable side of mission work transformed the lives of many Arab women as well as the face of a Christian mission. Ideas of social liberation, dignity of labor, and female employment were thus introduced into women's lives.²⁷

²⁷ Fatma Hassan al-Sayegh, "American Women Missionaries in the Gulf: Agents

Unlike Fatma Hassan al-Sayegh, Eleanor Abdella Doumato argues that she does not see any clear evidence of a "legacy" of the Arabian Mission over its seventy years of work in the region as the word "legacy" implies something of an enduring effect. She, however, points out that she finds an aspect of the mission's work that had a momentous impact on individuals at the time. The practice of medicine acted like a ripple effect on these societies on the whole. According to her, in each of its main stations, the mission built a hospital, staffed it with trained physicians and nurses, and offered medical care to everyone at nominal cost or for free. From 1903 when the first hospital was opened in Bahrain until income from oil began to flow, in the 1930s and 1940s, mission hospitals were the only source of western medicine available to the general public in the whole Gulf region. During this period, as she states, the mission brought western medicine not just to the towns but to surrounding villages and to distant rural areas through "touring" clinics. She proposes that in the process of pursuing their responsibilities, as both physicians and missionaries to be, an "extra legible illustration" of the Christian faith, they "experimented and innovated, gambled, and gave selflessly to

for Cultural Chance," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 9, No. 3. (1998), 339-356.

provide the best medical care possible, but at the same time, they were forced to make ethical choices that challenged their Christian moral compass."²⁸

Today, the roles of missionaries in the Middle East with respect to "imperialism," "modernity," and "nationalism," still remain a critical source of a methodological problem amongst scholars. Some interpret missionaries as agents and/or cultural ambassadors of western imperialism in the region. Accordingly, along the medium of education, printing, and medical works, missionaries extended their evangelism and western material and cultural modernity among the native students and communities in the region. Others argue that missionaries assisted in the manifestation of nationalistic aspirations and the rise of nationalism within the Ottoman political structure. Some believe that the missionaries sowed the seeds of ethnic and sectarian dissension in the Middle East. Some, on the other hand, endorse them with respect to their roles in philanthropic endeavors and the bringing of evangelical modernity into the region. By doing so, missionaries made the people of the Middle East "modern." One way or the other, missionaries and their roles in history

²⁸ Eleanor Abdella Doumato, "An Extra Legible Illustration of the Christian Faith: Medicine, Medical Ethics, and Missionaries in the Arabian Gulf," in *Altruism and Imperialism*, 167-182. Also see, Eleanor Abdella Doumato, *Getting God's Ear: Women, Islam, and Healing in Saudi Arabia and the Gulf* (New York: Columbia University Press: 2000).

will continue to dominate historical research topics and the interests of generations to come. What is imperative, however, is to acknowledge the fact that it is again the scholar's responsibility to employ all needed tools to conduct research on missionaries in history: research not to generalize but rather understand the missionaries in their own complex times and environment.

Chapter I

Foreign Missionaries in the Middle East,

1500s-1830s

The historical narrative of the missionaries in the Middle East is imperative for this study in order to better understand the significance of the people of the Middle East for the various missionary groups long before the American Board missionaries arrived in the region. The growing interests of the European missionary groups in the region would eventually help set the stage for the American missionaries. This is especially true at a time when the Armenians were going through turmoil in Istanbul, across Asia Minor, and the Levant in their first communal dispute in the beginning of the nineteenth century. The ABCFM missionaries were also searching and mapping of the Armenians particularly in Istanbul and through Asia Minor for their own mission. They would do so and send one of their "prime" missionaries, Rev. William Goodell, to Istanbul with a special mandate to open a station there and work among the Armenians as early as 1830s.

Historical Narrative of Missionaries in the Middle East

Over the centuries, the Eastern Mediterranean world, today known as the Middle East, fascinated countless Western men and

women of faith, travelers, adventurers, merchants and others as these were the lands of the prophets and the holy books. Generation after generation of people from the west traveled to, or through the region, or lived, worked, and died there. While they were privileged to witnessing and partaking of a great number of new experiences among the peoples of the land, (the Jews, the Eastern Christians, and the Muslims,) they also influenced these peoples with their religious, cultural, and economic imprints across the region. Such ideals were expressed in their correspondence to family and friends back home. Eventually they contributed (in all forms) to the formation of today's Middle East. As well as being the birth place of Jesus and Christianity, the Biblical lands were always of significant importance. This is especially true among Catholic and Protestant missionaries, both in their collective historical memoirs and religious consciousness over the centuries.

The "mission" to the East and Ottoman territories, begins as early as the sixteenth century. This resulted from the growth of the French Catholic influence in the Ottoman Empire after France secured the Capitulations on October 18, 1569. It was the first of its kind between France and the Ottoman Porte in accordance with an alliance against their common fear and threat of the Hapsburgs. The Capitulations marked the beginning of

France's privileged relationship and guaranteed exceptional position. Initially, these privileges were mostly of economic nature. However, they gradually played a role in the social lives of the Ottomans until the end of the empire in 1923.

It was the protection of this agreement that enabled the Church of France to facilitate its sending of the Catholic missionaries to the Ottoman domains for nearly four hundred years. It was intended that they should proselytize among the Eastern Christians, Jews, and perhaps even the Muslims. As it was the Spanish Empire which led Catholicism in the sixteenth century to the peoples of the New World, in their newly discovered colonies, it was the French Catholic missionaries of the seventeenth century who made it acceptable as a world religion in the East. As the Vatican was the spiritual head of the Catholic world, it was always thought and considered necessary by the Catholic Church that the Eastern Christians in all different doctrinal forms also needed to be "saved" and "brought" into the communion of Rome.

Until the early seventeenth century, the Catholic Church's missionary activities throughout the world were delivered by a mixture of fragmented organizations that came about from Roman and French traditions. On January 14, 1622 Pope Gregory XV

succeeded in bringing together the diverse missionary organizations into a centralized institution. This institution was called the *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* "Sacred Congregation for the Propagating of the Faith." Such was the task of this institution to spread Catholicism among the gentiles of the world and to bring the non-Catholics and schismatic sects under papal authority.¹ In the following two centuries, it was France who was the dominant power representing European political and religious authority in the Ottoman domains. They succeeded in this through the works of French ambassadors and consuls within the region, as well as with the assistance of the missionaries. Their focus was the propagation of the faith across the empire. Nonetheless, the relations between the Church of France, her Catholic missionaries, French government (at home), ambassadors, and consuls in the Ottoman Empire and the rest of the world, were critically tested towards, during, and after the French Revolution of 1789. It was also the first time that the missionaries felt they were pushed into the front lines when Napoleon invaded the Ottoman territory of Egypt in 1798. His confrontation with the Ottoman Empire, a traditional ally for the last two and a half centuries, created

¹ Charles A. Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The church and the Ottoman Empire 1453-1923* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 88.

tensions between the two countries not only on the political side but also on the religious front.

During the construction years of the French Revolution segregation of the religious doctrines, rituals, and symbols from the state institutions were on the ground with respect to "secularism." The Church of France and her missionaries felt for the first time great restrictions on their centuries-old traditions in relation to areas of living spaces, such as in family matters and education.²

The policies of the French government, such as, the suspension of the Society of Jesus (1773), reforms of Emperor Joseph II (nationalization of all French religious property in 1790), suppression of ecclesiastical principalities of the Holy Roman Empire, and finally the elimination of French missionary organizations by Napoleon in 1809, broke the power of the religious authority. Relentlessly this was not to be recovered again until decades later.³ Despite all, throughout the

² For more on the French Revolution and the relations between the Church and the Government, see George Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, translated by R. R. Palmer (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1967); Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (Berkeley, LA: University of California Press, 1984); Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, translated by Lydia G. Cochrane (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1991).

³ Sheridan Gilley, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1815-c.1914*, edited by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1-9.

eighteenth century, a number of Catholic missionaries worked towards proselytizing through religious and schooling activities among the Ottomans. This was mostly via Eastern Christians across the Balkans, Anatolia, the Middle East, and North Africa.⁴ Examples of such Catholic missionaries for instance were the Capuchins, Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits. These religious orders functioned under the protection of the Sacred Congregation of Rome and the French political authorities in the region.

In spite of their two hundred years presence in the region, proselytizing, and spreading theological education, their major contribution to the greater Catholic mission was primarily work toward the unification of the Eastern Christians with the Roman Catholic doctrine.⁵ This was done via limited resources through their establishments in Istanbul, Damascus, Aleppo, and Lebanon. Their centuries-old works culminated in an effort of reaching out to the diverse religious groups of Christianity in the East as represented by the different denominations. The list includes several examples such as the Coptic Church in Egypt, Armenian

⁴ For more on the Catholic Church and Church missionary activities in the Middle East, see Raymond Etteldorf, *The Catholic Church in the Middle East* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959).

⁵ George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening: the Story of the Arab National Movement* (Safety Harbor, FL: Simon Publications, 2001), 35-36.

Church in the Ottoman Empire and Persia, the Greek or "Rum" Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire and the Balkans, the Syrian Orthodox Church in northern Mesopotamia, the Assyrian Church in the northern Mesopotamia and north-western Persia, and the Maronite and Melkite Churches of the Levant.⁶

After all the power struggles and confrontations at home with the secular political establishments, the Church of France made every effort to reconstruct its diminished authority at home and abroad. They were finally able to return to their missions once again as a result of the restoration of the Jesuits in the Middle East in 1814. When the nineteenth century Protestant missionaries from Great Britain and the United States with their proselytizing efforts in the Middle East succeeded in converting the "natives," the Catholic missionaries returned to their old mission field in the Middle East. Throughout the nineteenth century they would again test their power of influence and compete with their Protestant counterparts in a battle of "reaching" and "saving" the hearts and minds of the people across the region as well as in other parts of the world.⁷

⁶ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "The Middle East: Western Missionaries and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, 459.

⁷ For more on Catholic and Protestant missionaries and their competition for converting the natives of the Middle East, see Heleen Murre-van den Berg,

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, while European powers, especially, the Great Britain, were establishing Empires, most of which spanned the globe with colonies. This was achieved in a short tenure via political and military expansions, missionary organizations (predominantly Protestant), associations, societies, and economic enterprises. They gradually made their way to the inner regions of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. Missionary development in the modern and particularly Protestant sense has origins dating back to 1789. This date in history marks the efforts of William Carey (1761-1834), a Baptist minister in England and later missionary in India. In his writings, William Carey stressed the importance of "Christianizing" and/or "civilizing," missions that is to say, putting forth the ideals of a "mission" for the "heathens." His dissertation study of 1792 entitled *"An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens"* denotes the entry of the English-speaking world into the missionary movement. This movement, as Stephen Neill states, for the greater mission, was on a rather large scale. According

"Simply by giving to them macaroni..." Anti-Roman Catholic polemics in the early Protestant missions in the Middle East, 1820-1860," in *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East*, edited by Martin Tamcke and Michael Marten (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2006), 63-80. Also see, Chantal Verdeil, "Between Rome and France, intransigent and anti-Protestant Jesuits in the Orient: The Beginning of the Jesuit's missions of Syria, 1831-1864," in *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings*, 23-32.

to Carey, missionary works needed to be delivered through five different, but, at the same time, all equally important elements, namely:

1- The widespread preaching of the Gospel by every possible method. 2- The distribution of the Bible in the languages of the country. 3- The establishment, at the earliest possible moment, of a Church. 4- A profound study of the background and thought of the non-Christian peoples. 5- The training at the earliest possible moment of an indigenous ministry.⁸

Carey's efforts lay the foundation for the English missionary movement in the long nineteenth century, a movement that spread all over the world, including the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, in 1792, the *Baptist Missionary Society* (BMS) was set up in London, followed by the English Independents and their missionary organization to India, the *London Missionary Society* (LMS) in 1795. The following year, the mission to Western Africa and then the one for Palestine, the *Scottish and Glasgow Missionary Societies* (SMS, GMS) were established.⁹ The Dutch formed their own missionary society immediately after their

⁸ Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, revised for the second ed. by Owen Chadwick (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books; New York, NY: Viking Penguin, 1986), 222-224.

⁹ Michael Marten, *Attempting to Bring the Gospel Home: Scottish Missions to Palestine, 1839-1917* (London, New York: Tauris, 2006), 6.

British counterparts, in 1797, and named it the *Netherlands Missionary Society* (NMS).¹⁰

The Protestant mission effort to the Middle East was initiated via the establishment of a missionary organization, called the *Church Missionary Society* (CMS), in 1800. It was founded by the Evangelical English Episcopalians for promoting Protestant Christianity in foreign lands.¹¹ They began their work in the Middle East by setting up a mission station, first in Malta, in 1815. Ten years later, they sent out missionaries to work in Egypt. In 1828, additional missionaries were sent to the isle of Syros in the Aegean and then, in 1830, in Izmir, a major port city of the Ottoman Empire located on the Aegean coast.¹² Gradually, many other missionary organizations from Great Britain followed on the footprints of the Church Missionary Society's missionaries. All throughout the nineteenth century, in the Middle East, these missionaries were active in their

¹⁰ Rufus Anderson, *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1869), 22. Also see, Charles Henry Robinson, D.D., *History of Christian Missions* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).

¹¹ Andrew Porter, "Imperialism, Altruism, and Missionary Enterprise: the British Protestant experience since the late eighteenth century," in *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, edited by Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 1-13.

¹² Murre-van den Berg, "The Middle East: western missionaries and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism," 460.

Christianizing efforts along with other organizations such as, the London Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Track Society, and the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.¹³

Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, many other missionary organizations from continental Europe directed their attention to the Middle East. *The Netherlands Missionary Society* and Swiss base one called, *the Basle Missionary Society*, are just such examples.¹⁴ The rise of the imperial age and the challenge among the European colonial empires, in terms of influence and power, over other nations quickly attracted the Russians, too. This resulted in an immediate unification with the so-called "imperial club" of Europe. Meanwhile, the Russians also cautiously studied the rise of the missionary organizations in Europe. This was done by taking into consideration in part, the importance of the power of information and knowledge about "the other." As a result, in 1847, the Russian Czar Nicholas I (r. 1825-1855) approved plans for the establishment of the

¹³ Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 147. Also see, Reeva Spector Simon, "The Case of the Curse: The London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews and the Jews of Baghdad," in *Altruism and Imperialism*, 45-65.

¹⁴ Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "Introduction," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2006), 5.

Russian Ecclesiastical Mission to Jerusalem. Thus, the first Russian missionaries from the Holy Russian Synod arrived in Jerusalem in 1848.¹⁵

The Russians were not the only ones sending missionaries to the Bible Lands in search of the Christians, Jews, and the Muslims of the region. As part of the European "encounter" in the Middle East, the German Protestant and sometimes Catholic missionaries by 1830's and onwards traveled and worked in these regions especially in Palestine. This was done as part of what the missionaries called, "the modernization process of the region." They achieved this through the evangelical, philanthropic, technological, and constructional endowments.¹⁶ Missionaries of German descent did not only focus their attention toward the lands of Palestine. They envisioned the world beyond, indeed as far as the Russian Caucasus. These missionaries of German descent who were from the Church Missionary Society attended to the German immigrants to the East

¹⁵ Eileen M. Kane, "Pilgrims, Piety and Politics: The Foundation of the First Russian Ecclesiastical Mission in Jerusalem," in *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings*, 177.

¹⁶ Ruth Kark, Dietrich Denecke and Haim Goren, "The Impact of Early German Missionary Enterprise in Palestine on Modernization and Environmental and Technological Change, 1820-1914," in *Christian Witness Between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern historical missions in the Middle East*, 145-176. Also see, Uwe Kaminsky, "German "Home Mission" Abroad: The *Orientarbeit* of the Deaconess Institution Kaiserswerth in the Ottoman Empire," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, 191-211.

in 1821. In time they also nurtured relations with the Armenians and Muslims in the region.

Karl Gottlieb Pfander, member of the missionary society, called the Church Missionary Society, was of German descent and was by far the most well-known missionary in this community. In 1825, he was given orders by the CMS to work in the region of the Russian Caucasus and Persia. His most important, yet also most controversial achievement was a book he wrote in Persian called *Mizan ul-Haqq*, (Balance of Truth). In this work, he defended Christianity against Islam. As a source of information on peoples and the lands of the East, this book remained very popular among the missionaries throughout the nineteenth century.¹⁷

Although this book was welcomed among the missionaries and used extensively as a reference in their writings, it was not the same among the Ottomans. When it was translated into Ottoman Turkish and first appeared in the Ottoman domains in 1862, it received a very different reaction. Gottlieb Pfander was appointed to Istanbul with a special mandate for the mission of the Church Missionary Society. During that time in Istanbul, he also translated his work, *Mizan ul-Haqq*, into Ottoman Turkish

¹⁷ Murre-van den Berg, "The Middle East: western missionaries and the Eastern Churches, Islam and Judaism," 460.

and sent it to London for publication. These were shipped to Istanbul for circulation; however, when they arrived at the Ottoman Custom House in 1862, they were immediately seized. The copies gradually disappeared from the Custom House.

Soon after, the disappearance of these books became known to the public. This came about when the Ottoman Porte was extremely infuriated at what it construed as a direct assault on the religion of the Ottoman Sublime Porte, Islam. The Ottoman authorities immediately made official complaints to the British ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer. The ambassador's reply, however, was that His Excellency did not know the man, Karl Gottlieb Pfander, and that he "had never heard of such a society, called the Church Missionary Society." In the same correspondence, he claimed "Pfander as being an American." He pointed to the American missionaries, who were obviously much weaker at that time in the Ottoman capital and in the region in terms of political and social influence over the Ottoman Porte versus their British counterparts. According to the British ambassador, "the book had been published by the American missionaries." The story of the book and the events that followed by the disappearance of the copies of *Mizan ul-Haqq* were quickly reported to the readers of *the New York Observer* in the States.

These reports were via several letters and articles during the course of 1862 to 1864.¹⁸

The arrival of the American Protestant missionaries to the Middle East in the early 1820s re-shaped the dynamics of missionary encounters in the region. As a home and foreign mission society, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) structured its foundation in the region shortly after departing some of its missionaries to the Bible lands early in the nineteenth century such as, Levi Parsons, Pliny Fisk, William Goodell, Isaac Bird, Jones King, Eli Smith, Harrison G. O. Dwight, and Justin Perkins. These missionaries helped in the structuring process, if you will, they were the builders of their foundation. Through their missionary establishments, they elevated competitiveness amongst missions within the region into a new momentum. These establishments in particular were in Beirut in 1824, Istanbul 1831, Izmir and Urmia in 1834 and; eventually, they were spread out all over Anatolia.

¹⁸ "Religious Agitations in Turkey," *The New York Observer*, 23 October, 1862. sec. Religious Department. Also see letters, "Outrages at Constantinople: Great Excitement in Constantinople-English Missionary Arrested-Bile House Closed-Mussulam Converts Thrown into Prison, Etc." 17-23 July 1864; "Commutations at Constantinople," 25 August 1864; "The Turkish Persecution," 27 September 1864.

Although they began their journey to the East in search of "saving" the souls of and "converting" the Jews and Muslims to Christianity, in time, however, they directed their attentions to the members of the Eastern Churches of the Ottoman Empire. It was discovered that the Armenians were the most responsive to the influential missionary activities. The reason for this, according to Rev. Joseph K. Greene, D.D., an American Protestant missionary who lived and worked for fifty-one years in the region, was that "Armenians showed the greatest regard for the Bible" (although they had their own Bible) and "were less under the control of national ambitions."¹⁹ Congregationalists from America's north-eastern states were not the only ones representing the American missionary revival in the foreign lands. Throughout the nineteenth century, almost all of the Protestant denominations, such as Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, enthusiastically sent their missionaries to regions that caught their attention, including the Middle East.

It was in this complex environment during the nineteenth century that European and later American missionaries debated and battled with each other in an effort to establish a stronghold for their denomination. They sought to maintain their

¹⁹ Joseph K. Greene, D.D., *Leaving the Levant* (Boston, New York, Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1916), 103.

influence in order to also retain rights to living space in the territories they had already invested time, offered education, and carried out preaching. The missionary enterprises also followed the road map provided by their governments as part of the mission project of their home countries. Thus they enjoyed great privileges abroad under the protection of their governing representatives. The materialistic (evangelical modernity), cultural, as well as spiritual contributions of these missionary establishments abroad, as with the case of the Middle East, with respect to the colonizing process cannot be ignored or underestimated.²⁰

The diverse missionary groups not only created an environment in which they competed with each other, but at the same time, they formulated their own methods of labor to influence the "natives." Such influences were made through religious, educational, and medical teaching and assistance. All this resulted in the formation of their undisputable social and cultural impacts on the peoples of the Middle East. After all, they constructed their own space in history to which we look back in review now. We are given the opportunity to reconsider

²⁰ On the conceptualization of the colonizing efforts and the missionary impact, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1988).

and re-evaluate both their negative and positive contributions to the foundational structure of the modern Middle East today.

Their legacy was to establish social, educational, and medical institutions across the region instead of their intended initial mission of "saving the souls." In retrospect, they mostly provided services as secular educators and healthcare personnel in the region. As a result, their disputed and relative success in their dreams and hopes of converting the "heathens" and saving the "sinners" of the foreign lands turned out to be their failure in their collective memory and consciousness as missionaries

Armenians and the Formation of the Catholic Millet

During the foundational years of the Ottoman state in the late thirteenth century in the north-west corner of Anatolia, the Armenians were mostly living in Cilicia, in the Eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus, under small kingdoms and separate political units.²¹ The early Ottoman state allowed Armenians to organize themselves as a separate community in the Ottoman domain. As such, their first religious center was founded in

²¹ For the foundation of the Ottoman State, see Cemal Kafadar, *Between two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). Also see, M. Fuad Köprülü, *The Origins of the Ottoman Empire*, translated and edited by Gary Leiser, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992).

Kütahya, a province in mid-western Anatolia, in the early fourteenth century. Most of the areas in Anatolia inhabited by the Armenians and other ethnicities were gradually invaded and brought under the control of the Ottoman internal administration. In time, the Ottoman state grew territorially, particularly during the reigns of Selim I (r. 1512-1520) and Süleyman I (r. 1520-1566).²²

Under the Ottoman administration, Armenians like the rest of the people in the empire, were categorized as *reaya*, meaning "flock." Such a term guaranteed the equality of non-Muslims to one another. However, Christians and Jews were also distinguished from Muslims before the law until 1856.²³ In 1461, during the sultanate of Mehmet II, "Mehmet the Conqueror" (r. 1451-1481), the community of Armenians living in Ottoman lands had been brought under the newly constructed administration system called *Millet* (nation, community).²⁴ The very term *millet* was defined as "a church organized into a nationality as a

²² Salahi R. Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1993), 43-44.

²³ Eric J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd., 1998), 13.

²⁴ Robert Mirak, *Torn Between Two Lands: Armenians in America, 1890 to World War I* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 6.

nationality organized into a Church.”²⁵ The millet system, however, has long been misunderstood by many scholars. As Erik Zürcher suggests, this is because scholars based their work on the writings of the representatives of the central government, who wrote about the way things should be not about how they really were. As Zürcher points out, in the last few decades, detailed local and regional research has shown that the system did not consist of “nationwide” autonomous bodies with a unified head.²⁶ Over the centuries, the millet system changed its nature and adopted new forms.

To maintain a fair administration of the empire and to preserve the peace amongst the peoples, Sultan Mehmet II organized the non-Muslim groups. He arranged to have separate “religious” communities rather than “national or racial units.” This was done as soon as he conquered Istanbul and declared it as the new capital of the empire. Having captured Constantinople in 1453, he established Bishop Gennadius as the Greek patriarch, with jurisdiction over all Orthodox subjects in the empire. In the following year, 1454, he created the post of chief rabbi

²⁵ Anny Bakalian, *Armenian-Americans: From Being to Feeling Armenian* (New Brunswick, London: Transaction Publishers, 1993), 91.

²⁶ Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern*, 12.

over the Jews under the new millet system.²⁷ A few years later, in 1461 he appointed Hovakim (a.k.a. Ovakim), the Armenian bishop of Bursa, as the Patriarch in Istanbul of all the Armenians in the empire. Bursa was one of the former capitals of the empire. By doing so, Mehmet II completed the administrative system of the millets within his domain.²⁸

The term, the “_Patriarchate of the Armenians_” in the Ottoman Empire, imposed certain responsibilities and gave privileges. However, these responsibilities were not enforced; at least, they were not until the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (r. 1520-1566). During his sultanate, the holder of this post was fully responsible for the Armenians’ religious, political, social, and civil administrative affairs to the Ottoman governments.²⁹ In the following centuries, the Ottoman administration secured the cosmopolite system of the empire.

²⁷ Dickran Kouymjian, “Armenia From the Fall of the Cilician Kingdom (1375) to the Forced Emigration under Shah Abbas (1604),” in *The Armenian People From Ancient to Modern Times*, 2 vol., 2nd ed., edited by Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004), 10.

²⁸ For more on religious situation in the empire, see Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Avigdor Levy, *Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Darwin, 1994); Stanford Shaw, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic* (New York: New York University Press, 1991); Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Holmes, 1982), and Frederick W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1929).

²⁹ Kouymjian, “Armenia From the Fall of the Cilician Kingdom (1375) to the Forced Emigration under Shah Abbas (1604),” 11.

This was achieved by depending on the functionality of the millet system in all terms. Like the other millets in the empire, the Armenians also enjoyed cultural and religious autonomy under the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul.

Similar to the other heads of the millets within in the empire, it was the Armenian Patriarchate, as an institution established in Istanbul, through which the Ottoman administration functioned in reaching out to the Armenians. This helped the Ottoman administration to stay informed about the social, economic, and political matters taking place within the Armenian millet. Equally, it was the responsibility of the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul to collect his community's annual taxes for Ottoman government. It was also through the Patriarchate that the Armenians communicated with the Ottoman Porte. For example, in case of an injustice or need of privileges and legal rights, these requests were channeled through the Patriarchate. Political matters were not the only responsibilities of the Patriarchate in Istanbul. Education, the administration of communal hospitals, marriage and divorce, baptism and burials, and the granting of a passport to the Armenians were among the other responsibilities of the holder of the post within the empire. Until 1839 and the beginning of the re-organizational and re-structuring process of the empire,

called the *Tanzimat* reforms of *Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane* (Noble Edict of the Rose Chamber), the Patriarchates exercised their own authority. They were given the power to impose ecclesiastical and civil penalties on their people; they further, maintained a small police force, and had their own jail cells in Istanbul.³⁰

It was this complex; yet, flexible social environment that the very existence of the empire came to depend heavily upon, namely through the continuity of the autonomous millet system, for centuries to come. The millet system, as one of the indispensable pillars of the administrative units of the empire, remained functional up until the great reform edict of *Hatt-ı Hümayun* (Imperial Edict) or *Islahat Fermanı* (Royal Decree of Reforms) of 1856. This is when the Ottoman Sublime Porte recognized all the inhabitants of the empire "free" and "equal" before the Ottoman law, regardless of their religious or ethnic backgrounds.³¹

³⁰ Mirak, *Torn Between Two Lands : Armenians in America*, 6.

³¹ For more on Ottoman Empire and reforms of the Tanzimat period, see Carter Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); *Ottoman Civil Officialdom. A Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); Stanford Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Selim III, 1781-1807* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Roderic Davidson, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire 1851-1876*, 2nd ed. (New York, Gordian, 1973); Stanford Shaw and Ezel Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey. Vol. II: Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey*,

As mentioned earlier, in 1622, the Church of Rome and Pope Gregory XV succeeded in bringing diverse missionary organizations within a centralized institution. This institution was referred to as the "Sacred Congregation for the Propagating of the Faith." This was created in order to spread Catholicism among the non-Christians and in the non-Catholic world. For the purpose of Catholic theological training, in terms of mission to the foreign lands, Pope Urban VIII opened the College of Propaganda, in 1627, in Rome. Many graduates later became missionaries representing the Roman Catholic Church abroad. Such as, Clement Galano, who in 1622, under the protection of the French government, was sent to the East to reach the Ottoman Armenians and work to convert them to Catholicism.³² The initial work of the mission of the Roman Catholic Church concluded with the success of converting three Armenians in Istanbul. Gomidas Kemurjian, Khatchatour Arakelian and Bedros Manuk (or in his monastic name Mekhitar) were thus the early pioneers for the Catholic movement among the Armenians. They spread the word across Anatolia in the course of the seventeenth century.³³ While

1808-1975 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), Halil İnalcık, *Application of the Tanzimat and Its Social Effects* (Liese: Peter de Rider, 1976), and Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

³² Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire*, 125.

³³ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 178.

the Roman Catholic Church was active in Istanbul, the Jesuits also directed their attention to the Armenians in Anatolia. The Jesuit focus in 1695 was on the towns of Erzurum and Trabzon, a port city near the Black Sea.

Through the first half of the eighteenth century, the Roman and French missionaries across the Ottoman Empire had converted several thousands of Orthodox Armenians to the Roman Catholic doctrine. It is documented that as early as 1720, the Latin patriarch, Giovanni Battista Mauri, had reported to Rome that twenty thousand Armenians had converted to the Roman Catholic Church. Some of the converts attended the Latin Church of Galata, which was one of the European quarters of Istanbul. Some went to the Latin and communal churches. Others kept their conversion on to themselves; they converted to Catholicism but did not fulfill the obligation of attending mass openly.³⁴

In response, the mother church of the Armenians, the Armenian Gregorian Apostolic Church, arrived shortly thereafter. The missionary activists were doing nothing but challenging the very established order of the Church. The challenges were viewed as insulting its hierarchy and power over the Armenians in the empire. Throughout the eighteenth century, the struggle between

³⁴ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 178.

the Armenian Church and the Roman and French missionaries along with their Armenian converts continued across Istanbul, Anatolia, Aleppo and the Levant. Having secured official support from the Ottoman Sublime Porte and in an effort to stop missionary activities within his community, the Armenian Patriarch forced the closure of many Jesuit schools in Istanbul and Anatolia. He further excommunicated many of those who aided the missionaries and jailed many others. Ultimately he sent several Armenian Catholic converts into exile for the precise commitment to the church hierarchy and its power.

However, this decisive response did not end the persistence of the missionary activities of the Roman and French Catholic missionaries in the region. As the number of the converts increased gradually, they began demanding the right to have their own worship places. After a considerable amount of time, they made an offer to the Patriarchate to purchase the church of St Gregory in Galata in 1741. Hagop Nazlan, the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul at that time, immediately opposed such an idea and the offer. Developments in the city made it impossible to achieve a separate hierarchal order, especially at the seat of the Ottoman Empire and the already-established center of the Armenian Patriarchate. Therefore the Catholic missionaries and their indigenous Armenian converts concluded that the best

manner of achieving these goals was to look away from the center. They finally found opportunity in Aleppo by electing a *catholicos* and establishing their own ecclesiastical hierarchy among the Armenian Catholic converts.³⁵

Despite the centuries old rivalry, conflict, opposition, and power struggles at the center as well as in the periphery of Anatolia and the Levant, the Armenian Apostolic Patriarchate in Istanbul had avoided an official split among its fellow Armenians. The Armenian Catholics had remained under the official supervision of the Armenian Patriarchate at the capital. That was only up until the French ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Comte de Guillemainot, who pressured the Ottoman Sublime Porte to recognize the Catholic Armenians as a separate community. The Comte was persistent and requested that the Ottoman Sublime Porte grant them with the status of new *millet* in the Ottoman Empire.³⁶

The pressure came as a result of long lasting negotiations between the Ottoman Empire and France when Russia had declared war against the Ottoman Empire in April 1828. In return for the French alliance against the Russian threat Sultan Mamut II (r.

³⁵ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 178.

³⁶ Robert J. Taft, "Between East and West: the Eastern Catholic ('Uniate') Churches," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1815-c.1914*, 412-425.

1808-1839) eventually made a compromise with France. He eased on the long standing demands of the Roman and the French missionary activities in his domain. The Treaty of Adrianople, on September 14, 1829, brought an end to the Russian-Ottoman war. It however opened a new chapter in the centuries-old Roman and French Catholic missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire. It secured and guaranteed a millet status for the Catholic Armenians within the Ottoman Empire. Although the Armenian Patriarchate in Istanbul pressured and appealed several times to the Ottoman Sublime Porte, his words were not heard. He pleaded with the Ottoman Sublime Porte not to ease on the missionary activities in the empire and not allow already exiled Catholic Armenians return to their homes in town. Eventually, Sultan Mahmut II could not resist any longer against persistent appeals from the French ambassador and finally agreed on permitting the Catholic Armenians to return to their homes across in Istanbul.

After long negotiations with the Catholic Church of Rome, represented by Bartolomeo Capellari, (the future Pope Gregory XVI) on January 05, 1831, Mahmut II finally issued a *firman*. This was in accordance with the recognition of the official split of the Armenian community in two within his domain. The imperial *firman* secured a new millet status to the Catholic Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. With this they would not only

enjoy the privileges of the millet status but, at the same time they would be as autonomous as the other millets of the Ottoman Empire. In the imperial *firman*, Mahmut II recounted how, "from the time of his ancestors, the Catholics had to live under Greek or Armenian patriarchs who held a religion different from theirs, and had to frequent Frankish churches, a humiliating condition. Now, to assure their future well-being, they would be able to practice their religion in churches set apart for them without going to those of the Franks."³⁷ As a result, Hagop Manuelian was selected by the Catholic Armenians as the first civil head of the Catholic Millet (*Katolik Millet*) of the Ottoman Empire.

While the Armenians were going through this turmoil in the capital, across Asia Minor, and the Levant, a new missionary organization (ABCFM), far away from Istanbul, directed their attention also to the Armenian community of the Ottoman Empire. Across the ocean in Boston, they were searching and mapping of the Armenians especially in Istanbul and throughout Asia Minor.³⁸ For the Protestant mission of the Board, the American Board of

³⁷ Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans*, 259.

³⁸ For the exploratory trip of the American Board's missionaries Eli Smith and Harrison Gray Otis Dwight to examine Armenians throughout Eastern Anatolia and Persia in 1830, see Eli Smith, *Researches (of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. HGO Dwight) In Armenia* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833).

Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) selected William Goodell. They sent him to Istanbul with a special mandate to open a "station," called "the Constantinople Mission," and to work among the Armenians.³⁹ Interestingly enough, five months and four days after the first split among the Armenians, William Goodell, a Protestant missionary, arrived in Istanbul on the morning of June 9th, 1831 in the hope of "saving" the souls of the sinners, "converting" others, and "awakening" the Armenians to the "truth" of Protestantism. The story that followed, eventually, turned out to be the collective history of the American Protestant missionaries, the Armenian community, and the making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire.

³⁹ Leon Arpee, *The Armenian Awakening: A History of the Armenian Church, 1820-1860* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909), 95-96.

Chapter II

American Protestant Mission: From New England to the Ottoman Empire

The first missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions were sent from New England to the Ottoman Empire in the early nineteenth century. Their mission was to reach Jerusalem and the Bible Lands in order to work primarily amongst the Jews and if possible the Muslims to spread Protestantism. The American Protestant missionary movement was the product of the American religious revivalism called the Second Great Awakening in the North-Eastern states of the United States in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This awakening provided the context for the founding of the ABCFM as a foreign mission society. Religious revivalism in the New England region led many young men and women to travel to faraway regions of the world to reach the hearts and minds of indigenous population there. As they travelled, they not only carried the Bible and the message of Protestantism with them but also represented the United States and American culture and life style abroad. In a short period of time, the missionaries of the ABCFM went from the Sandwich Islands to Ceylon, from East India to China, from Africa to the Ottoman Empire in search of "saving" the souls of the "natives" and converting among them.

The Second Great Awakening and the Origins of the Missionary Movement

The religious revivalism of the First and the Second Great Awakenings shaped the United States during its foundational years. The First Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s has been called America's first national event in the sense that it facilitated melting the colonies and ended the Colonial period of American history. The Second Great Awakening of the 1800s through the 1850s characterized the early national period and even the rest of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth.¹

The driving force in the religious history of the United States, according to Mark A. Noll, during the first half of the nineteenth century was evangelical Christianity.² That half century was the construction years of the American religious revival movement known as the Second Great Awakening. The first phase of the Second Great Awakening took place between 1797 and 1801, when towns from Connecticut to New Hampshire felt, in their words, "refreshing showers" and established home

¹ Barry Hankins, *The Second Great Awakening and the Transcendentalists* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), 5. For more on the First Great Awakening, see Frank Lambert, *Inventing the Great Awakening* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999).

² Mark A. Noll, "Christian America and Christian Canada," in *Cambridge History of Christianity: World Christianities c.1815-c.1914*, edited by Sheridan Gilley and Brian Stanley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 359-380.

missionary societies.³ As Michael B. Oren states, it was the result of colonial America's certainty in "its own divine election" by the mid-eighteenth century that facilitated the beginning of the Great Awakening of revivalist faith.⁴ Throughout the Second Great Awakening, many missionary associations were founded. They strove to galvanize personal faith and collective religious consciousness after the "enlightenment" caused a decline in religious life across the United States of America. Missionary societies were first organized for home missions. Later they were created for foreign countries in order to preach the Gospel to the "heathen." The Second Great Awakening and its theological philosophy about practical Christianity encouraged many educated men and women of New England to enroll in missionary organizations as well as advocate antislavery, temperance, and peace movements at home and abroad.⁵

Barry Hankins argues that revivals in America took place not so much among people who heard the Gospel for the first time, but among those who had a basic understanding of the faith

³ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 2d ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 416.

⁴ Michael B. Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present* (New York, London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 85.

⁵ For Christian missions and antislavery, see Brian Stanley, "Christian missions, antislavery and the claims of Humanity, c.1813-1873," in *Cambridge History of Christianity*, 443-457.

but had not found it meaningful in their own lives.⁶ They instituted first the basic religious institutions and then the voluntary associations of private individuals for missionary, reformatory, or benevolent purposes in New England and extended it beyond their frontiers.⁷ Missionaries genuinely believed that preaching the Gospel to "every creature" was necessary before God would "pitch his tent among men."⁸

The common idea amongst the founders of the missionary societies, missionaries, members of divinity schools, and others at that time was the belief in the "moral renovation of the world." According to Timothy Dwight, the president of Yale College from 1795 to 1817, "the days of the synagogue, pagoda, mosque, and Catholic cathedral abroad" were near an end through the spread of New England Protestantism. To help extend the moral renovation of the world and the spread of Protestantism, wars needed to cease, every location on earth had to have its own school and church, and every family must have its Bible reading and prayer. Accomplishment of these ambitions was among the duties of the home and foreign mission societies and

⁶ Hankins, *The Second Great Awakening*, 5.

⁷ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 422.

⁸ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 5.

missionaries in the course of the American religious revival of the Second Great Awakening.⁹

For the propose of spreading Christianity, the *American Society for Promoting the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North-America*, founded in 1787 by a group of New England ministers, opened a new chapter of modern missionary activities. They strove to awaken the religious aspirations among the "heathens" at home and abroad. In a short period of time, other missionary societies made their appearance. Nevertheless, all of them suffered from the same contradictory goals as had the colonial evangelism of the Church of England. In these conditions, according to Clifton Jackson Philips, their strategies for missionizing were divided between the "heathen" Indians and/or white colonies.¹⁰ According to Philips, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, New England was especially perceptive to this problem: "finding the aborigines gradually disappearing from her own borders, and drawn also to the task of

⁹ For more on Timothy Dwight, see Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*.

¹⁰ Clifton Jackson Philips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969), 18.

supplying her own westward-moving populations with Christian institutions."¹¹

It was under these circumstances that the *New York Missionary Society* was founded in 1796 to propagate the gospel "in places which are destitute of it."¹² A year later, in 1797 the Connecticut General Association asked the local associations of the state to approve the establishment of a missionary society. On June 19, 1798, it constituted itself into a missionary society "to Christianize the heathen in North America and to support and promote Christian knowledge in the new settlements within the United States."¹³ In 1800, the missionary society founded the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine* to push the society's work further and encourage financial support. Three years later, in 1803, the Connecticut legislature granted a regular charter to the *Connecticut Missionary Society* (CMS).

About the same time, in Massachusetts, a similar missionary society organization emerged. The *Massachusetts Missionary Society* (MMS) was set up in Boston on May 29, 1799. It included

¹¹ Philips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, 18.

¹² Abdul Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1966), 5.

¹³ Edward Warren Capen, "The Haystack Prayer Meeting," *The Envelope Series* 9, no:1 (April, 1906), 11.

mission abroad in its constitution to "diffuse the knowledge of the Gospel among the heathen as well as other people in the remote parts of the earth where Christ is seldom or never preached."¹⁴ Like the CMS, the MMS started publishing its own missionary magazine (the *Massachusetts Missionary Magazine*) in June 1803. The MMS became transformed into a domestic missionary organization once the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was founded in Boston in 1810.

As a result of the Second Great Awakening, the missionary movement extended rapidly in a short period of time. In 1801, the *New Hampshire Missionary Society* (NHMS) was established, and in 1807, the *General Convention of Vermont* (GCV) began to operate as a missionary organization. In addition to these state missionary societies, there were various small establishments in and around the Northeastern United States. The Missionary advocacy for "women" among middle class women of New England prompted the beginning of missionary work for women to the "heathen." Women's interest in missionary labor led to the foundation of the first missionary organization for women in October 1800, the *Female Society for Missionary Purposes* (FSMP) and four years later, the *Female Cent Institution* (FCI) was

¹⁴ Capen, "The Haystack Prayer Meeting," 12.

founded in New Hampshire. It gained its name from the members' contributions to the mission, one cent a week.¹⁵

Congregationalists were not alone in participating in the revival. As time passed almost all denominations, including Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists joined the missionary enthusiasm as part of the Second Great Awakening's revivalism.¹⁶ By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, various voluntary benevolent societies were established to teach the Gospel in New England's frontiers. Among these were the *Home and Foreign Missions Society* (HFMS) in 1812, the *American Bible Society* (ABS) in 1816, the *African Colonization Society* (ACS) in 1817, the *American Tract Society* (ATS) in 1826, and the *American Temperance Society* in 1826.¹⁷

Gradually, Foreign Missionary Societies were also founded. Within fifty years, fifteen different organizations emerged in the same region. These included the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (ABCFM) in 1810, the *American Baptist Missionary Union* (ABMU) in 1814, the *Methodist Episcopal Missionary Society* (MEMS) in 1819, the *Presbyterian Board of*

¹⁵ Capen, "The Haystack Prayer Meeting," 12.

