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MASTER’S THESIS

**THE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE
AMERICAN BOARD (ABCFM) MISSIONARIES IN
HARPOOT**

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APPROVAL PAGE



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled "The Educational Activities of the American Board (ABCFM) Missionaries in Harpoot" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honor.

/ .../2021

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ÖZET
Yüksek Lisans Tezi
Amerikan Board'un (ABCFM) Harput'taki Eğitim Faaliyetleri
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Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki eğitim sisteminin 19. yüzyılda kötüye gitmesi ve halkın ihtiyaçlarını karşılayamaz hâle gelmesi, Osmanlı topraklarındaki yabancı misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin yolunu açmıştır. Osmanlı'daki yoğun misyonerlik faaliyetleri sadece eğitimi etkilemekle kalmamış, ülkenin kültürünü, siyasi ve sosyal yapısını da şekillendirmiştir.

Bu tezde, Osmanlı imparatorluğu içinde faaliyet gösteren Amerikan Board'un (ABCFM) Harput'taki Eğitim Faaliyetleri tarihi süreç içerisinde incelenmekte ve anlatılmaktadır.

Çalışma üç ana bölümden oluşmaktadır. Çalışmanın girişinde Amerikan Board misyonerlik örgütü hakkında bilgiler yer almaktadır. Ayrıca yabancı hükümetlerin Osmanlı Devleti üzerindeki etkileri ve misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin önünü açan bazı olaylar yanında misyon ve misyoner kelimelerinin tanımı, kökeni, etimolojisi ve tarihsel seyri ele alınmıştır.

Çalışmanın birinci bölümünde Amerikan Board'un kuruluşu, bir bölgede izlediği yerleşme prosedürü, eğitim faaliyetlerinin Board için önemi ve kurmuş olduğu okul türleri incelenmiştir. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde Osmanlı-ABD ilişkilerinin başlaması ve Amerikan Board'un misyonerlerinin Osmanlı topraklarına gelişine kadar olan dönem incelenmektedir. Üçüncü bölümde ise Amerikan Board misyonerlerinin Harput'a gelişleri, misyonun kuruluşu ve gelişimi, misyonda kurulan okullar detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Aynı zamanda bu bölümde Amerikan Board misyonerlerinin faaliyetlerine karşı Müslüman ve Müslüman olmayan halkın tepkileri, Osmanlı Hükümeti'nin

Board'un yrtmş olduęu faaliyetlere karşı aldıęı nlemler anlatılmıřtır. Yine bu blmde misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin yol atıęı isyanlar, huzursuzluklar ve dięer toplumsal olaylar incelenmiřtir. Amerikan Board misyonerlerinin Birinci Dnya Savařı sırasındaki durumları ve Harput misyonunun kapanmasına neden olan olaylar da yine bu blmde detaylıca incelenmiřtir.

alıřma ierisinde Amerikan Board arřivi, misyoner mektupları, yıllık misyon raporları, misyonerlik faaliyetleri alanında yazılmıř akademik tezler ve dięer ilgili kaynaklar kullanılmıřtır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ABD, Osmanlı Devleti, Harput, Amerikan Board (ABCFM), Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri

ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

The Educational Activities of the American Board (ABCFM) Missionaries in Harpoot

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The deterioration of the education system in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century and the fact that it could not meet the needs of the community paved the way for foreign missionary activities in the Ottoman lands. Intense missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire affected education and shaped the country's culture, political, and social structure.

In this thesis, the Educational Activities of the American Board (ABCFM) operating in the Ottoman Empire in Harpoot are examined and explained in the historical process.

The study consists of three main parts. At the beginning of the study, there is information about the American Board missionary organization. In addition, the effects of foreign governments on the Ottoman Empire and some events that paved the way for missionary activities and the definition, origin, etymology, and historical course of the words mission and missionary are discussed.

In the first part of the study, the establishment of the American Board, the settlement procedure it followed in a region, the importance of educational activities for the Board, and the types of schools it established were examined. In the second part of the study, the beginning of the Ottoman-US relations and the period until the arrival of the missionaries of the American Board to the Ottoman lands are examined. In the third chapter, the arrival of the American Board missionaries in Harpoot, the establishment and development of the mission, and the schools established in the mission were examined in detail. At the same time,

in this section, the reactions of the Muslim and non-Muslim people against the activities of the American Board missionaries and the measures taken by the Ottoman State against the activities of the Board are explained. Again, this section examined the rebellions, unrest, and other social events caused by missionary activities. The situation of the American Board missionaries during the First World War and the events that led to the closure of the Harpoot mission are also examined in detail in this section.

The study used the archive of the American Board, missionary letters, annual mission reports, academic theses written in missionary activities, and other relevant resources.

Keywords: USA, Ottoman State, Harpoot, American Board (ABCFM), Missionary Activities.

**THE EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN BOARD
(ABCFM) MISSIONARIES IN HARPOOT**

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.C.F.M.	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ACG	American College for Girls
CMS	Church Missionary Society
USA	United States of America



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INTRODUCTION

Since the Crusades, Christian Missionaries from different sects, states, and organizations have been active in Anatolia. These missionaries worked in almost all the Ottoman lands and founded schools and hospitals. In those schools and hospitals, missionaries tried to Christianise Muslims, Armenians, Bulgarians, Nestorians, and many others by either educating or helping them in their health facilities. There is a lot of research and sources about those missionaries and missions. Those missions and missionaries significantly impact Turkish society in terms of politics, economy, and culture. The size of the missionary field covered almost all of Anatolia. This size is almost impossible to study in detail with a single work.