¹⁶ Noll, "Christian America and Christian Canada," 360-362.

¹⁷ Hankins, *The Second Great Awakening*, 16.

Foreign Missions (PBFM) in 1833, the *American Missionary Association* (AMA) in 1846, and the *American Church Missionary Society* (ACMS) in 1860.¹⁸

Men and women of these boards for foreign missions made a large contribution to American contact with peoples across the Atlantic Ocean. The majority of those men and women came from New England and their reach extended to such places as India, the Ottoman Empire, Ceylon, Hawaii, China, and Japan. They were supported by New England communities from upper New York to Maine, from Vermont, and New Hampshire to Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. As Philips states "it was not only foreign commerce but foreign missionaries which made Boston a representative name for the New World in Smyrna, Canton, Honolulu, or Bombay."¹⁹ With the activities and the roles they performed, they planted the seeds of American culture and an American way of life abroad.

The Emergence of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

In the midst of the storm of the Second Great Awakening, the ABCFM was begun informally with the 1806 "Haystack Prayer

¹⁸ Rufus Anderson, *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1869), 24.

¹⁹ Philips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, 3-4.

Meeting" among a group of students at Williams College, in Williamstown, Massachusetts. In the meeting, Samuel J. Mills, son of a Connecticut minister, and four other students at Williams College dedicated themselves to missionary service in foreign lands.²⁰ After graduating from Williams College, Mills and other students - James Richards, Francis L. Robbins, Harvey Loomis, and Byram Green - enrolled at Andover Theological Seminary, often referred to as, Divinity College.²¹ The Seminary, founded by an "orthodox coalition" led by Jedidiah Morse against the "Boston Harvard liberals," was a recruiting ground in the early nineteenth century for the missionary movement.²² It was opened in 1808 to deliver an orthodox education to future Congregational clergymen. Founded in opposition to liberal movements of the time, Andover Theological Seminary constructed its constitutional theory in opposition towards Atheists and Infidels, as well as Jews, Muslims, Arians, Pelagians, Antinomians, Arminians, Socinians, Unitarians, and Universalists. This theory extended toward "heretics and errors, ancient or modern, which may be opposed to the gospel of Christ,

²⁰ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 423.

²¹ Henry Otis Dwight, Allen Tupper, and Edwin Munsell Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Missions: Descriptive, Historical, Biographical, Statistical*, 2d ed. (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1910), 26.

²² Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 415.

or hazardous to the souls of men.”²³ As Ussama Makdisi notes, every male missionary who worked in Ottoman Lebanon in the first American mission-Levi Parsons, Pliny Fisk, Isaac Bird, Jones King, Eli Smith and William Goodell- was educated at Andover.²⁴ There in the spring of 1808, in the northwest lower room of the East College, a secret society, the *Brethren*, was founded for the purpose of analyzing and formulating plans for “the future missions and effect in the persons of its members a mission or missions to the heathen.”²⁵

On June 27, 1810 four students, Adoniram Judson, Jr., Samuel Nott, Jr., Samuel Newell, and Mills appeared at a meeting of the Massachusetts General Association at Bradford. They presented their statement and spoke with ministers of Massachusetts about missionary work with Native Americans in the western United States and to India.²⁶ Each of the students was a

²³ Andover Theological Seminary, *The Constitution and Associate States* (Andover, Mass.: Flagg and Gould, 1817), 9.

²⁴ Ussama Makdisi, “Refusing Comparison: How Middle Eastern Violence is Narrated by American Missionary,” paper presented at a conference in honor of Professor Robert L. Tignor, “The Empire and Its Discontents” (Department of History, Princeton University, September 16-17, 2005), 6. For more about Andover Theological Seminary, see Leonard Woods, *History of the Andover Theological Seminary* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885).

²⁵ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board*, 2nd ed. (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), 23.

²⁶ “Minutes of the First Annual Meeting” in *First Ten Annual Reports of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1834), 9-10.

graduate of a different college: Judson from Brown, Nott from Union, Newell from Harvard, and Mills from Williams.²⁷ The next day, two ministers, Drs. S. Spring and Samuel Worcester charted a plan for organizing the ABCFM. On June 29, 1810, the General Association of Congregational Churches of Massachusetts at Bradford, Massachusetts adopted the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and on September 5, 1810, in Farmington, Connecticut, a constitution was adopted and officers elected.²⁸ As a result, Dr. Samuel M. Worcester, a graduate of Dartmouth College of New Hampshire in 1795, became the first corresponding secretary of the American Board.²⁹

Composed of clergymen from different denominations, industrialists, physicians, businessmen, and lawyers, the policy making body of the American Board wanted to promote missionary

²⁷ Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: the Board, Missionary House, 1861), 42.

²⁸ In *Encyclopedia of Missions*, the American Board's organization was described as a company incorporated under the laws of the State of Massachusetts for the purpose of propagating the Gospel in heathen lands by supporting missionaries and diffusing a knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. It composed of corporate members, of whom one-third by law laymen, one-third clergymen, and the remaining third chosen from either of these two classes. The actual business of the Board was entrusted to a Prudential Committee consisting of the President and Vice-president, and twelve members, six ministers and six laymen. The executive officers were three Secretaries, a Editorial Secretary, and a Treasurer. Dwight, Tupper, and Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Missions*, 28.

²⁹ Dwight, Tupper, and Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Missions*, 26-27.

fields, often called "stations," throughout the non-Protestant world wherever possible.³⁰ The Board's Prudential Committee and its members also stated that "their minds have long been impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a mission to the heathen" but wondered "whether they ought to direct their attention to the eastern or western world, whether they may expect patronage and support from a Missionary Society in this county, or must commit themselves in the direction of a European society, and what preparatory measures they ought to take, previous to actual engagement."³¹ Although there were six students before the committee during the signing ceremony, only four, Judson, Nott, Mills, and Newell, signed the document. The names of Luther Rice and James Richard were removed from the letter due to a fear that a larger number would scare the Association.³²

Soon after the establishment of the ABCFM, in January 1811, Judson sailed for England with instructions from the Board to discuss with the directors of the London Missionary Society whether any arrangements could be made for starting the work of

³⁰ Oren, *Power, Faith, and Fantasy*, 87.

³¹ "Minutes of the First Annual Meeting" in *First Ten Annual Reports* of the ABCFM, 9-10.

³² Anderson, *Memorial Volume*, 42.

missions with the help of that Society and whether they could be supported by joint funds.³³ Unfortunately, Judson returned to the United States in August without having convinced the directors of the London Missionary Society to help the Board's missionary work in foreign lands, to have joint control of missions, or to give financial support. Thanks to Mary Norris, widow of a Salem merchant and founder of Andover, the Board obtained a very generous donation of thirty thousand dollars for its immediate needs.³⁴ Later, in February 1812, right after the Board's second annual meeting in Worcester, Massachusetts, the first ABCFM missionaries, Judson, Newell, Nott and their wives, along with Gordon Hall and Rice, sailed for Calcutta, India.³⁵

The American Board was organized to evangelize the "nations of the world."³⁶ As mentioned earlier, it had its origin in the desire of several students at Andover Theological Seminary to "preach the pure gospel" in the "heathen world." A missionary

³³ William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, New York, Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 29.

³⁴ Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 26.

³⁵ Dwight, Tupper, and Bliss, *The Encyclopedia of Missions*, 27.

³⁶ James L. Barton, "Our Evangelistic Policy," *ES* 9, no: 3 (October, 1906), 3.

was described in the by-laws³⁷ of the Board as "one who has been ordained a minister of gospel and has actually come under its direction."³⁸ According to Rufus Anderson, corresponding secretary with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions from 1832 until 1866, missionaries go to the heathen lands as the "forerunners" of the Spirit, as "pioneers," as "healers." Their whole "prescribed" duty, Anderson states, is to make "proclamation of the truth."³⁹ The missionaries rejected other religious truths, including even those of eastern Orthodox churches. In their imperial view, they were going out into the world to convert people to their valid "religion." They went, worked, and converted a few, but at the same time, they faced deep disappointment when others heard their message but reject it, preferring their own "truths."

Enlistment by the Board was voluntary and so were contributions. In a short time span, the Board enlisted many

³⁷ For the American Board's constitution, laws, and regulations, see *Constitution, laws and regulations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1835).

³⁸ For more information on a missionary candidate and direction of the American Board to appointed missionaries, see *Manual for Missionary Candidates and for Appointed Missionaries before Entering Their Fields*, revised ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1887). Also see *Manual for Missionary Candidates and for Appointed Missionaries before Entering Their Fields* (Boston: The Board, 1853).

³⁹ Rufus Anderson, *Missionary Paper: Promised Advent of the Spirit for the World's Conversion* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1841), 13.

students from Andover and beyond as missionaries for foreign lands. The American Board was born at a time when liberal and conservative strains competed for the hearts and minds of college students and educated men and women in and around New England. The desire for religious revival in New England led many young men and women to enroll in various home and foreign missionary establishments and in time to explore to other parts of the U.S. and the world. William Strong explains it,

The tides of religious life had reached a low ebb after the Revolutionary War and, before the welcome change began, infidelity was general and rampant. Educated men boasted of skepticism. The colleges were noisy with it. The reaction from the great awakening and its surge emotions was complete. Then came quietly a gradual renewal of religious desire. It appeared first in Connecticut and soon was felt in Mill's home Litchfield.⁴⁰

At first, the missionaries genuinely believed that they would be able to convert the "sinners" without much resistance to their teaching. However, they experienced difficulties soon after their arrivals. Accordingly they developed new strategies to face these challenges.

⁴⁰ Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, 7.

The product of New England Congregationalism, in the early years of its existence, the ABCFM faced the challenge of persuading the public to support an organization that did not necessarily offer much to them. The ABCFM relied on missionary sermons, lectures, books, monthly prayer concerts, newspaper notices, and journals to interest the public in the evangelical work.⁴¹ The first job of this society, therefore, was to prepare the minds of the general public for the enterprise. For this purpose, they republished a missionary sermon which Dr. Griffin had delivered before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and another by Dr. Livingston, before the New York Missionary Society. They circulated these sermons as extensively as possible. They also read them in homes, at social visits, and at meetings for religious conferences. Attempts were also made to spark a missionary spirit among the students in other colleges. For this purpose, one of their student members transferred his affiliation from Williams to Middlebury College,

⁴¹ Some of the periodicals of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions were: *Quarterly Paper of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Mass.: The Board, 1832-), *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1821-1934), *The Missionary Review* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Press, 1878-1887), *The Missionary Review of the World* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1888-1939), *Envelope Series* (Boston: Mass.: The Board, 1899-1956), *The Orient* (Istanbul: Bible House, 1910-1923)

and Mills visited New Haven and many colleges, churches, and organizations in the early years of the society.⁴²

In the decades to come, Rufus Anderson also played an important role in shaping the policies of the American Board in Protestant foreign missions. According to Harris, a biographer of Rufus Anderson, he was the key figure in setting the terms of debate for policy discussions on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. He was also the most important American promoter in the mid-nineteenth century of the "Three Self" program. According to Anderson, the goal of missions was to establish native churches that would be "self-supporting," "self-governing," and "self-propagating," for the development of indigenous Christianity.⁴³

As Harris states, with the success of evangelical revivals during the Second Great Awakening, mid-nineteenth-century Protestants proclaimed their confidence in the ability of the "Holy Spirit" to "convert" sinners without elaborate preparatory measures.⁴⁴ Funded also by the US government "civilizing fund", the American Board worked to teach the Gospel to the Native

⁴² Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 23-24.

⁴³ Harris, *Nothing but Christ*, 4.

⁴⁴ Harris, *Nothing but Christ*, 3.

Americans and also organized massive missions abroad.⁴⁵ In time, the missionaries of the ABCFM went to the Sandwich Islands, Ceylon, East India, China, Africa, the Ottoman Empire, and other parts of the world.

Mission to the "Bible Lands"

The first overseas movement of "God's people," as missionaries often called themselves, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for the "spiritual renovation" of different societies was to India in 1812. Later, the Ottoman Empire was chosen as a new destination for the work of the mission. The Prudential Committee of the American Board wanted the missionaries to go to the Ottoman Empire "to acquire particular information respecting the state of religion and to ascertain the most promising place for the establishment of Christian missions."⁴⁶ The prime objectives of the Board's mission at the very beginning were Jews in the Holy Land. However, they were also curious about Muslim Turks and Arabs, additionally, also about the other nationalities and religious

⁴⁵ Recep Boztemur, "Religion and Politics in the Making of American Near East Policy, 1818-1922," *Journal for the Study of Religions and Ideologies* 11 (Summer 2005), 46.

⁴⁶ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), 63.

communities in the Levant, including Greeks, Copts, Armenians, and others of the "Oriental Churches" for possible future missions.⁴⁷

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire, into which the early American Board missionaries were about to embark, extended from the Balkans through Anatolia and the Arab South, and into North Africa. The western part of the Ottoman Empire was composed of the Balkans: including the modern countries of Serbia, Bosnia, Croatia, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria, and a large part of Romania. The central part extended into Asia Minor and contemporary Turkey. The southern part extended as far as the Arab world, including such modern states as Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel, Iraq, Kuwait, parts of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Tunisia and Algeria. With this geographical diversity, in 1800, the Ottoman Empire embraced an estimated 3,000,000 sq. km.⁴⁸ The power of the Sultanate in this vast territorial mixture was relatively fragmented. While at the center, in Asia Minor it was absolute, in the Balkans, it was slight. In other parts, however, such as in most of the Arab world, it was almost non-existent, as there was little or no

⁴⁷ Philips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, 136.

⁴⁸ Donald Quataert, "The Age of Reforms, 1812-1914," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 2 1600-1914, edited by Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 777.

physical presence by the appointed representatives of the Sultanate. Instead for vast regions, it was normally represented by the local notables.

There is no consistent estimate of the population of the empire as a result of difficulties arising from the process of counting the population exactly either in the Ottoman, or other archival documents. However, most of the studies place the inhabitation of the empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century at approximately twenty-five million. The majority of this population lived in the vast countryside, while a small part lived in the towns and big cities.⁴⁹ The population of the Ottoman Empire was composed of diverse ethnic, religious, racial, as well as cultural groups. In the Ottoman Balkan territory, the majority of the population, such as Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Romanians, was Christian. At the same time, there were also a large minority of Muslims, such as Bosnians, most of the Albanians, Turks, and some of the Bulgarians. In addition to Christian and Muslim populations in the Balkans, there were condensed Jewish communities. These

⁴⁹ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1998), 12. For more on the Ottoman Empire and its population, see Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population, 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) and Justin McCarty, *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (New York: New York University Press, 1983).

varied in numbers and existed in Ottoman towns, in pockets, particularly in Istanbul and Salonika. In Asiatic provinces, towns, and villages, most of the population was Sunni Muslim Turks, Arabs, and Kurds along with Shi'i Muslim minorities. Additionally, a great number of Greek Orthodox and Armenian Christians as well as Jewish communities co-existed. For example, as in the Balkans, these Christians co-existed with the Muslim communities for centuries.⁵⁰

Religious division amongst the population of the Empire was imperative for the Ottoman administration in order to fare and better control the diverse religious groups. Non-Muslim groups of *ahl- al-kitab*, "People of the Book," (Christians and Jews) came under the Ottoman administrative system as *dhimmi* (protected) subjects of the Empire. They were required to pay a poll tax, called *jizya*, and to submit to Muslim sovereignty. "Protected" groups were divided along religious lines and organized under a new and unique system called the "*millet-system*" (meaning, a nation or community). Under this system, non-Muslim groups enjoyed their own religious, social, and autonomous privileges in regard to their communal affairs for

⁵⁰ Suraiya Faroqhi, *Subjects of the Sultan: Culture and Daily Life in the Ottoman Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 7-8.

centuries. They were represented at the Ottoman Sublime Porte by the head of their Church or Synagogue in Istanbul.⁵¹

It was in this mixture of cultural, religious, and ethnic Ottoman environment into which the first two missionaries of the American Board, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, were sent in November 1819. They were sent to the region with a special mission to explore the unknown lands of the Ottoman Empire and were instructed to establish a "station" in Jerusalem to work primarily for the conversion of the Jews. Fisk and Parsons were classmates at Middlebury College, graduating in 1814. Together they prepared for Andover Seminary, ending up in different classes.⁵² Like many others of their time, they were fully convinced of the need to evangelize the world in order to "facilitate the Second Coming of Christ."⁵³

On October 31, 1819, the members of the Park Street and Old South Churches in Boston together with several clergymen and a great number of church members gathered for religious ceremonies. Their purpose was to deliver instructions to

⁵¹ For more on non-Muslim groups of the Ottoman Empire, see Molly Greene, ed. *Minorities in the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005).

⁵² David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East* (Boston: The American Board, 1913), 57-58.

⁵³ Charles I. Foster, *An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical Front, 1790-1837* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 208.

missionaries - Fisk and Parsons- to the Holy Land, and listen to sermons from the very first American missionaries to be sent to the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴ Prior to the event and their departure to the Eastern Mediterranean world, the missionaries had arranged their schedules, visited their home towns, and gathered with their families and friends. They delivered their farewell addresses, perhaps expecting not to see their families and friends again, and arrived at Boston for the departure ceremony in late October 1819.⁵⁵

At the meetings, Parsons preached in Park Street Church on the "Dereliction and Restoration of the Jews" later the same day, Fisk delivered a farewell sermon in Old South Church on the "Holy Land, as a Field for Missionary Enterprise."⁵⁶ To a packed and deeply moved church crowd in Park Street Church in Boston, Levi Parsons delivered his historic sermon. The sermon was not about the gospel or the resurrection, but the Jews of Palestine and the fulfillment of the prophecy of the Jews accepting Jesus

⁵⁴ "Religious Intelligence: Report of the Prudential Committee, Mission to Palestine," *The Panoplist and Missionary Herald* 16, no. 12 (December 1820), 70.

⁵⁵ "Religious Intelligence: Report of the Prudential Committee, Mission to Palestine," 70.

⁵⁶ "Mission to Palestine (30-34)" *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Compiled from Documents Laid Before the Board at the Eleventh Annual Meeting, which was held at Hartford, Con., September 20, 21, 1820* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1820).

as "Savior." "Let the Jews be the subject of your *prayers*," Parsons began his sermon. "We ask you not to imitate the examples of the crusaders, those deluded champions of the cross," he preached. "The battles of the Lord," he continued, "are not fought with these carnal weapons. But we do request your unceasing intercessions." He also indicated that his heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is that "*they may be saved*." Interestingly enough, Parsons recalled that "they who taught us the way to salvation were Jews. Often did the Jewish saints pray for *us*, for our *families*, for our *churches*. They toiled, and suffered, and died, in defense of *our* holy religion. Our God was *their* God, *our* heaven is *their* heaven." He continued his sermon, "this *Holy Bible*, they faithfully handed down to us, secure from the assaults of infidelity. All our seasons of communication with God, all our hopes of glory, are come to us through the instrumentality of the Jewish saints." He questioned "are the Jews obdurate?" He replied "we will weep for them." "Did they *crucify* our Lord?" He answered "he himself prayed, Father, forgive them." He advocated that "every *Christian* will adopt the same prayer." "In the sincerity of his heart," Parsons noted, "he will plead for their forgiveness, and restoration to the privileges of the Gospel." To show their gratitude for the Jews' munificence, he concluded, "Christians must strive to

restore that people to sovereignty in its ancestral and biblical home."⁵⁷

On this occasion, the Old South church was exceptionally crowded. People were waiting with great anticipation to hear the sermon from Pliny Fisk. On his sermon on "the Holy Land, as a Field for Missionary Enterprise," Fisk preached about various topics with respect to Eastern lands. He further outlined his analysis of the peoples, beliefs, and customs of the region. His mission was not only directed to the salvation of the Jews of the Holy Lands, but also to "restore true Christianity" among the Eastern Christians and to make a "spiritual conquest" among the Muslims in the region. To a crowd that had little or no contemporary knowledge about the region mentioned and its people, Fisk explained that Judea (referring to the Holy Lands) was inhabited by several "interesting classes" of men.

"Principle of these are Mohammedans [Muslims] and Jews; and Roman Catholic, Greek, Armenian and Syrian Christians." In his account, he noted, "the Mohammedan who are the masters of the country [referring the Ottoman Empire], who possess most of its wealth, and who have the exclusive management of political

⁵⁷ Levy Parsons, *The Dereliction and Restoration of the Jews: A Sermon, Preached in Park Street Church Boston, Sabbath Evening, Oct. 31, 1819 Just Before the Departure of the Palestine Mission* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1819), 17-20.

concerns, are, as you well know, the followers of that "artful imposter" [referring to the Prophet Mohammed], who arose in Arabia, about the commencement of the seventh century. He stated that their religion (Islam) was first propagated, and was still defended, by the sword. "Cruelty" and "blood," according to Fisk, are among its "most prominent characteristics." For the Jews of the lands, he indicated that "notwithstanding all that these people have suffered; notwithstanding all their dispersions; they still continue a distinct people, and retain their ancient language, customs, and religion:-not their religion as it was exhibited in the piety of David, Daniel, and Nehemeah, but as it appeared in the unbelief and self-righteousness of those Jews, who rejected and crucified the Lord Jesus." For the Eastern Christians in the region - the Roman Catholics, the Syrian Christians, the Greeks, and the Armenians - he related that all these sects, "though they call themselves Christians," are still "destitute almost entirely of the Scripture," and deplorably ignorant of "real Christianity."⁵⁸

This definition of _"real Christianity"_ rested not on the "oral" or any other form of "scriptural" Christianities of the

⁵⁸ Pliny Fisk, *The Holy Land an Interesting Field of Missionary Enterprise: A Sermon, Preached in the Old South Church Boston, Sabbath Evening, Oct. 31, 1819 Just Before the Departure of the Palestine Mission* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1819), 26-28.

East but, according to Pliny Fisk, on the "true" channels of Protestant doctrine of the Congregationalists of the New England region of the United States. The "real Christianity" and the "truth" with which the Eastern men and women of the Holy Lands would be showered, and brought under the light of Protestant baptize and/or re-baptize would be universalistic in character and, by definition, imperialistic as a result. The missionaries' classification of the peoples and beliefs of others in the region or elsewhere in the world justified for their missionary labor in foreign lands for decades. As Samir Khalaf argues, the inadequate state of knowledge of these lands notwithstanding, Fisk and Parson carried with them many of the disparaging epithets and warped stereotypes rampant in the American popular imagination of the time.⁵⁹

Fisk was also well aware of the difficulties that lie in their way. In his sermon he anticipated that the plan had not been devised, nor was the work to be undertaken, without counting the cost. He considered that the government of the country (referring to the Ottoman administration) was arbitrary. The property, the liberty, and the lives of all classes of

⁵⁹ Samir Khalaf, "On Doing With Little Noise: Early Encounters of Protestant Missionaries in Lebanon," in *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, edited by Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 16.

subjects, he noted, were at the disposal of the sovereign and his vice-regents. In Fisk's account the country, to which he was instructed to go and had never been before, "is infested by robbers, and plundering banditti." He described the religions of the Ottoman Empire (Islam, Christianity, Judaism), as "all strongly characterized by violent prejudice, and bigotry of the darkest hue."⁶⁰ The time has arrived, Fisk stated in his concluding remarks "when we are called by the Providence of God, if its language is not altogether misunderstood, to leave the scenes of our childhood, and the country that is blessed, beyond any other country under heaven, with civil and religious privileges; not to find other privileges and friends like them in another land; but to meet the uncertainties and difficulties, attendant on a Christian mission among the Turks and Jews." "If any circumstances," he continued, "can affect the mind in health, as it is affected by a near prospect of leaving for life all who have ever been known, and all that has ever been seen. It excites solicitude respecting that meeting, which shall be an eternal meeting, or a prelude to eternal of separation."⁶¹ These were thoughts of Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons before embarking to the East for the American Board mission.

⁶⁰ Fisk, *The Holy Land an Interesting Field of Missionary Enterprise*, 31.

⁶¹ Fisk, *The Holy Land an Interesting Field of Missionary Enterprise*, 38.

At the same event, Dr. Worcester, the first Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, delivered public instructions to Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, reflecting the views and policies of ABCFM's Prudential Committee. Their mission, according to Worcester, "was to be regarded as a part of an extended and continually extending system of benevolent action for the recovery of the world to God, to virtue, and to happiness."⁶² In the prosecution of it, "respect was to be had, not merely to what might be effected by their own efforts directly, but also to the lights and facilities, the aids and inducements, which they might afford to the efforts of others, either acting contemporaneously with them, or successively to come after them."⁶³ Worcester continued to instruct Parsons and Fisk on behalf of the Prudential Committee of the American Board that missionary work was to begin with receiving pupils and inquirers in private, distributing Bibles and tracts, and trying to reach those who are "Christian in name" and the Jews. It will be of high importance, Worcester indicated, that "your

⁶² Samuel M. Worcester, "Instructions from Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Rev. Levi Parsons and the Rev. Pliny Fisk, Missionaries designated fro Palestine: Delivered in the Old South Church Boston, Sabbath Evening, October 31, 1819," in *Sermons of Rev. Messrs. Fisk & Parsons, just before their Departure on the Palestine Mission* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1819), 44.

⁶³ Anderson, *Memorial Volume*, 229-231.

statements and representations be correct and exact.”⁶⁴ The long list of instructions concluded with the prayer that “your service for Jerusalem may be accepted of both Jews and Gentiles there.”⁶⁵ As per the Prudential Committee,

The two grand inquiries ever present to your minds will be WHAT GOOD CAN BE DONE? and, BY WHAT MEANS? What can be done for the Jews? What for the Pagans? What for the Mohammedans? What for the Christians? What for the people in Palestine? What for those in Egypt? In Syria? In Persia? In Armenia? In other countries to which your inquiries may be extended?⁶⁶

The two American missionaries boarded the *Sally Ann* on November 3, 1819 in Boston harbor, sailing for Ottoman Empire. On their journey to the unknown, they carried with them their formal instructions, Bibles, letters of protection from the Secretary of State of the United States, the Governor of Massachusetts, the British, French, and Russian consuls, as well as the “hopes and blessings” of the American churches.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 15.

⁶⁵ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 15.

⁶⁶ Anderson, *Memorial Volume* 231.

⁶⁷ Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 69.

Arriving at Izmir (Smyrna) and Early Explorations

After nearly five weeks of voyage, Parsons and Fisk entered the harbor of Malta, an island in the Mediterranean. At the time, Malta was under British rule and home to the British naval forces as well as the British Bible depository and press. After a week on the island with the missionaries of the English Bible and missionary societies, in mid-January 1820, they continued to Izmir (Smyrna). An important city of Asia Minor on the Aegean coast, Izmir, also served as a departure point for Ottoman goods to European consumers for centuries.⁶⁸ The pair had great expectations and a mission, but limited knowledge of the Ottoman Empire and no Turkish or Arabic skills. The day after their arrival, Fisk wrote a letter to his brother illustrating what he had seen on their immediate arrival to Izmir.

We arrived in this harbor yesterday. Mr. Parsons and I thought not best to go into town until tomorrow and we therefore remain in the ship. The Sabbath has been very different from one at Andover. Nearly a hundred vessels lie in the harbor, whose boats have been passing and re-passing all day; guns have been heard frequently, which, with the ringing of catholic bells in town, and the shouts, yells, murmurs, and gabbling of Turks, Greeks,

⁶⁸ "Mission to Palestine" *RABCFM*, 1820, 31.

and almost every kind of people, in every district, and in their different languages, have made this a noisy day.⁶⁹

His remarks show how economically and culturally cosmopolitan the city of Izmir was, composed as it was of various ethnic and religious groups in the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

In Izmir, they quickly found the European community, including the British consul, the chaplain of the Levant Company, and several foreign merchants, two of whom were brothers from the Perkins family of Boston.⁷⁰ Almost every day, the missionaries of different societies in and around Izmir visited them during their stay. According to Parsons, their plan was to stay in Izmir two or three months, then move to Scio, an island in the Aegean Sea near the Asian coast. He hoped to reside there until fall, then visit the seven churches of Asia Minor; lay the foundation if possible for a permanent mission in Izmir, visit Palestine, study Arabic, and establish a printing press.⁷¹ In Izmir, they observed the local people's customs, traditions and daily lives, which they chronicled in letters

⁶⁹ Alvan Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, A. M.: Late Missionary to Palestine* (New York: Crocker and Brewster, 1828), 106-107.

⁷⁰ Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*, 108-109.

⁷¹ Daniel O. Morton, *Memoir of Levy Parsons: First Missionary to Palestine from the United States*, 2d ed. (Hartford, Con.: Packard & Butler, 1830), 247.

sent to the United States.⁷² The city Fisk and Parsons described in their letters home was a nineteenth-century version of contemporary New York City: very cosmopolitan and colorful. In Fisk's narrative of the city people:

One is clothed with long robes coming to his feet; another with large pantaloons coming only to his knees; one has a turban on his head, another a calpak-black, white, or green, sometimes globular, sometimes cubical, and often very large. The catholic priests wear hats with broad brims; the Greeks, a small black hat without any brim. It is common to meet men with bears, that hang down on their breast.-Jews, Turks, Priests, &. The Turkish women are seldom seen abroad, and never except with their faces completely covered. The Armenian women have their faces nearly or quite all veiled; but the Greek women seem quite willing to have their faces seen. Their dress is generally very much like that of the English ladies.⁷³

It was obvious that Fisk was confused by the diverse ethnicity of the city as he was coming from the much more homogeneous environment of Boston. They reported that Izmir was by far the best situation in the Levant for a permanent missionary establishment.⁷⁴ However, they described the city as it was

⁷² "Religious Intelligence: Report of the Prudential Committee, Mission to Palestine," *MH*, 555.

⁷³ Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*, 112-113.

⁷⁴ "The Evolution of the A.B.C.F.M. Missions in Turkey," *The Orient*, no. 49 (March 22, 1911) Istanbul: Bible House, 6.

"enveloped in the most dreadful moral darkness."⁷⁵ The Board's mission station in Izmir, however, was not, permanently established until 1834.

Soon after their visit to the city of Izmir and exploration of the city, Parsons and Fisk visited the sites of the Biblical "Seven Churches of Asia": Bergama (Pergamos), Akhisar (Thyatira), Sart (Sardis), Alasehir (Philadelphia), and Efes (Ephesus).⁷⁶ They spent some months on the island of Scio in the Aegean to learn Modern Greek.⁷⁷ The missionaries' original plan was to reach Jerusalem and settle to start evangelizing among the Jews and if possible the Muslims.⁷⁸ That was the foremost instruction of the American Board to them and it was the prime concern of the Prudential Committee and the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board, Samuel Worcester. In his letter to Parsons and Fisk of April 22, 1820, Worcester already inquired how they would travel from Izmir to Jerusalem and asked to be informed of everything "as fully and particularly as they

⁷⁵ Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk*, 112.

⁷⁶ "Palestine Mission: Journey of Messrs. Parsons and Fisk, During Their Tour in Asia Minor," *The Missionary Herald* 17, no. 8 (August, 1821), 251.

⁷⁷ Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 101.

⁷⁸ Ussama Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," *The American Historical Review* 102 (Jun., 1997): 680-713.

can.”⁷⁹ It was only at the end of the year that Parsons left Asia Minor for Jerusalem, leaving Fisk behind, during which time Fisk temporarily filled vacant post of chaplain to the Levant Company.⁸⁰

Parsons sailed on board a Greek vessel to Jaffa with pilgrims on board on December 5, 1820 and arrived in Jerusalem on February 17, 1821.⁸¹ He became the first American Board missionary to enter the city of Jerusalem.⁸² As Tibawi suggests, his visit to Jerusalem was planned with no intention of attempting to establish residence in the city.⁸³ Rather, the goal was to map Jerusalem and the Jews of the city, with the intent of preparing for a possible future visit with his colleague, Fisk, who was in Izmir. While in Jerusalem, Parsons began work among the pilgrims at the Holy Sepulcher, distributing Bible and tracts among the pilgrims. He visited various places in or near the city, such as Mount Calvary, Mount Olives, the Pool of

⁷⁹ A.B.C.F.M. Archive, series ABC: 1.01, vol. IV (Book of Letters, 1818-20), quoted in Tibawi, *American Interest in Syria*, 18-19.

⁸⁰ Philips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World*, 137.

⁸¹ “Palestine Mission: Journey of Mr. Parsons, While at Jerusalem,” *MH* 18, no 2 (February 1822), 5.

⁸² Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 98.

⁸³ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 21.

Siloam, Mount Zion, Bethany, and Bethlehem.⁸⁴ While in the city, he also visited the Armenian Patriarchate near Jaffa gate, met with Catholic converts, attended Coptic religious service, and walked through the Greek Monasteries.

In his letters to the United States, which were published in *The Missionary Herald*, the monthly missionary magazine of the American Board, he described the picturesque region. Drawing a picture of the cultural, religious, and social fabric, he wrote that these were as important as the cosmopolitan mixture of the city of Jerusalem and its vicinity. In this diversity the first two missionaries hoped to find converts. In order to prepare religious tracts in the different languages spoken in this region, Parsons returned to Izmir. On his return he visited Egypt, Cyprus, and Malta. His visit to Jerusalem confirmed in his mind that Jerusalem, after all, was a better place than Izmir for a permanent missionary station in the Ottoman Empire. Before departing from the city, he wrote to the American Board that, this is indeed the "center of the world." The station, he suggested, must not be relinquished. The door was already open, according to Parsons and difficulties must be expected, but the

⁸⁴ "Palestine Mission: Journey of Mr. Parsons, While at Jerusalem," *MH*, 34-37.

good resulting from a mission established here will be an
"infinite reward."⁸⁵

This was the good news of the first missionary of the American Board from the lands of Jesus to the lands of Prudential Committee of the American Board in Boston beyond the Atlantic Ocean. The policy making body of the American Board had been patiently awaiting this information for months. This confirmed the American Board's initial proposal of a mission to the Jews of the Holy Land. At the same time, the findings of Parsons in the region and his letters from the field justified the cost of the future labor to be invested in to this promised mission. In other words, the members of the American Board at home would refer these findings of Parsons and would recall the lines of his letters to home from the region in time and search of financial support from the various Churches in the New England region and from their fellow members and followers.

The journey to Izmir from Boston and then to Jerusalem undermined Parsons' physical condition. Having visited and worked among the pilgrims in Jerusalem, he returned to Izmir in poor health in 1821. The British consul in Izmir offered him the rooms usually occupied by the chaplain. He spent some time there

⁸⁵ "Palestine Mission: Journey of Mr. Parsons, While at Jerusalem," *MH*, 19.

trying to recover his health.⁸⁶ Despite the British assistance, Parsons' medical conditions continued to decline in the winter on 1821. He and Fisk decided to go to the warmer climate to spend the rest of the winter. In January 1822, they sailed to Alexandria, Egypt. A month later, on February 10, 1822, Levi Parsons, the first missionary of the American Board to the Holy Land, died in the mission field.⁸⁷

Pliny Fisk, now alone in the field in Alexandria, found it difficult to return to Izmir at a time when the Greek independence revolt reached its momentous stage. The situation in the region was unclear. As a result, Fisk decided to go to Malta, arriving at the island in April 1822. There, he joined Daniel Temple, a new American Board missionary who had been appointed to the island to establish a printing house for publication for the American Board to the East Mediterranean world. While he was busy in the printing house, he wrote to Jonas King, asking him to join him in working for the American Board in Jerusalem as a successor to Parsons. King was then in Paris studying Arabic, following the lectures of the famous

⁸⁶ "Palestine Mission: Letter from Messrs. Parsons and Fisk to the Corresponding Secretary, December 13, 1821," *MH* 18, no. 5 (May 1822), 145.

⁸⁷ "Palestine Mission: Letter from Mr. Fisk to the Corresponding Secretary, Respecting the Sickness and Death of Mr. Parsons," *MH* 18, no. 7 (July, 1822), 218.

Orientalist, Sylvester de Sacy, and preparing for a professorship in Oriental languages at Amherst College.⁸⁸ He left to serve in the mission for three years. Together, Fisk and King traveled from Cairo to Jerusalem, crossing the desert by camel in a caravan and visiting Jaffa and Hebron in April 1823.⁸⁹ However, the unstable conditions in the region made the permanent stay of Fisk and King and the establishment of a station at Jerusalem impossible. Although they distributed Bibles and tracts, and conversed with Jews and Christians, they did not convert anyone. Eventually, Fisk, like his colleague Parsons, died while evangelizing in Beirut in October 1825 while he was busy with preparing an Arabic and English dictionary.⁹⁰

The very first missionaries for the ABCFM appointed to the Ottoman Empire died in the field after a short tenure. They came to Izmir, and later to Jerusalem, with great expectations and dedication to the cause of work for the American Board mission. They hoped to establish a missionary station in Jerusalem to reach the hearts and minds of the people in the region in order to "save" them. They did not succeed in achieving these

⁸⁸ Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 117.

⁸⁹ "Palestine Mission: Journey of Messrs. Fisk and King from Cairo to Jerusalem, through the Desert," *MH* 20, no. 2 (February, 1824), 33-42.

⁹⁰ Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 164.

ambitions. However, their observations were reported back to the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board in Boston and were later published in numerous forms. Their first steps were followed by men and women missionaries of later generations who enrolled in many missionary societies. Their impressions, reflections, and labors in Asia Minor, Syria, Lebanon, and Jerusalem, impacted the social, economic, and even political lives of many people and ethnic entities in the Ottoman Empire during and after the nineteenth century. Their positive and negative contributions to the formation of the Modern Middle East have also turned out to be the subjects of diverse debates of many scholars in the Middle East field.

Chapter III

An Evangelical Life: William Goodell

Focusing on William Goodell and his time in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in Beirut, is imperative to better understand the persistent emphasis of the American Board on the missionary establishment in the region. William Goodell, along with Isaac Bird, was instructed by the American Board to go the Ottoman Empire in order to reinforce the missionary work in the region right after Levi Parson's death, the first ABCFM missionary in the region. Early in the 1820s Goodell and Bird began their journey to the East, aiming for Jerusalem, hoping to reach the hearts and minds of "the heathens" of the region to provide many with "true salvation." However, their story in Beirut demonstrates how later in the 1820s, the missionaries ended with relative success but great fear for the future of their mission. The early missionaries, Goodell in particular, were disappointed at their reception, particularly by Catholics in the region.

Interlude in Malta and the missionary printing press as part of the missionary efforts in the Mediterranean world is the subject of the second part of this chapter. Why was the American Board so obsessed with printing press? What were the objectives

of American Board with the press? The press was absolutely integral to the missionary effort, because literacy was key to the project. Protestants aimed to by-pass traditional religious hierarchy and clerics, taking the Bible directly to people in a language they could comprehend. Thus, the missionary press served to this specific purpose for many decades throughout the region.

Education and Preparing for the Field

Born on February 14, 1792 in a two-room house in Templeton, Massachusetts, William Goodell was one of eight children. He attended Philips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts where he was impressed and influenced by the works and the words of his teachers, especially by the "exceedingly impressive" John Adams. In September of 1813, Goodell and his friend, Daniel Temple, who was from the same academy and who years later Goodell would also meet and work with as co-director of the Missionary Press, in Malta, entered Dartmouth College. During his college years, Goodell was primarily engaged in taking classes, teaching school by day and choir classes in the evening at St. Johnsbury, Vermont. William Goodell, like his classmate Daniel Temple, was one of the few who became a member in the ABCFM organization right after Dartmouth College.

In the fall of 1817, having completed his college course, he returned to Andover and entered the Theological Seminary. As Ussama Makdisi points out, Andover Theological Seminary was the preeminent missionary recruiting ground of the early nineteenth century. Every missionary who would work in Ottoman Lebanon in the first American missions-Levi Parsons, Pliny Fisk, Isaac Bird, Jonas King, Eli Smith and William Goodell-was educated at Andover.¹ At the Theological Seminary, Goodell dedicated himself to Evangelism. He ventured to destitute places performing the work of a home missionary, visiting house to house, distributing books and manuscripts, and holding religious meetings. During the seminary years, in 1818, he was also introduced to a lady whom he would marry and spend the rest of his life with. While travelling through the town of Holden on his vacation in 1818, he was "providentially introduced to a lady of singularly sweet disposition, modest appearance, and dignified demeanor."² Her name was Abigail P. Davis.

In time, the Seminary increased his interest in foreign missions and their cause, hence his decision to become a

¹ Ussama Makdisi, "Refusing Comparison: How Middle Eastern Violence is Narrated by American Missionary," paper presented at a conference in honor of Professor Robert L. Tignor, "The Empire and Its Discontents" (Department of History, Princeton University, September 16-17, 2005), 11.

² Haydn, H. C. ed, *American Heroes on Mission Fields: Brief Missionary Biographies* (New York: American Tract Society, 1890), 11-12.

missionary. Goodell describes controversial debate in his mind that led to his decision to join with Daniel Temple to missionary society with great intensity in his memoires. Accordingly to him at Andover they at once joined that little "sacred band," whose constitution and by-laws, correspondence and records, together with all the signatures of the members, were written with an alphabet which had been invented expressly for the purpose by Gordon Hall and his noble compeers, and which none but the members could understand. This sacred society, Goodell notes, was like "a wheel within a wheel," which, though unseen, was not unfelt, for it moved and controlled all missionary societies and missionary operations in a way which, to the churches and even to the secretaries themselves, seemed perfectly unaccountable. Here they came under the influence of Pliny Fisk, one of the first ABCFM missionaries to the Bible Lands, who afterwards died at Goodell's house in Beirut. In this society, Levi Spaulding, the missionary in Ceylon, whom they had known at Dartmouth College, questioned Goodell and Temple closely to "profess to follow," and to be "entirely willing to follow," the leading of Providence, wherever they might be directed. It was in this "sacred band" accordingly to Goodell, they were ready to declare further, what in fact they had been doing for several years that should the state of the world, at

the close of their studies. Then it would undoubtedly be their duty to engage personally in the work of carrying the Gospel to the heathen.³ In terms of reaching hearts and minds of educated men and women of the New England region, such societies would ultimately take imperative places in missionary movement. Such societies in and out of college campuses acted as "missionary recruiting centers" for home or foreign mission societies in years to come.

In 1820, just before completing his study at Andover, Goodell acquired his license to preach the Gospel. He believed he was ready to start missionary activities. Yet that of his friends Daniel Temple and Isaac Bird. Goodell, thus sent a letter to the Rev. Pliny Fisk, then at Izmir (Smyrna), Ottoman Turkey, on July 28, 1820. He enquired "what are the Prudential Committee's views of expediency of sending out missionaries to Izmir immediately?"⁴ Almost immediately after this letter, Goodell was granted an interview on August 12, 1820, with Dr. Worcester and Mr. Evarts. The result of this meeting was his commitment to spend the year after his graduation from the

³ E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., late missionary of the A. B. .C. F. M. at Constantinople* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876), 47-48.

⁴ For more about the letter, see E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 63-64.

Seminary visiting churches as an agent of the Board. The objective was to awaken interest in the cause of foreign missions and raise funds for the execution of its work. He spent the majority of 1821 traveling through towns along the Hudson River.

In September of 1822, the annual meeting of ABCFM was held in New Haven, Connecticut. At this meeting Goodell was assigned to the mission in Palestine and others to other different destinations. The sermon testifying "they shall build the old wastes; they shall raise up the former desolations, and they shall repair the waste cities, the desolations of many generations" was preached by Rev. Samuel Miller, D. D., of Princeton Theological Seminary at the meeting.⁵ Shortly thereafter, at the annual meeting of the American Board, the Prudential Committee met at Presbyterian Church on Cedar Street in New York to deliver instructions to the new missionaries. This was just four days before Goodell, Bird, and their wives, Abigail Goodell and Ann Bird were to set sail for the Ottoman Empire.

⁵ Samuel Miller, D. D., *Sermon, Delivered in the Middle Church, New Haven, Conn. Sept. 12, 1822, at the Ordination of the Rev. Messrs. William Goodell, William Richards, and Artemas Bishop, as Evangelists and Missionaries to the Heathen* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1822), 4.

"The first thing, which will claim your attention," the instructions of the Prudential Committee began, "is the thorough acquisition of the languages spoken on the shores of the Mediterranean, and by the inhabitants of Western Asia." They continued "Your ultimate destination, with the blessing of the Lord of missions is the land of Judea; and the particular place of your residence, the ancient city of David." During their long journey, Goodell and Bird were also advised to always endeavor to fulfill with strength and loyalty the duties of each day. The duties which Goodell and Bird were assigned to daily covered a variety of topics.

Such ideals reflected the policy of the American Board mission and displayed the thinking behind the mission for their long term goals. The Prudential Committee presented new missionaries with these instructions. Their purpose was to ensure they understood these objectives and thought about the various mix of peoples they would encounter in those regions. Such instructions were delivered as, "Whether you are occupied in preparatory studies, or in superintending the press, whether you are traveling in the passage-boat of an Egyptian canal, or pitching your tent on the east of the Red Sea, or spending your summers at the foot of Mount Lebanon, whether you read the Scriptures with pilgrims in the Holy City, or issue from its

gates with Bibles and tracts to be distributed in Armenia:-
whether in the house or by the way, in the city or the field,
remember you are the servants of Christ." In doing so, the
committee added "examine faithfully, judge deliberately, and act
perseveringly."⁶

On their journey in to the unknown, the new missionaries,
Goodell and Bird, were also warned about the uncertain political
situation in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the
nineteenth century. The Prudential Committee directed that "it
may be thought, that the present troubles in the Turkish Empire
will interpose a serious obstacle to missionary efforts. Suffer
not your minds to be discouraged by this apprehension." The
American Board Prudential Committee reminded them, "you go, dear
brethren as ambassadors in a double capacity." Moreover, "In
common with the ministers of Christ," instructions followed,
"you are his ambassadors to your fellow sinners, charged to
proclaim the glad tiding of his pacification, and to urge the
acceptance of his gracious offers." The instructions also
affirmed "you are also ambassadors from the churches in this

⁶ "Instructions of the Prudential Committee to the Rev. William Goodell, and the Rev. Isaac Bird, about to be attached to the Palestine Mission, Delivered by the Corresponding Secretary, in the Presbyterian Church, Cedar Street, New York, on Thursday, Dec. 5, 1822," *The Missionary Herald* 19, no. 5 (May, 1823), 141.

country to their suffering fellow men in the eastern world."

"From a continent but recently discovered," the committee added encouraging remarks to the instructions to the new missionaries, "you carry back the knowledge of the Scriptures and of salvation to the regions where flourishing churches once stood, but where the power of religion has long ceased to exist. The Prudential committee promoted the idea that would lead to the spreading the "truth" of the American Board through its Protestant missionaries, and "salvation" of the people in the mission field, however, it also undermined the other religions and belief systems, their own power and truth, in reaching their own "salvation." Both Goodeell and Bird were told that "as our Christian community cannot go to deliver the message of the Lord, they entrust you to deliver it for them."

After a long list of instructions, the Prudential Committee ended its orders with "may you know what it is to *overcome*, in the great war, which the Captain of your salvation is waging with the powers of darkness, and thus you will be *pillars in the temple of your God, and go no more out FOR EVER.*"⁷ For that

⁷ For more on the instructions of the Prudential Committee to William Goodell and Isaac Bird, see "Instructions of the Prudential Committee to the Rev. William Goodell, and the Rev. Isaac Bird, about to be attached to the Palestine Mission, Delivered by the Corresponding Secretary, in the Presbyterian Church, Cedar Street, New York, on Thursday, Dec. 5, 1822," *MH* (1823), 141-143.

"reparation," soon after the annual meeting and ordination to the mission of Palestine, William Goodell, Isaac Bird, and their wives, Abigail Goodell and Ann Bird, boarded the *Shepherdess*. The Ship set sail from New York harbor "setting her face to go to Jerusalem" and sailed to Malta on December 9, 1822. Then under British control, Malta was more or less a secure mission-base for the new American missionaries heading to the East. "Malta is altogether unlike anything we never before saw or thought of" Goodell noted in his letter of February 13, 1823, from Valetta. Surprised with the development and prosperity of the island, he added, "There is nothing here that reminds one of America. Everything looks more like romance than reality." This is because he came from a more conservative and homogeneous society, unparalleled with the social and cosmopolitan mixture of the island. The city he resided in was composed of several ethnicities, similar to many other cities throughout the Mediterranean. He noted in the same letter that "the city is full of people, Jews, Greeks, Italians, English, Maltese, &c."⁸ In Malta, Goodell and Bird spent several months studying languages spoken in the Ottoman Empire. They also worked on translations and printed manuscripts at the home of Rev. Daniel

⁸ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 74.

and Martha Temple. All this was done before their departure to Beirut on October 24, 1823, on board *La Divine Providence* via Cyprus, arriving at the city of Beirut on Sunday, November 16, 1823.⁹

Unwelcome in Beirut and its Environs

In 1823, William Goodell and Isaac Bird, along with their wives, in the hope of reaching Jerusalem, opened the American Board's first Levantine missionary station in Beirut. Having settled in the city, Goodell sent a letter to the secretary of the Prudential Committee of the American Board back home. The letter was dated January 24, 1824, one of his first from this region. The letter described the city and noted:

the place in which providence has cast our lot... is pleasantly situated on the western side of a large bay... On the south is a large and beautiful plain, varied by hills covered with olives, palms, orange, lemon, pine and mulberry trees, enriched with vines and enlivened by numerous cottages... From the terrace of the house we occupy we can count, without the walls of the city, no less than 200 cottages, scattered here and there in the fields of mulberry tree.

The more they extended to the East, the more fascinating stories they found to report back home. By illustrating the cities in

⁹ Palestine Mission: Reinforcement of the Mission (117-129)," *Report of ABCFM, Compiled from Documents Laid Before the Board at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting*, which was held in Boston, Mass., September 17, 18, 1823 (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1823).

dept in their corresponding or personal letters to American Board Committee or family members back home, missionaries would help them to better picturesque the social and physical futures of the places they were travelling in.

Within the same letter, Goodell complained about the sanitation inside the walls of the city. "When I have as occasion," he wrote, "to enter the gates at an early hour and to pass through certain parts of the city, I have deemed it prudent to tie a handkerchief over my face for the preservation of my health."¹⁰ However, he did not tell much about what he was afraid of nor did he describe what he saw or smelt that concerned him that much. As they walked through the city day after day, they came across the "natives," whom he portrayed in his writings. "Arabs appeared very civil and friendly," Goodell noted in his early correspondence with the secretary of the Prudential Committee, "and some of them gave us fruits as we passed the doors of their cottages, and invited us to stop and take coffee with them." Hospitality was one of the common cultural norms of the people of the region. That was exactly what Goodell experienced within the Arabs out of his curiosity in his early

¹⁰ ABCFM Archive series ABC: 16.6, vol. ii, quoted in Abdul Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 31.

days in the city. For the children of the families, he added "they generally appeared cleanly."¹¹

On the treatment of women, Goodell also reported a conversation he had with missionary Jones King's tutor. At a dinner, the topic of local manners and customs, especially on the matter of attention to women of the East, was discussed. On this occasion, they spoke about the importance of female education, and the intelligence and influence of the women within the Christian community in America. They talked about the roles of women as humanitarians and religious advocates who instructed their children via epistolary and other writings, as well as activities in religious matters in their home country of America. Goodell was surprised by the response of King's tutor. "If any person should come to this house, and speak to his wife first," Goodell quoted the tutor, "he should be offended." Rather than understanding the differences between the two environments and seeing the local habits and customs as part of the culture of the region, Goodell noted, "we told him that in our country, we had so much affection and respect for our wives,

¹¹ "Palestine Mission: Journal of Messrs. Goodell and Bird," *MH* 20, no. 8 (August, 1824), 241.

that we were even better pleased to see them honored than ourselves."¹²

In order to fully inform the readers back home, Goodell concluded his letter with another quotation from King's tutor. "He replied," Goodell stated, "the English ladies have some understanding, the Arabian women have none." By understanding he meant knowledge. According to Goodell, the tutor advised them, "it is the custom of this country that a woman must never be seen eating, or walking, or in company with her husband. When she walks abroad, she must wrap herself up in a large white sheet, and look like a ghost; and at home she must be treated more like a slave, than a partner. Indeed, women are considered of so little consequence, that to ask a man after the health of his wife is a question which is said never to find a place in the social intercourse of this country."¹³

Depicting the physical habitat of the city of Beirut and commenting on the condition of Eastern (especially Muslim) women to those back home were not the only topics Goodell reported on. He added several other findings in to his correspondence to the Prudential Committee in Boston soon after his arrival in the

¹² "Palestine Mission: Journal of Messrs. Goodell and Bird," *MH* (1824), 241.

¹³ "Palestine Mission: Journal of Messrs. Goodell and Bird," *MH* (1824), 241-242.

city. As early as 1824, he reported to the American Board about the desire of locals for "true religious instruction," which he believed missionaries might be able to provide in years to come. According to Goodell, the "Priests" of this country, referring to Lebanon, are in no instance known to visit the people for the purpose of educating, advising or consulting them. All their duties, he noted, are public services, and most of these are performed in a language that is not understood by the common people.

In his analysis of the religious situation and the representation of the "character" and "wretchedness" of the inhabitants of the region, Goodell discussed the disconnect between the spoken language and languages of prayer. He wrote back home from the mission field that the service of the Roman church is in Latin; that of the Greek church in ancient Greek; that of the Syrian and Maronite churches in Syriac; that of the Jews in Hebrew; and that of the Turks in Arabic. In most instances, Goodell noted, the common people of these different sects knew almost as little of the language in which their religious service was performed as the people of America know of old Saxon. Accordingly, he added, they "worship they know not what." They "grope for the wall like the blind, and they grope

as if they had no eyes." They "stumble at noon-day as in the night." And they "know not at what they stumbled."¹⁴

The task of American Board missionaries in the region was to distribute the Scriptures in ancient and modern Greek, Armenian, Arabic, and Italian to the locals. Having the Bible in these languages would help them to understand it. In addition, they were to preach at every possible moment. They were to take every opportunity to speak with the locals in order to persuade "the heathen" about the truths of Protestantism. That was the belief and missionary task of the early pioneers of this region. However, it was not an easy one, as they were confronted by the challenges which were peculiar to their mission. Lebanon had no Protestant community prior to their arrival; therefore, they had to create one out of converts from the various sects in and around the region. By doing this, they believed that they would create an environment in which diverse local communities would have a chance to spread the truths of the Scriptures in their spoken languages. More importantly, this would help future missionaries to reach out to the hearts and minds of the locals more easily, and possibly convert more followers to

¹⁴ "Palestine Mission: Journal of Mr. Goodell at Beirut," *MH* 20, no. 11 (November 1824), 342.

Christianity, by which they meant Protestantism, in years to come.

With this in mind, they spent several months in continuous study of Turkish, Arabic, and Armenian, while they preached in their house for a select few locals from Beirut. The study of languages spoken in the region was their principle, but not only, employment during their early residence in the region. For instance, at the end of July 1824, the American missionaries succeeded in opening the first home school in Beirut. With the instruction and supervision of Abigail Goodell and Ann Bird, the first American Board Mission School in the Ottoman Empire commenced operation with seven young Arab female pupils.¹⁵ Girls were fed, clothed, and eventually taught how to sew and carry out other domestic activities. They were also taught the alphabet and to read and write in Arabic. That first home school for girls is important because this was the beginning of home or regular schools for girls in the region.

¹⁵ Elen Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries, the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830-1910)," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 265. For more on Missioanry Schools in the Ottoman Empire, see Mehmet Ali Doğan, "Missionary Schools," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottman Empire*, edited by Gabor Agosion and Bruce Masters (New York: Facts On File, 2009), 385-388.

As the number of students increased rapidly, almost to sixty by fall 1824, the school moved to a large room near their residence in Beirut. Among the students, some were advanced enough to require more professional instruction than the missionaries could offer. Therefore, a native Christian Arab teacher, Tannus al-Haddad, was hired for the supervision of the school.¹⁶ A year later, by July 1825, the number of pupils reached nearly ninety. Such an increase in the number of students over a one year period was encouraging. As a result, the school needed a larger space. The missionaries rented a house in the city to accommodate the teacher, al-Haddad, and his family as well as the students. Isaac Bird noted in his letter back home to the Prudential Committee of the American Board that their hopes were quite optimistic. Although the school could no longer be in the suburbs where they resided, a school in town would increase the school's attendance record considerably.¹⁷

All the students in the school were Arabs and boys, exception of two pupils. This was a strange shift, however. The original school started its operation as one for girls. But in

¹⁶ Samir Khalaf, "On Doing Much with Little Noise: Early Encounters of Protestant Missionaries in Lebanon," in *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, edited by Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 18.

¹⁷ "Mission to Palestine: Beirut," *MH* 21, no. 9 (September 1825), 272.

time, the missionaries reached to the state of mind of the need for education in larger numbers for their ultimate mission. In addition to that, they had already moved to the city center. In an environment as such in the middle of the city of Beirut, they obviously predicted that they would not be able to operate if they keep the school alive only for girls, especially under a male supervision. Accordingly, they shifted their attention from girls to boys for now. One of the girl students was the teacher's wife, aged fifteen and the other was a ten-years-old girl. Most of the boys were between five to twelve years of age. Three of them were Muslim Arabs, two from the Maronite community, two from the Greek Catholic community, and the rest belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church in the city. As early as 1825, Goodell and Bird reported back home on the progress of the students in their newly established school. Goodell and Bird found that "the Arabs have not generally that quickness of parts, and do not make that rapid progress in learning, which are so characteristic of Greeks." Goodell and Bird noted in their letter, they "are less ambitious and less studious, and are more trifling, inconstant and proud of petty things."¹⁸ Missionaries' preference for Greek students and their categorization of students in different ethnic backgrounds

¹⁸ "Palestine Mission: Letter from Messrs. Goodell, and Bird to the Corresponding Secretary," *MH* 21, no.12 (December 1825), 379-380.

indicate missionaries' tendency towards creating sects and greater divisions within the social fabric of the society.

The operation of the school established by a few American strangers in Beirut in a much more professional manner than the earlier other schools attracted the curiosity of many. Several people from different sects surprisingly visited the school in a short time. While some showed their appreciation and asked to enroll their children, others opposed the idea of a mission school in town. According to Bird, some of them listened at the door, some went their way; some examined the books, some, without examination, declared them heretical; others questioned them as to what right they had to come there and set up a school.¹⁹ Among them were some Greeks and Roman Catholics. They immediately criticized their Greek Orthodox neighbors for allowing their children to attend the "free school," sponsored and operated by foreigners. They claimed that children were taught nothing but "heresy" in the new school. This conflict among the locals caught the attention of Bird immediately. He reported back home several times about the emerging opposition and called those who opposed their activities "enemies."²⁰ The very term "enemy" was explicitly and often used in addressing

¹⁹ "Mission to Palestine: Beirut," *MH* (1825), 271.

²⁰ "Mission to Palestine: Beirut," *MH* (1825), 271.

those who opposed the new projects started by a few strangers from America. The missionaries ultimately needed enemies to thrive. Theirs was a world of right/wrong, good/evil, supporters/enemies. For a long period of time, not only Bird but also Goodell used the term, "enemy," to describe the opposition in their correspondence to the Prudential Committee back in Boston. They could not understand why the locals would oppose them.

Four notables in Beirut visited the school to investigate its activities further. Their findings were later reported to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Antioch. Based on their findings, he immediately issued a circular forbidding the children of his flock to attend the missionary school.²¹ Despite this opposition, the first missionary school, often called "common school," became a model for others which followed in the next few years. By 1827, early missionary efforts succeeded in establishing thirteen schools operated by several teachers and attended by nearly six hundred students in and around Beirut. This increase in number was due to a number of reasons. One was that the mission schools in and around Beirut were financially supported by the "strangers" in town and they were free. As long

²¹ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work* (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1966), 33.

as they remained free, most of the locals did not find anything wrong with enrolling and sending their children to them.

Despite the fact that missionaries had been studying Arabic, Turkish, and other languages spoken in the region, such as Greek and Armenian, on their own, it was thought better to hire native assistants to help them learn. This would not only give them the opportunity of studying those local languages in a more professional environment, but at the same time would perhaps allow them the chance to obtain assistance from the local instructors for their mission work in Beirut, Jerusalem, and other parts of the region. It was with this purpose in mind that Goodell established his initial relations with some Armenian ecclesiastics in town. Two Armenian clerics assisted him and later Isaac Bird in the city. They were Dionysius Carabet (or Garabedian), a former Armenian Archbishop in Jerusalem, and Gregory Wortabet (or Vatabed), former secretary of the Armenian Patriarchate in the city. In time, while Wortabet assisted Goodell in making a Turkish-English dictionary, Carabet assisted him in a translation of the Gospels into Turkish-Armenian which is in the Turkish language with Armenian characters, and was completed in 1827.²² Bishop Carabet

²² "Mission in Western Asia: Jews, Armenians, and the Turks (47-48); Smyrna (67-70); Constantinople (71)," Report of the American Board of Commissioners

was born in Istanbul, spent thirty-six years of his life in the monastery at Jerusalem and spoke Armenian, Turkish, and Arabic. Initially, he started teaching Goodell Turkish and worked as a translator for him. Ultimately, this relationship turned into collaboration on more extensive projects, such as the translation of the Gospels.²³

Even though Goodell and Bird had gone to Beirut with the expectation of going to Jerusalem (where the two pioneers, Pliny Fiske and Levi Parsons, had first attempted to start a mission among Jews and Muslims in the early 1820s), the "holy city" was then in an unstable state. Soon after their arrival in the region, events made it doubtful whether they should or could go there at all with their families. Beirut, on the other hand, was more stable and cosmopolitan, offering a diverse western political and economic presence. The British consulate in Beirut warmly welcomed the American missionaries. In fact, the British consul, Mr. Abbott, sent his nephew on board, offered them assistance and invited them to his house when they arrived in Beirut. They immediately accepted his offer and stayed there for

for Foreign Missions, Compiled from Documents Laid Before the Board at the 18th Annual Meeting, which was held in the City of New York, October 10,11,12,13 &15, 1827. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1827).

²³ "Palestine Mission: Letter from Mr. Goodell to the Corresponding Secretary," *MH* 22, no. 1 (January, 1826): 11.

a while.²⁴ Therefore, Beirut became the headquarters of missionary operations in the Middle East for the American Board.

For a time Goodell, Bird and their native helpers worked in Beirut without restraint from either civil or ecclesiastical authorities. They meet with Turks, Arabs, Maronites, Jews, and Greeks and distributed the Bible and read it to them without any fear of hostility. Meanwhile, the mission of Goodell and Bird also produced some promising results. They slowly succeeded in converting some Armenians, including Yakup Aga, a former bishop and acting English consular agent in Sidon, Dionysius Carabet, Gregory Wortabet and his wife and her brother, and Joseph Leflufy. Also among the new converts were Asaad Jacob, a Greek Catholic youth who afterwards apostatized, and As'ad Shidyaq, an educated Maronite young man who eventually was prisoned and killed by the Maronite Patriarchate.

The missionaries in Beirut began their field operation by opening common schools for boys and girls in the region, engaging with locals in an effort to translate religious materials into local languages, distributing Bibles and other religious tracts throughout nearby neighborhoods, preaching sermons at every possible moment, and visiting homes for

²⁴ For Goodell's account of his entrance into the city, a letter sent to a friend in America, see E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 79.

religious conversation. While Goodell, Bird, and their wives were engaged in doing all this, they were also fully aware that they were being closely watched by eastern ecclesiastical authorities and others in Beirut. "The enemy," Goodell wrote to the Prudential Committee, "watches all our movements and endeavors to counteract all our efforts."²⁵ This close watch brought an end to their initial optimistic hope of spreading Protestantism through religious and educational works in town. Although the close watch by eastern ecclesiastical authorities over the activities of Goodell and Bird did not result in any personal harassment or damage, it caused great concern regarding their safety and the safety of those who followed them. This reality was reflected in their correspondence. Being far away from home and virtually alone in Beirut without any American political presence or security, they took precautions in conducting their missionary activities among the peoples of the region. Having already spent a few years in the region, Goodell still wrote about his fears for his missionary friends' personal safety in Beirut, as well as his own safety.

"Power of darkness that were so fully occupied in watching *your* movements in Syria, as to leave *us* in comparative

²⁵ ABCFM Archives, series ABC: 16.6, vol. ii Letter dated 31 March 1825, addressed to Rufus Anderson, then assistant secretary of the ABCFM.

quietness, have now apparently nothing in these parts to distract their attention, and draw off their thought from ourselves," Goodell wrote, in his letter to his colleague in the region, Jones King. He continued, "in such wrath have they come down upon us, as to make it sometimes appear, in our view, a matter of great uncertainty, whether we ever die in peace upon our beds." In his lines to his friend, he opened his heart and expressed his thoughts and feelings concerning the present situation in the city. "I often wonder," Goodell wrote to his missionary friend, "someone is not hired, by a trifling sum, to poison us, to shoot us in the street, or to break into our houses and murder us in the night." Yet he contradicted himself in adding, "I suppose, however, that we walk abroad in the day time with much less fear than our enemies, and our sleep in the night season, I dare say, is more sweet and refreshing, and less disturbed by the midnight terrors." ²⁶

Goodell wrote his letters at a time when great concern was indeed necessary for the Protestant missionaries in Beirut. The Maronite Patriarchate was planning a conspiracy in an effort to drive Goodell and others from Beirut. In November 1826, the Maronite bishop had arrived in Beirut and had prepared an ex-

²⁶ "Palestine Mission: Communications from Mr. Goodell," *MH* 23, no. 6 (June 1827), 178.

communication for every Maronite who permitted his house to be hired by the missionaries. Additionally, an order from the Maronite Patriarch was also read in the church at Beirut forbidding people to accept the Holy Scriptures circulated by the missionaries, specifying the editions published in England, and requiring them to return or burn those they had received.²⁷ Seeing a challenge to the Church hierarchy and its established power and rituals, the Maronite Patriarch issued another anathema in December 1826. This one was against all "English Missionaries" and their continued efforts to attract children to their schools and make converts of them against their wishes. Calling them "enemies" of the Church structure, the anathema accused them of using material inducements to achieve a change of spiritual allegiance. The anathema also stressed that missionaries "give cash gifts or lend money especially to the poor, who, in the event of inability to pay back, are invited to join their communion in return for canceling the debt." The Patriarch therefore, prohibited all Maronites, clerical and lay, from having any interaction with the missionaries in all matters pertaining to religion. He also forewarned for "the strict boycott, not only for the schools and books, but also for

²⁷ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 87.

selling articles to the mission or accepting any employment in any of its establishments.”²⁸

To fully enforce ecclesiastical authority among fellow members of the Church, Maronite clergy sharpened their response against missionary activities by going after the converts from their local community. As a result, other potential converts were frightened off by the threat of edicts and anathemas from their churches targeting their own safety. The most famous case was that of what missionaries often called the “prize” convert As’ad Shidyaq. A Maronite scholar, he was the earliest Arab convert to American Protestantism and the first native martyr. His story of conversion to Protestantism, imprisonment, and eventual death in a Maronite monastery has attracted many historians. His story has been told and re-told in different variations over the decades, with the most recent version written by Ussama Makdisi. He focuses on the dramatic story of the conversion and death of Shidyaq at the hands of Maronite clergy to encourage a think of the struggle over the man’s body and soul, and over how his story might be re-told or changed by the actors and influenced by the cultures on both sides.²⁹

²⁸ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901*, 39-40.

²⁹ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008).

Born in 1798 into a prominent family in Lebanon, As'ad Shidyaq was the fourth son of a respectable Maronite of Mount Lebanon. He was educated at the College of Ain Warka and later held the office of private secretary to the Maronite Patriarch. American Board missionary Jonas King contacted Shidyaq to help him learn the local languages. While King was residing at Der El Kamer in 1825, he engaged him as an instructor to pursue the study of Syriac and Arabic. Afterwards, Shidyaq worked with Pliny Fisk for a short period of time before Fisk's death in the hope of opening a free school for teaching Arabic. After his conversion, he made rapid progress working for the mission, and when King retired, Shidyaq attempted to replace him. His defection, however, excited his former ecclesiastical superiors, who forbade him to have any further connection with the missionary establishment of the American Board. Furthermore, a letter received in November 1825 from the Patriarchate threatened him, one of his brothers, and another Maronite young man with immediate excommunication unless they ceased all connection with the "Bible-men."³⁰ He was informed that the patriarch had received instructions from Rome to "persecute these men, the missionaries, by all means in his power so long

³⁰ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board*, 2nd ed. (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), 178-179.

as one of them should remain in the country.”³¹ Rather than distance himself, Shidyaq more closely embraced the American missionaries, their principles, and their doctrines. He was subsequently harassed and then persecuted by his own church hierarchy. This was done in the name of the church’s religious orthodoxy, established rules, and respect for the Roman Catholic Church. Sidyaq was ultimately imprisoned, and although he attempted to escape several times, he did not succeed. He was tortured and “sacrificed” sometime in 1830 in an effort to squash the support for the missionaries. Readers of *The Missionary Herald* in the United States heard of developments of this affair via letters from the mission field published from 1827 to 1830.

Another serious incident occurred involving Isaac Bird and his native assistant, Naami Latuf. In the middle of April 1827, alarming news spread that the plague was in Damascus and would soon be in Beirut. The missionaries thought it prudent to establish a rigid quarantine for their families. According to missionary reports, the plague arrived as anticipated and proved very destructive. Bird decided to leave the city and reside for a time in the hill country, selecting Ehden, a village near

³¹ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 98.

Cannobeen, the seat of the Maronite patriarch, as a place of residence and later retirement. Naami Latuf, who had for sometime been interested in the teaching of the missionaries and whose father resided at Ehden, accompanied Bird and his family and introduced them to his father in August 1827. The day after this visit, the patriarch issued a proclamation addressed to the Maronites of that district, naming several villages, in which the ex-communication of Latuf and his family was mentioned. People were forbidden to receive Bird and his family into any house or building for whatever reason or to provide them with any sort of service or afford them any type of assistance.³² When Bird learned that the patriarch had written a letter to the village, informing the people that they must avoid the missionaries, he and his family went to a neighboring village to a relative of Latuf's family. However, they could not help them and they took shelter at a Greek convent. Bird and his family then went back to Tripoli, where they were received by the British vice-consul.³³

These incidents made the negative intentions of the Maronite Patriarch apparent, and the missionaries feared for

³² "Western Asia: Beyroot (36-44); Levant (44-47)," *Report of ABCFM, Compiled from Documents Laid Before the Board at the 19th Annual Meeting*, which was held in the City of Philadelphia, October 1, 2, and 3, 1828. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1828).

³³ *RABCFM*, 1928.

their own personal safety in Beirut. In April 1827, Goodell wrote to the assistant secretary of the American Board in Boston, Rufus Anderson, stressing the rising tension in the city and its vicinity. In the same correspondence, he also confessed that he had "not traveled at all" during the past year to avoid "needlessly exciting public notice." As a result of the growing tensions, the missionaries decided to move away from Beirut for a while until relations could be restored.

Warfare in the eastern Mediterranean in 1827 further threatened their safety and made it prudent to move out of Beirut. When it became known that the European powers had decided to intervene on behalf of the Greeks in the Greek revolution against the Ottoman Empire, many French people in Beirut left the city, and the native Christians fled to the mountains. On the advice of the English consul, Goodell sent his family to Der Kalaat, a Maronite convent in the mountains. He stayed in Beirut working among the Greeks and Arabs. In late December, Goodell's family returned to Beirut and joined Isaac Bird and his wife in the hope that they might renew their mission work.

The political disturbances continued, however, and international trade and financial transactions between European

and local merchants declined gradually as a result of the political uncertainty in the region. To make matters worse, missionaries lost all consular protection when the British and French consuls received instructions to leave the region immediately at the beginning of 1828. Commerce and the city's communication with the rest of the Mediterranean had almost ceased, and vessels in which they could depart were few to be found. Ties were being severed and the city had become isolated from international trade and political matters. Including, at the time, Daniel Temple, American Board missionary in Malta in charge of the missionary print house there, was about to leave Malta on a visit to the U.S. and had to be replaced or the missionary press would be suspended in his absence. Under these circumstances, the Goodells and Birds decided to leave Beirut, accompanied by the two Armenian converts, Carabet and Wortabet, on an Austrian vessel and arrived in Malta May 29, 1828.³⁴

Early in the 1820s, the American Board missionaries began their journey to the East, aiming for Jerusalem. They had hoped to reach the hearts and minds of "the heathens" of this region and to provide many with "true salvation." Later in the 1820s, they had relative success in doing so, but great fear for the

³⁴ Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 205.

future of the mission became apparent. The fear forced them to re-evaluate their position as to whether to leave the region and suspend their mission. Concerned with their personal safety, they decided to leave and to allow tensions to ease.

In his memoir William Goodell describes their actual state of things when they came into Beirut and up to the time of their departure. "I came to Syria with the hope" Goodell notes that "I should find at least some individual, however obscure, who signed for the abominations committed, and who worshiped God in spirit and in truth."³⁵ But missionaries seemed disappointed by how they found Syria. Goodell continued, "and I do not now say that no such individual is to be found, but I can say in truth that no such person has been found in Syria by ourselves (those of course excepted who appear to have been benefited by our instructions), and that all our researches have not brought to light one who appeared even ashamed or afraid to lie, and profane the name and Sabbaths of the Most High."³⁶ At the end of their nearly a decade-long encounter with the people of the region, the missionaries were disappointed at their reception, particularly by Catholics. They left the region to reevaluate

³⁵ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 104.

³⁶ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 104.

their weaknesses in the field and build up new strategies in order to strengthen their second coming the East soon.

All in all, the missionaries could count some achievements: the Gospel had been proclaimed extensively among the people, and some Armenian, Greek, and Maronite men had been reached to preach the Gospel house to house. Schools had been established in which many children, both male and female, were taught, and numerous tracts had been distributed among the people. At the same time, it is clear that the presence of missionaries had stirred sectarian tensions and that opposition to their presence was strong, especially among Christians of the city.

Interlude: Malta and the Missionary Printing Press

The missionaries of the ABCFM in Mediterranean region gathered at Malta due to the volatile political situation in Greece. Malta, a British territory, had been chosen as the location for the printing house in the "East," as well as for the protection of the missionaries in case of an emergency. The mission was supplied with fonts of type for printing in Italian, Modern Greek, Armenian, and Arabic. After his arrival on the island, Goodell took over the supervision of the press and

devoted himself to translation work and to preparing books and tracts for publication.

While the missionaries at Malta worked extensively on Eastern languages and translation of materials, especially religious ones, they also began to take stock of their previous failures. In 1828, the American Board dispatched Rufus Anderson to confer with them and discuss future plans.³⁷ All agreed that "the early proceedings of this mission were too controversial, and were disproportionately diverted to the external superstitions of the country."³⁸ An educational strategy seemed the ideal remedy for these shortcomings. In schools, the missionaries could undermine "superstitions" through the positive method of "disseminating enlightenment" rather than through negative attacks, and at the same time they might introduce Protestant Bible studies into the curriculum without seeming to proselytize.³⁹ The missionaries would focus on education and schooling in their second and long-term wave of work in the Ottoman Empire, a few years later in Istanbul. But

³⁷ Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 51.

³⁸ Rufus Anderson, Instructions to Rev. David T. Stoddard and Samuel A. Rhea (2/22/1851), ABC:8.1, V.2., quoted in Harris, *Nothing but Christ*, 51.

³⁹ Rufus Anderson, Instructions to Rev. David T. Stoddard and Samuel A. Rhea, 51-52.

while still in Malta, they made a major contribution to the missionary press.

Malta was chosen as the best place for the operation of the missionary press for countries around the Mediterranean Sea due to its close proximity to the "East" and at some time due to its status as a British Commonwealth. The first print office (or house) was established in 1822. Later the missionaries expanded to the east, including one office in Greece and two in Asia Minor. From July 1822 to November 1828, the American Board's press at Malta printed one hundred and six books: sixty-two in Modern Greek, forty-three in Italian, and one in Greco-Turkish. The average number of pages of the Greek publications was fifty-six, and of the Italian thirty-three. Later on, large quantities of these products were sent to Greece and Asia Minor.⁴⁰ In 1829, the following numbers of books and tracts were published; three new additions in Modern Greek; sixteen first impressions in Armeno-Turkish; and five first impressions in Italian. The number of copies was 69, 300.⁴¹ In the same year, the Committee of the American missionary press decided to prepare schoolbooks

⁴⁰ *Report of ABCFM*, 1828.

⁴¹ "Western Asia: Malta (36-39); The Press (40-41)," *Report of ABCFM, Compiled from Documents Laid Before the Board at the 20th Annual Meeting*, which was held in the City of Albany, October 7, 8, and 9, 1829. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1829).

to supply the increasing demands of the schools in Greece and Asia Minor.

Further on missionary publications, in 1830, the American missionary press in Malta printed the New-Testament in Armeno-Turkish. Upon its completion, Goodell expressed his feelings about the work in a letter dated January 26, 1831. He admitted that "[i]t is far enough indeed from being perfect." He explained that he had "spent considerable time upon the work, both in the preparation I made at Beirut, and in the attention I have given to the version of the Rev. Mr. Leeves."⁴²

The following year, 1831, Goodell received instructions from the Prudential Committee of the American Board to leave for Istanbul and start a new mission there, to be called the Constantinople Mission. That year official diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the U.S. started, with the founding of an American embassy in the capital. This development was highly important for the American missionaries, because it meant greater protection for them and even possible legalization of their missionary activities in and around the Empire. In Beirut, they used to receive support and protection from foreign diplomatic missions, primarily from the British Consulate.

⁴² "Letter from Mr. Goodell, Dated Jan 26, 1831", *MH* 27, no. 7 (1831): 211.

However, with the establishment of an American embassy in Istanbul, American missionaries had an American diplomatic office in the capital. This development also proved beneficial for one of their most important departments: the press. The press department of the American Board was moved first to Izmir in 1833 and then to Istanbul in 1853.

The policies of the Ottoman government toward books and other publications from the recently arrived American missionary press and its operations were not hostile. From 1822 through 1829, almost 300,000 copies of books, and around three million pages in Modern Greek, Italian, Armeno-Turkish, and Greco-Turkish were printed in Malta and circulated in the Mediterranean. After its establishment, the press immediately commenced issuing several types of books covering an array of subject matter (religion, history, grammar, biographies, and in other disciplines). The Annual reports of the ABCFM supplied details about the works of the missionary press, including all publications for every year, numbers of copies and pages, categories and languages. According to Harris, the work of translating, printing books and tracts was deemed necessary, and a vital supplement to *preaching*. People who would have never attended services might be given a tract or a New Testament, and this may have promoted serious reflection on their part.

Although this was both an inefficient and insufficient means of gaining converts, there were enough tales of success to sustain continued efforts.⁴³ That was one of the main reasons why the press department of the American Board emphasized the demand and importance of printing books and materials so consistently.

The demand for the missionary works, publications and press grew due to the growing interest of the Protestant community in the Ottoman Empire as well as the increasing number of missionary schools and students throughout the 1840s. Izmir (Smyrna) was the center of all missionary press works from 1833 up to 1853. Because the missionaries viewed it necessary to concentrate more on "promising" groups like the Armenians, they decided to discontinue publications for the Greeks of Izmir in 1844. The sole purpose of the missionary station in Izmir became primarily to support the missionary press and its related activities. In order to establish the principles of the missionary press and its publications, the missionary committee decided to consider taking the opinions of "the native elements" from 1839 to 1841, such as the native Protestant community, teachers, priests. It was also decided as a principle that before sending the materials to the press committee and press house for printing, the committee needed to send the draft of

⁴³ Harris, *Nothing but Christ*, 72.

the materials to all stations to obtain their opinions.⁴⁴ By doing so, the committee would ensure that publications were addressing points concerning the diverse sections of these societies, and they in return would receive a general consensus of what each society's needs were. This was important for maintaining relations to operate freely and with ease, without fear of reprisal. Between 1833 and 1853, the missionary press in Izmir printed 20,000,000 pages in different languages and categories.⁴⁵ In their annual reports, the American Board missionaries were so obsessed with the "numbers" and "counting" while referring their printed works. It is because such numbers would eventually serve as "evidences," at home and abroad, of how much labor and effort their missionary friends in the field were investing in the foreign mission. Counting and numbering the materials would also help to prove their success in missionary education, supplied with printed substances.

While the central committee of the American Board in the Ottoman Empire was in Istanbul, Izmir was the center for the missionary press. Challenges in communications, travel and distribution of printed materials resulted in discussions

⁴⁴ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları* (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1989), 87.

⁴⁵ Thomas Laurie, *The Contribution of Our Foreign Missions To Science and Human Well-Being* (Boston: ABCFM Press, 1885), 206.

regarding the future location of the missionary press. Should it stay in Izmir or move to Istanbul? It was finally decided that the missionary press needed to be moved to Istanbul, where it could operate to the best advantage in the Empire.⁴⁶

The new location of the press in Istanbul led to a completely new era for the missionary press in the Ottoman Empire. This period of time is a subject for separate and further extensive research. However, it is imperative to present here, rather briefly, what had happened from 1853 to 1860 concerning the missionary press. Until 1863, there were various printed materials by the press department in Modern Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, Greeko-Turkish, Kurdish, Bulgarian, Turkish and Hebrew-Spanish. Such was the social and ethnic fabric of the Ottoman Empire. It was ethnically and linguistically diverse and therefore, the missionaries categorized in time their printing works into departments; each targeted different social group within the Empire. The number of religious materials (Holy Books) was more than 160,000 by 1863. The costs of these books were financed not only by the ABCFM but also by different organizations, such as the British and Foreign Bible Society,

⁴⁶ "Western Asia: Mission to the Armenians (61-75)," *Report of ABCFM, Presented at the 4^{3rd} Annual Meeting*, which was held in Troy, New York, Sep 7-10, 1852. (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1852).

the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, and the London Religious Tract Society.⁴⁷ It is clear, then, that the missionary press had grown very rapidly since the early 1830s. It is also clear that it was dominated by the ABCFM, although other groups made substantial contributions.

Throughout this period, the American Board and missionary press committee paid attention to periodicals, as well as to religious books, tracts and materials. The first periodical of the American Board was *The Friend of Youth*, whose first issue was printed September 15, 1832. It was issued bi-monthly, containing four pages, three in English and one in Greek. The annual subscription was \$2.00. However, the life of this magazine was not very long.⁴⁸ After this magazine, the Board issued a totally new magazine in Modern Greek under the supervision of Daniel Temple in Izmir in 1837. It was called *The Repository of Useful Knowledge*. In less than a year, the number of subscribers to this Greek magazine in Greece and around the region exceeded four hundred. The subscriptions continued to

⁴⁷ "European Turkey and Western Asia: Northern Armenian Mission (47-64)," *Report of ABCFM, Presented at the Annual Meeting*, which was held in Boston, Massachusetts, October 2-5, 1860. (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1860).

⁴⁸ Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika*, 49.

increase in the following years.⁴⁹ This magazine was discontinued in 1843. In addition to these periodicals, the American Board issued many other magazines and newspapers targeting different social groups and languages of the Ottoman Empire. These included the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish newspaper *Avedaper*, in Greek *Angeliophoros*, in Bulgarian *Zornitza*, in Arabic *Neshra* and *Qukab Es Sabah*, the monthly *Muqtatif*, in English *Harpoot News*, *Station Notes*.

After all, the press was absolutely integral to the missionary effort, because literacy was key to the project. Protestants aimed to by-pass traditional religious hierarchy and clerics, taking the Bible directly to people in a language they could comprehend. This was revolutionary, as it had been for Germans in the reformation. Increasing literacy in the vernacular not only challenged the dominance of the various Patriarchates and clerics, it also contributed to the fomenting of separatist ethnic/national identities, chopping away the unity of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴⁹ "Western Asia: Mission To Turkey (63-73)," *Report of ABCFM, Presented at the 29th Annual Meeting*, which was held in the City of Portland, Maine, September 12, 13 & 14, 1838. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1838).

Chapter IV

The Istanbul (Constantinople) Mission: Reforming the Church or Educating Armenians?

Having failed in reaching the hearts and minds of Jews and Muslims in Beirut and Jerusalem, and converting them, the American Board and its early missionaries switched their attention by the late 1820s towards the "nominal" Christian groups in Istanbul, in particular, to the most "promising" group, the Armenians. As the seat of the Ottoman Sultans and the foreign ambassadors, Istanbul offered a more secure and cosmopolitan environment in which the early missionaries believed they could seed their new mission and irrigate it through educational and philanthropic works in years to come. Their mission was to work primarily among the Armenian community in Istanbul to encourage them to reform their own church. They intended to create a new "class of clergy" through education who would ultimately help to carry out the doctrines of the American Board throughout Asia Minor.