For this reason, this study has taken a specific area as its focus. The Harpoot field, the research subject, is a center that American missionaries attach importance to in Anatolia and even globally. In many sources, 1855 was taken as the starting date of American missionaries' activities in Harpoot, but this study will start earlier than this date. The reason to start earlier than 1855 is to focus on some events that paved the way for missionary activities. Naturally, to give information about the arrival of the first American missionaries in Ottoman lands, some earlier events are mentioned. To ensure integrity, the period of national struggle and World War I are also briefly mentioned.

With the atmosphere that the rescript of *g lhane* and edict of reform brought to the lands of the Ottoman Empire, missionaries activities gained strength. American missionary movement spread to almost every city, village, and town.

Missionary and mission words are of Latin origin *Missio*. They are commonly used in western languages such as English, French, and German as “mission,” “missionary,” “missionaire,” and “missionar.” The dictionary meaning of the mission means “authority, power of attorney, a special duty given to a person for a job.” The word missionary, on the other hand, means a person in charge and a priest.

Another view is that these words are related to the Latin verb “mittere,” which means “to send.” The mission is to send clergy members, who are equipped with the authority to preach the Christian faith and direct the rituals, to different regions, and those who go to this mission are called missionaries.¹

Another definition of mission and missionary words in general terms is expressed as follows: The mission is called to all kinds of organizations established and operating to bring people from other religions and sects to their religion and sect. Those who devote themselves to an idea, a task, and spread it are called missionaries.

According to the records of the mission organizations, the primary purpose of missionary activities is to establish local churches with local clergy. All other activities (prayer, travel, translation, medical aid, education) were secondary. Another aim was to recruit non-Christians (especially Muslims) by making Christian propaganda through these churches.² Missionaries are aware of their differences with the people of the regions they go to for missionary activity. For this reason, they acted very cautiously and even tried to resemble that society in shape by disguise.³

The missionaries later found it appropriate to transfer the task to the local people they had won. They only remained in the position of managers. The purpose of these actions is to be more helpful. “Missionaries stated that propaganda with helpers obtained from local people was beneficial. Armenians were teaching to Armenians, Muslims to Muslims, Nestorians to Nestorians, and it was more permanent and easier,” missionaries stated.⁴

Missionaries believed that there was a difference between them and the people in the places they went to, in other words, a deficiency in the public. It is known that

¹ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, **Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika**, İstanbul, 1989, p. 14.

² Erol Kırşehirlioğlu, **Türkiye'de Misyoner Faaliyetleri**, İstanbul, 1963, p. 24-25.

³ About this matter, the founder of Robert College missionary Cyrus Hamlin shares his memory in his book about how he grew beard and wear chechia to resemble Turkish society. Cyrus Hamlin, **My Life and Times**, Kissinger Publishing, 2007.

⁴ Kırşehirlioğlu, p. 42.

a newly recruited missionary is given advice such as “be cunning like snakes and take care of yourself from the people,” causing them to think that they are a lamb caught among the wolves and act with prejudice.

In addition, the understanding of superiority in missionaries shows itself with their thoughts in the field of civilization. They claim to develop those subjects themselves. In the education of missionaries, these issues have always been covered, and they have been specially trained to accept these ideas. In those works about missions and missionaries, this matter is declared as follows; “Missionaries are educated men to enlighten those who are members of other religions and sects. And also, they believe other sects and religions are vain and superstitious.”⁵

This idea of being superior is so rigid in missionaries’ minds that they even saw detecting the flaws and defects in people as an educational matter. Everything that possesses a difference with a missionary is seen as a weakness. In a letter written by an American missionary William Goodell evaluated this matter; “It seems that if a missionary intervened in the first three years without doing anything else and found out how weak, ignorant, stupid and prejudiced, they are, it would be a greater achievement than learning all the languages spoken in Ottoman empire.”⁶ As can be understood from the statement, learning those languages of the regions they visited was very important for missionaries. Because they had to learn these languages to eliminate their foreignness and mingle with the local people, the reasons for opening schools of oriental languages are directly related to this issue.

Missionary has changed and developed over time. In time, a missionary was no longer a definition and turned into a movement, a profession, a cult. In a way, we can say that missionary and mission words have changed their meanings. To understand this change better, we should examine the historical development of missionaries. Like Christian missionaries, Pre-Christian religions carried out propaganda activities to spread. Buddhism has an important place among them, and Christian missionaries benefited from the methods that Buddhists used. For example,

⁵ Davud Abdul’ Ahad, **Esrar-I Iseviye**, National Library. p.?.

⁶ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 30.

Buddhist monks are prohibited from marrying to travel easier. Moreover, this prohibition is also can be seen amongst Christian missionaries.⁷

As the beginning of the missionary activities in the world, the apostles' activities are regarded as the beginning of the Christian missionary. The Apostles, who were accepted to have been assigned to them by the prophet of the new religion, tried to follow their specific principles and the new divine religion and rules of the era. After this period, Paul the Apostle's works prepared the ground for the very first missionary steps. Paul the Apostle focused his works mainly on pagans and Europeans. As a result of his efforts in Anatolia, Makedonia, and Greece, numerous churches were founded and organized. Without a doubt, many missionaries other than Paul the Apostle have arrived in Anatolia after him.