The missionaries first outlined their perceptions towards the Eastern Churches, especially the mother Church of Armenians, and the need for reformation. They believed that their new "mandated" mission was to "cooperate" with the leaders of the Eastern Churches in organizing a system of education and in

creating a sentiment that would demand an "educated" and "morally upright" clergy. However, their engagement with reform-minded Armenian evangelicals to reform the Church into which they had been born would not bring reformation to the Eastern Gregorian Church, but rather would split the members of the same community in years to come. Instead of reforming the Armenian Church, the missionaries weakened it by splitting it at a critical moment in Armenian history.

Rather than reform the Armenian Church and create an "educated clergy," the founding of schools became the main enterprise and legacy of American missionaries in the region. Through the initial educational works of William Goodell and others, the missionaries created first home, then elementary and secondary schools, and finally seminaries for the purpose of educating girls and boys in Istanbul and the wider region. Missionaries questioned the educational policies and priorities of the American Board which were to be implemented in such institutions. The ABCFM and its missionaries recognized education as a principal component of evangelizing and "civilizing" the "heathen." Under the dominating leadership of Rufus Anderson (1796-1880), who served as the board's corresponding secretary from 1832 to 1866, the ABCFM insisted that mission education should serve the cause of

"Christianization." By the mid-nineteenth century, however, this policy was leading to strains in institutions like Bebek Seminary in Istanbul, which the American Board missionary Cyrus Hamlin founded in 1840. Hamlin (1811-1900) designed Bebek Seminary to train native assistants and preachers of the gospel to create an "educated clergy," and within a few years it became a popular institution. However, tension grew between Hamlin and Rufus Anderson, as the latter began to question Hamlin for ostensibly "secularizing" the seminary. In 1860, Hamlin split with the ABCFM, disagreeing with the Board's single-minded, inflexible, and perhaps, too, unrealistic, focus on Christian conversion as the centerpiece of education.

Arriving in Istanbul and the Beginning of the Commission: Early Educational Works

Rufus Anderson, then Assistant Secretary of the ABCFM, visited the Ottoman Empire in 1829, and this visit helped to direct attention once again to the East and the unfinished business there. After Anderson's visit to the region, two of the American Board missionaries were instructed to go to the Ottoman Empire to make an extended tour of Eastern Anatolia and Western Iran to map Armenians living there for possible future missions. In 1830, Harrison Gray Otis Dwight and Eli Smith began their

famous exploratory trip, spending a year and a quarter on the road. Their observations were important for the future missions to the Armenians and were later published in a volume.¹

William Goodell went to Istanbul with a special mandate to work among the Armenian people in June 1831.² Istanbul thus became the center of the American mission in the Ottoman Empire. The special object of Goodell's mission was to reach the Armenian population of the city. They in turn were expected to help proselytize throughout the Empire and work towards the reformation of their own Church.³ On their second coming to the East, the American Board Committee selected Goodell, instructing him to seed the early missionary works in the capital of the Ottoman Empire among the Armenian community. Eventually, he became famous as the founder of the Constantinople Mission, working actively in establishing numerous schools for various sects of the empire and translating evangelical literature and the Bible into Armenian.

¹ For their trip and observation, see Eli Smith, *Researches (of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. HGO Dwight) in Armenia* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833).

² Heleen Murre-Van Den Berg, "Why Protestant Churches? The American Board and the Eastern Churches" Mission Among "Nominal" Churches (1820-70)," in *Missions and Missionaries*, edited by Pieter N. Holtrop and Hugh McLeod (Rochester, NY, Boydell Press, 2000): 98-111.

³ Sydney Nettleton Fisher, "Two Centuries of American Interest in Turkey," in *A Festschrift for Frederick B. Artz*, edited by David H. Pinkney and Theodore Ropp (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1964), 117.

In their second journey to the Ottoman Empire, according to James L. Barton, secretary of the American Board, missionaries were sent to Istanbul and across the Ottoman Empire to the "ancient churches" with a special mandate. Missionaries, Barton notes, were not sent to attack the ancient churches either in their doctrines or in their practices, but to cooperate with their leaders in organizing a system of education and in creating a sentiment that would demand an educated and morally upright clergy.⁴ According to Barton, missionaries' main accomplishment was to help Armenians and Greeks work out a quiet "but genuine" reform in their churches. In doing so, the early missionaries avoided direct attack on the "superstitions" and "errors" of the Eastern churches. Instead, they started to mobilize and motivate the Armenian community, in other words, pushing others to the front line, in "supportive" commitment with "enlightenment and reform" policies to encourage them to reform their own Church.

There was a unity of view between the missionaries and the members of the Eastern Churches on some important points in Christianity. Both held the same conception of God as Heavenly Father and of Christ as the very Son of God, born of the Virgin

⁴ James L. Barton, D.D., *Daybreak in Turkey: The Missionary and his Critics, the Unfinished Task of the Christian Church, etc.* (Boston: the Pilgrim Press, 1908), 108.

Mary, offering himself on the cross as a sacrifice for sin, rising from the dead, ascending on high. Additionally, both accepted the Bible, as the inspired Word of God. With the Eastern Christians, however, according to the missionaries, this was a traditional inheritance, a belief without examination, without questioning. Their faith in God, in Christ, and in the Bible was right, but it was overlaid by erroneous doctrines, which in the course of centuries had crept in. The object of the missionaries then, according to Joseph K. Greene, an American Board missionary who resided in the Ottoman Empire for fifty one years, was to bring to the Eastern Christians the "light of the Gospel," and so help them to "apprehend the real significance of what they professed to believe."⁵

Greene argued that the real point of difference between the Eastern Christians and the missionaries was in regard to the way of "salvation." According to the missionaries, Eastern Christians believed that they were saved by the sacraments of the Church administered by the clergy. They believed that they were saved not by what they did but by what the priest did for them. This method of salvation was not the Gospel method, according to the missionaries, who were sent for the reparation

⁵ Rev. Joseph K. Greene, D.D., *Leavening the Levant* (Boston: the Pilgrim Press, 1916), 97.

of this state of mind for the "true" salvation. On the other hand, missionaries believed that they were saved by conversion, by a free, intelligent turning to God, accomplished by the enlightening of the mind and by the power of the Holy Spirit on the will.⁶ The missionaries strove to introduce this Gospel to the Eastern Christians, Armenians in particular, hoping to revive the spiritual life among the Eastern Christians and teach them the truth of real Christianity.

The American Board chose Armenians in Istanbul and across Asia Minor as the new targeted group. The reason for this, according to many missionaries, rested on the belief among the missionaries that the Armenians had less national pride and ambition than the Greeks, and a less exclusive church feeling; they had more sobriety, thoughtfulness, and aptitude for spiritual religion. After all, according to Rufus Anderson, the good seed falls on good ground.⁷

Soon after his arrival in Pera, one of the suburbs of Istanbul where nearly all the European ambassadors resided, Goodell lost his house, furniture, library, papers and other

⁶ Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 97-98.

⁷ Rufus Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee of a Visit to the Missions in the Levant* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1844), 12.

items in a big fire.⁸ When the news of the disaster reached Izmir, American merchants, shipmasters, and some residents showed their sympathy to the Protestant work of Goodell and sent a box of clothing as well as nearly two hundred and forty dollars in cash for aid.⁹ He and his wife, Abigail, moved to a large palace at Buyuk Dere, a village on the European side of the Bosphorus. They lived together with Dr. James E. De Kay from New York, a medical commissioner of the United States in charge of a study on "Asiatic cholera," which had effected Europe and also appeared on the American continent; Henry Eckford of New York, who was hired by the Ottoman government to superintend the construction of the Ottoman navy¹⁰; and Charles Rhind, one of the negotiators of the United States for a treaty with the Sublime Porte in 1830.¹¹ Meanwhile, the Goodells spent the winter of 1831-1832 at the house of Commodore David Porter, recently appointed charge d'affairs of the United States to the Sublime Porte, after receiving a formal invitation from the American

⁸ "Constantinople: Missions to Greeks and Armenians (64-69)," *RABCFM*, Read at the 23rd Annual Meeting, which was held in the City of New York, October 3, 4, and 5, 1832 (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1832).

⁹ E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., Late Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876), 119-120.

¹⁰ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 120-121.

¹¹ Leland J. Gordon, "Turkish-American Treaty Relations," *The American Political Science Review* 22. no. 3 (1928): 711.

House in Istanbul.¹² The first child of American missionaries was born in Commodore David Porter's house. Upon the suggestion of their American friends, the Goodells named it Constantine Washington representing the two worlds.¹³ What all these connections tell us about the missionary enterprise in Istanbul is that it was initially connected to merchant and political interests of Americans in Istanbul.

When Goodell arrived in Istanbul, he had many questions on his mind about the methods of reaching out to Armenians in the city. Such as;

What can we do? What ought we to do? What should we take hold of first? And how should the missionaries in general address themselves to the work of preaching the Gospel to those who already esteemed themselves Christians and prided themselves on their orthodoxy?¹⁴

His first objective was supplying some of the social welfare needs of Armenians through education. He planned to begin a Lancastrian school among them. In a Lancastrian type school,

¹² Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Compiled Chiefly From the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1842), 248. For Commodore David Porter's full letter, see Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 122.

¹³ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 123.

¹⁴ Rev. William Goodeel, D. D., *Missionary Paper, No: XVIII: Account of Armenians at Constantinople* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1836), 4.

American teacher would work with the older students and these in turn with the younger students.¹⁵

In the following year, 1832, Goodell was joined in Istanbul by two missionaries: the Rev. Harrison G. O. Dwight, who had previously made an extended tour of eastern Anatolia, and the Rev. William G. Schauffler.¹⁶ The former targeted Armenians, the latter Jews. Schauffler's parents were German, living in southern Russia, and at the age of twenty-seven he went to Boston for further education. He entered Andover Seminary and in time he learned Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Spanish as well as German and English. William and Abigail Goodell, Eli and Corinth Smith, and William and Mary E. Schauffler and their children later occupied the same house in Orta Koy, one of the suburbs of Istanbul on the European side of the Bosphorus.

Due to the fire, Goodell had absolutely nothing with which to begin teaching among the Armenians. Moreover, he needed to move to Buyuk Dere, a village on the European side of Bosphorus; leaving from the Armenian community at Pera to the middle of the

¹⁵ For more on Lancastrian schools, see Clark F. Kaestle, ed., *Joseph Lancaster and the Monitorial School Movement; A Documentary History* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1973).

¹⁶ "Mission to Constantinople," *New York Observer* 11, no. 40, whole no. 543, 05 October 1833.

Greeks in Buyuk Dere. In a letter dated November 21, 1831, Goodell lists the reasons for opening schools first among the Greeks and states that he had no lessons, no suitable books, no master; nor could he well give an idea of the system without a living model, such a model as these Greek schools could actually present.¹⁷ He started working with the Greeks of Istanbul and in November he was able to establish four Greek Lancastrian schools in and around Istanbul with 155 male students.¹⁸

According to the policy of the American Board outlined in the Annual Report of 1833, the program for a common school under the mission should have included "not only reading and writing, and the doctrines and duties of Christianity, but also, as far as possible, the elementary principles of arithmetic, geography, astronomy, and other sciences; endeavoring to make them subservient to the better understanding and appreciation of gospel."¹⁹ Since schools were considered part of the evangelical mission and were church schools, religious instruction took a significant place in the curriculum. The instructions of the

¹⁷ "Extracts from Letters of Mr. Goodell at Buyuk Dere," *The Missionary Herald* 28, no. 5 (1832): 151.

¹⁸ *RABCFM*, 1832, 65.

¹⁹ Annual Report of the ABCFM (1833), 23, quoted in Marion A. Nosser, "The Educational Policies of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Turkey; 1823-1923," (MA diss., The University of Chicago, 1924), 28.

American Board to its outgoing missionaries stipulate that they were to teach "not the commandments, or the dogmas of men; but the pure doctrines of the Gospel, drawn directly from the Scriptures of truth."²⁰ The "truth" of the Bible was to be implemented in such schools, as the Bible became the main textbook of the schools established in the Ottoman Empire, and in other missionary centers in the rest of the world.

Like the American schools of the same period, classes of the very first Lancastrian schools in Istanbul remained undivided by grade and had a relatively simple curriculum focused mainly on reading, writing, basic arithmetic, and Bible as a text. Instructions were in local languages, either Greek or Armenian. The classrooms were very simple with little furniture, a floor covered with mats, benches for students to be seated and if possible desks in the American style.²¹ Goodell's initial projects also received significant aid from the charge d'affaires of the United States to Istanbul, Commodore David Porter.²² Porter himself believed in missionaries and reported to the State Department that they were "generally men of liberal

²⁰ *RABCFM*, 1833, 29.

²¹ Robert L. Daniel, "American Influences in the Near East before 1861," *American Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1964), 79.

²² Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 248.

education and well-cultivated minds," and foresaw that by their Gospel work, their establishment of free schools, and their "historical and scientific researches, these countries, and mankind in general, will be much enlightened, and the United States in particular will derive both honor and benefit."²³ In addition to these initial Lancastrian type common schools, missionaries opened a high school at Pera in the fall of 1834 to educate and train Armenian boys and young men for possible future missions. This high school became the first school at that level among the Armenians of Istanbul established directly by the missionaries.²⁴ It lasted for three years, when it was broken up by Armenian Patriarchal prohibition.

Boys and young men were educated in missionary schools and seminaries so that some of them would be prepared to take a leading role in the reform of their church. The Armenian high school was opened in October 27, 1834, in Beyoglu, then Pera, Istanbul under the supervision of Al. Paspatis, a native of Scio, who had been educated in America. Lectures were given in natural

²³ Dispatches, Turkey: Porter to Sec. of State, 6 August 1835, quoted in James A. Field, *America and the Mediterranean World 1776-1882* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969), 184.

²⁴ Leon Arpee, *The Armenian Awakening: A History of the Armenian Church, 1820-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), 97.

science, and there were classes in English, French, Italian, Armenian, Turkish, Ancient Greek, and Hebrew.²⁵

Later on, motivated by both the missionary establishment in Istanbul and Armenian reformers, the Armenian patriarch reopened a national seminary in Istanbul under Krikor Peshtimaljian. Paul William Harris argues that although Peshtimaljian never professed Protestantism, he warmly supported the ABCFM efforts and came to be regarded by the Board as the Erasmus of the Armenian Reformation.²⁶ Goodell notes that he was by far the most educated Armenian; his influence on the Armenian community was great, and he had already carried out some reform measures in his church and community.²⁷

Peshtimaljian's sympathy toward the American missionaries helped the missionaries to find volunteers for their Lancastrian schools. More importantly, Peshtimaljian's school also produced in July 1833 the two most important converts in the history of the mission: Hohannes Der Sahakian and Senakerim Der Minassian.²⁸

²⁵ Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 309.

²⁶ Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999) 53.

²⁷ "Religious Inquiry and Reform among the Armenians," *MH*, 32, no 2 (1836): 42.

²⁸ S. C. Bartlett, D.D., *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey* (Boston: American Board, 1878), 5.

While Sahakian worked for the mission as a translator, Minassian worked as a teacher.²⁹ Their help enabled the American mission to establish contacts with inner Asia Minor and eastern Anatolian Armenians, exposing them to Protestantism. They took part in essential roles as channels between the missionaries and the local Armenian community through the enlargement period. In Harris' account, the American missionaries supported reform movements within the Armenian Church with the goal of building up a new Protestant community that would be as complete and autonomous as the Armenian *millet*.³⁰

Need for Higher Education: The Works of Cyrus Hamlin

One of the primary objectives of the American Board Mission in the Ottoman Empire in general, and Istanbul in particular, was to establish indigenous stations and churches that would eventually become self-propagating, self-governing, and self-supporting. These establishments aimed at preparing native preachers, if you will "educated clergy," and helpers for the American Board Mission in the region. Because the Board would not be able to supply enough missionary preachers, teachers,

²⁹ "Mission to Constantinople (47-56)," *RABCFM, Presented at the 28th Annual Meeting*, held in the City of Newark, New Jersey, September 13, 14, & 15, 1837. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1837).

³⁰ Harris, *Nothing but Christ*, 122.

and/or helpers from the United States to meet the increasing needs of missionary activities abroad, it was deemed necessary to educate "natives" to take part in missionary activities in their own societies. Thus, in the mid 1830s, the American Board began to consider the establishment of higher educational institutions, such as seminaries, that would work toward that goal. The result was the formation of establishments in foreign lands which would train a select group of native students to become preachers and teachers or at least native helpers to their own people for the American Board mission.³¹ The added benefit to training native students for the mission as preachers and teachers was that it would be less costly and more efficient for the American Board. Having finished the course work in the seminaries, these native students would be ready to assist the American Board mission among their own people. Moreover, the graduates of these schools would not need to spend time learning the language or the manners and customs of their own communities as foreign missionaries had to do.

While the American Board was elaborating the idea of the establishment of seminaries in foreign lands, it clearly did not approve of a policy of educating natives in the fields of law or

³¹Annual report of ABCFM (1835), 25.

medicine or training them for civil office or trade, "except so far as this will directly promote the legitimate object of the mission."³² Once again, the Board envisioned seminaries in years to come as "training schools" for missionary workers. The program that Cyrus Hamlin eventually developed at Bebek Seminary in Istanbul ran counter to this policy, even though the institution included a seminary component.

In 1839 Cyrus Hamlin (1811-1900) joined William Goodell and the other missionaries in Istanbul as a new missionary of the American Board. Born into a relatively poor family in Waterford, Maine, Hamlin lost his father when he was seven months old. He, his older brother, and his two sisters grew up on a farm, helping their mother. At the age of sixteen, he started to work for a firm owned by his brother-in-law as an apprentice silversmith in Portland, Maine. Hamlin started participating in activities at a Congregational church. Later, the members of this church convinced him to continue his education a decision that ultimately led him to the ministry.

³² Annual Report of the ABCFM (1837), 23, quoted in Nosser, "The Educational Policies of the American Board," 31.

Having finished Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Hamlin entered Bangor Theological Seminary in 1834.³³ During his third year in the seminary, Hamlin decided to apply to the American Board for missionary service in foreign lands, naming China as his first choice and Africa his second.³⁴ The Board, however, appointed him to Istanbul for mission work in education. Shortly before he moved to Istanbul for missionary work, he married Henrietta Jackson from Dorset, Vermont. Two months later they sailed for the Ottoman Empire and arrived in Istanbul in January 1839. By the time of his arrival, the number of missionaries of the American Board in Istanbul had reached four: Goodell, Dwight, Schauffler and Hamlin, along with their wives, who also served the mission in various capacities. Although not formally labeled "missionaries," missionary wives were expected to assist their husbands by running model homes, teaching at home schools, and reading the Bible in home visits. There were also five native male helpers.

Hamlin became the leader of Bebek Seminary, where young men were trained for the Christian ministry. He designed the Bebek Seminary to train native assistants and preachers of the Gospel,

³³ Malcolm P. Stevens and Marcia R. Stevens, "A College on the Bosphorus," *Saudi Aramco World* 35:2 (March/April 1984): 16-21.

³⁴ A. R. Thain, "Cyrus Hamlin D.D., LL.D. Missionary, Statesman, Inventor: A Life Sketch," *Envelop Series* 10:2 (July, 1907): 9-10.

and it was opened in November 1840.³⁵ Bebek Seminary was the first of several higher educational institutions that the ABCFM established in Asia Minor. All the missionaries agreed that educating Armenians for such work was of the highest importance. The 1844 annual report of the ABCFM stated that the Bebek Seminary would be a "liberal institution." Students would also receive education in fields other than the natural sciences, like ancient and modern history, especially ecclesiastical, intellectual and moral philosophy, and theology, which was to be gained by the constant study of the Bible, sermons, lectures, and textbooks. Students would be taught "not only what the facts and truths of the Bible are," but "how to use them in the statement and enforcement of truth and in opposition to error."³⁶ This meant that the students educated in Bebek Seminary would receive, more or less, the same education as that taught in theological seminaries in the United States. They would not, however, be given a religious education only. Students were also taught mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

³⁵ William E. Strong, E. William, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 199.

³⁶ "Western Asia: Mission to the Armenians (98-117)," *RABCFM, Presented at the 35th Annual Meeting*, which was held in Worcester, Massachusetts, September 10-13, 1844. (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1844).

Instruction was mainly in the Armenian language. The American Board began to question the policy of "English study" in seminaries and high schools as early as the mid-1830s, upon finding that intense English language study was making the natives "foreign in their habits, sympathies, and manners." But the policy at Bebek Seminary in the early 1840s was to teach English language, for it was the "instrument" for acquiring knowledge. Armenian was used for communicating it.³⁷

After visiting the Ottoman Empire for a second time, in 1844, Anderson gave his account of Bebek Seminary as well as his opinion concerning the work that the Board mission was doing in this institution in his report to the Prudential Committee at Boston. In this report, Anderson stated that, "the object of the institution (Bebek Seminary) -and the only object that will justify the expense- is to raise up native pastors and evangelists." He noted that "it will still come to pass, owing to the imperfection of human beings and plans that but a part of our beneficiaries will in fact enter it; yet many who do not make preachers will make school-teachers, and we shall be more likely to create such school-teachers, on this plan, as it will

³⁷ Marion A. Nosser. "The Educational Policies of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Turkey; 1823-1923." (MA diss., The University of Chicago, 1924), 34-35.

be worthwhile to employ, than if our seminary had an inferior and less exclusive aim."³⁸

For those educated in such an institution, Anderson outlined his point of view, stating that "none are to be received on the charity foundation, except with reference to the ministry, and none but those who give good evidence of piety and talents." He also stressed the need of a boarding system for students and signified that day-scholars, extraordinary cases excepted, were not to be received, as they would tend to weaken the religious influence exerted on the boarding pupils. In addition to these remarks, Anderson also noted in his report that in view of the present exigencies of the mission, it was not necessary for all the "theological students to be required to go through the entire course of study." He assured that many of the evangelists now needed, and some who were actually employed, would be greatly benefited by spending six months or a year in the seminary, in theological or other studies. He also did not advocate the policy of English language study in the seminary and advised that students should not have any immediate connection with English.³⁹

³⁸ Rufus Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee of a Visit to the Missions in the Levant* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1844), 20.

³⁹ Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee*, 20.

Anderson, and many others in the American Board Mission, considered the goal behind the policy of opening seminaries and institutions of higher education in foreign lands to be to serve the evangelical movement by producing native preachers, teachers, and assistants for a larger mission of the American Board. That is why Anderson and others strongly suggested that "education apart from evangelization had no place in the program of the Board at any time in the history of the Board."⁴⁰ He ended his remarks on Bebek Seminary by advising, "still the chief danger to which this young and promising institution is exposed (in common with all other institutions) is that of losing its spirituality in the eager pursuit of literature and science; and it will be well if the friends of missions can be induced to remember it in their prayers."⁴¹ All this can be interpreted as an important message to Hamlin whose practices at the seminary contradicted the goals set by Anderson.

The early years of the seminary were characterized by struggles with the Armenian patriarchal anathemas and boycotts against the seminary. The *Missionary Herald*, a monthly magazine of the American Board in the U.S., published numerous letters

⁴⁰ Rufus Anderson, *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (New York: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1869), 328.

⁴¹ Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee*, 20.

sent by Hamlin during the 1840s on the conflict with the patriarch. While busy fighting the opposition against him and the seminary, Hamlin backed the financial difficulties of the students. Some of the Seminary students were young men of eighteen to twenty years of age. According to Hamlin, the students were "polite" and "deferential," since these qualities were "natural" to the "Oriental." In Hamlin's narrative, many of them needed training, discipline, instruction, and the development of a good conscience before "God" and "man." Hamlin believed that very few of them had "personal religion" and they had not "put on Christ." Most of them were also married.⁴²

Most of the students at Bebek Seminary were very poor, according to Hamlin. Their families had adopted openly "evangelical principles" to the "great injury" of their worldly affairs and declared themselves as Armenian Protestants. After the official separation of the Protestant Armenians with the Orthodox Armenians in 1846, the Apostolic Armenian Church of Istanbul issued many excommunications against Protestant Armenian families. They were disliked, rejected, and most importantly impoverished. Local merchants and trade guilds as a result excluded them from business or trade. All of these

⁴² Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 5th ed. (Boston: The Pilgrim Press Chicago, 1893), 250.

factors ultimately increased the poverty of Armenian Protestants in the city. Although busy with the seminary, Hamlin was also involved with measures that focused on improving the economic situation of the students and if possible their families through philanthropic works.

Hamlin worked to solve the financial problems of the students enrolled in the seminary. Rather than asking for money from the American Board, Hamlin found his own solution with help from some Englishmen. He added a small industrial workshop in the basement of the seminary that manufactured stoves, stovepipes, and other metal implements. This way, students were able to earn money through the workshop to buy clothes and to better support themselves.⁴³ Thus, with Hamlin's help, shortly after its establishment, the Seminary became a self-supporting institution. According to Harris, the students learned to be industrious and self-denying.⁴⁴ In addition to the small workshop in the basement of the seminary, Hamlin later established a steam flour mill. The mill sent shiploads of wheat and baked hundreds of thousands of loaves of bread for the English troops in the channels of the Crimea during the Crimean War (1853-1856)

⁴³ Thain, "Cyrus Hamlin D.D., LL.D. Missionary, Statesman, Inventor: A Life Sketch," 13.

⁴⁴ Harris, *Nothing but Christ*, 129.

and to the hospital at Uskudar where the wounded soldiers were treated and nursed by Florence Nightingale and others.⁴⁵ Baking bread was not the only service Hamlin provided to the British army in Istanbul. As the war went on, he came up with the idea of starting a laundry business for the British army, designing and building washing machines using old beer barrels. Like the bakery business in Istanbul, the laundry business also made him a great deal of money in a short period of time which he used for the mission for years to come.⁴⁶

Even though part of the profits from the bakery supported Bebek Seminary and its students and a surplus of twenty-five thousand dollars was used to build thirteen churches for the American Board in many parts of the Ottoman Empire, the Board did not approve of Hamlin's works in the secular world.⁴⁷ Hamlin's secular activities conflicted with the mission of the seminary, which was to produce native educated clergy for the purpose of evangelizing to the "heathen." In time, his business dealings raised the question of what type of education the missionaries ought to provide in institutions such as Bebek

⁴⁵ David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East* (Boston: The American Board, 1913), 66-67.

⁴⁶ Stevens and Stevens, "A College on the Bosphorus."

⁴⁷ Thain, "Cyrus Hamlin D.D., LL.D. Missionary, Statesman, Inventor: A Life Sketch," 20.

Seminary.⁴⁸ According to many members of the American Board, their organization had been established primarily for the purpose of "propagating the Gospel in the heathen lands." Thus Hamlin's activities forced them to ask "was it necessary and proper to engage in secular philanthropic ventures as well?"⁴⁹

Henry Van Lennep, the American Board's missionary posted in Istanbul to teach biblical literature at the Seminary, in particular criticized his colleague's involvement with the secular world. According to Van Lennep, Hamlin was "Americanizing" the students. Through his philanthropic works in and for the Seminary, Hamlin had already incorporated manual labor into Seminary life. If things continued like this, the Seminary would become an industrial enterprise, Van Lennep stated. According to him, these developments at the Seminary diverted students from their religious studies and worsened the "money making" and "complaining spirit" of the students by forcing them to become obsessed with their financial situation.⁵⁰ More conservative members of the Board also disapproved of Hamlin's activities, turned to the Bible and observed: "We do

⁴⁸ Field, *America and the Mediterranean World*, 353-354.

⁴⁹ Daniel, "American Influences in the Near East before 1861," 82.

⁵⁰ Henry J. Van Lennep to Anderson (Tokat, 9/2/1857), ABC: 16.7.1, V. 15, quoted in Harris, *Nothing but Christ*, 130.

not find ... that Christ or his Apostles made any inventions or discoveries in the arts and sciences, or sought directly to promote literature." They stated that "American Board could not be a society for promoting civilization, or literature, or the art."⁵¹

Although Rufus Anderson and many of the missionaries became concerned that Hamlin was secularizing the seminary, Hamlin defended his policies at Bebek Seminary by stating that the "ability to engage in some secular pursuit, the conscious power to live by one's own exertions, is a necessary safeguard to the purity of the native ministry. He who enters the ministry because there is nothing else for him to do will hardly be a very spiritually minded worker."⁵² In a paper he delivered in a conference in Istanbul in 1855, Hamlin outlined his perspective on the education of a native ministry and the role of the Seminary at Bebek. According to Hamlin, for the American Board's missionary work to be carried out, a second group of preachers would be required, and training them would be the work of the seminary at Bebek. He indicated that the culture of these

⁵¹ Annual Report of the ABCFM (1856), 64, quoted in Daniel, "American Influences in the Near East before 1861," 82-83.

⁵² Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1881), 214.

students should be of a "different and higher nature."⁵³ He strongly supported the study of the English language at the seminary since it would allow opening all its stores of biblical literature to the minds of students.

Others joined Hamlin and stated that "whatever conduces to human happiness and welfare, or is adapted to elevate men, intellectually or socially as well as morally, is Christian in its character, and deserving the attention of a Christian missionary." Reverend David Greene, Secretary of the American Board from 1832 to 1848, had already been leading the "liberal" ideas with what he had previously stated on the mission and the role of education. According to Greene, "Christianity did not of itself teach the native to make an alphabet, invent a press or establish a system of schools. It did not teach him to construct a plough, make an axe or weave a garment. Nor could one depend upon intercourse with more cultivated nations to furnish the 'unenlightened communities' of the earth with all the means which they need for improving their intellectual and social condition." He declared that without cultural and economic growth in native societies, Christianity could accomplish

⁵³ Cyrus Hamlin, "Education of a Native Ministry, " in *Minutes of a Conference of Missionaries held at Constantinople, in November, 1855, on Occasion of the Visit of one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1856), 12-13.

little. According to him, the task of the missionary was to help natives learn to use agricultural utensils, to construct comfortable dwellings, to make decent clothes, to teach literature and science, and to promote "all the useful arts and invention."⁵⁴

Even though this was indeed what Hamlin was trying to achieve at the Seminary, the American Board was increasingly dissatisfied with Bebek Seminary. In reality, the Board's concerns about secularization were well founded. After graduation from the seminary, some students chose to pursue employment opportunities outside mission service, making many of the missionaries unhappy that the seminary was failing to meet the need for native agents. Moreover, enrollment began to decline. For instance, in 1848, the number of students in the seminary at Bebek dropped from forty-seven to twenty-eight. Though the reasons for that decrease were varied (some of the students had been dismissed for incompetence and others could not bear the financial burden of education any more even Hamlin was helping the students), the main reason was that many

⁵⁴ Rev. David Greene, "The Promotion of Intellectual Cultivation and the Arts of Civilized Life in Connection with Christian Missions," Annual Report of the ABCFM (1842), 69-75, quoted in Daniel, "American Influences in the Near East before 1861," 83.

students had been forced to withdraw in order to seek employment in different fields in order to support themselves.⁵⁵

In time, tension grew between Hamlin and Rufus Anderson and other missionaries over the role of the Seminary at Bebek. Because of differences on this issue, Hamlin left Istanbul for some time and traveled throughout Europe and America. Finally, in 1860 he left the American Board permanently, feeling that he could not agree with its educational methods. Instead, he dedicated himself to the establishment of a college on the American pattern, which he hoped would serve as "a channel through which to irrigate the parched fields of the ancient Churches, and perhaps even the corrupt Turkish society, with the life giving streams of English Christian culture."⁵⁶ Christopher Robert, a wealthy merchant and philanthropist in New York City, who shared the same views as Hamlin on religion and education, wanted to fund an educational institution. Hamlin's collaborations with Robert led to the founding of a higher educational center. When Robert College opened in 1863 there

⁵⁵ "Western Asia: Mission to the Armenians (108-116)," *RABCFM, Presented at the 40th Annual Meeting*, which was held in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Sep 11-14, 1849 (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1849).

⁵⁶ Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Mission in the Near East* (New York; Chicago; Toronto; London; Edinburgh: Fleming H. Revell Comp., 1910), 128-129.

were five teachers and four students.⁵⁷ Hamlin served seventeen years as president of the College which later became Boğaziçi University. The establishment of Robert College was Hamlin's most important endeavor.

The American Board missionaries arrived in Istanbul at the beginning of the 1830s with a special mandate to work primarily among the Armenian community. At the beginning, they genuinely believed that by converting Armenians, creating a class of indigenous assistants, and an educated clergy, they could facilitate carrying out the truths of Protestantism in the region. With that in mind, they encouraged reform minded fellow Armenians and some of their leading community leaders (bankers and merchants) to demand a reformation in their church structure. Reaction to that came swiftly from the Armenian Patriarchate, who considered this a direct challenge to the Church hierarchy, its power, practices, and rituals. Instead of reforming the Armenian Church, the missionaries weakened it by splitting it into two.

The missionaries considered primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions as valuable recruiting centers for native preachers and assistants who might ultimately facilitate

⁵⁷ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları* (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1989), 179.

the development of Protestant Christian churches. Although the affirmed purpose of these schools was to develop native preachers and teachers, in time - and contrary to the original goal of Christianization -- they helped also to spread American culture and an American lifestyle among the native students as "secular" institutions. As early as 1832, Commodore David Porter, charge d'affaires of the United States to Istanbul, commented that the founding of schools among the Turks is "astonishing, perhaps among the greatest benefits which the Empire has derived from its alliance with the United States."⁵⁸ By the second half of the nineteenth century, some of the missionaries already chose a pattern to provide services in the mission field as secular educators or health care personnel as oppose to their "prescribed" duty of the proclamation and teaching of the "truth" of Protestantism to the people of the region.

⁵⁸ Daniel, "American Influences in the Near East before 1861," 80.

Chapter v

Armenian Reaction: Dissension and Splitting of the Community

The analysis of the response to missionaries is central to this study. As such, this chapter rests on the reaction to missionaries - the dissension amongst the Armenians in Istanbul and across Asia Minor. The Ottoman Sublime Porte allowed missionaries in; however, it forbade them from proselytizing among Muslims. Thus, the Protestant missionaries and their indigenous converts focused on reforming the Armenian Church. This was, however, a direct assault on the church hierarchy, practices, rituals, and powers. As a result, this caused a decisive response on the part of the Patriarchate, its members, and followers in the city of Istanbul and throughout Anatolia.

As early as the 1840s, the Armenian Apostolic Church began to excommunicate Armenians who turned towards Protestantism. Those who persisted were disliked, shunned, and impoverished. Accordingly, the principle opposition to the Protestant missionaries of the capital came not from the Ottoman government, which protected Muslim subjects from missionaries, but from the Patriarch of the mother Church of Armenians. This chapter focuses on the response of the Armenian Patriarchate and that of the local Armenians to the American Board, its

missionaries, and their fellow Armenian converts in the Ottoman capital, as well as across Asia Minor from the mid 1830s onwards.

The early years of the American mission in the Ottoman Empire were not easy. The mission was established soon after the destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 and the acknowledgment of Greece's independence (September 1829) as Ottoman power declined.¹ The missionaries began their "labors" with caution and exercised discretion having learned from their experience in Beirut. Goodell reported to his colleague Daniel Temple in Izmir: "the less people in general know of our operations, so much the better. We keep as much as possible behind the curtain, push others forward; our plans succeed in a manner, which truly astonishes us..."²

Although the missionaries began their work with great caution, the Armenian Patriarchate was well aware of the changing patterns in its domain. With respect to educational activities, for example, the missionaries had already begun to

¹ The Janissary System was the major unit of the Ottoman Military System and was suppressed by Mahmud II (1808-39, period in the Ottoman throne) in 1826. The suppression of the Janissaries is known in Ottoman History as the *Vaka-i Hayriye* (Beneficent Event).

² Goodell to Daniel Temple (Constantinople, 1/8/1934), ABC: 16.5, v. 4, quoted in Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 54-55.

go after local fellow Church members for enrollment to their mission schools. This American phenomenon was new in town and attracted members of the community. But it was still in its early stages, and the Patriarchate did not find it difficult to handle. Therefore, from the mid 1830s onwards, the American Board and its missionaries in the Ottoman capital faced challenges in fulfilling their mission to the Armenian subjects of the Empire.³

The principle opposition to the Protestant missionaries of the capital came directly from the patriarch of the Armenian Church in the capital. For instance, in early 1837, a patriarchal prohibition broke up the Mission school at Pera and warned the Armenian public in the city against the doctrines of missionary school teachers and threatened them with excommunication.⁴ This went further and in 1839, Patriarch Stepanos, who had supported reform, was replaced by Patriarch Hagopos. Hagopos moved quickly in an effort to crush the Evangelical movement. Hohannes Der Sahakian and three others

³ Clifton Jackson Philips, *Protestant America and the Pagan World: The First Half Century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969), 159.

⁴ E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., Late Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876), 229.

were banished and several more imprisoned in the same year.⁵ Soon after these imprisonments, another man, Boghos Fizika, and a pious, Der Kevok, were also sent to the patriarch's prison on charges of working with missionaries.⁶

Motivated by his Armenian counterpart in the capital, the Greek Patriarch also issued a bull, "excommunicating all who should buy, sell, or read the books of the Lutherans or Calvinists," as the missionaries were called, and an Ottoman Imperial Firman was also published. This mandated that "all the Patriarchs to look well to their flocks and guard them against foreign influence and infidelity."⁷ In addition to the Greek Patriarchal bull and the Ottoman Imperial Firman, the Armenian Patriarch issued two anathemas in 1839 against all "who should have any intercourse with the missionaries, or read their books, or neglect to inform against known offenders."⁸

⁵ "Western Asia: Mission to Turkey (61-76)," *RABCFM, Presented at the 30th Annual Meeting*, held in the City of Troy, New York, September 11, 12, & 13, 1839. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1839).

⁶ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 233.

⁷ *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in European Turkey, Asia Minor, and Armenia* (New York: John A. Gray, Printer Stereotyper, and Binder, 1861), 17.

⁸ Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board*, 2nd ed. (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), 388.

Meanwhile, in early May 1839, one rich banker in the city, who was well known as a friend of the missionaries, was seized by and imprisoned in an "insane asylum." He was later released in return for a large sum of money to build up the college at Uskudar (Scutari), a suburb on the Asian side of the Bosphorus. According to Joseph Tracy, the list of persons suspected was about "two thousand five hundred," of whom, two bishops, five priests, and several teachers were arrested.⁹ These events at the capital increased complications for the Board missionaries even though the new Ottoman Sultan, Aldul Mecid, had formally accepted the first formal "Bill of Rights" of Ottoman subjects- Muslims, Armenians, Greeks, Jews and others- known as *Hatti Sherif of Gulhane* or *Gulhane Hatti Humayunu* on November 03, 1839. Although this edict did not give religious liberty to subjects of the Sublime Porte, it raised hopes for political and religious toleration not only among the Ottoman subjects, but also among the American missionaries at the capital.¹⁰

The reaction of the Armenian Patriarch generated sympathy for reform-minded Armenians and their cause. Attacks against those who supported the missionaries or were employed by them

⁹ Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 388.

¹⁰ "General Letter: Smyrna," *The Missionary Herald* 36, no. 1 (January, 1840), 213.

continued. Goodell, Hamlin, Dwight, and others at the capital repeatedly sent letters about the incidents, allegations, trials, and punishments. These specifically referred to the Armenian Patriarchal offensive against the missionaries, the Protestant House in Istanbul, but most importantly against "indigenous followers" who had been members of their church. The Armenian opposition aimed to break up missionary operations. Finally, the missionaries were formally accused by the Ottoman authorities of having forced Armenians to convert to their faith, which was an offence against the Sublime Porte.¹¹

When a major opposition movement broke out in 1839, nearly all missionaries in Istanbul were absent. Schauffler had gone to Vienna, Dwight was in America, and Henry A. Homes had gone to Mesopotamia (Iraq); only Cyrus Hamlin and Goodell remained. They awaited an order to leave the country should the Ottoman government order them to do so. For that reason, they had been prepared, and Goodell hid all his papers, journals, and correspondence in different places.¹² However, the Porte never ordered them to leave.

Meanwhile, a council of Armenian leaders was subsequently called in the middle of August 1839 to consider the case of

¹¹ Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 385.

¹² Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 237.

these Armenians banished. After long debates it was resolved that part of those who had been sent into exile might be recalled to Istanbul, and that the measures taken against the evangelical converts should be suspended. Cyrus Hamlin wrote in an 1840 report concerning this matter:

The debates, we are told, were very fierce, and one or two adjourned meetings of the bankers and clergy were held, which only widened the breach. The nation seemed on the point of a serious division, when that practical good sense, which has hitherto kept the Armenian community from the fatal mistake of the other subject communities, prevailed, and the breach was healed. Hohannes is not to be recalled, as he is regarded as too dangerous a man to live in Constantinople. It is a good omen, however, that the subject has been introduced for discussion.¹³

It is ironic that the missionaries feared a rupture within the Armenian community when they themselves were quite directly the cause of the dissension, and their mission would ultimately lead to a split.

The incidents within the local Armenian community were not limited to Istanbul and its vicinity. Throughout the 1840s and especially during the 1850s, many local stories across Anatolia

¹³ "Western Asia: Mission to Turkey (85-97)," *RABCFM, Presented at the 31st Annual Meeting*, which was held in the City of Providence, Rhode Island, September 9, 10, & 11, 1840 (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1840).

were documented as evidence of agitation between local Orthodox Armenian and convert groups. Ottoman documents help to reveal such stories. For instance, in 1842, in Trabzon, an important province in the north-eastern part of Anatolia, one Armenian family dispute was recorded by the Ottoman authorities. The analysis of the story provides a picture of the rifts within the community.

A petition, dated August 4, 1842, documents that in the past few years many Protestant "priests" had been working among the locals. It notes that they paid particular attention to working among the Armenians in Trabzon and the surrounding villages with the aim of extending Protestantism and reaching "hearts and minds." Their methods of doing so, according to the petition, varied. These also included offering some cash to poor segments of the local groups there. Although some of the early missionary activities of the Protestant "priests" and their native helpers in the region were prevented, they had re-gained ground and were successful in converting some Armenians.¹⁴

On one summer day in 1842, one of the earliest Armenian converts, barber Magdish, took his wife to the missionary house, hoping to convert her to Protestantism as well. On their way to

¹⁴ B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 13, Gömlek No: 18, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT, *Trabzon'daki Protestan papazların aracılığıyla mezhebini değiştiren Ermeni Berber Mağdiş'in, uygunsuz hareketlerinden dolayı Dersaadet'e gönderileceği.*

the missionary house, in Gavur (Infidel) Square, her mother, father, and some of her extended relatives tried to stop them from going to the missionary house. They believed she was being taken against her will and they demanded that Magdish free her into their care so that they might take her home. However, Magdish insisted on taking her with him for the conversion ceremony. After an exchange of words back and forth, the family disputed the matter in the middle of the square. The arguing went further and went from being a verbal to a physical altercation. In this chaotic, Magdish started punching people in a blind rage, to the point that he even hit his mother-in-law rather badly. All of a sudden, the Orthodox Armenians formed crowds that grew swiftly in numbers. As a result of the violent nature their sympathies, this time, lay with the wife's family. They turned against the husband and the Protestant priests around them, and they joined in the violence. After a day-long disturbance right in the middle of town, local authorities eventually intervened and the case was taken to court. Once the judge heard both sides of the story, he allowed all of the family members to go free without any charges imposed. On their way out of the court house, however, Magdish attacked his father-in-law again not just with words but literally hitting

him. Because of his illicit conduct, he was taken to a prison immediately.¹⁵

As a result of this incident, the Armenian community in Trabzon formally informed the head of the Protestant community that they, their children, and wives were not safe unless these kinds of people were disciplined by state authorities. They also mentioned that this man had long been harassing his wife and neighbors. Their point was that should he be released from prison, he would be a danger to society. They asked the Protestant representative to make their demand known, which was to keep him in jail, and that his case should be sent to Istanbul for Patriarchal review and handling. When this incident became known publicly in the town of Trabzon, a province far away from the center of Istanbul, the British Consul there intervened to protect the Protestant Armenians. Facing the intervention of the British Consul, Orthodox Armenians and local authorities changed their demands. Their official petition now read that there was no need to have this person and his case sent to Istanbul, because he converted to "Protestantism." The only reason he would be sent to Istanbul would be for his

¹⁵ B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 13, Gömlek No: 18, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT, *Trabzon'daki Protestan papazların aracılığıyla mezhebini değiştiren Ermeni Berber Mağdiş'in, uygunsuz hareketlerinden dolayı Dersaadet'e gönderileceği.*

"illicit behavior" against his family and neighbors, which harmed the peace within the community.¹⁶

The story of a half-Protestant and half-Orthodox Armenian family is interesting in its own nature. In a short frame of time, the argument over a "strong belief" concluded in being not only a family affair, but a dispute that involved the community leaders, the Ottoman legal authorities, as well as the British Consul in town. After the incident, the players on the ground "read" the story through different lenses and acted accordingly. This time it was about the limits and powers of the players on the ground. By "punishing" or "protecting" the "defendant" or the "victim," each player, actually, was setting up its own limitations. Their communal limits were all related to the "law and order" in an established belief, hierarchy, and power within the Church structure. Through Magdish's behavior, the established authority was challenged but the response came swiftly to protect the established order, too.

In time, similar incidents were reported to the authorities in many parts of Anatolia. This was in return of new counter-act of the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul against missionaries. In

¹⁶ For complete petition, see B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 13, Gömlek No: 18, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT, *Trabzon'daki Protestan papazların aracılığıyla mezhebini değiştiren Ermeni Berber Mağdiş'in, uygunsuz hareketlerinden dolayı Dersaadet'e gönderileceği.*

January 1846, a new excommunication was issued by the Patriarch against all "who still adhered to the principles of the Gospel," ordering that "it should be read publicly in every church in the Turkish empire at each anniversary of the day on which it was issued."¹⁷ Under these circumstances, there was no longer any hope for excommunicated Armenians and others who supported and joined the Protestant movement of the American Board in Istanbul and Asia Minor to be recognized again as members of the church in which they were born or of their enjoying any of its privileges.

Evangelical Armenians had, for a long time, met together for "mutual direction and comfort," but they had no separate ecclesiastical organization. Driven by opposition in the late 1830s and excommunications in the early 1840s, they resolved to unite as a separate branch of the Catholic Church of Christ. They sent four petitions to the Sublime Porte and to the Ottoman Sultan to be recognized as a separate *millet*.¹⁸ The British Embassy in Istanbul and the British ambassador, Sir Stanford Canning, and his successor, Lord Cowley, rather than the American Embassy and ambassador to the Sublime Porte, played an

¹⁷ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 316.

¹⁸ "Letter from Messrs. Homes and Dwight: Recognition of Protestantism in Turkey," *MH* 44, no. 3 (March, 1848), 98-99.

important role in obtaining the promise from the Ottoman government to treat the Protestant community as a separate millet.¹⁹ Having greater political, economic, as well as social presence in the Ottoman Empire for centuries, the British Embassy influenced the Ottoman government to pass the bill in November 1847.

As a result, on July 1, 1846, forty evangelical Armenians, three of whom were women, came together in the presence of the missionaries and formally convened together as "The First Evangelical Armenian Church of Constantinople."²⁰ The meeting continued four and a half hours. They chose one of their numbers, Apisoghom Hachaduryan, born in 1819 in Istanbul, as pastor, and he was ordained by the missionaries the following week.²¹ Goodell wrote that, with this event, an evangelical church was organized upon the foundations of "the apostles" and "prophets," "Jesus Christ Himself being the chief cornerstone."²² In the ceremony, Goodell and other missionaries

¹⁹ "Letter from Messrs. Homes and Dwight: Recognition of Protestantism in Turkey," *MH*, 44, no. 3 (March, 1848), 98.

²⁰ "Western Asia: Mission to the Armenians and Jews (90-104)," *RABCFM, Presented at the 38th Annual Meeting*, which was held in Buffalo, New York, Sep 8-10, 1847 (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1847).

²¹ Henry G. O. Dwight, "Sketch of the Life of Rev. Apisoghom Hachadoorian, First Pastor of the First Evangelical Armenian Church in Constantinople," *MH* 44, no. 2 (February, 1848), 37-51.

²² Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 317.

formally "recognized" and "acknowledged" the group as a "true" church of Christ in the name of all "the evangelical churches in Christendom."²³

All in all, it was probably a climatic moment for Goodell and the other missionaries after decades of work in the Ottoman capital for the Protestant mission. For them, the mission had succeeded. In his memoir, Goodell wrote that when he had moved to Istanbul fifteen years earlier, he felt assured either that this day would come, or that the Armenian Church as a body would be reformed; and he never had any anxiety as to the result. He "did not expect to live to see this day, but he had seen it."²⁴

When the separation finally occurred in 1846, deliberate efforts were made to direct the new churches toward achieving self-support, self-governance, and self-propagation under a native ministry at the earliest possible date. According to Harris, implicitly before the separation and explicitly afterward, the goal of the mission was "to build up a new Protestant community that would be as complete and autonomous as the Armenian millet."²⁵ Before and after the separation,

²³ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 317.

²⁴ Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 317.

indigenous preachers played an important role in the spread of evangelical views throughout inner Asia Minor. In the summer of 1846, churches were formed on the same basis in Izmit, Adapazari, and Trabzon, with a small number of members.

The American Protestant missionaries and their indigenous assistants had partitioned one religious ethnic entity in the Ottoman Empire, the Armenians, into two. They created a Protestant community after working two decades in the Ottoman capital and in Asia Minor. The new community eventually evolved into a complete and autonomous millet like the other millets of the Ottoman Empire. Yet, not all celebrated this achievement. For Armenians supporting the Patriarch, or hoping to reform the church, it was a big blow. Stories before, around, and after the split in Armenian community and events in the other communities provide insight and evidence that the split within the community did not solve the pending problems within the Armenian community, but led to the birth of new ones.

In the months and the years after the new anathema issued in 1846, many small and large scale incidents were reported across Anatolia. Stories vary and disputes over "belief,"

²⁵ Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 129.

"space," "rituals," and "power" were also not limited to the Armenian community. The "Protestant community" was created by the converts among the Armenians but the new Protestant movement was not limited to them in the Ottoman Empire. Despite their few numbers, the new "Protestant community" also included converts coming from different religious communities in the Ottoman Empire. The stories with respect to rift within communal boundaries and response to that were not isolated into the Armenian community. Thus disputes also extended to the other communities, including the Greeks. For instance, a petition dated May 23, 1846, narrated a story between Apostol and his relative, Yorgi, Protestant converts in a Greek community in a village in Adapazari, a province in the north-west of Anatolia, and Musa, a community leader (*kocabaşı*) in the same village. Apostol and Yorgi were considered to be very pious and read the Bible and religious books regularly for about a year. According to a petition filed by the mother of Apostol to the Ottoman authorities, Musa was in dispute with her son, Apostol, and his relatives for some time.

The argument was due to Apostol's and Yorgi's reading and practicing Protestant doctrine in an Orthodox village. One day, Musa, without any reason, formally complained about Apostol, went to his house with a small police force, and searched for

the books Apostol and his friends were reading. In return, they fought and even stepped on a very small boy in the same room and killed him during their fight. After the incident, it was as though nothing had happened. Musa, not content, initiated another formal complaint against Apostol, but this time, against him and his relatives due to their religious practices in the village. Accordingly, Apostol and two of his relatives were put in prison and were deported to Istanbul, to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch's prison. Some time thereafter Apostol's mother went to Istanbul to find out whether her son was in the Patriarch's prison. After four months of searching she could not find him or obtain any information as to what had happened to him from there. In this petition, she requested from Ottoman authorities to issue an order so that she could find out where her son was taken, by Patriarchal authorities. Distressed, she wanted Musa to be taken into prison instead.²⁶

A year later, from the same province of Adapazari, a petition of a very similar nature was filed. In January 13, 1847, a Greek Protestant mother filed a questionnaire requesting the Ottoman authorities to investigate the death of her grandson, which had resulted from a fight that occurred in her

²⁶ For petition, see B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 12, Gömlek No: 75, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT., *Apostol ve Yorgi'nin protestant mezhebine girdiklerinden dolayı zabıta ile evrerini basıp tutuklattıran Musa isimli kocabaşın İstanbul'a getirilmesi.*

village home, and the circumstances leading up to this tragedy. According to her, she had been practicing Protestant doctrine for a long time with her merchant son in the village. She stipulated that they did not harm anyone nor did they exude influence, but for no reason whatsoever, Magnisi, a community leader (kocabaşı) from the same village came over to their house. He assaulted, beat, and punched them violently. During their altercation, Magnisi's violent rage was also responsible for property damage; he broke the furniture and smashed the windows. It was during this agitated moment of rage that her grandson was beaten, his stomach stepped on, and killed. With this petition, she exercised her rights based on new laws, passed with the Tanzimat degree in 1839, and requesting the immediate arrest and punishment of Magnisi. She also informed the authorities that she had been living with neighbors for about five months.²⁷

The above two stories are very similar in nature. They occurred in the same province and within the same community and so are interesting to analyze. They not only provide us details as to the players involved in the disputes but also help us to construct a larger picture. This grants us the perspective to

²⁷ See, B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 16, Gömlek No: 19, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT., Adapazarı tüccar Apostol'un Protestanlığı kabulü sebebiyle evini basıp oğlunu öldüren Mağnisi isimli kocabaşın muhakeme edilmek üzere Dersaadet'e gönderilmesi.

better understand the limits of communal relations within the villages with respect to the beliefs and practices in a local community. A "change" in a religious practice in an established-Orthodox neighborhood represented a warning signal, if not a threat, to the local communal and/or religious leaders. Protestantism was a new phenomenon among them. Moreover, it was spreading fast, not only amongst the Armenians, but also the Greeks. After all, a Protestant practice represented a new challenge injected by a few strangers from America to the established Church hierarchies, their rituals, and powers.

As in the stories of the convert Apostol, and Protestant merchant, the dispute over "belief" and its way of "practice" was challenged by the other community members in the same villages. Unlike the stories in Istanbul and Trabzon, this time, the disputes turned out to be bloody and deadly. Why were these Protestant converts really targeted? Was anyone else, in a larger sense, involved in these plots? Why could not Apostol's mother find her son after so many months? Why could not she resolve her problem with the Greek Patriarchate, which was in charge of all Greeks and with their communal order? Why did she ultimately demand help from the Ottoman authorities?

Another question is about gender in the petition filing process. We see that both petitions were filed by women, mothers, who were using local and larger channels available to them. We cannot predict or question now why we do not have fathers filing these petitions, but mothers? Was it because they lost their husbands? Or was there a specific message behind using the female figures, mothers, to emphasize the motherhood? The questions to the stories above can be limitless and can be addressed in different contexts. However, it is imperative to note that it was obvious that the Patriarchate was slowing down the process in relation to their singular requests of finding of their sons. They were giving them a hard time, in a sense, possibly to use history as an example within the community so that it may represent a case study for the others to follow.

Many other communal agitations and similar events among its Christian subjects made things difficult for the Ottoman authorities to control the community relations among the non-Muslim groups. Eventually, on November 15, 1847, the government of the Ottoman Empire formally recognized the Protestant subjects of the empire as constituting a separate and independent religious community.²⁸ In the official paper it was

²⁸ "Letter from Messrs. Homes and Dwight: Recognition of Protestantism in Turkey," *MH*, 44, no. 3 (March, 1848), 98.

declared that "no interference whatever be permitted in their temporal or spiritual concerns on the part of the Patriarch, monks or priests of the other sects; but that they be enabled to exercise the profession of their creed in security, and that they be not molested one iota, either in that respect, or in any other way whatsoever."²⁹ Moreover, an individual elected by the new community was formally recognized by the Government as the agent and representative of the Protestants at the Porte. Three years after the ministerial order, in 1850 Sultan Abdul Mecid himself granted a new order with a charter to the Protestants. It gave the absolute and enduring authority to the Evangelical Church in the Ottoman Empire. Thus, it completed and confirmed its distinct organization as a civil community and secured for them equal religious rights with the older Christian organizations in the Empire.³⁰

Recognition of the Protestants in the Ottoman Empire as a separate millet did not help to solve problems within the Armenian community. For the missionaries, one of their main

²⁹ "Western Asia: Mission to the Armenians and Jews (141-153)," *RABCFM, Presented at the 39th Annual Meeting*, which was held in Boston, Massachusetts, Sep 12-15, 1848. (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1848).

³⁰ For Imperial Protestant Charter of 1850, see Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, appendix.

goals was accomplished with this recognition. For the Armenians, however, their stories from the 1850s suggest that Armenian communal relations worsened rapidly, generating a deeper rift within the Armenian community. Mistreatment of the Protestant Armenians at the hands of the Patriarchate and/or its members and representatives in Istanbul resulted new excommunications. These in turn hurt converted members emotionally, socially, as well as financially. Excommunications were not limited to Istanbul and its vicinity but extended to many parts of Anatolia.

Although, Istanbul was the center of the Armenian Patriarchate and the American Missionary House, it was also, after all, the center of Ottoman Government and bureaucracy. Local fellow Armenian converts in Istanbul had greater opportunity to file their grievances, easier and faster against the Patriarchate when mistreated. They also often received immediate responses to their requests. In addition to these privileges, they sometimes also secured government protection for daily business activities.

Motivated by the examples in Istanbul, Protestant Armenian converts in Kayseri also filed formal complaints against mistreatment by representatives of the Patriarchate in their

city. On April 28, 1850, a group of Protestant Armenians filed a formal petition with the Ottoman authorities. It stated that because of converting to Protestantism, for a long period of time, they had been mistreated, threatened, seen as "enemies" in the city by the members of Armenian millet. They demanded protection against the illicit behavior of the Armenians in the city. In the same petition, they also asked the recognition of bail out fines paid to free jailed or excommunicated fellow Protestant family members and friends. The Patriarchate was rejecting any bail out offers, coming from the members of other millets and communities, for its Protestant and excommunicated prisoners. The behavior of the Church hierarchy against the Protestant converts had a negative impact on businesses owned by Protestant Armenians in the city. Most of the Protestant Armenian business owners in the city had been excommunicated by the Patriarchate.

The Ottoman government put bureaucratic pressure in the Patriarchate to prevent this mistreatment. As such, the Patriarchate began accepting bail outs of those jailed and excommunicated coming from other millets in Istanbul. Protestant Armenians in Kayseri emphasized that bias treatment by the Armenian millet in the city of Kayseri must also be abolished. They wanted the same fair treatment for the Protestant prisoners

and those excommunicated in the hand of the Patriarchate. They formally demanded governmental protection for their businesses and homes, as was provided in Istanbul.³¹

As time passed, the rift within the same community grew. The Armenian Patriarchate considered the changing patterns within its domain as "separatist" developments amongst its adherents. The new ritual practices introduced by American missionaries in Istanbul and across Anatolia widened the rift. The response of the Patriarchate was immediate, with jailings and excommunications. Motivated by the Patriarchate's policy against the converts, members of the mother Church of Armenians acted illicitly against the fellow Protestant converts. They stopped doing business with them, boycotted their products, and demanded the Protestants move from the Orthodox neighborhood. It is unclear whether they were self motivated individuals behaving unlawfully against Protestant converts or were encouraged by the authorities of the Patriarchate in their neighborhoods.

What is evident, however, is the fact that the Patriarchate was challenged by the new doctrines of the American missionaries. The missionaries had been targeting the Armenians

³¹ For petition, see B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 33, Gömlek No: 6, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT., *Ermeni mezhebini bırakıp Protestanlığa girmiş olan Kayserili bazı Ermeniler'in patrik tarafından afaroz edilmeleri sebebiyle diğer Ermeniler'in düşmanlıklarına hedef olduklarından, bu durumun engellenmesi ve birbirlerinin vekaletlerinin Kabul edilmesi isteği.*

in the Ottoman Empire from the 1830s. The Patriarchate and its members attempted to develop and structure policies to protect and control its Church hierarchy, rituals, and powers across the Empire. The Protestants knew that they now had separate millet status, but they were also very aware that whenever they encourage the Orthodox Armenians turn towards the missionaries, they would ultimately be faced with new excommunications and presentments. Whether in Istanbul, Kayseri, or some other part of the Empire, the end of the Protestant converts was the same. As long as they did not have formal separation and recognition in temporal as well as religious affairs, they faced difficulties. As a result, petitions with respect to the temporal affairs of the Protestant Armenians were filed individually or collectively one after another as early as the 1850s across Anatolia. This meant that, not only in religious affairs, but also, in very secular domains, such as taxation, birth registration, and local administration, the Protestant Armenians now wanted the separation to extend to every corner of daily life.

Examples of this abound. For instance, as early as 1851, a group of Armenian converts from the Protestant millet in Tekfurdagi, now known as Tekirdağ, a province in north-west of Istanbul, filed a petition to the Ottoman authorities. In their

petition, they stated that as they did not have a Protestant local head of community leader, appointed and recognized by the Ottoman government in Istanbul, their communal affairs were handled by the authorities within the Orthodox Armenian millet. They complained about their mistreatment by the Orthodox Armenian representatives, specifying their taxation. According to them, they were asked to pay more tax than others in their villages. This contradicted the law enforced upon both communities in the same village. In their petition, they first requested a recognition of a split in terms of taxation and the tax collection process. They requested a local appointment of a new representative within in the Armenian Protestant community there to be recognized by the Ottoman government. Secondly, they demanded the recognition of a new head as Armenian Protestant leader (kocabaşı) among them. Their requests went so far as to demand that their birth registration records be handled separately from those of the other Armenians there. As part of this, they asked to have their new leader made in charge of their birth registration records. The representative of the Protestant millet filed this petition in December 08, 1851.³²

³² For petition, see B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 41, Gömlek No: 39, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT., *Tekfurdağı'ndaki Protestanlar'ın vergi ve sair işlerinin, Ermeniler'den ayrılarak, aralarında belirlenecek bir Kocabaşı tarafından yürütülmesi tarafından yürütülmesi.*

This petition marks the beginning of a period in which many others were filed calling for a separation within communal activities. Not only in religious affairs, but also in secular practices, Armenians were on their way to deepening the split between them. These were the foundational years of a separation that began with a rift in the religious affairs and expanded to other aspects of daily life.

Soon after this petition by Protestant Armenians in Tekfurdagi, a similar petition was filed on February 03, 1852, this time by the Protestant Armenian community in Saruhan, now known as the region of Cappadocia in inner Anatolia. Because they did not have any appointed Kocabaşı, community leader, their temporal communal affairs, including their tax dues, were taken care of by the representatives of the Orthodox Armenian millet. According to their petition, this resulted in unfair treatment of the Protestants with additional taxation. With this petition, they requested the Ottoman authorities recognize the split in temporal affairs between the Orthodox and Protestant Armenian community in Saruhan. The request also included that

Manok be recognized as their leader and appointed as the new Protestant community leader, Kocabaşı.³³

This petition was followed by another one from Diyarbakır, a major province in southeastern Anatolia. In the summer of 1852, a group of Protestant Armenians filed a complaint with respect to mistreatment in communal affairs by the local Orthodox Armenian community leaders. According to the petition, their annual tax percentages and amounts had long been arranged by the Orthodox Armenian Kocabaşı in Diyarbakır. However, because they were Protestant converts, their tax amount was increased, doubled in a short period of time. In this petition, for the first time, Protestants in the region also discussed legal aspects of marriage. Protestant Armenians marriages were not recognized by the Orthodox authorities but were dissolved against the will of the converts by the head of Armenian community in the region, and they were forced to divorce.

The interference of the Armenian Patriarchal authority into the private lives of Protestant Armenians was the subject of the discussion. The Ottoman authorities intervened in this communal dispute and ordered the governor of the region to prohibit such

³³ For petition, see B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 42, Gömlek No: 74, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT., *Saruhan'daki Protestanlar'ın vergi ve cizyelerini toplayan Ermeniler adaletsiz davrabdıklarından, Protestanlar'ın işlerine bakacak, cizye ve vergilerini toplamak için Manok'un kocabaşı tayini.*

biased treatment of Protestant Armenians by the head of the Orthodox Armenian community. In the same order, dated August 20th 1852, the tax amount due of the Protestant Armenians was also fixed at 43 Kuruş, in line with what other members of the different millets in the region were required to pay. With this order, Protestant Armenians were asked to choose their own community leader, who would be in charge of communal affairs such as taxation, registration, and marriage.³⁴

With the growth of the local community, space in the churches and cemeteries grew limited and had a further impact on the split. As time passed, the Protestant community grew; so too did their demand for space for religious practices. Other needs increased, such as the need for burial plots. Throughout the 1850s, petitions raised such demands. For instance, a petition dated January 21st 1853, notes that Tekfurdagi Protestant Armenians buried their dead in a cemetery abandoned by the Armenian community. However, the Orthodox Armenians began to reject burials in those grounds. The Protestants urgently demanded a permit for a separate space for the burial of their own dead. In response to this request, Ottoman authorities sent an order, dated February 5th 1853, to the local authorities to

³⁴ For petition, see B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 47, Gömlek No: 95, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT., *Diyarbakır'daki protestanların, kendi içlerinden bir Kocabaş seçmeleri talebi.*

investigate such claims and make the necessary arrangements to turn the space into a separate cemetery.³⁵

The Protestants across Anatolia sought separate churches and cemeteries. They began to voice demands for separate space for their rituals in Istanbul and the desire for separate space to other Protestant communities. Petitions from across Anatolia reflect the break-up of the Armenian community into two separate entities. Sometimes, Ottoman authorities rejected requests on the basis of not having a sufficient number of Protestants to create a church structure in a particular locale. However, most of the time, the Protestants in different corners of Anatolia reached the needed mass, usually 300 to 500 people, to demand a separate Church structure. The Ottoman archives hold many formal requests from the Protestant community for churches. For instance, on October 17th 1858, Protestants from the town of Seyh in Marash, a province in southeastern Anatolia filed a new petition. According to the Protestants, they could not practice their religious services in accordance with their own Protestant doctrine in the Orthodox Armenian Churches in their town. They had constant difficulties in finding space, and requested

³⁵ For petition, see B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 56, Gömlek No: 51, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT., *Tekfurdağı'nda ölülerini Ermeni Mezarlığına gömen Protestanlara engel olunup olunmadığının ve Protestan'lara mezarlık olarak thesis edşlecek arsanın durumunun tahkik edilmesi.*

permission to construct a new church in the same town. The Ottoman authorities gave a permit.³⁶

Many petitions of a similar nature followed in the years to come Trabzon, Kayseri, Tekfurdagi, Saruhan, and Diyarbakır. Despite the fact that they had various reasons for the petitions, their common nature and the purpose was the same. The above stories serve as evidence of the demands of the Protestant Armenians across Anatolia and beyond. They also serve to show how a separate unit or millet emerged within the Ottoman system. The period through the 1830s, 40s, and especially the 1850s, were the constructive years of such separation.

³⁶ For petition, see B.O.A.K., Dosya No: 162, Gömlek No: 8662, Fon Kodu: İ.HR., *Maraş'ta Protestan milletine mahsus kilise inşası*.

Conclusion

The time period that this dissertation covers 1820-1860 may be called the "introduction and the settlement periods" of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the Ottoman Empire. From 1820 to the 1860s, the missionaries appointed not only to the Ottoman Empire but to the rest of Asia and Africa had one major aim: converting "sinners" to the truths of Protestantism. This desire arose from the success of evangelical revivalism, the Second Great Awakening, in mid-nineteenth century-Northeastern America. Religious revivalism in the New England region led many young men and women to travel to faraway regions of the world. In a short period of time, the missionaries of the ABCFM went from the Sandwich Islands to Ceylon, from East India to China, from Africa to the Ottoman Empire.

As a home and foreign mission society, the ABCFM established a base in the Ottoman Empire shortly after sending missionaries such as, Levi Parsons, Pliny Fisk, William Goodell, Isaac Bird, Jones King, Eli Smith, Harrison G. O. Dwight, and Justin Perkins to the Bible lands. These missionaries helped in the structuring process, if you will. They built foundations in the region. They started their mission in Jerusalem and Beirut

and followed in Istanbul, across Anatolia, and as far as Urmia in Iran. Although the missionaries began their journey to the East in an attempt to "save" the souls of the "sinners" and "converting" Jews and Muslims to Christianity, in time, however, they directed their attentions to the members of the Eastern Churches of the Ottoman Empire.

Long before their mission to the Armenians in Istanbul and wider Anatolia, the American Protestant missionaries had studied non-Muslim Christian groups in the Levant. In the early 1820s, the missionaries worked and spent time among different religious sects in Beirut and its vicinity. However, they were especially disappointed with the reception they received from the various religious groups in the region. After a short while, they realized that "nominal" Christian groups, such as Catholic Maronites and Greek Orthodox, remained faithful to their Churches. They were watched cautiously by communal authorities. The "nominal" Christian groups in the region listened to the message of the missionaries but eventually rejected it. They preferred to go after their own "truths" to reach salvation.

American missionaries failed in reaching "the hearts and minds" of Jews, Muslims, and some nominal Christian groups in Beirut and Jerusalem and converting them. The ABCFM transformed

its mission in the Ottoman Empire by sending William Goodell to Istanbul with a special mandate in 1831. The American missionaries were especially interested in the Armenian community in Istanbul. They found that the Armenians were the "most responsive" to the influential missionary activities. The story that followed, eventually, turned out to be the collective history of the American Protestant missionaries, the Armenian community, and the making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire.

Armenians, according to the missionaries, had less "religious" and/or "national" consciousness when compared to the Jewish and Greek communities. The Armenians had already undermined Patriarchal authority earlier in the century by demonstrating greater receptivity to Catholic missionaries. The American Protestant missionaries built on earlier dissension in the Armenian millet to construct a stronghold among the old world orders.

The special mission of Goodell was to work among the Armenian millet in Istanbul to encourage them to reform their church. The early missionaries intended to create a new "class of clergy" through education who would ultimately help to carry out the doctrines of the American Board throughout Asia Minor.

They believed that their new "mandated" mission was to "cooperate" with the leaders of the Eastern Churches in organizing a system of education and in creating a sentiment that would demand an "educated" and "morally upright" clergy.

With their social, educational, printing, and philanthropic works, Goodell and other missionaries in Istanbul and wider Anatolia reached some of the reform minded Armenians. They urged them to restore and reform their Church structure. However, their engagement with reform-minded Armenians did not bring a reformation to the Mother Church of Armenians. Rather, it split the members of the community.

The innovations introduced by the American strangers in town were considered by the Armenian Patriarchate as a direct assault to its Church hierarchy, practices, rituals, and powers. The Patriarchate, its members, and followers in the city of Istanbul and throughout Anatolia responded decisively. As early as the 1840s, the Armenian Apostolic Church began to excommunicate Armenians who turned towards Protestantism. Those who persisted were detested, rejected, and more importantly impoverished. The principle opposition to the Protestant missionaries came not from the Ottoman government, which

protected Muslim subjects from missionaries, but from the Patriarch of the mother Church of Armenians.

The period from the 1830s, 1840s, and especially the 1850s, was one of a widening rift within the Armenian community. Numerous stories emerge from those years, as in the examples in this study, allowing us to re-open and re-evaluate that chapter of history of the American missionaries, Armenian community, and the story of the making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire. Different interpretations of that period of the history of the American missionary encounter with the peoples of the Ottoman Empire are evident. Doing so is imperative and needed for scholars spending perhaps the best of their times in archives across the world in search of answers to their questions over the missionary movement in the nineteenth century. The constructing and re-contracting of this space in history, reviewing and re-evaluating the events of this period, help us to better understand the missionary encounters, their impacts, and stories such as those mentioned in this study.

There has been of a late a renewed interest in the history of missionaries, particularly American missionaries, in the Middle East. A large number of scholars is focusing on American Protestant missionary encounters with the peoples of the Middle

East. These scholars are now challenging the view that Americans had little presence in the region until after World War II, when they came to replace the British and the French. Scholars from America, the Middle East, and the rest of the world are now taking a fresh look at missionaries and broader Arab-American, Iranian-American, and Turkish-American relations through missionary writings.

As fundraisers, writers, healthcare personnel, the missionaries left a vast paper trail, which can be mined for the historical record. It is crucial to read these sources in depth and analyze their ingredients. But it is also important to read sources in local languages, such as the sources in Ottoman Turkish, Armenian, Arabic, and Persian. Such sources help us to better understand the indigenous reaction to missionaries, which has been missing from much of the earlier scholarship on missionaries due to a perceived lack of sources or difficulties with the languages.

In this study, Ottoman documents located in the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives in Istanbul opened a window onto the indigenous reception of missionaries in the Ottoman Empire, particularly among the targeted native Armenian Christian community. As suggested, these documents show tensions among

Armenians over the response to missionaries, who ultimately created a schism within the Armenian Church and community. The stories from these documents reveal how missionary activity led to intense disputes over space in cemeteries, ritual, and practice. This study aims to make a contribution to our understandings of missionaries and Armenians, religion and education, Ottomans and Americans in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. It is an understanding that leads us to recognizing the collective history of American missionaries, the Armenian community, and the making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire.

Epilogue

Development of Turkish Writings on Missionaries

The response of Turkish writings to missionaries is the subject of the epilogue. This part surveys how Turkish writings on missionaries developed chronologically and contextually during the Turkish Republic. Specific focus is given to publications over three time periods: 1930s, 1960s, and the late 1990s and early 2000s. The works produced during these years are colored with nationalist sentiments in a broad sense. This study suggests that building a parallel correlation over three periods helps us better understand the roles of missionaries, the spaces they constructed, and the collective Turkish memory of missionaries. The writings of these authors are now being debated, challenged, and questioned by many scholars.

The study and focus on missionaries in modern Turkey, particularly on French/Roman Catholic and British/American Protestant missionary accounts, goes back to the early 1930s. At the time, in Turkey's political establishment, the one-party regime of *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (CHP), The Republican People's Party (RPP), was in the process of constructing a nation. They

were building the nation along the lines of the *Altı Ok*, or the “six arrows” which were the principles of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the main architect of modern Turkey.¹ As proposed by the new Republican elite, the nation would have new political, economic, cultural as well as social and historical entity. It would also be devoid of the Ottoman heritage and apart from the modern Middle Eastern context. Instead, the nation would follow a course patterned after the secularist and republican idealism of Western Europe. Accordingly, the RPP developed various policies and implemented them throughout the second part of the 1920s and into the 1930s.

In order to construct a nation with historical continuity and to place the history of Turkey and Turks in a broad spectrum, the Turkish Historical Society, *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, was founded in April 1930 with sixteen members. It was set up to serve the republican optimism of the new elite. The Turkish Historical Society was initially a dependent body of the Turkish Hearth Central Council under the name of *Türk Ocağı Türk Tarihi Tetkik Encümeni*. Within a short period it produced a number of

¹For the history the Republican People’s Party, see Bary Rubin and Metin Heper, ed., *Political Parties in Turkey* (London: Frank Cass, 2002); Çetin Yetkin, *Türkiye’de Tek Parti Yönetimi* (İstanbul: Altın Kitapevi, 1983); Hikmet Bila, *CHP Tarihi* (Ankara: Doruk Matbaacılı Sanayii, 1979); Celal Bozkurt, *Siyasi Tarihimizde CHP: Dünü, Bugünü, İdeolojisi* (İstanbul: n.p., 1968).

works related to Turks in general, and Turkey in particular. It also inspired many others to study the history of a variety of topics relevant to modern Turkey in the years to come.²

First Turkish Writings on Missionaries; 1920s-1930s

Within this context some of the earliest works on missionaries in Turkey appeared. Although they do not offer much in relation to the historical background of missionary encounters in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey in depth, they nonetheless turned out to be the basis of many later works in the 1950s and especially in the 1960s. *Misyonerlere Cevap ve Gençliği İykaz* (Response to the Missionaries and Warning to the Youth) [1933], by Ali Ulvi Elöve, can be viewed and discussed against this ideological backdrop. In response to missionaries' long-lasting encounters with the people of the region, Elöve wrote a number of articles in the early 1930s on various topics related to beliefs, religions, and missions. His book later turned out to be a collection of these articles, along with special section on "warning to the youth." Most of the articles in his study deal with the issue of "religion and belief." These articles focus primarily on his ideas in answer to questions

² For the emergence of the "official history" thesis in Turkey, see Büşra Behar Ersanlı, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de "Resmi Tarih" Tezinin Oluşumu, 1929-1937* (İstanbul: Afa Yayınları, 1992). Also, see Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Sentezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, translated by Ali Berktaş (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998).

such as "What is religion?" "What is the source of power in religion?" "What is the belief of God?" "What is sin?" and last but not the least "Life after death."

According to Elöve, missionaries go out to the world with a certain missionary purpose and a sense of effort. The prime purpose of their mission, he argues, is to spread Christianity. He adds that if that is not possible, then, they work toward diminishing nationalist feelings in host countries and creating an environment of sympathy towards Christianity and Europeans. He also states that there are only a few countries left on earth not colonized after missionaries have opened the mission field there and worked amongst the natives. In order to "save" the missionaries from "discouraging and disappointing" results, he offers the path of the religion of Islam, the belief and the doctrines of its messenger, Prophet Mohammed, and its holy book, the Koran, as real sources of ultimate salvation.³

In the second part of the book, Elöve offers his suggestions to the youth of Turkey: "In order to confuse you and make you forget your own personality and identity," he starts his address to them, "Jesuits and other missionary priests are working very hard." There is no systematic organization in

³ Ali Ülvi Elöve, *Misyonerlere Cevap ve Gençliği İykaz* (İstanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1933), 79-85.

Turkey, he believes, "to stop missionary activities and prevent losing you [the youth] amongst them." According to him, "morality" was in decline in Turkey (his book was published in 1933). It is evident and easy to predict the dangerous future of those nations who had lost their "morality." In order to avoid missionary influence amongst the youth of Turkey and to construct a healthy future, he offers the study of positive science and, equally, spiritual education as the most important tools. Since the Koran was now translated into Turkish, he suggests the youth should read it and understand their religion as correctly as possible. In order to discipline the body morally, the most imperative rule, according to him, is to be a pious individual. Once we truly understand the religion of Islam, he states in his closing lines, we then may spread it to our friends and neighbors to have a collective and true consciousness.⁴

Elöve published his work in 1933 in Istanbul at a time when various segments of Turkish society had already gathered openly and collectively to protest against missionary activities in large cities such as Istanbul and Ankara. For instance, it was popular among the students at Istanbul University to attend missionary talks in different parts of Istanbul and then write

⁴ Elöve, *Misyonerlere Cevap*, 86-89.

about the experience and, if possible, have their work published. These efforts notwithstanding, it was a group of Turkish journalists who explicitly rallied against, in 1929, missionaries and their activities in Turkey. Earlier they united under the name of *Türk Matbuat Birliği*, "the Turkish Print Union." They named their society *Misyonerleri Kovma Cemiyeti* ("Missionary Persecution Society") in order to raise common awareness to the continuing religious activities of the missionaries in the newly emerging Turkish Republic. It was thought that press and printed materials would be the best tools to achieve the ambition of raising awareness using methods similar to those of the missionaries.

On May 9, 1929 *Cumhuriyet* (Republic) Newspaper printed the following news to its readers across Turkey:

Yesterday, the members of the Missionary Persecution Society gathered for the first time at the Printing Society. The purpose of the Missionary Persecution Society is to prevent a life's chance for missionaries who are being used as agents of imperialist states and for their plans in the Turkish lands, and for those active for the Christian missionary propaganda... The Society will specially give emphasis on publications.⁵

⁵ Erol Güngör, *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat A. Ş., 2005), 100. See also the 1st ed. published under name: Erol Kırşehirlioğlu, *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri* (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınları, 1963).

Soon after their unification, the journalists' emphasis on publications was realized. *Resimli Ay Mecmuası*, then a monthly illustrated magazine, published one of the first articles along this line in its May 1929 edition. "Kızımı Amerikan Kız Kolejine Nasıl Verdim, Ne Halde Aldım?" (How I gave my daughter to the American Girl College, and in what condition I took her back?) The article gave the story of a father who enrolled his daughter in one of the best western educational institutions of the time. He witnessed in a short time how her behaviors, habits, and perceptions were quickly transformed. She altered her feelings of being a "Turk" in favor of becoming a "cosmopolitan" individual through educational and cultural processes in the American Girl College.⁶

The Second Wave of Anti-Missionary Writings; 1950s-1970s

In the following decades, many similar publications emphasized missionary activities in Turkey in contemporary perspectives. Examples include H. Tahsin Başak, *Misyonerlere İhtar*, (Warning to the Missionaries) 1953; O. N. Bilmen, *Bir Amerikalının Suallerine Cevaplar (Kırk Cevap)*, (Answers to the

⁶ "Kızımı Amerikan Kız Kolejine Nasıl Verdim, Ne Halde Aldım?" *Resimli Ay Mecmuası* (May 1929), 18-40.

Questions of an American (Forty answers) 1956; Erol Kırşehirlioğlu, *Türkiye’de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, (Missionary Activities in Turkey) 1963; Enver Baytan, *Hıristiyan Misyonerleri Nasıl Çalışıyor*, (How Christian Missionaries Work) 1965; M. Kemal Pilavoğlu, *Dünya Dinleri ve Misyonerlik*, (World Religions and Missionary) 1966; Musa Çakır, *Anadolumuz Asla Hıristiyan Olmayacak: Misyonerler Memleketinize Dönünüz*, (Our Anatolia will never be Christianized: Missionaries! Return to your country) 1966; Samiha Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, (Turkey Against Missionary) 1969 and last but not the least Abdülaziz Çavış, *Anglikan Kilisesine Cevap*, (Response to Anglican Church) 1974.

Many other names and parallel works in the period from the 1950s to 70s may well find their places in other, yet similar lists. In general, it is imperative to recognize them along the lines of horizontal and vertical continuity in “the history of missionary writing in Turkey.” That is to say, writings about missionaries and their roles in Turkey have developed chronologically and contextually over the years. However, it has been contained and framed more or less within the same similarly-constructed methodological approaches and manner of perception. What these authors achieved in terms of contribution to missionary literature in Turkey, and by what means, is now

debated, challenged and, in fact, questioned by many scholarly but fragmented approaches in and outside of Turkey. They however, represent the beginning of the missionary literature in modern Turkey. As such, they were the first paradigms in that matter often colored with nationalist sentiments in the broad sense.

A chronological look at three of these works helps to elaborate the argument mentioned in above paragraph. The first work, *Türkiye’de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, was published in 1963 by Erol Güngör, under the name of Erol Kırşehirlioğlu. He was nineteen years old when he presented his work’s original form as a paper at a conference in Istanbul in 1957 held by *İstanbul Milliyetçiler Derneği* (Istanbul Nationalists Association). Six years later, he published it without (according to his own account) making changes to the original text. It is not an analytical study but a narrative on the history of the missionaries and their institutions in Turkey. He begins with the history of Christianity in the Middle East in general. He suggests that the first missionary activities in the region go back to the mid-eighteenth century and to the works of the Church of Moravia, now a province in modern Czech Republic. In his account, the first two missionaries - medical missionaries of the Church of Moravia, namely Mr. Hocker, a doctor, and Mr.

Ruefler, a surgeon - began their journey to the East in 1747. They had hoped to reach Persia, today known as Iran. British, French, American, Dutch, and German missionaries of different denominations followed their footprints in the region throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁷ Güngör then turns to the missionary schools and institutions in Turkey. He portrays the brief histories of the American Girl College in Bursa, the Robert College of Istanbul, French Saint Benoit High School, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), Armenian schools, and, lastly, hospitals in the region in connection with missionaries. He concludes his work with his thoughts regarding Christian cultural propaganda in modern Turkey.

According to Güngör, the Muslim world and Turkey in particular were faced a systematic and organizational danger (in his words, a "Christian threat"), and he asks "what can be done?"⁸ He outlines his suggestions based on immediate recovery from existing ignorance (*cahiliyet*) and neglect of missionaries and their activities. According to him, the Christian threat was only one of the collective issues Turkey was then facing. He asserted that the current situation [the book was written in 1957], was not favorable to the Turkish people at all. In order

⁷ Güngör, *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, 18-19.

⁸ Güngör, *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, 85-105.

to confront this threat, he advocates, first and foremost, the development of publications targeting missionaries and disputing missionary writings. Secondly, he suggests that a similar focus be applied to all kinds of Islamic publications, and then recommends the opening of various associations and societies in response to the missionary organizations in Turkey. Subsequently, he advises founding of new schools, and finally states the need of the Muslim missionaries in that regard.⁹

As Güngör suggests, his book was not a scholarly work based upon research and analysis of materials available. Rather, it was a historical narrative of missionary encounters in Turkey. This narrative offers suggestions for countering contemporary examples of that process. Regardless of his argument (which echoed themes found in other books), his employment of English and French sources, along with some missionary works, reports, and secondary sources, made his work unique for his time.