Among them, in the third century, a missionary named Gregory spread Christianity among the Armenians. After his activities, Armenian's ritual language became Greek from Syriac. In honor of Gregory's efforts and works, the sect that Armenians accepted was named the Gregorian sect. Without a doubt, the separation of Constantine from the Roman empire also played a massive role in the spread and development of Christian missionaries. The Roman emperor Constantine I, also known as Constantine the Great, was the first Roman emperor to convert to Christianity. He lived much of his life as a pagan, but he joined the Christian religion on his deathbed after being baptized. He declared Christianity as the official religion of the empire. After Christianity became the empire's official religion, clergy members found the support they were looking for. With the support of the empire, they founded schools to educate priests and priestesses. Between the first and fourth centuries, numerous institutes have been founded due to the conflicts in the Christian world. After these developments, the priesthood became a profession. The prohibition of marriage to the priests and priestess occurred after these developments. With these changes, activities of spreading Christianity became more organized and turned into missionary.

Christian missionaries also benefitted from the conquest of Istanbul. Especially after Fatih Sultan Mehmet's conquest, Christians gained a privilege with the treaty

⁷ For future reading about this matter; Bahaeddin Ögel, **Türk Kültürü Gelişme Çağları**, Ankara, 1979, p. 109-110, 117-123; Özkan İzgi, **Uygurların Siyasi ve Kültürel Tarihi**, Ankara, 1987, p. 18.

Sultan Mehmet gave to Galatians. With this treaty, Christians were allowed to establish organizations. For the first time, Latins received status as a nation and founded their organizations. It set an example to other nations and paved the way for them to do the same. After that event, missionaries founded religious schools and began to carry out missionary activities in Ottoman Empire for non-Muslims. After being considered a right to have a religion, this treaty was seen as a privilege for missionaries for their missions. Likewise, France's privileges given by the Ottoman Empire turned into capitulation in time and, in 1740, became permeant. France gained numerous privileges and did not want to share them with other Christian governments, and France's attitude triggered other Christian government movements. France was the pope's representative in the east in this conflict, giving it a considerable advantage.

During this time Ottoman Empire was losing its strength by failing to keep up with the technological developments in Europe. Technology was advancing, but the Ottoman Empire was not able to follow it up. European and Christian governments started to change their policies. Especially in 1774, the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca that ended the Russian-Ottoman war was a turning point. With this treaty, Russia gained the right to protect Orthodox people, and by using this right, it started interfering with the Ottoman Empire. Many historians call this "eastern question."⁸

Another significant change for missionaries is undoubtedly the reform movement in the Christian world in the sixteenth century. As a result of the new ideas that emerged with this movement, new churches, and Christian sects were born. With the creation of different sects and new churches, the missionary movement also diversified, and each new sect established a mission organization of its own. With this change, the "Protestant sect" has found a large supporter base. Moreover, this started a conflict between the old church and the protestants. As a result of the conflict between these sects, a new era has come. This era can be seen as the second phase of the changes of the missionary movements after the apostles and Jesus Christ. After this conflict in the Christian world towards the 16th century, the competition between sects became visible and caused religious wars.

⁸ Matthew Smith Anderson, **The Eastern Question 1774-1923: A Study in International Relations**, New York, 1966, p. 2.

Indeed the contention between Protestants and Catholics played a significant role in this. Due to the changes that happened after the religious wars, some missionaries' duties have changed. Some of them tried to unite separated churches. Some clergymen tried to unite the shattered Christian world with the Roman Empire. Besides trying to Christianise non-Christians, some missionaries also tried to re-unite with other Christians in different sects. This conflict between sects caused a mess in the Christian world and affected areas where missionaries actively worked.

During their activities amongst Muslims, things became challenging for missionaries. They had challenges in their activities towards Muslims because Muslims are devoted to their religion, and converts are punished with death. Thereupon they direct their activities to the Christians. For this reason, all sects of the Christian world have always accused the missionaries of other sects of being separatist, as their work in the same environment causes a struggle. Dr. Soutgate, a missionary, indicates that "These missionary activities and duties are far from Christian bounds. Therefore, this movement occurred to separate the Christian World."⁹ Despite these charges, they stated that missionary work was necessary. Another change in missionary history occurred due to geographical changes that affected the missionary world. The efforts to open up to the whole world mobilized states, and after a while, geographical discoveries were supported by the states themselves. In addition, those geographical discoveries are seen as a tool by governments to spread Christianity in the whole world.

Between 1260 and 1295 in Turkish Empires in Asia, Roman Christians were represented by Marco Polo and his uncle. Even though they are not missionaries, they were seen as representatives of Christianity. At the same time, Marco Polo's itinerary was seen as a guidebook that will provide helpful information for those missionaries who go to the east. Furthermore, this can be seen as proof of the explorer's intentional or unintentional help for missionaries. In other words, explorers/discoverers have been pioneers of the missionaries in history. In addition, most of the time, missionaries themselves were explorers. Generally, when exploration ends, missionary activities started. In those activities, missionaries' duty was to bring Christianity to those newly explored lands and educate people who think politically, religiously, and culturally

⁹ Thomas William M. Marshall, **Les Missions Chre'tiennes**, Paris, 1865, p. 18.

like missionaries. This purpose evolved into an unseen purpose of Christian missionaries around the world. After those changes, missionaries were seen as a tool by their governments to develop commerce and put those lands' people under the influence. This intention can be seen from a message sent by the English governor to East India Company; "...if they want to develop commerce, instead of sending merchants that send expensive goods, I suggest them to send missionaries who will educate people that will buy expensive English goods."¹⁰ Consuls of Christian governments also expressed that "there is no better way to develop our commerce than missionary activities."¹¹ As a result of this mindset, missionary activities have changed so dramatically that, just like American authors have mentioned, missionaries primary function transformed into ensuring other countries are interested in western culture and increasing their desire to live like people in western countries.¹² Missionaries adopted this idea so well that they helped the western world by marketing western products in their fields. Sometimes they are even interested in commerce itself to cover their missionary expenses. In third world countries, they contributed to the commerce either by directly selling or being an example as a user of those products. Sewing machines, oil lamps, photographic apparatus, and watches are only some examples.¹³

Another characteristic of missionaries is that they send reports to their governments. In those reports, they included information like the country's religious, physical, and ethnic conditions. In these reports, primarily the religious, physical, and ethnic, the geographical situation of the countries, the technological status of agriculture and agricultural technologies in the country, the material and cultural structure and moral status of the people, the topographic, geopolitical, geological, meteorological characteristics of the region and the ties between the people were reported. Because of this information, the administrators often regarded missionaries as spies. Beyond the religious activities seen as their primary duty, the missionaries also tried to educate a local elite group that would continue their cultural and commercial interests by establishing both cultural and commercial bounds with the

¹⁰ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 19.

¹¹ American National Archives, **U.S Consular Officials at Harput (Kharput) 1895-1906**, Microcopy.

¹² For further readings; İlber Ortaylı, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Amerikan Okulları Üzerine Gözlemler", **Amme İdaresi Dergisi**, Vol: 14, No: 3, Ankara, 1982, p. 88.

¹³ In his book, *My Life And Times*, Cyrus Hamlin shares his memories about how he introduced plough to the Turkish people. Cyrus Hamlin, **My Life And Times**, Kessinger Publishing, 2007, p. 45.

state to which they belong. The issue of forming this elite group has also been a matter of interstate conflict. Because these educated elite people could be used as a tool in developing commercial activities in that region, this provided a reason for the conflict of the Christian states to obtain and keep the mission fields for their commercial interests. Of course, language was an important matter to develop these interests. In this sense, foreign missions carried out intensive school opening activities, especially in the 19th century. The reason behind these school opening activities certainly is to provide language education. Because no cultural influence can be permanent without the binding power of language, people think with their language; Once you teach them your language, you can teach them to think like you.

For this reason, language education gained importance in all schools opened in the 19th century. Missionary organizations even focused on teaching and learning ethnic and minority languages and opened language schools to teach their languages. Undoubtedly, English was at the top of the courses taught in the British and American missionary schools. For this reason, missionaries considered it as their primary duty to teach local people first their sect, then their language and culture. As it can be understood from here, Christian missionary has shown significant changes and developments in history. The primary purpose of the missionary at the beginning was religion. The methods they used to achieve this purpose differed for each region, period and culture. Their activities to spread religion are not limited to opening churches. Missionaries also operated with institutions such as schools, hospitals, printing houses. Such works have been influential and continue to be effective. The missionaries worked tirelessly for the sake of their religion. It is not possible to say that the missionaries were not influential in developing and spreading their civilization with the help of their education. However, it should not be forgotten that these studies have a worldly effect besides many of their religious effects, and it is a fact that those missionary activities help imperialist states achieve their goals.

The missionaries, who came to the Ottoman Empire in 1820 with great hopes, started to work to make Muslims Christians, but when they realized that the Muslims were so strictly devoted to their religion, their desires would not come true, and they tried to establish a community that was close to them. In their first activities, American missionaries, who were also supported by the British, managed to establish the largest

missionary organization in almost all Ottoman lands, although they started their activities much later than other Christian missionaries. Despite the activities of British missionaries started earlier than American missionaries', American Missionaries were so well-known that when the missionary was mentioned, the American, when the American was mentioned, the missionary came to mind. As those American missionaries have such a broad and influential field of work, American missionaries have a special place and influence in Turkish political and educational history. Primarily because of intensive activities carried out towards the Armenians, American missionaries' effect was mainly felt in eastern Turkey field of mission. Harpoot mission is the center of that Eastern Turkey mission. In addition, it is one of the leading missionary centers in the world.

In this missionary history study, especially the memoirs of the missionaries who served in the mission of Harpoot and the publications of the American Board missionary organization were used as primary sources. In addition, articles and publications on missionary work, traveler's notes, such as Henry Franshawe Tozer and Henry C. Barkley's, have been used. These travelers visited Harpoot at that time and wrote what they saw and heard. These writings have been of great benefit in research.

CHAPTER ONE

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

1.1. ESTABLISHMENT OF AMERICAN BOARD

Although the establishment date is stated as 1810 in official sources, the establishment of the American Board dates back to 1806. There is a famous foundation story about it. In 1806, a dozen young college students gathered to pray during a storm in the hay and grasslands in Williamstown, led by Samuel J. Mills. As the storm raged, the students prayed that God would send them across the seas and bring the good news of Jesus Christ to the rest of the world. Two years after this meeting, in 1808, they founded the community called “The Brethren,” this community laid the foundations of ABCFM, today known as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).¹⁴ Calling themselves “The Brethren” over time, this group became an influential mission force, first at Williams College and later at Andover Seminary. Over time, “The Brethren” grew up meeting and incorporating other like-minded people. Three like-minded students from other colleges enrolled among The Brethren at Andover: Adoniram Judson, Jr., from Brown, Samuel Newell from Harvard, and Samuel Nott from Union College.¹⁵ This community of zealous, dedicated, and alert students, The Brethren, infused everyone they met under their mission. In time, their sphere of influence exceeded the seminary they were in, reaching as far as the churches. This community expanded from Williamstown to Andover, from Andover to Bradford. This community, founded by a few college students gathered in Williamstown, became a foreign missionary organization officially established in Boston in 1810. The New England region, which was the center of great religious upheavals and two great religious awakenings, was also the hometown of the founding members of this organization. After the official establishment phases ended, the American Board started its first activities in India.