The second work to be discussed was written by Musa Çakır, a teacher of religion. Published in 1966 in Istanbul, *Anadolumuz Asla Hıristiyan Olmayacak: Misyonerler Memleketinize Dönünüz* summarizes Çakır's personal experiences. It narrates the story of his discussions with contemporary missionaries working in

⁹ Güngör, *Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri*, 102.

different districts of Istanbul in 1964. In an observation similar to that made by others, he states that since the thirteenth century, missionaries under various names had been trying to Christianize the nations of the world. According to him, missionary organizations were founded by imperialist nations for two purposes, identified as being materialistic and spiritual. While these organizations exploit nations through the effects of the former, he states, their members believe in increasing their good deeds (and, thereby; chances for redemption in heaven) through the latter. Missionaries, Çakır notes, focus their attentions and evangelical works particularly on underdeveloped nations in Asia and Africa. They are the warriors of imperialist nations with no physical weapons in hand. In his account, every imperialist state has its own missionary organizations. The list includes the United States, Great Britain, Portugal, the Netherlands, France, and Russia. The members of missionary organizations usually work as men of faith, teachers, doctors, nurses, and peace advocates.¹⁰

Çakır gave examples of how missionaries operated. In January 1964, he was invited by missionaries for a dinner at an apartment in Istanbul. He attended the dinner alongside some

¹⁰ Musa Çakır, *Anadolumuz Asla Hıristiyan Olmayacak Misyonerler Memleketinize Dönünüz* (İstanbul: Bedir Yayınevi, 1966), 5.

twenty students from various faculties and departments of Istanbul University. After a beautiful dinner service and coffee, Çakır recalls, two young men started a sermon about Jesus through translators. One was from Switzerland, the other from the Netherlands. According to Çakır, the missionaries preached that in order to have universal peace and serenity in heaven, people need to know Jesus and his teachings very well. These missionaries preached that Jesus sacrificed himself for the sins of all mankind and was the son of God. Christianity was the last religion, it was easy [?], was meeting with the expectations of humanity, and was ordering tolerance [?]. Jesus never married and for the salvation of humankind, he dedicated himself to his father, God.

Çakır told how later in the sermon, the missionaries came to a point in which they started to talk about Turkey and Turks. According to the missionaries, Turkey had a glorious history, had introduced great names and figures into history, and was on the path of development, having recently entered European civilization. The missionaries strongly supported the development of modern Turkey. According to them, Islam as a religion and religious people, (*sofular*) prevented the further development of Turks. By contrast Atilla, a Turkish commander in the Hun dynasty and his Empire represented a great moment in

Turkish civilization, according to the missionaries. If a rapid development is dreamed of today in Turkey, Turks need to get rid of religion immediately, and embrace full secularism.

One of the law school students then asked, "Well, let's say we put away our religion! What is next?" The missionary answered, "Examine the religions, you will choose a good one." "For instance?" the student again asked. Then the missionary continued his sermon and teaching along the following lines: By now, it is well known which religion is convenient and suitable. If you look at the world today, the richest nations on earth are all Christian ones and Christianity is the largest religious group in the world. However, if you look at Atheists, Muslims, Buddhists, and others, they are all in underdeveloped countries. Let's look at Muslims: Syria, Egypt, Jordan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Pakistan, Tunisia, Algeria - they are all underdeveloped countries now. The only developing one is Turkey. If Islam was God's religion, do you think God would leave them in desperate poverty today? Christians, on the other hand, are in prosperity due to the fact that their religion is the true religion, and therefore God, the father, gives them all they need.

Çakır later described the atmosphere in the room. Students, many of whom would perhaps be holding great positions in Turkey in the future, were shaking their heads as if they were confirming the sermon and started talking to each other on the perspectives of the missionaries. This conversation lasted the rest of the night.¹¹

Later in the book, Çakır gives another example of meeting missionaries, this time in Aksaray, a district in the European side of Istanbul, in the same year, 1964. The evening at the missionaries' apartment in *İnkılap* (Revolution) street in Aksaray started in the same order. After a delicious turkey dinner and coffee service, he recalls, the missionaries began their sermon in a manner similar to the last one but this time in Turkish. Çakır inquired if he might ask some questions. He had already prepared in his mind specific questions with respect to Christianity and *Isla*; allowing him the opportunity of opening a dialogue which would absorb all attendees for the rest of the night. Accordingly his questions were welcomed. His enquiries and the following discussion provided the ingredients for his book.¹² According to him, after the questions they had a

¹¹ Çakır, *Anadolumuz asla Hıristiyan Olmayacak*, 6-9.

¹² Çakır's questions to the missionaries were: What is the first Christian country? Why don't Christians follow the orders of Prophet Jesus? Is your

heated discussion, the night ended at around 4 a.m., and the attendees left the apartment with great excitement.¹³ Later, in the conclusion, he outlines his suggestions on what can be done to stop missionaries and by what means.¹⁴ Musa Çakır's story is important in the sense that it helps us to envision the atmosphere in the gathering. Moreover, it facilitates a picture

religion the foremost reason of your economic wealth and positive science? Why are there four Bibles? Do you know the meaning of the word "Paraklit" (successor)? What does "Teslis" (holy trinity) mean and can you explain it? Why is Islam backward and reactionary, please explain? Why did the Prophet not marry and why was he sacrificed? Can you explain the justice and tolerance in Christianity and how? How do you know and can you describe Prophet Mohammed? 10.

¹³ Çakır, *Anadolumuz asla Hıristiyan Olmayacak*, 85-86.

¹⁴ His suggestions: 1- Turkish elite and government apparatuses and branches have to stop their disputes on many unnecessary issues immediately and focus on the economic development of the nation. 2- Measures have to be taken in order to improve the brotherhood and national unity among the citizens. 3- Separatist movements have to be prevented and stopped. 4- Laws must prohibit all missionary activities of all kinds of organizations originating from out of Turkey. 5- As missionaries are harmful for our nation, laws have to persecute them. 6- We must educate the religious elite who have great knowledge and good manner. 7- We must respect to the man of faith in the society. 8- We have to exclude all religious men from their posts who does not function their duties properly. 9- We have to teach the great masses and students to believe that religion is not an element for the backwardness. 10- We have to use great deal of all modern tools for that purpose. 11- Religious men should not be preaching only at mosques, but they need to be freed to do so in the rest of the community. 12- We should not repeat the errors done in the past. 13- State should take care of the problems at village level right away. 14- Office of the Religious Affairs should provide and distribute free or with a very low cost religious books to public. 15- We have to expedite the war on ignorance, *cahiliyet*. That is to say, educate the men and women of society as Prophet Mohammed suggested. 16- We have to explain and teach people and make them understand that secularism is not an enemy of religion and practice it accordingly.

of how missionaries interacted with the locals on a micro level, discussed here as representative of a wave of writing in the 1950s - 1970s.

The third work, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, differs from the first two works discussed above. It is not a historical study nor is it a personal narrative. It is based on a collection of six letters from Samiha Ayverdi written in regard to her complaints about long-lasting missionary activities in Turkey. These letters were addressed to Raymond Kern, who was at that time the chair of the Protestant Missionary Organization based in Switzerland, between 1965 and 1967. She later published them in 1969 together with six response letters from the center. Samiha Ayverdi, born in 1905 in Istanbul, started her scholarly life as a novelist and in 1938 at the age of 33 published her first novel, *Aşk Budur* (This is Love). After 1946, she switched her attention toward more philosophical and historical subjects and produced several works. Like many others of her time, she had also been receiving many anonymous brochures, letters, and religious texts promoting Christianity. These were sent to homes, offices, schools, temples, and so on by the missionary centers. According to her, there is nothing to learn from Christianity in the Islamic world; therefore there is no need

for missionaries in Muslim lands.¹⁵ She felt responsible to write directly to the missionaries

On August 6, 1965, Ayverdi sent the first of her letters to the missionary center in St. François, Switzerland, entitled "The first letter to the Christian World on Mr. Kern's Behalf." "Dear Careless and Ignorant Christian Brothers!" she starts, asking "why are you bothering those of us who are the followers of the Prophet Mohammed and why don't you leave us alone?" Being Muslim, she argues, we are already saved and have reached the true salvation. That is why we do not need your "good news," *müjde*, of salvation. On the contrary, you are the one who is indeed "in need of salvation." She then suggests to the missionaries that "since you have a lot of money for your propagations and large organizational network, then why don't you stop propagating among the Muslims who recognize your Prophet, but employ and utilize your labor and money against Communism, which is not only the enemy of Muslims and Christians but that of all the other religions." Along these lines, she writes "we have a common enemy and we have to stop fighting each other and focus on our unification and work to cut the head of Communism, instead." It is now the time to say good-bye to the

¹⁵ Samiha Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye* 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Kubealtı Neşriyatı, 2001), 9.

missionary mentalities of the Middle Ages. This Crusades approach is indeed weakening Christianity day after day. Rather than playing with beliefs and ethics she suggests, "listen to the warning bells next to you and turn your attention and activities towards that end. Then, this will be the salvation and good news, *müjde*, of the twentieth century to mankind."

On September 9, 1965 Raymond Kern sent his first letter to Samiha Ayverdi in hope of reaching her and her questions of the truth. "We thank you very much for your interesting letter dated August 6," Kern begins with his opening, suggesting that they are happy to hear from her even though, her beliefs are contrary to their writings in missionary publications. "While we were reading your letter," he writes, "we did not have any difficulty to understand that you are a clever person and in thirst and search of God." There is no one throughout history who has started searching for the Truth without trying to know and understand all in that matter first. Therefore, he says, if you see that there are enough evidences surrounding you to see Jesus and his truth then you are about to reach true salvation. In his closing lines, he wishes her the best and hopes that their materials along with his letter will help to answer her

questions and support her spiritually.¹⁶ Angry with the response and the publications she received, she sent her second letter to him on October 20, 1965, suggesting that he could not or did not want to understand her at all. She puts forth her original comments one more time and offers an alliance against Communism. She also encloses this time her letter sent to Pope Paul the Sixth earlier, entitled "Complaint on Missionaries."¹⁷ The response from Kern arrived shortly and her new letter was sent out in return, which was followed by a new response, and so on. Through the new letters between 1965 and 1967, Ayverdi and Kern continued to talk philosophically about the history of Judaism, Christianity and Islam and their contradictory practicality, as well as the common threat of Communism to "humankind."¹⁸

Over the course of the exchange, both parties could not convince each other on the justification of missionary formations in foreign lands. Additionally, they could not persuade each other regarding the practice of promoting Christianity and proselytizing among the Turks. After writing a long historical background of Turks and their belief in Islam,

¹⁶ Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, 35-36. Original missionary response letter was written in Turkish.

¹⁷ Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, 37-44.

¹⁸ In her sixth and last letter to the Missionary center on July 13, 1967, Ayverdi thanks the center on Dale Rhoton's behalf for receiving anti-Communist brochures. Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, 110.

Ayverdi suggests that “you are living in a fantasy world in which you indeed lost yourselves and need true salvation.”¹⁹ Seeing that writing and sending materials to each other over the years did not achieve much in relation to missionary activities in Turkey, in her last letter on July 13, 1967, she recommended they discontinue their correspondence. She also advised that she might publish these letters soon. It is because she proposed others in the future may perhaps get use of the dialogue reflected on the words of the letters over two years.²⁰

The above three depicted works represent examples of writings on missionaries in the 1960s in Turkey. Written by three different authors with three different backgrounds and methods, these collectively show how the authors of these works perceived missionaries in their times as the multifunctional “agents” of foreign lands. These also express the interests against the nativity and authenticity of local entities across the world, such as those in Turkey. What unites them is also similarities in their methods of seeing missionaries in general. It is a space in which they unite collectively for their own times. In particular, these and many other works can be counted

¹⁹ Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, 143.

²⁰ Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, 150-151.

as early examples of a constructed literary consciousness in Turkey in response to the centuries-old missionary activities.

New Scholarly Approach to Missionaries; 1980s

Before going into the last phase of missionary writing in Turkish literature and discussing some of the contemporary perspectives in the early 2000s, it is imperative here to mention a work called *Kendi Belgeleri ile Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, published in 1989 by Uygur Kocabaşoğlu. It is an in-depth research on nineteenth century American Protestant missionaries and their educational activities in Istanbul and the Anatolian hinterland.²¹ It is one of the first scholarly approaches to the issue of missionaries and their roles in the history of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. What makes Kocabaşoğlu's work one of the most important classics on missionaries in Turkish literature is the fact that he was the first who extensively worked through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' (ABCFM) missionary archives in the Houghton Library of Harvard University. His contribution lies in the fact that through his study he introduced for the

²¹ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları* (İstanbul: Arba Yayınları, 1989). (*In its own Documents, America in Anatolia: American Missionary Schools in the 19th Century-Ottoman Empire*)

first time a great number of first-hand missionary archival documents to the Turkish reader. A graduate of an American Missionary High School himself (Tarsus American College), he led the way and introduced tools for many (including his students like myself) to understand the missionaries and their times.

According to Kocabaşoğlu, American Protestant missionary movements in the nineteenth century cannot be distinguished from the greater imperial economic and political interests of the United States in what is called today the Middle East. He suggests that during the rise of an American influence in Africa, Asia, South America, the Middle East and so on, missionaries and their organizations functioned as indispensable channels.²² Not only did missionaries in the Ottoman Empire play significant roles in the process of spreading Protestantism among the people of the Ottoman Empire and introducing American culture, but they also made great efforts to understand the society that they sought to influence. He states that when Ottoman intellectuals in the first quarter of the twentieth century began to “discover” Anatolia, American missionaries had already “mapped” it. And because they knew it well, they had insights into the values, patterns of behavior, desires,

²² Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu’daki Amerika*, 219-220.

prejudices and expectations of different ethnic and social groups living there.²³ His work, therefore illustrates how missionaries worked through the arenas of the press, education, medicine, religion and so on in order to first map, then understand, and then influence. Finally, in the long run, this would lead to having a "living space" among the old world orders as they expanded in time.

Recent Writings on Missionaries; 21th Century

The early 2000s witnessed the revival of writings on missionaries in Turkey. Various new works were published or old ones re-appeared in new editions within a short period of time. The list includes a variety of names correlated to missionary topics. Such were: Samiha Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye* (Turkey Against Missionary), 2nd ed., 2001; Şinasi Gündüz and Mahmut Aydın, *Misyonerlik: Hıristiyan Misyonerler, Yöntemleri ve Türkiye'ye Yönelik Faaliyetleri* (Missionary: Christian Missionaries, their methods and activities against Turkey), 2002; Necdet Sevinç, *Osmanlıdan Günümüze Misyoner Faaliyetleri: Okullar, Kiliseler, Yardım Kurumları* (Missionary

²³ Kocabaşoğlu, *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika*, 220, quoted in Hans-Lukas Kieser, "Mission, Ethnicity and Civil Society in Ottoman and early Republican Turkey," paper read at the workshop *Identity Formation and the Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East*, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Providence RI, November 17-18, 1999.

Activities from Ottoman period to the present: Schools, Churches, Charity Foundations), 3rd ed., 2002; Erdal Açıkse, *Amerikalıların Harput'taki Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* (*American Missionary Activities in Harput*), 2003; Ali Rıza Baysan, *Küresel Vaftiz: Misyoner Örgütlerin Türkiye ve Türk Cumhuriyetlerini Hristiyanlaştırma Operasyonu* (*Global Baptize: Christianization operation of Missionary Organizations for Turkey and the Turkic Republics*), 2nd ed., 2004; Ahmed Yüksel Özemre, *Din ve Misyonerlik* (*Religion and Missionary*), 2004; Erol Güngör, *Türkiye'de Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* (*Missionary Activities in Turkey*), 3rd ed, 2005; Hulki Cevizoğlu, *Misyonerlik ve Siyasal Hristiyanlık* (*Missionary and Political Christianity*), 2005; Ömer Faruk Harman, ed., *Türkiye'de Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* (*Missionary Activities in Turkey*), 2005; Uğur Yıldırım, *Dünü, Bugünü, İçyüzü ve Perde Arkasıyla Türkiye'de Misyonerlik* (*Mission in Turkey with its Past, Present, Inner face and behind screen*), 2005; *Türkiye'de Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* (*Missionary Activities in Turkey*) 5th ed., 2005.

One of the reasons for this rapid increase in publications about missionaries is because many (archival) missionary documents and secondary sources became much more easily available in Turkey and abroad. Another reason can be found in the symbiotic relationship between America's greater preparation

for the project of re-shaping and re-ordering the Middle East after the September 11, 2001 attacks and the subsequent rise of nationalism and Islam in Turkey and across the region. In response to this interaction, scholarly interests in the past and present relationship of the "two worlds" (Christian/West versus Muslim/Middle East) developed very rapidly. This resulted in writings about various topics in Turkey, some of which covered missionary movements. Above all, controversial policies of some of the European countries, such as France, Belgium, and Germany, against the accession process of Turkey to the European Union inevitably led to the rise of nationalism, or as called by some today, "ultra nationalism" in Turkey. This, as well, became a further practical reason for the general interest of the public in nationalist publications. These publications include topics based on and related to the missionaries and their on-going activities in the former Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey.

Similar to the earlier generations of the 1930s and 1960s, the authors of these abundant interpretations also share a common way of seeing and understanding the missionaries and their roles in history. Collectively, most of the works label the missionaries as the agents and/or the cultural or imperial ambassadors of the major powers in the world today. For

instance, in the presentation section of the new edition (2001) of Samiha Ayverdi's work, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, Dr. Orhan Seyfi Yücetürk argues that recently missionaries rediscovered the vacuum in Turkey because of the crises within Islamic and national cultural life. This, therefore encouraged the missionaries to fill the gap and work among the Turks. According to him, proselytizing among the Turks forms a danger to national unity. This development shows that missionaries have imperialist agendas in conjunction with religious purposes. The purpose of missionary activities in Yücetürk's view displays special economic, political, and cultural circumstances. He also argues that missionaries are always working with Churches, states, political establishments, and industrialists for greater purposes. Consequently, he suggests it should be the obligation of every intellectual and sincere Muslim Turk to stand against missionaries today.²⁴

In his comprehensive work on American missionary activities in Harput (Mamuratül-Aziz) and their activities on a micro level, *Amerikalıların Harput'taki Misyonerlik Faliyetleri*, Erdal Açıkses also sees the missionaries as tools and vehicles of Western powers. He states that throughout history, missionaries

²⁴ Ayverdi, *Misyonerlik Karşısında Türkiye*, 3-6.

were used as tools by various states which had influences over the educational, cultural, political, and social structure of Turkey. Furthermore, he notes his belief that it is now impossible to say that Christian countries did not succeed in their ambitions.²⁵

In 2004, another new work was added to the growing debate on missionaries in Turkey: *Küresel Vaftiz: Misyoner Örgütlerin Türkiye ve Türk Cumhuriyetlerini Hıristiyanlaştırma Operasyonu*, by Ali Rıza Baysan. In his work, Baysan argues that in reality, there is not any "naïve" Christian individual who likes to share his/her truths with us in the name of mission today. As he states, we are not confronted with individuals as "missionaries" alone; to the contrary, we are faced with missionary institutions in general as collective organizations. He writes that alongside their religious activities, missionary organizations work strategically and systematically in political, economic, social, and cultural areas. "Global giants" (he means major political powers) provide all kinds of logistic support to missionary institutions in foreign lands. To support his argument, he sketches the connections of all of the

²⁵ Erdal Açıkşes, *Amerikalıların Harput'taki Misyonerlik Faliyetleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2003), acknowledgement, VII-VIII.

participants in this network of interests and presents his evidence.

According to Baysan, missionary organizations came to the Turkish Republic during five historical periods. The first of them was after World War II, through the process of the Marshall Aid Program of 1948. The second period in which missionaries entered Turkey freely was in the time of Turgut Özal's economic opening of policies to the West during the 1980s. This period, Baysan notes, witnessed the restorations of many Protestant and Catholic churches across Turkey, as Turkey developed and increased its contacts further with the West. The third phase of missionary activities in Turkey occurred right after the earthquake in 1999, under the aid process to the victims of this tragic incident. The fourth stage was in the course of religious tourism to the ancient Christian lands in 2000 and 2001, in which missionaries found ways to reach Turkey. The last step, he points out, is now taking place during the integration and negotiation process of Turkey with the EU.²⁶

²⁶ Ali Rıza Bayzan, *Küresel Vaftiz: Misyoner Örgütlerin Türkiye ve Türk Cumhuriyetlerini Hıristiyanlaştırma Operasyonu*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: IQ Kültürsanat Yayıncılık, 2004), 8-12.

In 2005, many new books and articles were published in relation to missionaries and their roles in Turkey. They primarily deal with various missionary groups and their activities in historical and contemporary perspectives. In his work, *Dünü, Bugünü, İçyüzü ve Perde Arkasıyla Türkiye’de Misyonerlik*, Uğur Yıldırım looks at Protestant missionary activities in general, stating they are supported by the States and the European Union today. He specifically stresses the religious activities of missionaries, their home Churches across Turkey, the activities of the Vatican in Turkey, and the project commonly called today as “inter-religious dialogue.” According to him, missionary activities have never been a religious matter alone in any period of history. Missionary organizations were first used during the attempts by the Crusaders to persecute the Turks of Anatolia. Then they were employed under the patronage and orders of occupying powers during the independence war of Turks in the early twentieth century, and finally, now, they are working as the agents of the West. Missionaries are an integral part of Western policies and strategies over Turkey. Throughout their history, he notes, missionary organizations marched side by side together with the exploitation process. They are backed and supported by the intelligence services of the imperialistic powers and multinational partnerships and companies. It is

totally a political matter, he suggests, and notes that it is directly interrelated to the very national security of Turkey today. Missionaries today, Yıldırım points out work not for the creation of new minorities through converts, but rather work for the construction and the formation of "Christian and Protestant Turks" who indeed belong to the West with all the rights and privileges entitled to them by Turkish citizenship.²⁷

Also in 2005, a new edited work was published as an outcome of the papers presented in a conference called "Missionary Activities in Turkey." The conference was organized by the Islamic Science Research Institute in Istanbul and held on April 17-18, 2004. Edited by Prof. Dr. Ömer Faruk Harman, *Türkiye'de Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* contains thirteen papers delivered in the conference together with discussion parts for each paper. In a two-day conference, participants presented their papers and discussed various topics, such as Missionary in General, Changes on Missionary Methods, Past and Present of Catholic Missionary against Turkey, Orthodox and Protestant Missionary Activities in Turkey, Mormons and their Church, Missionary Activities against the Minorities in Turkey, Missionary Understanding of Judaism,

²⁷ Uğur Yıldırım, *Dünü, Bugünü, İçyüzü ve Perde Arkasıyla Türkiye'de Misyonerlik* (İstanbul: Otopsi Yayınları, 2005), 15-16.

Bahaism (a Persian Sect in Islam) and Bahai Activities in Turkey, Activities of Religions in Turkey originating from India, Working methods of Missionaries, Socio-physiological Reasons for Converting to other Religions, and Missionary Activities and our youth.

Most of the papers were based on a variety of archival and secondary sources. The conference presents us with a large number of papers and wide range of topics with respect to missionary activities in Turkey. Based on their arguments, findings, and proofs, most of the papers view the missionaries as the agents of imperial designs in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey. Missionaries are not seen as men of religion who are teaching their own truths to the others, but are also charged with working collectively for other ends. As Prof. Dr. Abdurrahman Küçük argues, missionaries appear sometimes as academicians, sometimes as men of religion, sometimes as military personnel, sometimes as members of medical units, even as peasants. They sometimes go to foreign lands as aid workers, experts on earthquake relief efforts, as members of the press, and sometimes as peace advocates. Moreover, they do not go to these places accidentally, according to him. He points out that everything is based on plans which date back to the 1640s to conquer the Turkish nation from the inside through missionary

activities. According to him, missionaries work for and dream of a Muslim world without Turks, a Turkic world without Turkey, and a Turkish nation without Islam.²⁸

The analysis of the afore-mentioned articles and books shows how Turkish writing on missionaries developed chronologically and contextually over the years. Specific focus was given to publications over three periods above, (1930s, 1960s, and early 2000s), demonstrating that these works represent the general literature on missionaries in modern Turkey. These are continuities in the approaches of Turkish literature to the roles of missionaries. Although few writings are sympathetic to the missionaries, the corpus of writings on missionaries in Turkey has been formed with nationalistic sentiments. They are colored with nationalist sentiments across a broad spectrum for various, complex reasons. Writings on missionaries over the last seventy years and their roles in history developed chronologically and contextually but their method of seeing the missionaries in history echo through Turkish scholarship today.

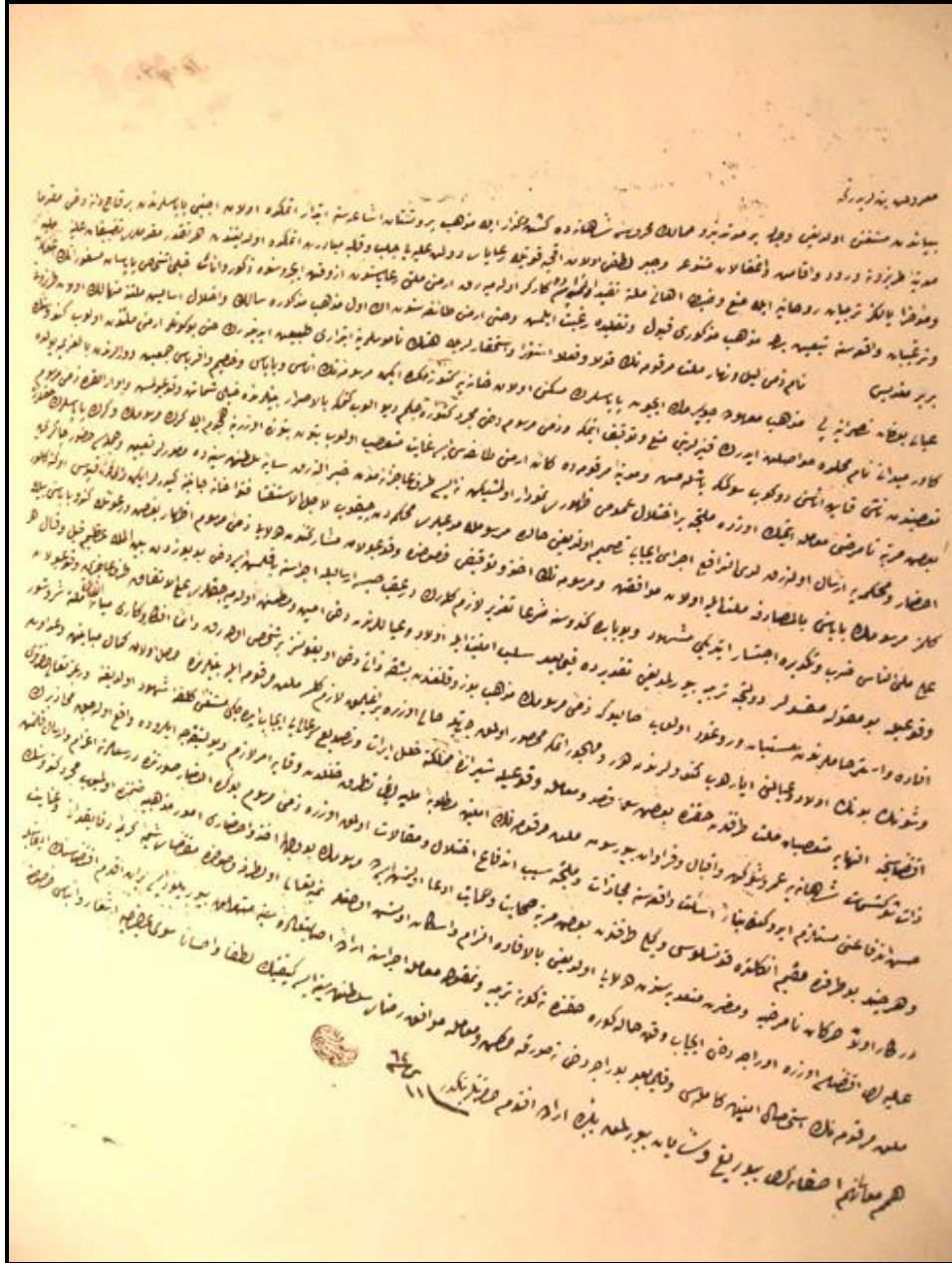
²⁸ Ömer Faruk Harman, ed., *Türkiye’de Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri* (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2005), 39-59.

Appendix

Sources from the Prime Ministerial Ottoman Archives

(Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu)

Istanbul/ Turkey



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 11/Ş/ 1262 (Hicri), Dosya No: 13, Gömlek No: 18, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Trabzon'daki Protestan papazların aracılığıyla mezhebini değiştiren Ermeni Berber Mağdiş'in, uygunsuz hareketlerinden dolayı Dersaadet'e gönderileceği.

Maruz-ı bendeleridirki

Beyandan müstefni olduğu vechle bir müddetten beri memalik-i mahrusa-i şahanede küşad gûzar ile mezheb-i Protestan işaasına ibtidar etmekte olan ecnebi papaslardan birkaç tane dahi mukaddema Medine-i Trabzona vürud ve ikamet ve iğfalat-ı mütenevvi' ve cebr-i tütüf olan akçe kuvvetiyle reayat-ı devlet-i aliyeyi celb ve kalb mübaderet etmekte olduğundan her ne kadar mukaddemleri tazyikat-ı aleniye ve muahharen yalnız terbiyat-ı ruhaniye ile men' ve zabt ahali-i millete tekayyüd olunmuş ise de karger olamayarak Ermeni milleti reayasından az vakit içinde zûkur ve inas hayli eşhas Papasan-ı mesfuratın gafelat ve tergibat-ı vakiasına tabiyyet Protestan mezheb-i mezkuru kabul ve taklide rağbet eylemiş ve hatta Ermeni taifesinden en evvel mezheb-i mezkure salık ve ihlal-i asayiş-i milletine mütehallik olan Trabzonlu Mağdiş nam zimmi leyl ü nehhar millet-i merkumenin kaville ve fiilla istihza ve istihkarlarıyla hetk namuslarına ibtidarı tabiyat edinilerek hatta bu günler Ermeni milletinden olub kendüsünün iyalı bulunan nasraniyeyi mezheb-i mahuda çevirmek için papazların meskeni olan haneye götürmekte iken mersumenin anası ve babası ve hısım ve akrabası cemiyet-i devaranlarından ...? yolda Gavur meydanı nam mahalde muvasalat ederek kızlarını men ve tevkif etmeğe ve zimmi mersum dahi mücerred götürceğim deyü alub gitmeğe bil-ısrar beyinlerinde hayli ...? vukubulmuş ve o aralıkda dahi mersum taassubundan naşi kaynanasını döğüb söğmekle başlamış ve Medine-i merkumede kain Ermeni taifesi ise gayet mutaassub olub bütün bütüne üzerine hücum ile gerek mersumun ve gerek papazların haklarında bazı mertebe na-marzi muamele etmek üzre milletce bir ihlal-ı umumi zuhuru namudar olmuşken ne ise taraf-ı acizanemden haber alınarak saye-i saltanat-ı seniyyede memurlar tayin ve cümlesi huzur-ı çakeriye ihzar ve mahkemeye irsal olunarak ledet-...? icrayı icabı tasmin olunduğu halde mersumle müddeileri mahkameden çıkub li-eclül-istifna fetvahane canibine giderler iken ..? kapısı önüne gelür gelmez mersumun babasını bil-müsadife millet ile olan muvafakat ve mersumenin ahz ve tevkifi hususunda vukubulan ...? dolayı zimmi mersum izhar bazı ...? kendü babasını bile ali milel-nas darb ve tekdire ictisar ettiği meşhur ve bu babda kendüsüne şer'a takdir lazım gelerek derakib habse irsaliyle icrasına bakılmış ise dahi bu yüzden ...? azim kıl u kâl vukuyula bu makule müfsidler devletçe terbiye buyrulmadığı takdirde fimabaad selb-i emniyet ile evlad ve iyallarından dahi emin olamayacakları alel-ittifak taraf-ı aciziyeme vukubulan ifade ve istirhamlarından müsteban-ı ..? olub halbuki zimmi mersumun mezheb bozukluğundan başka

zâtı dahi uygunsuz bir şahıs olarak daima efkar ve kârı miyanül-...? millete ...? ve şunun bunun evlad ve iyalini ayardub kendülerinden ...? etmeğe mahsur olmak cihetiyle hali üzre bırakılmak lazım gelse millet-i merkume ile beyinlerinde hasıl olan kemal-i miyanet ve adavat iktizasınca inhaya mutaassubat-ı millet tarafından hakkında bazı suîkâs ve muamele vukuyla şirazie-i memlekete helal-i iras ve ..? ser aliyeyi icab edeceği müstagni ..? meşhud olduğuna ve rabbimiz teala hazretleri zat-ı şevket simat şahaneye ömr ü şevket ve ikbal ve feravat buyursun millet-i merkumenin emniye-i matlube-i milliyelerini tatarruk-ı helalden vikaye emr-i lazım ve politikaca ilerüde vaki olacak mahazirlerin hüsnî endafini müstelzim idüğüne binaen asayiş vakiasına mücazat ve milletce sebep-i endafi' ihtilal ve makalat olmak üzre zimmi mersum bu kere ihzar suretinde Dersaadete izam ve irsal kılınmış ve her çend bu tarafda mukim İngiltere konsolosu vekili tarafından bazı mertebe sahabet ve himayet iddia olunmuş ise de mersumun bu vechle ahz ve ihzarı umur-ı mezhebiye zımnında olmayub mücerred kendüsünün dergar olan hareket-ı namarziye ve muzırrat-ı maneviyesinden dolayı olduğu bil-ifade elzam ve iskân olunmuş olmakla bi-nimet-i teala ol tarafa vüsulünde muktezası? ve inayet-i aliyeleri iktizası üzre oraca dahi icab-ı vakit hale göre hakkında ne güne terbiye ve namakule muamele icrasına irade-i ...? mütallik buyrulur ise bir an akdem iktizasının ifasıyla millet-i merkumenin istihsal-i emniyet-i kamilesi ve fimabaad buraca dahi ne suretle hareket ve muamele muvaffak rızayı saltanat-ı seniyye ise keyfiyetin lütf ve ihsanı suî aciziye işar ve inbası hususuna himem ..? asafilere bi-dirğ ve şayan buyrulmak babında irade efendim hazretlerininindir.

11 Ş 62 / 4 Ağustos 1842 / August 04, 1842.

موسیٰ جان و صفای حضرتی
 شکر تو مرا بنویس که منو عظمت تو قدرت تو و نفعت خلق عالم و سبب اسیر کافه ام پادشاه عالمیناه
 و معبود و منعم و ملوک و زبیر فاطمه اگر او در موه و حفظ بیور و اعلا بدو اهل به مقرر و منعم ایلیوب اربک سر بخت سبزه و انعم
 ایلیوب جمله بزرگه او در زرع سایه ایلیم امیرم امیر مبارک و کاب قرین و ملوک زربن عرضهای نصرت جابر بر در که بوجای برای اطریا وادی مکلفه
 و تعلیم ابدی الفارک رعایای فقر جابر زنده اولوب او غلوم اوسطول و تعلقاته عجز زده یورکی زنی قولدی کند و حالیه مقید خلوق
 رضایت بر کونا مرکانلری اولوب سایه اصنافه هیز شیشه هیز بر طرفه تعدی و تجبیت ایجت اینز الیم او غلوم و رسوم یورکی
 زنی قولدی بر سنه دینرو انجیلی شریفی قرائت ایتک او زده پروستانه تعبیر اولور ملت مزکور و نه اولوب ملایم سله قرین فریور جورابی
 ک موسی زنی قولدی بغیر صفت ضابطه اشتکایله منزل عجزانی با صبر و حریب قرائت ایلدیک کنا بلدی کورن بوجه ارامه سودا سله
 صغیر اولادیم ایاو انس با صلمتی اولد یقنده مصمم بیچاره تلف نفس اولوب مرصوم اشتکایله بنی او غلوم و تعلقاته عجز
 ایکی نفر مرصوملری بد گرفت ضابطه نه قسماً در سعادته ارسال اولد و ده روم بطریقانه سنه محیوس اولد قریبی استماع عجزانه
 بناء بوجای لری بالیم ایاو اصعب جلاوه سافه بعیده دن بالورود بطریقانه طرفندن سوال اولمنی ابرم بر وجه قنق طرف
 محیوس ایلد کربنی جواب و بر مد کلز در ماه دینرو در سعادته غریب الدیاد فقید الحالی فاحش اولد یقندن صرف و نظر مرصوم او غلوم
 قولدینی بلوب ملاتی اولد مدبغم مطعم عالم ارای ملوک لری بیور لوق ملاحم علم جرایز ایلر زنده مرصوم که مقدماً استدعا عجزانی
 ضابطه تفصیلاً عرضهای عاجزانم مراحماد ملوک لری اوزانده مرصوم او غلوم قولدی بطریقانه معرفت بالیقینه و صغیر اولادیم
 قولدینک تلف نفسنه باری قرین مرقوم جورابی موسی زنی قولدی لاجل الترافع در سعادته اخضاری خصوصه متعلقه بیور بلان
 ارام مراحم ملوک لری اوزانده فضا فریور مدبرینه مطاباً بر فطم اموش غایت واصافه بیور لری نیازم بایت امرو زنده هیز شکر
 مرا بنویس که منو عظمت تو قدرت تو و نفعت خلق عالم پادشاه عالمیناه افدز حضرت بنکدر

افدز
 حضرت بنک مبارک و جود

اطه ناوار و معکم لری
 و سمود عجز
 ملایم

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 27/Ca/1262 (Hicri), Dosya No: 12, Gömlek No: 75, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
 Apostol ve Yorgi'nin Protestan mezhebine girdiklerinden dolayı zabıta ile
 evrerini basıp tutuklattıran Musa isimli Kocabaşın İstanbul'a getirilmesi.

Hak-ı sübhane ve teala hazretleri

Şevketlü merhametlü keametlü azimetlü kudretlü kuvvetlü veliün-
 nimet halk-ı alem ve sebeb asayiş ve kaffe-i ..? padişahi alempenah
 efendimiz hazretlerinin mübarek vücud ve mesud merhametlü ve
 mülükanelerin katıbeten ..? masun ve hıfz buyurub ida-yı yed-i
 sevahibelerin makhud-ı münhezim eylüb ..? serir-i saltanatı
 seniyyelerinde daim ve sebat eyleüb cümle bendegan üzerlerinde sayeban
 eyleye amin süm-i amin mübarek kamertab-ı mülükanelerine arzuhal-ı
 nasraniye cariyeleridirki, bu cariyeyeleri Adapazarı
 mütemekkinlerinden devlet-i aliye abdül-kararın reayası fukara
 cariyelerinden olub oğlum Apostol ve taallukat-ı aciziden Yorgi zimmi
 kulları kendü haliyle mukayyed hilaf-ı rızayı ali bir guna hareketleri

olmayub saye-i ihsan vaye-i hazreti şehinşahide bir taraftan taaddi ve rencide icab etmez iken oğlum ve mersum Yorgi zimmi kulları bir seneden beri incili şerifi kıraat etmek üzere Protestan tabir olunur millet-i mezkurden olmak mülabesesiyle karye-i mezbur Kocabaşı Musa zimmi kulları bi-gayri hak ...? zabıta iştikasıyla menzil-i acizanemi basdırub kıraat eylediği kitablari köşe bucak aramak sevdasıyla sagir evladım ayak altında basılmış olduğundan masum-ı biçare telef-i nefis olub mersumun iştikasına mebni oğlum ve taallukat-ı acizi iki nefer mersumları yed-i girift zabıtana teslimen Dersaadete irsal olunarak Rum patrikhanesine mahpus olduklarını istima'-ı acizaneme binaen bu cariyeleri yalın ayak açık çıplak mesafe-i baideden bil-vürud patrikhane tarafından sual olunmuş isem de ber vechle kangı tarafda mahpus eylediklerini cevap vermediklerinden dört mahdan berü Dersadette garibü'l-diyar fakirü'l-hal kalmış olduğumdan sarf u nazar mersum oğlum kullarını bulub mülakı olunamadığım muhataalem-alim edayı mülükaneleri buyruldukda merahim-i aliye cihandarilerinden mercudurki mukaddeman istida'-ı acizanem zayinden tafsilen arzuhal-ı acizanem merahimen mülükaneleri irzanıyla mersum oğlum kulları patrikhane marifetiyle bit-tahkik ve sagir-i evladım kullarının telef-i nefsine badi karye-i merkur Kocabaşı Musa zimmi kulları li-eclüt-terafi Dersaadete ihzarı hususuna müteallik buyrulan irade-i merahim-i mülükaneleri irzanıyla kaza-i mezbur müdürüne hitaben bir kıt'a emr-i ali inayet ve ihsan buyrulmak niyazım babında emrü ferman şevketlü merhametlü kerametlü azimetlü kudretlü kuvvetlü veliün-nimet halk-ı alem padişah-ı alempenah efendimiz hazretlerininindirki.

27 Ca 1262 / 23 Mayıs 1846 / May 23, 1846.

Adapazarı mütemekkinlerinden ..? nasara cariyeleri

افتم ستم

دولتو غنايدو مزبور منو ابرو و انم كنير اللطف والكرم
 عرضي دضمانه جادو درودكم بوجاهه لري اطر يازاري متكمه لرزه او غللم ملت دوم پروتستانه طائفه سنده نجا روه مضيقه مألوف اولوب
 اولاد عيال قوللر به سايه شاهانم كنجي كندى مانده اهل عرضي كوهنده اولوب بيله بر طرفه نعدى و رنجي اينز ايكه قريه مزبور جور باجبي
 مغنيسي نيم زى طائفه مرقومده اولديغه بغير موصومت و عرضي نقصانيت اجراسيله قفلياً منزل عجزانم باصوب او غللم قوللر بيله
 دروست و بذكرت قصيده هجيم ابلديكن مرسومك صغير اولادي طورونم بيجاه قوللر بليك قاديونده باصوب تلف نفس اينم اولديغنده
 بشقه هبر در لبريز اياه السنه عرضي كثر قريه بيجاه قاضي اولديغنده در باره القزار بالورور ملحجه بناه جميع المحتاجه اولدره
 شاهانم تقديم اولنه عرضي اعزازم جور باج مرسومك در عليه نعل الترافيق امضاي نيازنده عبارته اولمغه اولباريه ساعه
 مرسومك صفهان لري ارزاييله مرسوم قوللر بليك در عليه امضاي خصوصيت فطير و تسير بيور بلاده امرانم سبك جواحي و دروينه
 مقرر اولره اقتدار حاكم اجنبي منزل لري بستي ماهدينرو هابن حاكم اولدره صبي صبيانه امورك رؤيت ابره حاكم كنه لرزه
 اولديغنده خلوق رضاي عن مغاير تنظيمه خبر مرسومك بغير موصومت تلف نفس ابلديكي صبي قوللر بليك بر ناله شرعي ترافيق احضار صو
 اولمغه خصوصيه دائر امرانم رسمي فطير خصوص مزبورك اجراسي عدالته بر خصوص مرسومك لرزه مخصوص اوبابيه وهالده
 امرو فطيره و الامرو الاصلانك

امام
 اطر يازاري
 رسمه
 دربار
 حاكم
 ر

Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 25/M/1263 (Hicri), Dosya No: 16, Gömlek No: 19, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
 Adapazarlı tüccar Apostol'un Protestanlığı kabulü sebebiyle evini basıp
 oğlunu öldüren Mağnisi isimli kocabaşın muhakeme edilmek üzere Dersaadet'e
 gönderilmesi.

Devletlü inayetlü mezid-i merhametlü übbehetlü velün-nam kesirül-lütף
 vel-kerem efendim sultanın hazretleri devlet-i ikba l ile sağ olsun

Arzuhal-ı nasraniye cariyeleridirki, bu cariyeleri Adapazarı
 mütemekkinlerinden oğlum millet-i Rum Protestan taifesinden tüccarlık
 sanatıyla meluf olub evlad-ı iyal kullarıyla saye-i şahanede geçünüb
 kendi halinde ehl-i ırz güruhundan ol vechle bir taraftan ta'addi ve
 rencide etmez iken karye-i mezbur Kocabaşı Mağnisi nam zimmi taife-i
 merkumdan olduğuna bi-gayri hak husumet ve garaz-ı nefسانيyet
 icrasıyla tagallüban menzil-i acizanem basub oğlum kullarını cebren
 derdest ve bend-i girift kasdıyla hücum eylediğinde mersumun sagir
 evladı torunum biçare kullarının karnından basub telef etmiş

olduğundan başka her birilerimiz ayak altında arz-ı kesir içinde kalmış olduğumuz ecilden derbar adül-tekrare bil-vürud melce-i penah cem'ü'l-muhtacin olan rikab-ı şahaneye takdim olunan arzuhal-ı acizanem Kocabaşı mersumun der-aliyeye ihzarı niyazından ibaret olmakla ol babda müsaade merhametade ...? irzanıyla mersum kullarının deraliyeye ihzarı hususunda tastir ve tesyir buyrulan emirname-i saminin cevabı vüruduna muntazır olarak ihtiyare halimde ecnebi menzillerinde beş mahdan berü saib ..? ol tarafa sıbyan-ı umurun ruiyet edecek kimesnelerimiz olmadığından hilaf-ı rıza-yı ali mugayir-i Tanzimat-ı Hayriye mersumun bi-gayri hak telef-i nefis eylediği sabi kullarının ber-nehcü şer'i şerafi ihkak-ı hak olunmak hususuna dair emirname-i sami tastiri hususu mezburun icrası adaletten ber-husus merhamet-kararelerine mahsus ol babda ve her halde emrû ferman hazreti menlehül-emrindir.

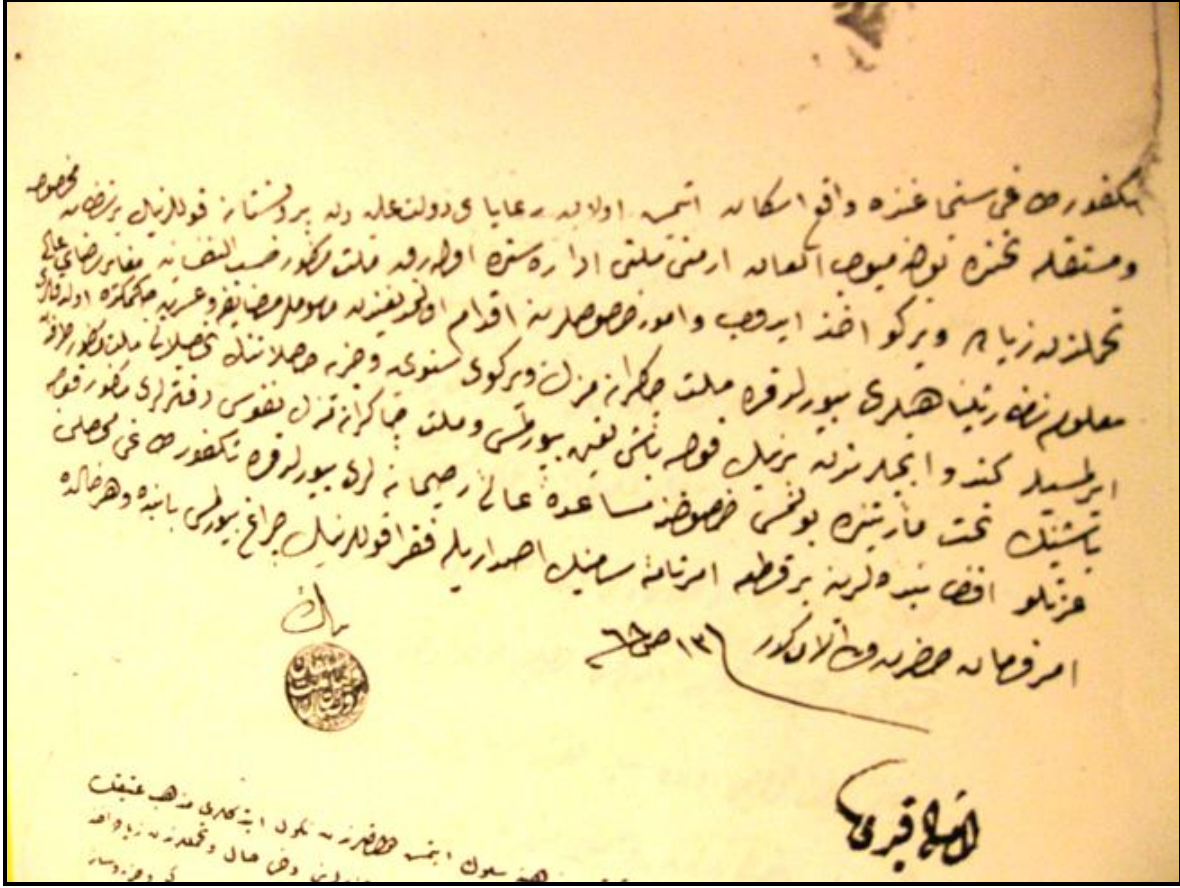
25 M 1263 / 13 Ocak 1847 / January 13, 2009.

Adapazarlı ..? nasraniye cariyeleri

Ankara valisine

Kayseriye'de mütemekkin Protestan taifesi tarafından bu kere takdim olunan mazbata-ı arzuhal mealinde merkumların mezheb-i mezkuru ihtiyar etmelerinden dolayı Ermeni milleti tarafından kendülerine daima izhar bi-garz ve adavet olunmakda olduğundan bunun men ve defiyle birinin ahar hakkında olan kefaleti dahi kabul olunması ve haklarında himayet ve sahabet-i muktaziyenin ifası hususu niyaz ve istirham olunmuş olub bunun emsali olarak Dersaadette dahi Ermeni milletinden bir takım kesan Protestan tarafına salık olmuş ol tarafta bundan akdem kendüleri patrik tarafından aforoz olunmuş olduklarından sair Ermeniler kendüleriyle muamele-i ahz ve itadan ve haklarında kefalet icrasına istinkaf etmekte oldukları misüllu milel-i saireden erae eyledikleri kefalet dahi kabul olunmadığı cihetle mersumların kâr ve kisblerine durgunluk gelmiş dükkanları kapanmış olduğundan ve eğerçi patrikin haklarında mezhebberince icra eylediği tevbihacat ve bina-berrin sair Ermenilerin kendüleriyle ahz ve ita edememelerine ve kefil olamamalarına bir şey denilmez ise de ziyadece olan umurlarında düçar-ı muzayika ve rencide olubda devlet tarafından dahi bazı mertebe teshilat görememeleri layık-ı adalet-i seniyye olmadığından mesalih-i ...? ve zatiyelerine müdahale ettirilmemesi patrik mümaileyh tarafına ve bunlar milel-i saireden muteber kefil gösterdikleri halde kabul olunarak kisb ve tayinatlarıyla iştigallarına ..? olunmaması dahi ihtisab nezaretine irade-i seniyye tevciye olunmuş olduğundan taraf-ı sakinlerinden dahi bu usule gidilerek bunlardan ol tarafda mahbus olubda sair milletlerden kefil gösterenleri bulunduğu surette tahliye sebepleri ve ticaret ve sair bir maslahat ile bir yere gidecek olanlara dahi yekdiğeri kefaletle tezkire verilmesi velhasıl taife-i merkume tebaa-ı hazreti şahaneden bulunduğundan bunlar haklarında dahi sair sınıf-ı tebaa-i devlet-i aliye misüllu cemaat ve milleteyn lazımesine dahi icrasına ve kâr ve sanatlarıyla iştigallerine gerek Ermeni Karabaş tarafından ve gerek canib-i ahardan müdahale edilmemesine himmet buyruldu.

15 C 1266 / 28 Nisan 1850 / April 28, 1850.



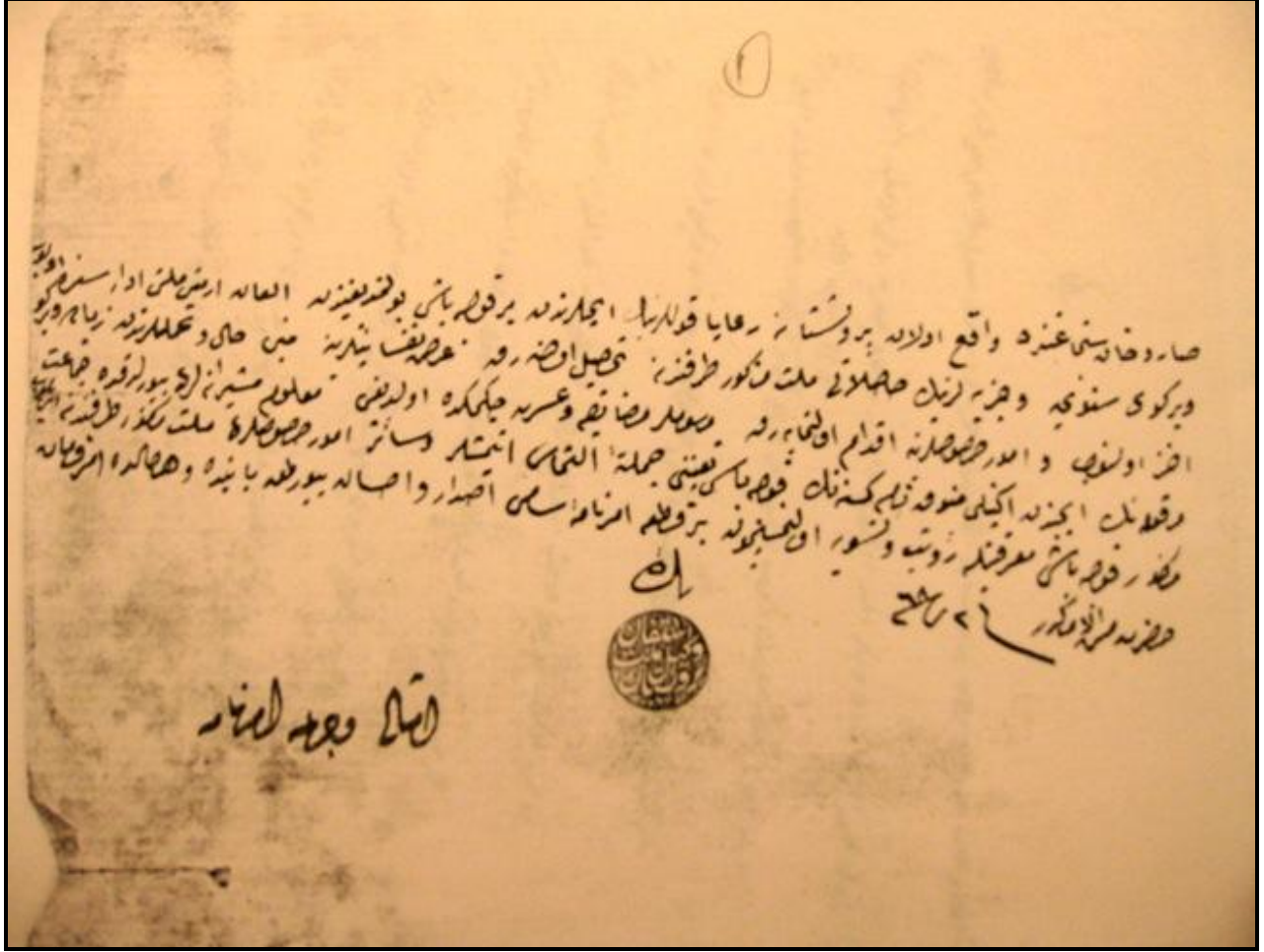
Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 06/Ra/1268 (Hicri), Dosya No: 41, Gömlek No: 39, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
Tekfurdağı'ndaki Protestanlar'ın vergi ve sair işlerinin, Ermeniler'den
ayrılarak, aralarında belirlenecek bir Kocabaşı tarafından yürütülmesi.

Tekfurdağı sancağında vaki iskan etmiş olan reayayı devlet-i aliyyeden Protestan kullarının bir nezaret-i mahsusa ve müstakile tahtında bulunamayub el-an Ermeni milleti idaresinde olarak millet-i mezkur hesabül-nizamiye mugayir rıza-yı ali tahrirattan ziyade vergü ahz edüb ve umur-ı hususlarına ikdam olunmadığından mersumlar muzayika ve usret çekmekte oldukları malum nezaretpenahileri buyruldukda millet-i çakeranemizin vergüyü seneviye ve cizye hasılatının tahsilatı millet-i mezkur tarafından ayrılmasıyla kendü içlerinden birinin kocabaşı tayin buyrulması ve millet-i çakeranemizin nüfus defterleri mezkur kocabaşının taht-ı memuriyetinde bulunması hususuna müsaade-i ali rasihaneleri buyruldukda Tekfurdağı muhassılı izzetlü efendi bendlerine bir kıta emirname-i saminin ısdarıyla fukara kullarının cerağ buyrulması babında ve her halde emrü ferman hazreti menlehül-emrindir.

13 S 68 / 8 Aralık 1851 / December 8, 1851.

Vekil-i millet-i Protestan.



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

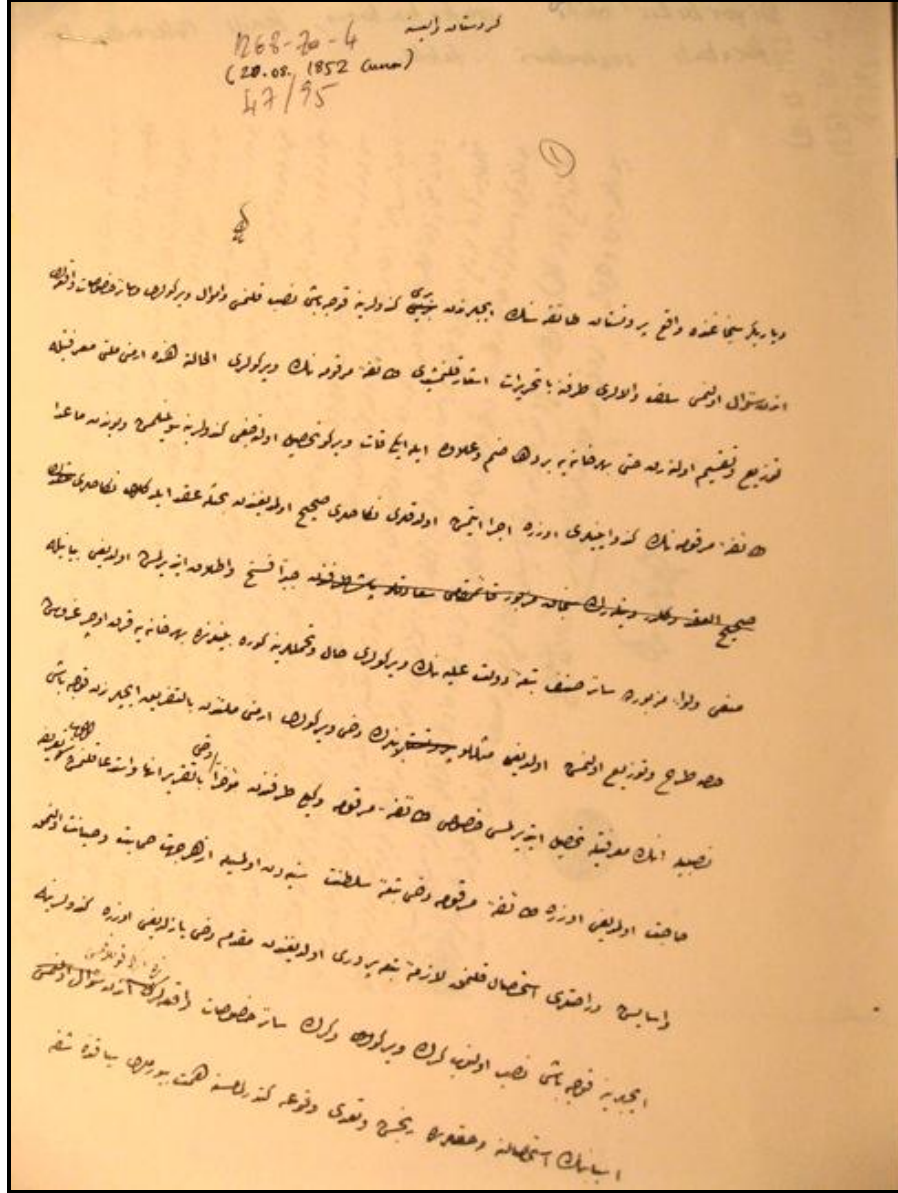
Tarih: 11/R/1268 (Hicri), Dosya No: 42, Gömlek No: 74, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
Saruhan'daki Protestanlar'ın vergi ve cizyelerini toplayan Ermeniler
adaletsiz davrabdıklarından, Protestanlar'ın işlerine bakacak, cizye ve
vergilerini toplamak için Manok'un kocabaşı tayini.

Saruhan sancağında vaki olan Protestan reaya kullarının
içlerinden bir Kocabaş bulunmadığından .? Ermeni milleti idaresinde
olan vergüyü ...? ve cizyelerinin hasılatı millet-i mezkur tarafından
tahsil olunarak arz-ı noksaniyelerine mebni hal ve ..? ziyade vergü

ahz ve olunub ve umur-ı hususlarına ikdam olunmayarak mersumlar muzayıka ve a'seret çekmekte olduğu malum-ı müşiraneleri buyruldukda cemaat-i merkumanın içinden ..? Manuk nam kimesnenin Kocabaş tayini cümleten iltimas etmişler vesair umur-ı hususları millet-i mezkur tarafından ayrulub mezkur Kocabaş marifetiyle rüiyet ve tesviye olunmak için bir kıta emirname-i sami ısdar ve ihsan buyrulmak babında ve her halde emrü ferman hazreti menlehül-emrindir.

11 R 1268 / 3 Şubat 1852 / February 3, 1852.

Vekil-i millet-i Protestan.



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

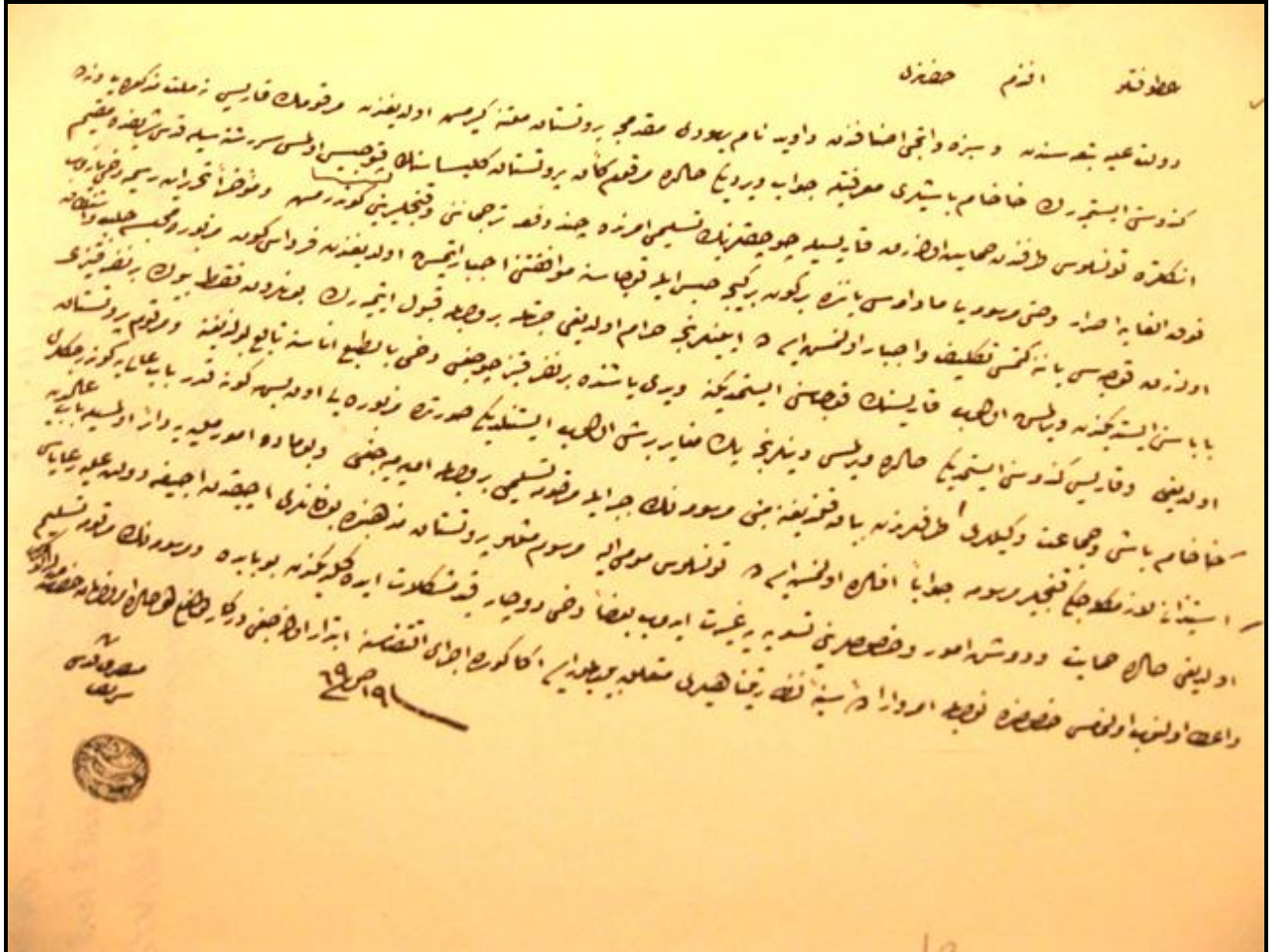
Tarih: 04/Za/1268 (Hicri), Dosya No: 47, Gömlek No: 95, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
Diyarbakır'daki protestanların, kendi içlerinden bir Kocabaş seçmeleri talebi.

Kürdistan valisine

Diyarbakır sancağında vaki Protestan taifesinin içlerinden biri kendülerine Kocabaşı nasb kılınması ve emval vergüleri vesair hususat-ı vakıaları ondan sual olunması selef-i valaları tarafına ba-tahrirat işar kılınmışdı. Taife-i merkumenin vergüleri elhaletü haze Ermeni milleti marifetiyle tevzi' ve taksim olunarak hatta beher haneye bir daha zam ve ilave ile iki kat vergü tahsil olunacağı kendülerine

söylenilmiş ve bundan maada taife-i merkumenin kendü ayinleri üzre icra etmiş oldukları nikahları sahih olmadığından bahisle akd eyledikleri nikahları cebren fesh ve itlak ettirilmiş olduğu beyanıyla men' ve liva-ı mezburde sair sınıf-ı tebaa-i devlet-i aliyenin vergüleri hal ve tahammüllerine göre beyinlerinde beher haneye kırk üçer kuruş hisse tarh ve tevzi' olunmuş olduğu misüllü bunların dahi vergüleri Ermeni milletinden bit-tefrik içlerinden Kocabaş nasbıyla onun marifetiyle tahsil ettirilmesi hususu taife-i merkume vekili tarafından muahharen dahi ba-takrir inha ve istida kılınmış olub tarife hacet olmadığı üzre taife-i merkume dahi tebaa-i saltanatı seniyyeden olmasıyla ezher cihet himayet ve siyanet olunmak ve asayiş ve rahatları istihsal kılınmak lazıme-i tebaa-i perveri olduğundan mukaddem dahi yazıldığı üzre kendülerine içlerine Kocabaş nasb olunub gerek vergüleri ve gerek sair hususat-ı vakıalarında onun kullanılması esbabının istihsaline ve haklarında rencide ve taaddi vukua getirilmemesine himmet buyruldu. Sibakında şukka.

4 Za 1268 / 20 Ağustos 1852 / August 20, 1852.

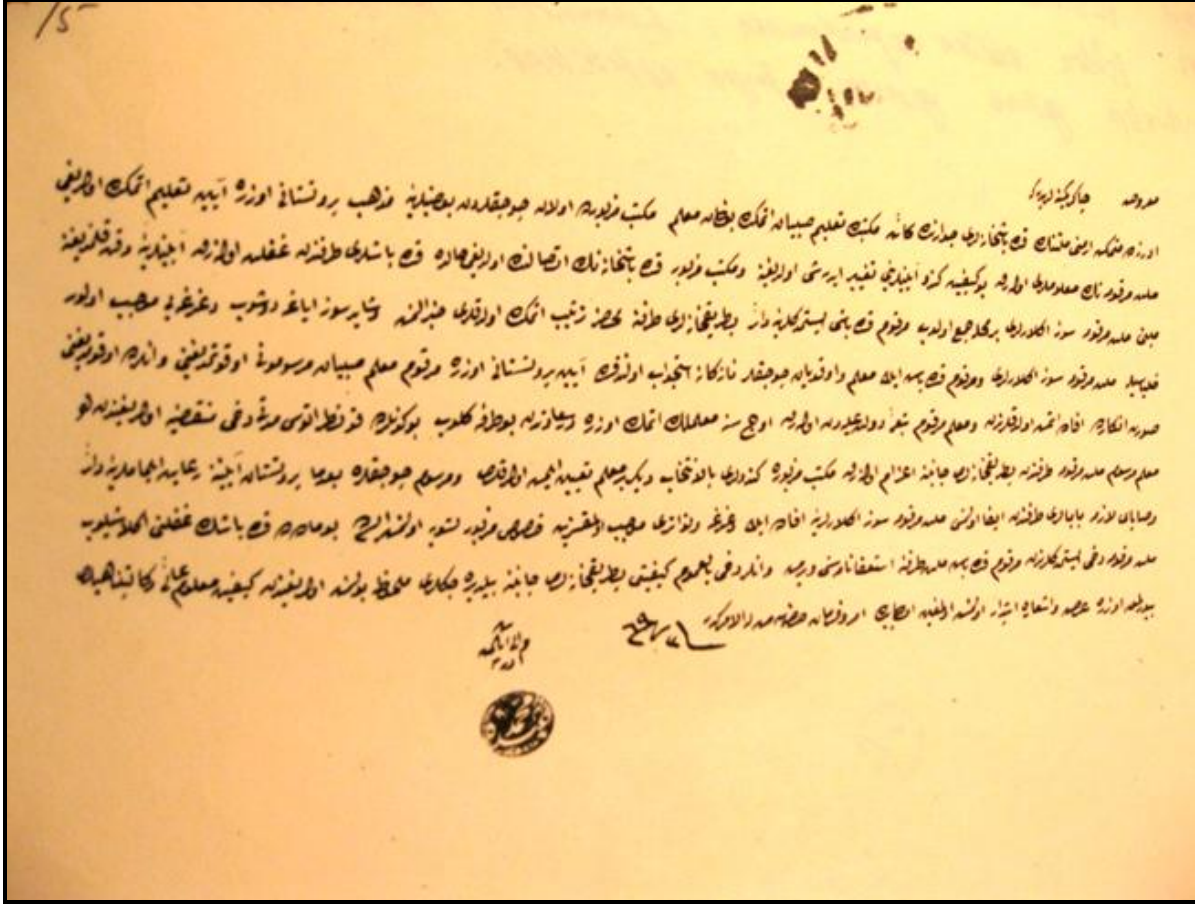


Tarih: 19/S/1269(Hicri) ,Dosya No: 52, G mlek No: 9, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
Sebzeci esnafından Yahudi David Protestan Mezhebi'ne girdiğinden, karısı ve
 ocukları istemedikleri halde kendisine teslim edilip edilmeyeceğinin
bildirilmesi.

Atufetli  efendim hazretleri

Devlet-i aliye tebaasından ve sebze ve et i esnafından David nam
Yahudi mukaddemce Protestan milletine girmiş olduğundan merkumun
karısı ne milleti mezkureye ve ne de kendüs n  istemeyerek
Hahambaşları marifetiyle cevap verdiğı halde merkum kain Protestan
kilisesinin kapucusu olması ser-riştesiyle Kud s-i Şerifde mukim
İngiltere konsolosu tarafından himayet olunarak karısıyla  ocuklarının
teslimi emrinde  end def'a terc manını ve ka çıllarını g ndermiş ve
muahharen tahrirat-ı resmiye dahi yazub fevkalgaye ısrar ve hatta
mersumeyi madaması yanında bir g n bir gece haps ile kocasına
muva fakatını icbar etmiş olduğundan ferdası g n mezbure mabhusa celb
ve istintak olunarak kocası yanına gitmesi teklif ve icbar olunmuş ise
de ayınlerince haram olduğı cihetle ber vechle kabul etmeyerek
bunlardan fakat b y k bir nefer kızı babasını istediğinden verilmiş
olub karısının kocasını istemediğine ve yedi yaşında bir nefer kız
 ocuğı dahi bit-tabi' anasına tabi' olduğuna ve merkum Protestan
olduğı ve karısı kend s n  istemediğı halde verilmesi dinlerince pek
mugayir bir şey olup istenildiğı surette mezbureyi on beş g ne kadar
Babialie g t recekleri Hahambaşı ve cemaat vekilleri taraflarından
beyan kılındığına mebni mersumenin cebr ile merkume teslimi ber vechle
uyamayacağı ve bu madde umur-ı milliyeye dair olmasıyla babialiden
istizanı lazım geleceğı ka çıllar-ı mersume cevaben ifade olunmuş ise
de konsolos-ı m maileyh mersum mis ll  Protestan mezhebinde
bulunanları a ıktan a ığa devlet-i aliye reayası olduğı halde himayet
..? umur ve hususlarını tesviyeye gayret ed b bazen dahi d  ar-ı kayd-
ı m şg lat ide geldiğinden bu babda ve mersumenin merkume teslim ve
ita olunmaması hususunda ne vechle emr  irade seniyye-i
nezaretpenahileri m teallik buyrulur ise ona g re icrayı iktizasına
ibtidar olunacağı dergar olmakla ol halde emr  ferman hazreti
menleh l-emrindir. Mutasarrıf-ı Kud s-i Şerif

19 S 1269 / 2 Aralık 1852 / December 2, 1852.



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

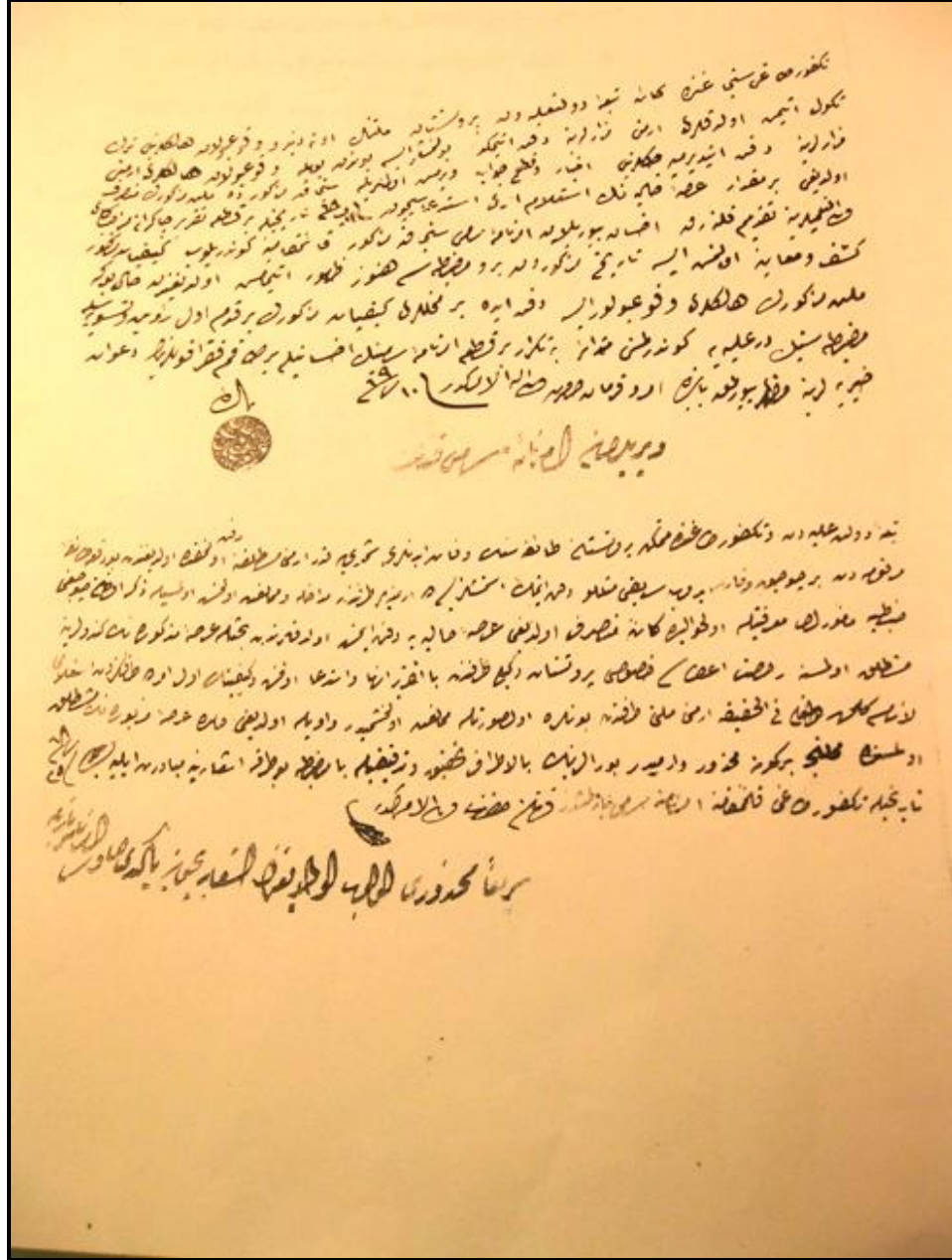
Tarih: 07/R/1269(Hicri) , Dosya No: 55, Gömlek No: 5, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
Ermeni Karabaşhanesi civarındaki Sıbyan Mektebi'nde Protestanlık talim ettiği
iddia edilen öğretmenin, Ermeniler tarafından Patrikhanelerine gönderilip
yerine yenisini tayin ettikleri.

Maruz-ı çaker-i kemineledirki

Edirne'de mütemekkin Ermeni milletinden Karabaşhaneleri civarında kain mektebde talim-i sıbyan etmekte bulunan muallim mekteb-i mezburde olan çocuklardan bazılarına mezheb-i Protestanı üzre ayin-i talim etmekte olduğu millet-i merkumenin malumeleri olarak bu keyfiyet kendü ayinlerini tagyir eder şey olduğuna ve mekteb-i mezbur Karabaşhanenin ittisalinde olduğu halde Karabaşları tarafından gaflet olarak ayinlerine dikkat kılınmadığına mebni millet-i merkume söz anları bir mahalle cem' olub merhum Karabaşı istemediklerine dair patrikhaneleri tarafına mahzar-ı tertib etmekte oldukları haber alınmış ve şayed söz ayağa düşüb dağdağayı muceb olur ..? millet-i merkume söz anları ve merhum Karabaş ile muallim ve okuyan çocuklar

nazgana isticvab olundukda ayin-i Protestanı üzre merkum muallim sıbyan-ı merkumanı okutmadığını ve onlarda okumadığını suret-i efkarda ifade etmiş olduklarından ve muallim-i merkum tebea-i devlet-i aliyeden olarak üç sene muallimlik etmek üzre Dersaadetten bu tarafa gelüb bu günlerde kontratosu müddeti dahi munkaziye olduğundan muallim-i mersum millet-i merkume tarafından patrikhaneleri canibine izam olunarak mekteb-i mezbure kendüleri bil-intihab diğer bir muallim tayin eylemiş oldukları ve mersum çocuklara badema Protestan ayinine riayet eylememelerine dair vesayayı lazıme babaları tarafından ifa olunması millet-i merkume söz anlarlarına ifade ile dağdağa ve tevasiri mucib olmaksızın husus-ı mezbur tesviye olunmuş ise de bu maddede Karabaşın gafleti anlaşılıb millet-i merkume dahi istemediklerinden merkum karabaş millet tarafına istifanamesini vermiş ve onlar dahi bil-umum keyfiyeti patrikhaneleri canibine bildirecekleri melhuz bulunmuş olduğundan keyfiyet-i ..? ali vekalet penahileri buyrulmak üzre arz ve işara ibtidar olunmuş olmağın ol babda emrü ferman hazreti menlehül-emrindir. Vali-i eyalet-i Edirne Abdullah Mehmed.

7 R 1269 / 18 Ocak 1853 / January 18, 1853.



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 25/R/1269 (Hicri), Dosya No: 56, Gömlek No: 51, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
Tekfurdağı'nda ölülerini Ermeni Mezarlığına gömen Protestanlara engel olunup
olunmadığının ve Protestan'lara mezarlık olarak tahsis edilecek arsanın
durumunun tahkik edilmesi.

Tekfurdağı sancağında kain tebaa-i devlet-i aliyyeden Protestan
milletinin öteden berü vukubulan haliklerini terk-i şükul etmiş
oldukları Ermeni mezarlarına defn etmekte bulunmuşlar ise bundan böyle
vukubulan halikleri Ermeni mezarlarına defn ettirmeyeceklerini ihbar

ve kat'-i cevap vermiş olmalarıyla sancak-ı mezkurde millet-i mezkurun mutasarrıf olduğu bir miktar arsa-ı haliyenin istilam eden istida'sı için 13 B 68 tarihiyle bir kıta takrir-i çakeranemiz hakipayı velinimetlerine takdim kılınarak ihsan buyrulan emirname-i sami sancak-ı mezkur kaimakamına gönderülüb keyfiyat-ı mezkur keşf ve muayane olunmuş ise tarih-i mezkurden berü mazbatası henüz zuhur etmemiş olduğundan halbuki millet-i mezkurun halikleri vukubulur ise defn eden bir mahalleri keyfiyat-ı mezkurun bir kadem evvel rüiyet ve tesviyesiyle mazbatasının der-aliyeye gönderilmesini mütedair bir tekrar bir kıta emirname-i saminin ihsanıyla bir takım fukara kullarının davaat-ı hayriyelerine ..? buyrulmak babında emrû ferman hazreti menlehül emrindir.

10 R 69 / 21 Ocak 1853 / January 21, 1853.

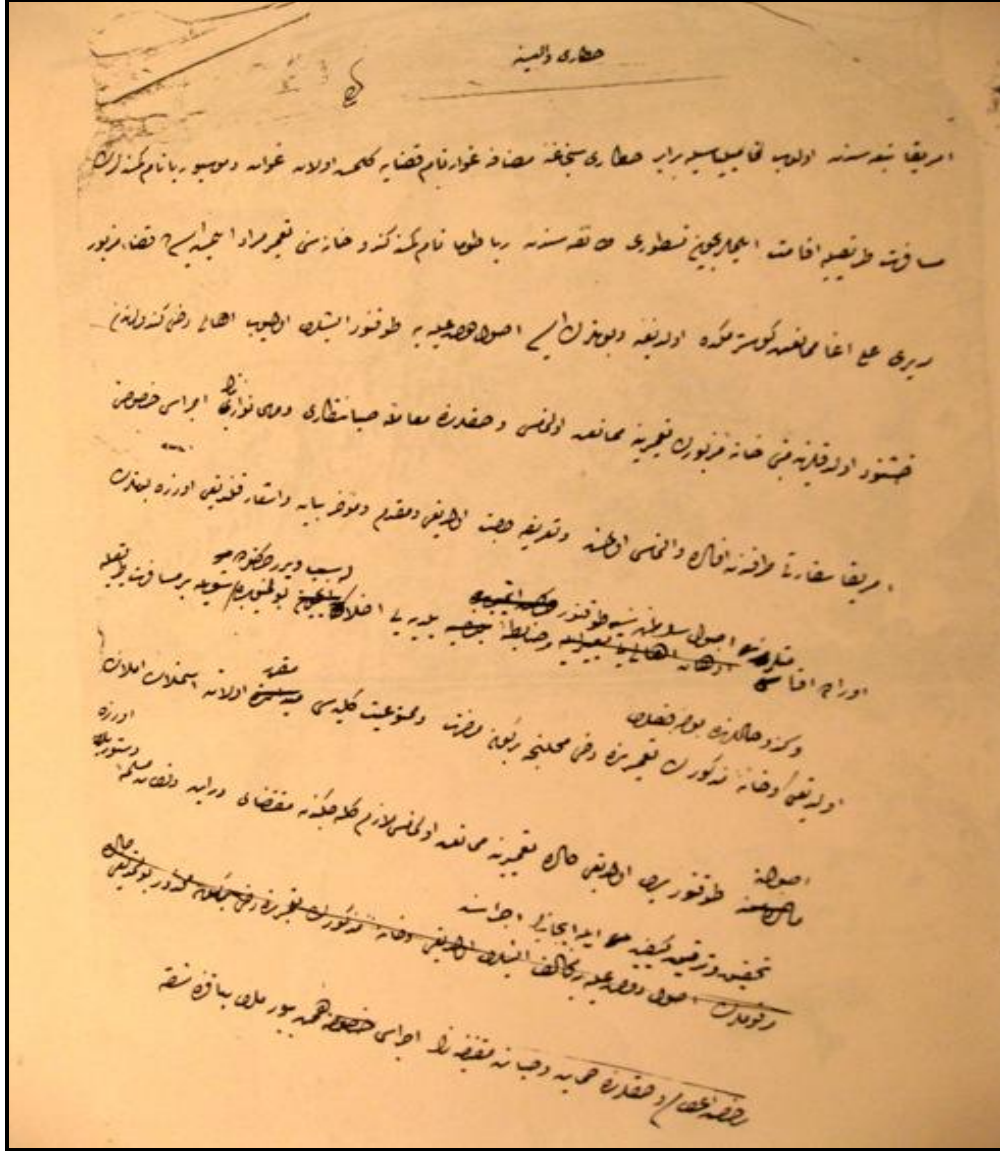
Vekil-i millet-i Protestan

Verilen emirname-i sami suretidir.