Meanwhile, British missionary William Carey was serving in India and guided the board in its activities there. After carrying out activities in Mumbai, Mahim, Tenna,

¹⁴ William Strong, **“The Story of the American Board”**, Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1910, p.7.

¹⁵ William Strong, p.7.

Tilliapalli, and Ceylon regions of India, the Board turned his face to Palestine with a decision taken.¹⁶ Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, who were the first missionaries to come to Turkey, first-served on the island of Malta. This station on the island of Malta was established by British missionaries working to Protestantize Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire. Arriving at this station in 1819, Parsons and Fisk organized expeditions under the guidance of English missionaries, and at the same time, learned the local language to carry out their missions better.¹⁷ Later, Daniel Temple, Jonas King, William Goodell, Isaac Bird, who joined them, took over this task from the British and expanded their missionary activity network to Palestine and interior Anatolia. However, the hostile political atmosphere developed due to the Greek revolt at that time, and the effect of the Battle of Navarino resulted in a reaction against the Europeans in this region. Because of this atmosphere, the missionaries had to make some changes in their plans. The missionaries, who first came to convey the message to the Jews, Muslims, and pagans, postponed their first purpose later when they saw the devastated state of the local Christians. After this decision, we can evaluate this period, which lasted until 1830, as the stage of exploration and settlement. At the same time, we can consider this period to get to know the Greek and Armenian communities closely and create the first educational activities.

1.2. AMERICAN BOARD'S SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PROCEDURE

At this stage, it will be helpful to examine and explain six different terms used by American missionaries while carrying out their duties; Mission, Station, Out Station, Field, and Occupy.

The Mission: It is the region where a pioneer missionary started his first activities. The missionary who started these activities learns the local language in this region, opens a simple school, and seeks to establish a church. He begins to keep records for the missionaries who will come after him. He guides those novice missionaries who will come after him. He writes reports to the American Board

¹⁶ For more info about the activities of American board in India; **The Missionary Herald**, "American Missionaries", December 1812, Vol. 4, p.334.

¹⁷ **The Missionary Herald**, "Letter From the Rev. Messrs. Fisk And Parsons to the Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM (Off Gazo, 23 December 1819) May 1820, Vol. 16, p.111.

organization, records them, follows the instructions given to him, solves problems with political institutions, visits those political institutions if necessary. Whenever he has time, he makes expeditions to expand the mission. He can take other missionaries and local helpers with him on these trips. The primary purpose of these expeditions is to open new fields. When he decides to open a field, he declares it a station with the permission of the American Board. He accompanies the works and organizes inspection trips to stations and outstations.

Station: A new colleague is sent alongside the lead missionary to work in new and smaller settlements attached to the mission. After an internship, this new missionary learns the local language and is sent as a missionary to a less populated city or town in the mission area. This area is named a station. The missionary working at the station explores the area in more detail. He opens a school. He practices the language that he learned during his internship. He goes on expeditions in the region. He directs the students he sees success in his school or one-on-one training to other mission schools. He persuades parents to send their children to other mission schools. The missionary in charge here also sells and distributes religious books and epistles. This missionary determines new places within the station borders to bring the station's activities to smaller units. After discovering such a place, the missionary begins to configure that area as an out-station with the chief missionary's proposal and the American Board's approval. There are many variables in choosing a place as a mission or station. The safety of the place, its proximity to the city center, the ease of communication and transportation, the convenience of the climate, its proximity to the British consulates, the moderate approach of the people to Protestantism, the local churches' intensity are some of them.

Outstation: A local helper is in charge and an employee of this place. Missionaries call him "native helper." These people are generally loyal to the missionaries, skilled, and can persuade people with well-developed representation skills. Their duties include; preaching to the people of the region, opening a school, directing the successful young people he raised in this school or with him to higher-level schools in the station, selling books, working in the chapel he opened, running Sunday schools.

Opening Field: This term refers to missionaries going to a place where they have not been yet or starting work in settlements where they have not started any activity.

Occupy: If missionary activities continue and a working system can be established as a result of the work of the missionaries in a region, it means that that region has been occupied.

1.3. THE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF AMERICAN BOARD

The educational work of a missionary in a region is of great importance. For example, a missionary officer is responsible for getting to know the region's culture in detail. This missionary is responsible for examining and reporting the geographical structure, political situation, climatic conditions, characters, racial characteristics, beliefs, superstitions, family structure, and regional traditions. The missionary sends these reports to the headquarters in the USA and keeps a copy for himself to guide the following missionaries. Missionaries go on expeditions whenever they have the opportunity to make this discovery. The aims of these expeditions can be listed as follows; to practice the language, observe the people's moral state personally, investigate what can be done in the future, and evaluate the current conditions for the sale and distribution of books. Missionaries embark on these expeditions with one or two of their local friends or a caravan or trade group. However, the chief missionary generally goes with the newly arrived stationary missionary and the newly trained local missionaries and local representatives and guides them during the exploration.

The missionary needs to learn the spoken language in the region he goes to carry out his activities. Whatever language is spoken where the missionary goes, even this language can be an elementary tribal language, and he tells the Bible in this language. Because according to the Bible, the message of Jesus should be told in the language spoken and understood by the addressee. Missionaries learn the local language by hiring a native with them and practicing in public. Missionaries could learn the language they are assigned to in the USA, but they cannot get along with the people as they wish because the dialects used by the people are more critical than the grammatical structure of the language in communication.

Moreover, those dialects can only be learned in those local areas. After learning a language, it comes to writing that language. For languages that do not have an alphabet, missionaries create an alphabet because one of the first steps of missionary activity is to present the Bible to people in their language and then teach them to read it.¹⁸

Another activity used by missionaries in carrying out their mission was preaching. This method aimed to awaken the interlocutor's spirit of questioning and make him question his/her old religion. Reminiscent of Socrates' method, the person's old beliefs and traditions were questioned. As a result of the interrogation, it was expected that that person would hesitate and break his/her old belief. The missionary Hamlin, for example, preached to everyone who came to his house. During the visit of a group of Armenians, he quit his job and preached in a simple language that they could understand about sin, faith in Jesus, and repentance, and answered questions.¹⁹

The missionaries translated the Bible into the local language and prepared religious treatises and schoolbooks in the local language. One of the basic principles of Protestantism is to present the Bible in one's mother tongue. For this reason, missionaries first made efforts to translate the Bible into local languages. The Bible is not the only work that is prepared in the local language. Religious treatises, Bible chapters, Bible commentaries, stories, grammar, and schoolbooks are also prepared. These are works of thousands of pages and take days, months, or even years of the time of a missionary or a missionary team during their preparation. Probably the most difficult is the preparation of schoolbooks. Because the Bible text already exists, and although it may take many years to translate, it is not as tricky as schoolbooks written from scratch. However, preparing schoolbooks, especially grammar and practice books of the local language, and arranging them according to age and grade levels requires a long-term effort.

In the eyes of the American Board, the printing press is another vital tool. "you will consider a discreet, yet active and efficacious, use of the press a subject of high

¹⁸ Herman N. Barnum, "The Kuzzel-bash Koords", **The Missionary Herald**, August 1890, vol.86, p.346.

¹⁹ Cyrus Hamlin, **My Life and Times**, Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1924, p.228.

importance, not to your mission only, but to the cause of missions, and of Christianity.”²⁰ According to the American Board, the power of the printing press is as high as the voice of a preacher. “Next to the living voice of the earnest and affectionate preacher, it is to become the most powerful mean of diffusing the knowledge of the Gospel, of awakening a dead world to spiritual life, and of glorifying God by honoring the revelation of his will.”²¹ While establishing printing houses, the American Board preferred not randomly every region but places with central and specific opportunities. The region’s language where these printing houses will be established was one of the most critical factors. For example, a printing press was established in Malta for today’s Greek society dominated by Greek and Italian. Another one was established in Beirut for the Middle East and North Africa, for Anatolia, where Turkish is spoken extensively, printing houses were established in Izmir and Istanbul. The materials used in these printing houses were supplied from France and England. As it can be understood, another reason determining the place where the printing house would be established was the ease of material transportation and closeness to main transportation ports.

Undoubtedly, the distribution of publications printed in these printing houses was also significant. Missionaries would take with them various religious tracts wherever they went. Sometimes they sell these tracts, sometimes give them as gifts, and sometimes as a reward for a donation or a gift. However, whatever the reason for their release, they are all bullets for the mission in the eyes of the missionaries:

*A short time ago I made an experiment in the use of tracts for the sake of initiating young men into Christian work. I offered to place two tracts in the hands of every member of the society who would fulfill the following conditions: 1. He must read them himself. 2. He must give them to two unconverted persons. 3. He must make those two persons the subject of special prayer that God might use the tracts for the conversion of their souls. I told them that the tract was a bullet, but the prayer was the powder to drive it home to the hearts of sinners.*²²

It is understood from this that the tracts distributed are the material to wake people up. They create question marks in people’s minds against their beliefs; they start discussions, they prepare people to listen to the missionaries. Even if the person

²⁰ **The Missionary Herald**, “Instructions to Mr. Temple”, October 1822, vol.18, p.335.

²¹ **The Missionary Herald**, 1822, p.336.

²² Caleb F. Gates, “Mardin-the Boys’ High School”, **The Missionary Herald**, October 1888, vol.84, p.437.

fires the missionary or rejects to listen to him, he will still be left with a tract. The missionaries' work of distributing these tracts is vital that the first missionaries who had served in Anatolia and the Bible Lands went to Jerusalem and distributed tracts to the Christians who came there from all over the world and planned to spread their message to the rest of the world by doing so. This distribution of tracts proceeds in parallel with other methods of manifestation. Throughout the history of missionary work, this tract distribution has never been replaced by any other method, and its importance has never decreased. Therefore, it can be said that the distribution of pamphlets is the main driving force of teaching people to read.

The distribution of all these print publications is undoubtedly unimaginable without schools. The American Board mainly aimed to teach the public to read and write and train native Protestant clergy members in their schools from 1820 to 1850 in Anatolia. The Bible and other books printed in the local language could thus be read. As Herman Barnum stated, education was not a very important part of the first periods of activities of the missionaries, and the missionaries tended to protestantize more in this period. They aimed to give at least one bible to each family. Training the native pastor, native preacher, and other church officials was their top priority.²³ According to missionary Cyrus Hamlin, the Board's philosophy of education in non-Protestant countries emerged in the following ways:

There have been three systems advocated, with reference to education in unevangelized lands. The first is the vernacular. No foreign languages should be taught. Teachers and native pastors require nothing but their own language. By acquiring foreign languages they are tempted to enter other employments, or are puffed up with a sense of their superiority, and their spiritual earnestness is injured.

The second is that of no education at all. The Gospel should be preached, and education should be left to take care of itself. This is one step beyond the position taken by Dr. Anderson, in revolutionizing the system then existing. The Baptist mission at Burrisal, India, has been an advocate and example of this system. [...]