Tebaa-i devlet-i aliyyeden ve Tekfurdağında mütemekkin Protestan taifesinin vefad edenleri şimdiye kadar Ermeni ...? defn olunmakda olduğundan bu defa taife-i merkumeden bir çocuk vefad edüb sabıkı misüllü defn etmek istemişler ise de Ermeniler tarafından müdahale ve muhalefet olunmuş olmasıyla zikr olunan çocuğu zabtiye memurları marifetiyle ol havalide kain mutasarrıf olduğu arsa-i haliyaya defn etmiş olduklarından bahisle arsa-i mezkurenin kendülerine ...? olmasına ruhsat itası hususu Protestan vekili tarafından bir-takrir inha ve istida' olunmuş ve keyfiyetin evvel emirde tarafınızdan ihlali lazım gelmiş olmakla fil-hakika Ermeni milleti tarafından bunlara ol suretle mümanaat olunmuşmudur ve öyle olduğu halde arsa-i mezburenin ..? olmasında mahallince bir güne mahzur varmıdır buralarının bil-etraf tahkik ve tedkikiyle ba-mazbata bu tarafa işarına mübaderet eyleyesin.

25 R 69 / 5 Şubat 1853 / February 5, 1853.

Serian mahzuru olub olmadığının işarı için tekidi havi emirname



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

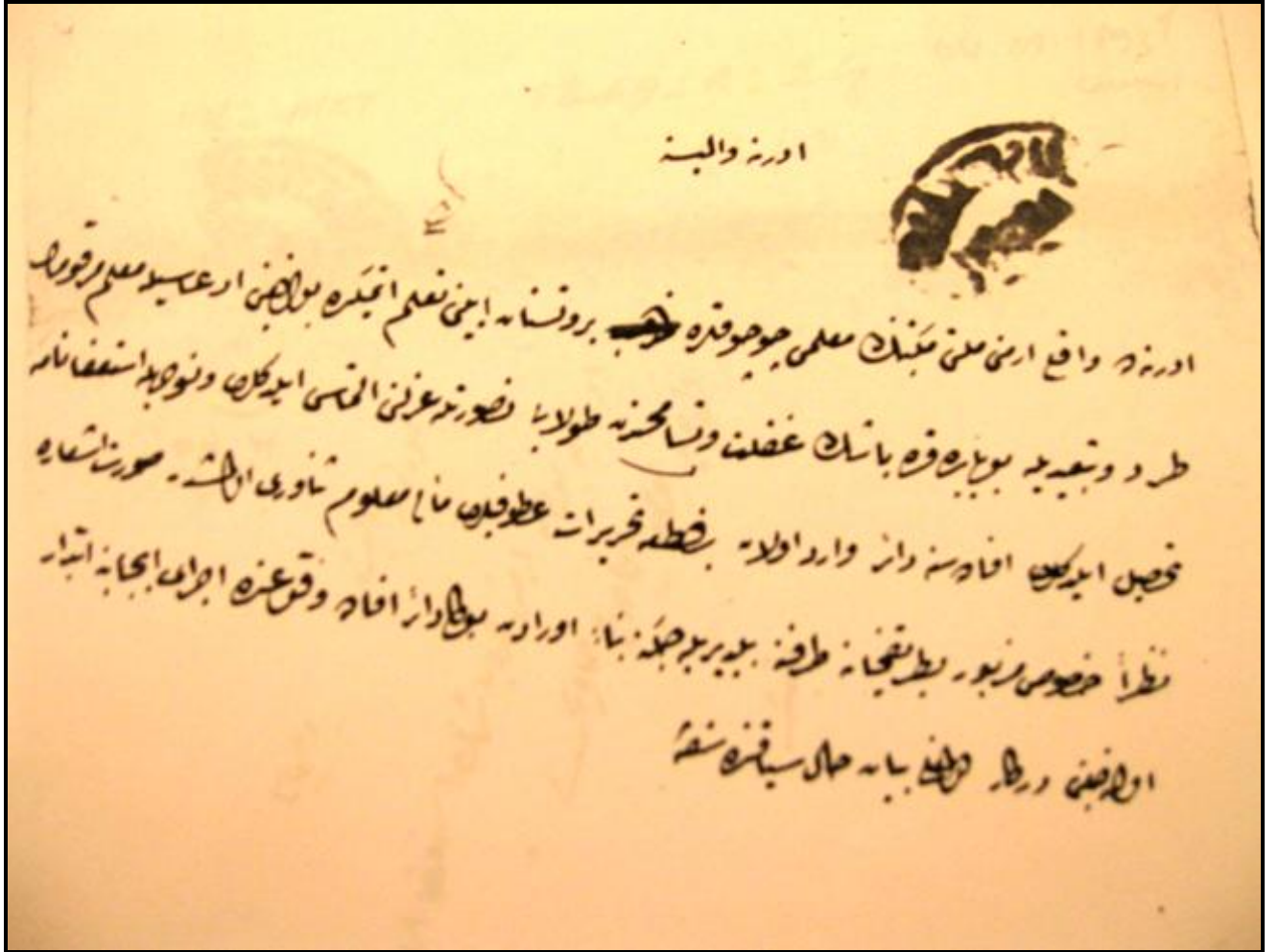
Tarih: 26/Za/1268(Hicri), Dosya No: 49, Gömlek No: 29 , Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
Nasturi Ribatoma'nın; Amerikalılar'ın ikameti için tamir etmek istediği evin
tamirine engel olunmaması.

Hakkari valisine

Hakkari sancağına muzaf Gura/Gavra/Gavar kazası
mütemekkinlerinden ve Nasuri taifesinden Ripatoma nam kimesne Amerika
tebaasından Gavan ve Mösyö Riya nam kimesneleri misafiret tarikiyle
hanesinde ikame eylediği cihetle Van'da hapis ve tevkif ve merkurmlar
ile kat'i muamele eylemediği surette koyverilmeyeceği beyan
olduğundan tahliye-i sebebiyle istida olunmuş ve mahbus-ı merkurmlar ise
bunları kaza-i mezkure hin-i vürudlarında kendüsüne misafir alarak

hanesini tamir-i murad etmiş iken mümanaat olunduğundan men'i hususu 26 Za 68 tarihinde ba tahrirat ol-tarafa işar kılınmış olub tarife hacet olmadığı ve mukaddem ve muahher beyan-ı izbar kılındığı üzre bunların orada ikametlerinde usul-ı saltanatı seniyeye dokunur ve zabıta-ı belediyeyi ihlale sebep verir hareketlerde bulunmayubda şöyle bir misafiret tarikiyle olduğu ve kendü hallerinde bulundukları takdirde bir guna mahzur görünmeyüb merhumun dahi hapsi ve tevkifi icab etmeyeceğinden tahliye-i sebebi hususuna himmet buyruldu. Sibakında şukka.

20 R 1269 / 31 Ocak 1853 / January 31, 1853.



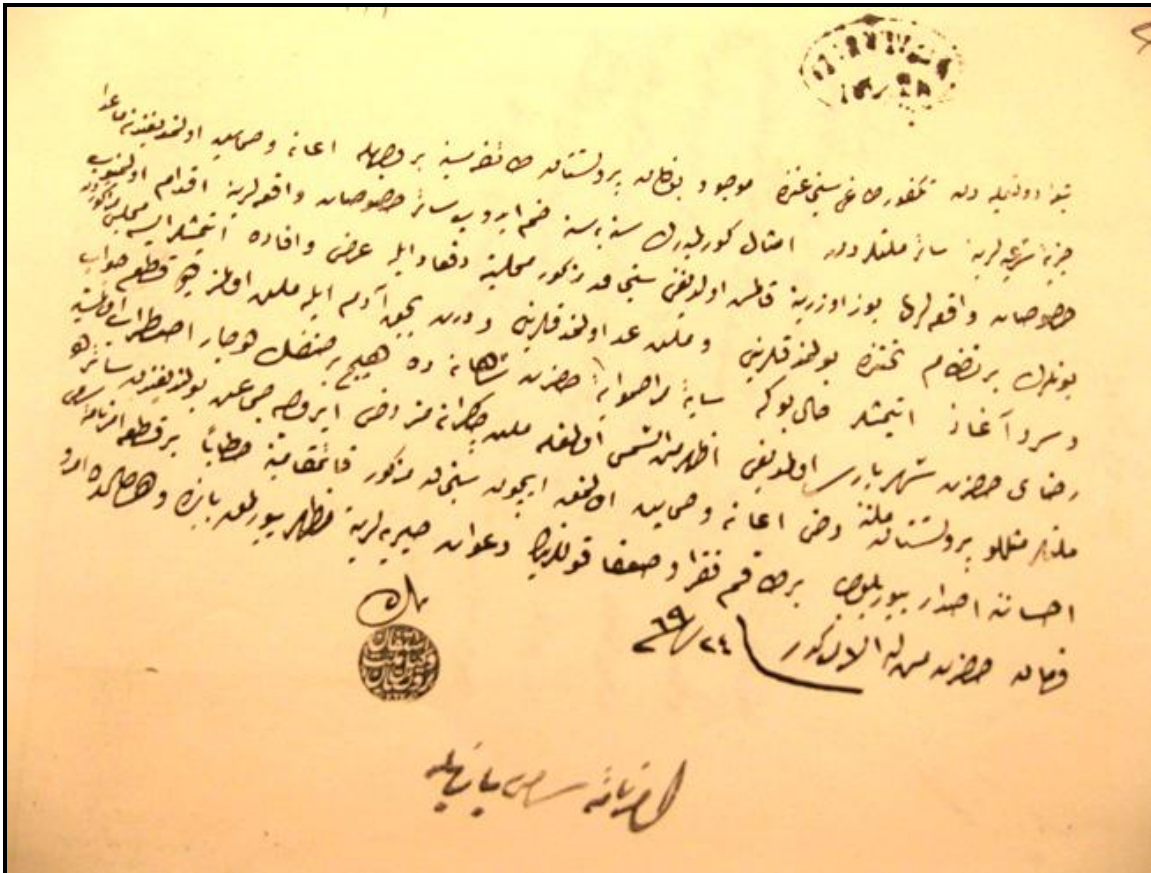
Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 24/R/1269(Hicri), Dosya No: 56, Gömlek No: 48, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
Edirne'de Ermeni Milleti Mektebi mualliminin çocuklara Protestan ayini yaptırmasından dolayı tard edilmesi ve bu hususta Ermeni Karabaşısı'nın gösterdiği gafletten dolayı istifasının Patrikhane'ye bildirilmesi.

Edirne valisine

Edirne'de vaki Ermeni millet mektebinin muallimi çocuklara Protestan ayini talim etmekde bulunduđu iddiasıyla muallim-i merkumun tard ve tedibiyle bu babda Karabaşın gaflet ve den? dolayı ne suretle azlini iltimas eyledikleri ve ne vechle istifaname tahsil eyledikleri ifadesine dair varid olan bir kıta tahrirat atufetlü meali malum senaveri olmuştur. Suret-i işara nazaran husus-ı mezbur patrikhane tarafına bildirileceğine binaen oradan buna dair ifade vukunda icrayı icabına ibtidar olunacağı dergar olmakla beyan-ı hal sibakında şukka.

24/R/1269 / 4 Şubat 1853 / February 4, 1853.



Tarih: 04/Ca/1269 (Hicri), Dosya No: 56, Gömlek No: 79, Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.
*İşlerinin iyi görülmediği ve kendilerinden fazla vergi alındığından şikayetçi
olan Tekfurdağı Protestanları'na himaye ve yardım edilip rahat etmelerinin
sağlanması.*

Tebaa-i devlet-i aliyyeden Tekfurdağı sancağında mevcut bulunan Protestan taifesine ber vechle iane ve himayet olunmadığından maada cizye-i şer'iyelerine sair milletlerden emsal görülmeyerek seniyyesine zam edüb sair hususat-ı vakıalarına ikdam olunmayub hususat-ı vakıaları yüz üzerine kalmış olduğunu sancak meclisine defad ile arz ve ifade etmişler ise meclis-i mezkurden bunların bir nizam tahtında bulunmadıkları ve millet ad olunmadıklarını ve dört buçuk adam ile millet olmaz deyü kat'a cevab ve serir-i agaz etmişler halbuki saye-i ...? hazret-i şahanede hiçbir sınıfın düçar-ı ıstırab olmasına rızayı hazreti şehriyari olmadığı izhar-ı ...? olmakla çakeranemiz dahi ayruca cemaat bulunduğundan sair milletler misüllü Protestan milletine dahi iane ve himayet olunmak için sancak-ı mezkur kaimakamına hitaben bir kıta emirname-i sami ihsanına ısdar buyrulub bir takım fukara ve ..? kullarının davet-i hayriyelerine mazhar buyrulmak babında ve her halde emrû ferman hazreti menlehül-emrindir.

4 Ca 1269 / 13 Şubat 1853 / February 13, 1853.

Vekil-i millet-i Protestan.



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 26/L/1269(Hicri), Dosya No: 61, Gömlek No: 81 , Fon Kodu: HR. MKT
Rum ve Ermeni milletine mensup şahıslarca Protestan Hucesi Riyon'un hanesine
yapılan müdahalenin men edilmesi.

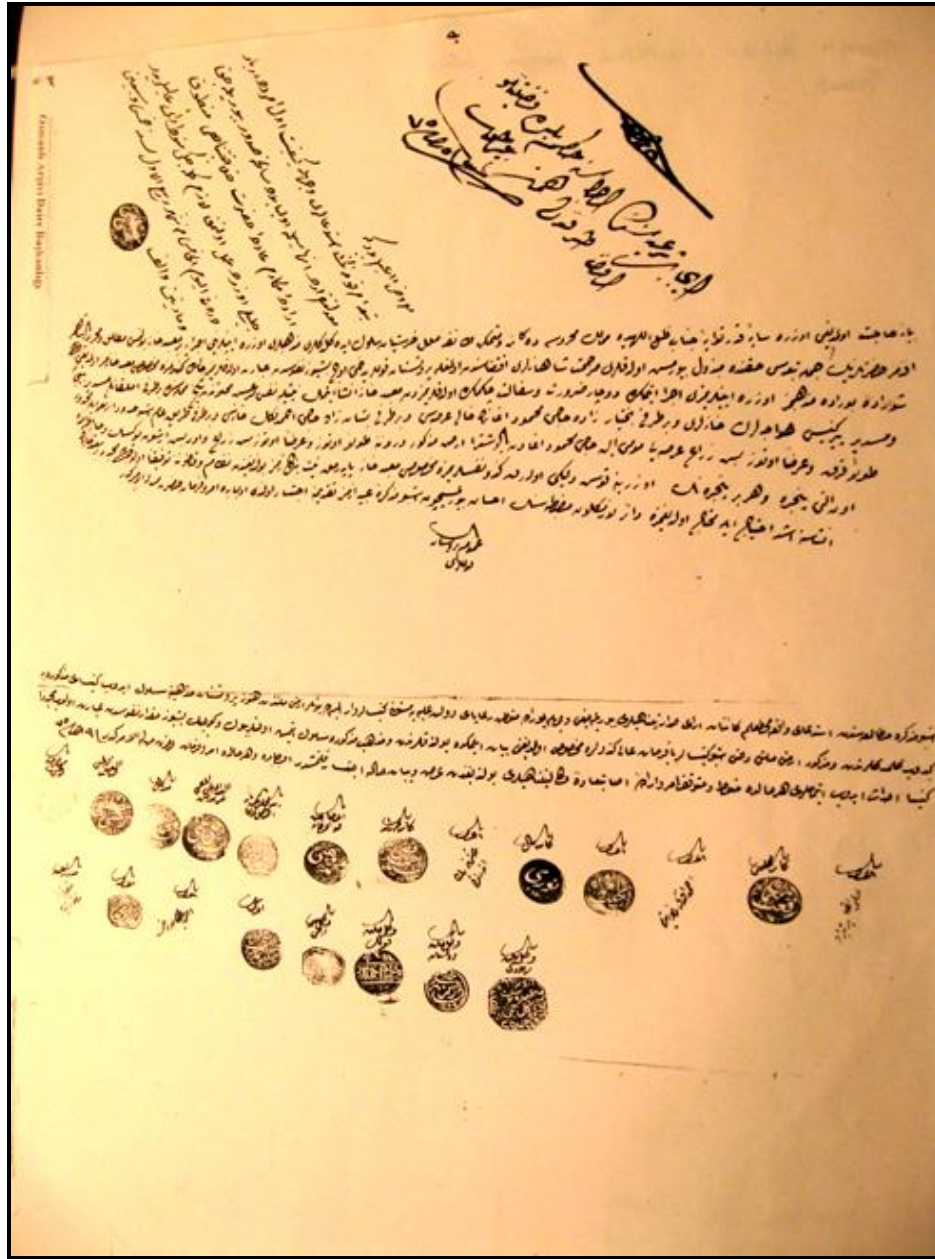
Edirne valisine

Tebaa-i devlet-i aliyyeden olub Edirne'de Protestan milleti
hocalarından bulunan Rinob? bu kere takdim eylediği bir kıta arzuhal
mealinde kendüsü hocalık hizmetiyle meşgul ve kendü haliyle mukayyed
iken memleket çorbacılarının arz ve teşvikiyle Rum ve Ermeni

Sivas eyaletine merbut Divriği kazası mütemekkinlerinden ve tebea-i devlet-i aliyyeden Protestan mezhebine zahib ve salik olan Hristiyanların mahal-i mezkurede vaki Ermeni milleti tarafından asla rahatları olmayub hanelerini taşlamak ve gördükleri mahalde darb etmek ve ırzlarına tasallut etmek ve buna mümaşil rencide ve taaddiyat etmekte olduklarından ve hatta millet-i acizanemizden Akob nam kimesne na mizac olduğu halde ibadethanesine mürur ederken millet-i Ermeniyandan Hohan oğlu Manok mersumun tepesinden yumruk ile darb edüb esnayı ...? merkumun ağzından ve burnunda kan revan edüb çend gün mürurunda mersum helak olub bab-ı hükümete ihbar olunmuş ise de tarafeyni bir güna mahbus-ı tevkif ederek ferdası gün koyverilmiş olduğu ...? alem-meşmul veliün-nümaneleri buyruldukda merhaim aliyyelerinden mercudurki merkum buldurulub şer'-i şerif ve meclis-i marifetiyle ruiyet olunarak ber mucib-i kanun icrayı icabına bakılması ve bundan böyle kimesne tarafından millet-i mezbure bir güne rencide ve halat-ı gadriye vukuna getürülmemesi hususlarını mütedair bir kıta emirname-i sami tastiriyle bir takım fukara kullarının ..? niyazım babında ve her halde emrû ferman hazreti menlehül-emrindir.

23 Ra 1271 / 14 Aralık 1854 / December 14, 1854.

Vekil-i millet-i Protestan



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 14/R/1275 (Hicri), Dosya No: 162, Gömlek No: 8662, Fon Kodu: İ.HR.
Maraş'ta Protestan milletine mahsus kilise inşası.

İcab-ı şeriyesinin edasına hakim-i belde faziletli efendi tarafından
himmet buyruldu. 5 Ra 75

Maruz-ı çaker-i kemineleridirki, tebaa-i merkumanın istidaları vechle keyfiyet evvel emirde derbar maadalet eda inhasıyla ol babda saha-i hudud buyrulacak irade-i mekarim ..? hazret-i hilafetpanehi mantuk-ı celili üzre amel olunmak lazım geleceği manut-ı irae-i alileridir. Fi elyevmül-hamis min şehir-i Rebiül-evvel li sene hamse ve sebin ve mieteyn ve elf. Mustafa Zihni-Mühür.

Beyana hacet olmadığı üzre saye-i kudert-vaye-i cenab-ı zıllullahide memalik-i mahrusede kain ve mütemekkin taife-i milel-i Hıristiyan süluk ide geldikleri mezhepleri üzre ayinlerini icraya bir mabed hane bulunması mutlak ve mücerred ve padişahımız efendimiz haretlerinin cümle tebaası hakkında mebzul buyurmuş oldukları merhamet-i şahaneleri iktizasından olmakla Protestan kulları dahi üç beşyüz nüfusdan ibaret olduklarımız halde kendümüze mabed hanemiz olmadığı vechle şurada burada mezhebimiz üzre ayinlerimizi icra etmekte ve düçar-ı zaruret ve sefalet çekmekte olduklarımızdan mabed hane inşa etmek niyetiyle nefis-i Maraş mahallinden Şeyh mahallesinden bir tarafı Emlakanlı ...? ...? hocaların haneleri ve bir tarafı Bahriyarzade Hacı Mahmud Ağanın hali arsası ve bir tarafı Beşanzade Hacı Ahmed Beğin hanesi ve bir tarafı tarık-i 'am işbu hudud-ı Erbaa ile mahdud tulen 40 ve arzen 35 zira arsayı mümaileyh Hacı mahmud Ağadan bil-iştira arsa-i mezkur derununa tulen 30 ve arzen 35 zira ve 15 arşın yüksek ve etrafda on altı pencere ve her bir pencerenin üzerine kuş deliği olarak kendü nefislerimize mahsus mabed hane yaptırmak niyet-i bendeganemiz bulunduğundan nizam ve kanune tevfikian ol vechle mücedded bir mabed hanenin inşasına eşed-i ihtiyac ile muhtac olduğumuza dair lazımgelen mazbatasının ihsan buyrulması için işbu müzekkere-i abidanemiz takdimine ictisar olundu. Ol babda emrü ferman hazret-i menlehül emrindir.

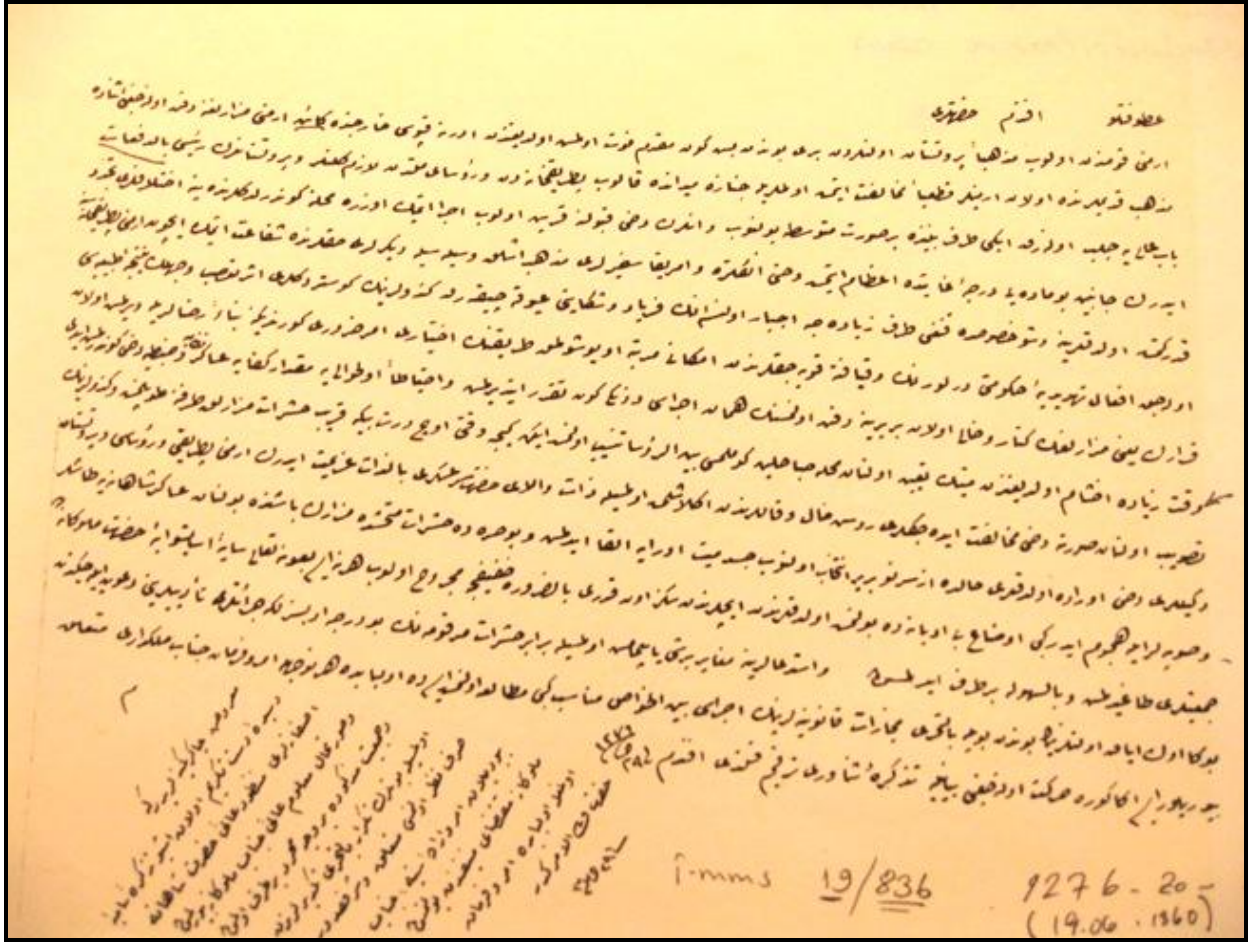
Umum Protestan kulları

İşbu müzekkere mütelaasından istidayı vaki ..? iare-i sadaretpenahileri buyrulmayacağı vechle burada manut reayayı Devlet-i Aliyeye manut kiliseler var ise de bunlar Ermeni milletinden henüz Protestan mezhebine süluk edüb kiliseyi mezkureye gidüb gelmediklerinden ve mezkur Ermeni milleti dahi işbu kinisalar ba-ferman-ı ali kendülere mahsus olduğunu beyan eylemekde bulunduklarından ve mezheb-i mezkure süluk etmiş olanlar büyük ve küçük beşyüz miktar nüfusdan ibaret olub müceddeden kinisa ihdas edüb

etmeleri her halde manut ve mütevakıf emrü irade-i isabet-ade-i
vekaletpenahileri bulunduğundan arz ve beyan-ı hale ictisar
kılınmıştır ol babda ve her halde emrü ferman hazret-i menlehül
emrindir.

9 Ra 75 / 17 Ekim 1858 / October 17, 1858.

Mutasarrıf-ı Maraş-Mühür
Ed-daî naib-Mustafa Zihni-Mühür
Molla-Mühür
Ed-daî -Mühür
Ed-daî-Mühür
Azayı hocagan-Mühür
Katib-Mühür
Aza-Osman bey-Enderunda
Katib-Nuri-Mühür
Aza-Mühür
Aza-Ahmed Efendi-memuriyette
Katib-i meclis-Rıfat-Mühür
Aza-Ali Efendi-Mühür
..? Halil Efendi-memuriyette
Aza-Mühür
Aza-ahmed Bey -bu dahi
Aza-Mühür
Vekil-i millet-i Ermeni-Mühür
Vekil-i millet-i Katolik-Mühür
Vekil-i millet-i Protestan-Mühür
Vekil-i milleti Yahudi-Mühür



Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi Kataloğu

Tarih: 29/Za/1276(Hicri), Dosya No: 19, Gömlek No: 836, Fon Kodu: İ.MMS.
Protestan mezhebinden ölen adamın cenazesinin defnedildiğine ve muhalefet
edenlerin cezalandırılmasına dair.

Atufetlü efendim hazretleri

Ermeni kavminden olub mezheben Protestan olanlardan biri bundan
beş gün mukaddem fevt olmuş olduğundan Edirne kapısı haricinde kain
Ermeni mezarlığına defn olunacağı esnada mezheb-i kadimlerinde olan
Ermeniler kat'iyen mümanaat etmiş olmalarıyla cenaze meydanda kalub
patrikhaneden ve rüesayı milletten lazım gelenler ve Protestanların
reisi bid-defat Babıaliye celb olunarak iki taraf beyninde bir suret-i
mütevasıta bulunub ve onların dahi kabulüne karin olub icra etmek üzre
mahalline gönderildiklerinde yine ihtilafları tecdid ederek caniben bu
maddeyi derece-i gayette izam etmiş ve hatta İngiltere ve Amerika
sefirleri mezhebdashlık vesilesiyle diğerleri haklarında şefaet etmek
için Ermeni patrikhanesine kadar gitmiş olduklarına ve şu hususda

kangi taraf ziyadece icbar olunsa onun feryad ve şikayeti ayyuka çıkararak kendülerinin gösterdikleri eser-i taassub ve cehlin netice-i tabiyesi olacak ifal-ı tehdidiye hükümeti türlü renk ve ...? koyacaklarından imkanı mertebe uyuşturmak tarikinin ihtiyarı emr-i zaruri görüldüğüne binaen rızalarıyla verilmiş olan kararın yani mezarlığın kenar ve hali olan bir yerine defn olunmasının hemen icrası dünkü gün takrir ettirilmiş ve ihtiyaten ol havaliye miktar-ı kifaye asakir-i nizam ve zabtiye dahi gönderilmiş idi. Vakt-i ziyade akşam olduğundan meytin tayin olunan mahalle sabahleyin gömülmesi beynel-rüesa tensib olunmuş iken gice vakti üç dört bine karib haşerat mezarlık tarafına toplanmış ve kendülerinin tasvib olunan sureti dahi mümanat edecekleri ruiyet-i hal ve kallarından anlaşılmış olmasıyla zat-ı vala-yı hazret-i ser-askeri bizzat azimet ederek Ermeni patriki ve rüesası ve Protestan vekilleri dahi orada oldukları halde ez ser ..? birbir intihab olunub cesed-i meyt oraya ilka edilmiş ve bu sırada haşerat-ı müteheşşide mezarın başında bulunan asakir-i şahaneye taşlar ve sopalar ile hücum ider gibi evzağ bi-edbanada bulunmuş olduklarından içlerinden sekiz on kadarı biz-zarure hafifce mecruh olub her ne ise ..? taala saye-i asayişvaye-i hazreti mülükanede cemiyetleri dağıdılmış ve bis-suhule ber-taraf edilmiş ve istidalarına mugayir bir şey yapılmamış olmasıyla beraber haşerat-ı merkumenin buraca edebsizliğe cüretleri tediblerini davet eyleyeceğinden buna evvel ayak olanlarının bundan böyle bit-taharri mücazat-ı kanuniyelerinin icrası beynel-havas münasib gibi mutalaa olunmuş ise de ol babda her ne vechle emrü ferman cenab-ı mülkdari müteallik buyrulur ise ona göre hareket olunacağı beyanıyla tezkire-i senaveri terkim kılındı efendim.

29 Za 1276 / 18 Haziran 1860 / June 18, 1860.

Maruz-ı çaker-i kemineleridirki

Reside-i dest-i terkim olan işbu tezkire-i samiye-i asafaneleri manzur-ı âli hazreti şahane ve suret-i hal malum-ı âli cenab-ı mülükane buyrulmuş ve cemiyet-i mezkurede ber vechi muharrer ber taraf olmuş olmasıyla bunların tekrar bit-taharri tekdirlerinden sarf-ı nazar olunması müteallik ve şeref sudur buyrulan emrü irade-i seniyye cenab-ı mülükane müktezayı münifinden bulunmuş olmakla ol babda emrü ferman hazreti menlehül-emrindir. 29 Za 76.

[illegible]

Hınıs kazasının Çevirme köyünde Ermeni Bağdosar'ın ölümüne sebep olup, hapsedilen Protestan kişilerin daha sonra hakimın şahidleri Kabul etmeyerek tahliye edilmelerinden dolayı gerekli mağrafaanın icrası.

Erzurum valisine

Erzurum eyaleti dahilinde kain Hınıs kazasında Çevirme karyesinde Ermeni milleti Kahyası Serkiz ile familyası ve karındaşı Bağdosar hakkında karye-i mezkure Protestan ahalisinden çend nefer kesanın garaz ve noksanıyetleri bulunmak hasebiyle merkum Bağadsar bir ahşam odasından zeytünlüğü tarafına gider iken mezkur Protestanlardan Manuk oğlu Minço ve Niko oğlu Makon ve Haro oğlu Mezerdic nam kimesneler kendü kahyaları bulunan Malo nam şahsın odasından çıkub merkum Bağadsar'ın üzerine hücum ile şediden darb ve cerh eylediklerinden merkum Bağdosar bir iki gün zarfında müteessiren fevt olmasıyla merkumun celile-i meclisce icra kılınan istintakları işbu cinayetleri tahkik etmesi üzerine mahbusa ilka olundukları halde her nasılsa muahharen hakim efendi tarafından şahidler kabul olunmayarak merkumların kefalet rabtıyla ...? tahliye kılınmış olacağı beyanıyla icrayı icabı Ermeni patrikhanesi tarafından ba-takrir inha olunmakdan naşi keyfiyet meclis-i valaya ledel-havale beyana hacet olmadığı üzre telef-i nefis maddesi sair ..? mukayyes olmayub şayan-ı tedkik-i mevaddan olarak sibak-ı inha sahih ise sigar-ı maadelet seniyye olub tecviz olunamayacağından şer'-i şerif ve meclis marifetiyle kemal-i .? ve hakkaniyetle mürafa-ı lazımenin icrası ve her türlü tedkik ve taharrinin ifasıyla karar-ı keyfiyetin ba-ilam-ı şer'i ve mazbata inhası hususunun sub-ı düsturlarına bildirilmesi tezekkür kılınmış olmakla ber minval-i muharrer iktizasının icrasına mezid-i itina ve himmet buyruldu sibakında şukka.

13 Ca 1277 / 27 Kasım 1860 / November 27, 1860.

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Ottoman Documents

Tarih: 08/Ca/1260 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 4

Gömlük No: 18

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Bursa’da ikamet edip, Erzurum ve Trabzon’a giderek oralardaki Ermeniler’in Protestan mezhebine girmeleri için faaliyetlerde bulunan Amerikalı papazların bu faaliyetlerden alıkonulması ve bulundukları yerlerden uzaklaştırılmaları.

Tarih: 11/Ş/ 1262 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 13

Gömlek No: 18

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Trabzon'daki Protestan papazların aracılığıyla mezhebini değiştiren Ermeni Berber Mağdiş'in, uygunsuz hareketlerinden dolayı Dersaadet'e gönderileceği.

Tarih: 27/Ca/1262 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 12

Gömlek No: 75

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Apostol ve Yorgi'nin protestant mezhebine girdiklerinden dolayı zabıta ile evrerini basıp tutuklattıran Musa isimli kocabaşın İstanbul'a getirilmesi.

Tarih: 25/M/1263 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 16

Gömlek No: 19

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Adapazarı tüccar Apostol'un Protestanlığı kabulü sebebiyle evini basıp oğlunu öldüren Mağnisi isimli kocabaşın muhakeme edilmek üzere Dersaadet'e gönderilmesi.

Tarih: 15/C/1266 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 33

Gömlek No: 6

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Ermeni mezhebini bırakıp Protestanlığa girmiş olan Kayserili bazı Ermeniler'in patrik tarafından afaroz edilmeleri sebebiyle diğer Ermeniler'in düşmanlıklarına hedef olduklarından, bu

durumun engellenmesi ve birbirlerinin vekaletlerinin Kabul edilmesi isteđi.

Tarih: 06/Ra/1268 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 41

Gömlük No: 39

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Tekfurdağı'ndaki Protestanlar'ın vergi ve sair işlerinin, Ermeniler'den ayrılarak, aralarında belirlenecek bir Kocabaşı tarafından yürütülmesi.

Tarih: 11/R/1268 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 42

Gömlük No: 74

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Saruhan'daki Protestanlar'ın vergi ve cizyelerini toplayan Ermeniler adaletsiz davrabdıklarından, Protestanlar'ın işlerine bakacak, cizye ve vergilerini toplamak için Manok'un kocabaşı tayini.

Tarih: 03/Za/1268 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 47

Gömlük No: 78

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Amerikalı Mösyö Belis'in Merzifon'da kiraladığı haneye yapılan müdahalanin meni.

Tarih: 04/Za/1268 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 47

Gömlük No: 95

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Diyarbakır'daki protestanların, kendi içlerinden bir Kocabaş seçmeleri talebi.

Tarih: 25/Za/1268 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 49

Gömlek No: 20

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Amerikalı Papaz Dinmo ve Mösyö Laydel'e isnad edilen şeylerin doğru olmadığı, mezkurları taşılayıp hakarete bulunanların tedip ve tekdir edilmeleri.

Tarih: 26/Za/1268 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 49

Gömlek No: 29

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Nasturi Ribatoma'nın; Amerikalılar'ın ikameti için tamir etmek istediği evin tamirine engel olunmaması.

Tarih: 26/L/1269 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 61

Gömlek No: 81

Fon Kodu: HR. MKT.

Rum ve Ermeni millette mensup şahıslarca Protestan Hucesi Riyon'un hanesine yapılan müdahalenin men edilmesi.

Tarih: 24/R/1269 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 56

Gömlek No: 48

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Edirne'de Ermeni Milleti Mektebi mualliminin çocuklara Protestan ayini yaptırmamasından dolayı tard edilmesi ve bu hususta Ermeni

*Karabaşısı'nın gösterdiği gafletten dolayı istifasının
Patrikhane'ye bildirilmesi.*

Tarih: 07/R/1269(Hicri)

Dosya No: 55

Gömlek No: 5

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

*Ermeni Karabaşhanesi civarındaki Sıbyan Mektebi'nde Protestanlık
talim ettiği iddia edilen öğretmenin, Ermeniler tarafından
Patrikhanelerine gönderilip yerine yenisini tayin ettikleri.*

Tarih: 28/Ş/1269(Hicri)

Dosya No: 328

Gömlek No: 21210

Fon Kodu: İ.HR.

*Mezhep imtiyazının teyidi için Rum, Ermeni ve Katolik
patrikleriyle hahambaşı ve protestan vekiline ferman verildiği.*

Tarih: 19/S/1269(Hicri)

Dosya No: 52

Gömlek No: 9

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

*Sebzeci esnafından Yahudi David Protestan Mezhebi'ne
girdiğinden, karısı ve çocukları istemedikleri halde kendisine
teslim edilip edilmeyeceğinin bildirilmesi.*

Tarih: 20/R/1269(Hicri)

Dosya No: 56

Gömlek No: 3

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Amerikalıları misafir ettiği için hapsolunan Nasturi Toma'nın tahliyesi.

Tarih: 04/Ca/1269 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 56

Gömlek No: 79

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

İşlerinin iyi görülmediği ve kendilerinden fazla vergi alındığından şikayetçi olan Tekfurdağı Protestanları'na himaye ve yardım edilip rahat etmelerinin sağlanması.

Tarih: 25/R/1269 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 56

Gömlek No: 51

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.

Tekfurdağı'nda ölülerini Ermeni Mezarlığına gömen Protestanlara engel olunup olunmadığının ve Protestan'lara mezarlık olarak tahsis edilecek arsanın durumunun tahkik edilmesi.

Tarih: 24/Z/ 1270 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 85

Gömlek No: 87

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.?

Ohans adlı Protestanın Osmanlı tebeasına takulü.

Tarih: 23/Ra/1271 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 95

Gömlek No: 47

Fon Kodu: HR.MKT.?

Divriği'de sakin Ermenilerin protestan ahaliye yaptıkları zulmün bir an evvel önlenmesi ve Agop adlı protestanı döverek ölümüne sebep olan Hohanoğlu Manok'un muhakeme edilmesi.

Tarih: 14/R/1275 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 162

Gömlek No: 8662

Fon Kodu: İ.HR.

Maraş'ta Protestan milletine mahsus kilise inşası.

Tarih: 28/Za/ 1276 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 410

Gömlek No: 95

Fon Kodu: A.}MKT.UM:

Arabgir kazası meclis'inde Protestant aza bulunmadığı için Hecinoğlu Karabet'in aza tain edilmesinin istenmesi üzerine durum hakkında tahkikat yapılması.

Tarih: 29/Za/1276(Hicri)

Dosya No: 19

Gömlek No: 836

Fon Kodu: İ.MMS.

Protestan mezhebinden ölen adamın cenazesinin defnedildiğine ve muhalefet edenlerin cezalandırılmasına dair.

Tarih: 09/S/ 1277(Hicri)

Dosya No: 178

Gömlek No: 9791

Fon Kodu: İ.HR

İsimleri belli mahallelere Protestan mezarlığı mahalli tayini.

Tarih: 12/M/1277(Hicri)

Dosya No: 417

Gömlek No: 95

Fon Kodu: A.}MKT.UM:

Kürdistan'nın Kastpol köyü Protestan ve Debbağ olup kendilerinden fazla vergi alındı ise iade edilmeyeceği.

Tarih: 09/M/ 1277 (Hicri)

Dosya No: 19

Gömlek No: 851

Fon Kodu: İ:MMS.?

Protestantan'lar için Dersaadet, Üsküdar, Beyoğlu ve Hasköy taraflarında birer mezar yeri belirlenmesi.

Tarih: 13/Ca/1277(Hicri)

Dosya No: 438

Gömlek No: 73

Fon Kodu: A.}MKT.UM:

Hınıs kazasının Çevirme köyünde Ermeni Bağdosar'ın ölümüne sebep olup, hapsedilen Protestan kişilerin daha sonra hakimın şahidleri kabul etmeyerek tahliye edilmelerinden dolayı gerekli mürafaanın icrası.

Tarih: 21/Ş/1278(Hicri)

Dosya No: 542

Gömlek No: 55

Fon Kodu: A.}MKT.UM:

Amerika Devleti tebasından Karnoş'a silah atanların ve Protestan kilisesini yakmaya çalışanların yakalanması için gerekli tedbirlerin alındığı.