The third system which has been advocated is that of giving the soundest Christian education possible to youth of both sexes, on our mission fields. It would give to unconverted children- contrary to Dr. Seelye's principles- and even to adults, the knowledge of letters; hoping to reach their moral natures through their understandings.²⁴

²³ Herman N. Barnum, "Missions in Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1893, vol.4, p.734.

²⁴ Cyrus Hamlin, **Among the Turks**. New York: Robert Carter Press, 1878, pp.275-277.

During the establishment of a mission, the missionaries would preach to the young people who came to them, read the Bible, and tell the wrongs of their churches. In the meantime, those young people who came to them were taught to read and write in the local language they spoke, and English lessons were given depending on the collocutor. Those who were found suitable among the young people who were educated in this way were sent to America, and they were provided with further education in a theological school there. Focusing on the first educational institutions opened by the missionaries in Anatolia, it is seen that the first educational institutions were theological schools for girls and boys. Those at the secondary school level were founded later in order to prepare for theology schools. However, the first colleges emerged after 1875. The delay in the opening of the colleges was because the first missionaries sent by the Board were interested in improving existing schools rather than opening new ones. The Board preferred to send promising students from existing schools to the USA rather than opening new schools. However, as the Board's activities became widespread, this type of education model became more difficult. The number of students was increasing daily; how would they get all these students to educational institutions across the oceans? It was a very costly job, and the students who left were having trouble adjusting to society when they returned.

The Board decided that it needed to open educational institutions in non-Protestant countries and train students in these institutions. In this way, the Board would train local educators at the expense of the students it would send to America. Thus, it was seen that opening schools were inevitable and indispensable. American missionaries were more forward-thinking than British missionaries in this matter. According to Missionary Chambers' report, the British found it useless to travel to villages to sell Bibles because very few people in those villages could read. As a result, they concentrated most of their activities in cities and towns. However, this was a significant obstacle to the dissemination of the truth of the Bible.

[...] They find it useless to travel through the villages to sell Bibles because of the very few people able to read; consequently, their work is very much confined to the large towns and cities. Very few villages have schools. This is a great

*obstacle to the spread of the truth. It is, therefore, important that schools should be established amongst the Protestant communities as soon as possible.*²⁵

Seeing this impasse, the Americans brought Bibles to even minor settlements and opened schools there. The emergence of schools caused serious debates and differences of opinion between the conservative administrators within the organization and the liberal group that advocated schooling. Missionary Cyrus Hamlin openly stated that at the present stage, the school should take precedence over the church and preaching:

*Mr Hamlin thinks that the objection to the establishment of schools by missionaries entertained by some is erroneous. He regards this instrumentality as not only important, but as indispensable to the most efficient and successful prosecution of the work intrusted to their hands. "Schools" he says "must be used for the preaching of the gospel and the conversion youth and the missionary can abandon them only when his labors have been so far crowned with success that the institutions of the gospel and of education have become organized and distinct among the people and the objects of their affectionate regard and support." He also says: "By the blessing which God has been pleased to bestow upon this mission we can already see our labors advancing to this result. Our institution has become more purely educational and theological in its character; and it will continue so, until the Protestant Armenian community shall be prepared to receive it and support it as their own.*²⁶

1.4. AMERICAN BOARD'S SCHOOL TYPES

Of course, the types of schools opened by the American Board in the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century are similar to the schools in the U.S.A of that period. The meanings of these school types, which have slightly different contents from their contemporary counterparts, can be summarized as follows:

a. Common Schools: In American education, Common school is an educational institution where literacy, simple arithmetic, history, geography, and mathematics courses are given, and students are not subject to classification. Before establishing state-owned primary schools in the USA and Europe, they were opened due to need. They are free and have been given this name because they serve people from every walk of life. These schools are not a preparation for colleges or secondary schools. In

²⁵ W.N. Chambers, "The New Village Constitution", **The Missionary Herald**, April 1884, vol.80, p.151.

²⁶ Cyrus Hamlin, "The Seminary at Bebek", **The Missionary Herald**, November 1849, vol.45, p.399.

these schools opened by missionaries in Turkey and introduced as a Sabbath school, children were taught literacy, numeracy, geography, and similar lessons. Lectures were held on the Bible and religious books, and rituals and worship were shown in practice. These schools were the first and indispensable schools of a newly opened missionary field. These schools had three purposes; the first was to make people able to read the Bible. The second was to reach out to every child in the locality and not leave them to their own, but inform them about new ideas. The last one was to select the best and the most talented students who came here and direct them to higher-level education. Especially the children and young people in the common schools at the outstations, who were able to go to a higher school, were sent to the higher school by the station. In a report of Bitlis Station: "In our eighteen outstations, ranging from three to seventy miles from this city, are important centers where this gospel seed has taken root, and we aim to make their schools feeders to these high schools."²⁷ For this reason, even if there were higher-level schools in one station, many common schools were also operating. This type of school, where reading, writing, catechism, and other introductory courses are given, has been established at every station and outstation from the earliest years.

b. Sabbath Schools: It is a type of school established in 1803 that aims to teach literacy and religious knowledge to children who do not have the financial means to go to school in the USA education system. It is independent of the church and has paid teachers. Various gifts are given to the children to ensure their continuation. These schools were generally opened in a church or next to the church in the Ottoman lands. They are more like a course than a school. People of all ages can come, learn the Bible, listen to the sermon. Here, a text or topic is generally chosen that the public can listen to and understand. Stories from the Bible are read, the Ten Commandments are explained. Generally, the meeting is over with a prayer. Another function of such schools is to collect donations in these institutions and support Protestant institutions. According to Missionary Coffing, young people who could read the Bible, illiterate adults, illiterate young children, and bridesmaids who could not attend school came to the Sabbath school in Aintab and were educated.²⁸

²⁷ **The Missionary Herald**, "Story of Bitlis Station", September 1892, vol.88, p.360.

²⁸ **The Missionary Herald**, "Letter from Mr. Coffing (20 October 1859)", February 1860, vol.61, p.51.

c. High Schools: Today, the term college denotes two years of a post-secondary academy or institute education. However, in missionary education, the higher school is an institution equivalent to today's secondary school. These schools are located in the gap between colleges and common schools in the USA. In the Ottoman Empire, these schools were used for preparation for theology after the common school. Positive science courses were generally taught in these schools, and the successful ones were taken to theology courses. This school also had a boarding section. Successful students studying in these schools were selected and directed to colleges or theology schools. As can be understood from this situation, these high schools were the institutions that fed the colleges and theological schools. They were opened separately for both girls and boys.

d. Seminaries: In the early stages of missionary work, it was sufficient for local youth to be pastors or preachers trained by apprenticeship with a missionary. However, as the knowledge and literacy level of the community increased over time, the need for more educated church officials began with the increase in the number of churches.

There is a progress, too, in supporting the young men by the people. At all our out-stations, where wood and lights were formerly furnished by the Board, the people now bear the whole expense. The helpers are boarded by the people also, at all our regular out-stations, except Palu and Choonkoosh, and this though some of the villages said in supporting the city pastor. At Choonkoosh, the people have paid about \$20 during the year, towards renting a chapel and supporting their helper, and those in Palu, \$48. We continually press upon them their obligations to sustain their own institutions, feeling that thus only can we lay well the foundations of the churches.²⁹

Thereupon, separate theology schools were established for male and female students. Students were selected from high school graduates by examination. The language of instruction in theology was determined according to which language members were planned to address the young people educated here. For example, Beirut theological school and Mardin Theological School for Arabic speakers, Bebek theological school for Turkish speakers, Mersovan Theology School, and Harpoot Theology School for Armenian speakers were established. Scientific courses were frequently given in these schools. In addition, Greek, Latin, Hebrew lessons were given. The school curriculum also presents religious education courses such as biblical

²⁹ **The Missionary Herald**, "Letter from Mr. Wheeler (5 December 1862)", March 1863, vol59, p.81.

geography, history, philosophy of mind, moral philosophy, and chanting. Its graduates were holding various positions in Protestant churches. When these schools were not enough for the second-generation protestant community, whose education level was high, theological seminaries stepped in.

e. Theological Seminaries: These schools meant a higher education than the Seminaries. Only highly educated clergy were trained in this institution, where more intense theological knowledge was taught than seminary. For this reason, the missionaries defined a madrasa they saw in Harpoot as a theological seminary; "... the Turks themselves have not only common schools but a theological seminary."³⁰ Grammar, logic, rhetoric, and metaphysics were taught in these schools as curriculum. The Biblical History lesson, in which the Bible came to the present day and its varieties, and the Ancient Translation lesson, which provided handwritten understanding texts, were necessary. In addition, the history of the church structure, the first sects, the texts of the Church Fathers, the doctrines, progress and principles of the Reformation, and the existing worship and discipline elements in the Christian church were also included in the curriculum. Nevertheless, all these issues were of secondary importance. All the students were to study the Bible day and night and devote all their energies to it.

f. Colleges: These institutions were opened to train young people who did not accept Protestantism or who were Protestant but did not want to become clergymen. These schools were training these young people to be able to work in other professions. Today, these institutions, known for the language of education is English, were primarily based on the local language (Greek, Armenian, Bulgarian, Albanian) in the Ottoman Empire. Again, these schools, which have an entirely secular appearance today, were where lessons were given to bring the young people to a religious understanding in the early period of their establishment. What has been written about a college planned to be established in Ceylon in 1824 clearly shows what the missionaries intended by establishing a college:

"1. A leading object will be to give native youth of good promise a thorough knowledge of the English language. A great reason for this is, that it will open to them the treasures of European science and literature, and bring fully before the mind the evidences of Christianity. The amount of useful knowledge, which has been infused into the Tamulian language, and indeed, into the languages of the

³⁰ Crosby H. Wheeler, "Progress in Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, September 1876, vol.72, p.277.

East generally, is exceedingly limited, compared with what is found in the English language. [...] 2. The cultivation of Tamul literature. In order to maintain any good degree of respect among the native inhabitants, it is necessary to understand their literature.”³¹

As can be seen, the understanding of education in the college shifted to a secular field, but more importantly, it was aimed to present Western science, culture, and values to the Ottoman people through the English language. The retreat of religious education into the background and that almost no direct religion lessons are included have caused Turkish students to prefer such schools.

In the light of the information given so far, it is seen that the American Board carries out educational activities with many different school types. It is possible to understand the missionaries' educational model and goals by looking at these different types of schools. Missionaries, who wanted to influence people in every part of the society, did not hesitate to do all kinds of work for this purpose. The fact that they work with many different types of schools to reach people of all kinds and levels of education in the society is proof of this.

³¹ **The Missionary Herald**, “The Plan of a College to be Established in Ceylon”, May 1825, vol.21, p.130.

CHAPTER TWO

OTTOMAN STATE- USA RELATIONS

When America was a British colony, the Ottoman state had neither a relationship nor any knowledge of this country. Likewise, the knowledge of the people in the American continent about the Ottoman State was minimal. The relations of the two continents were almost non-existent. During this period, a company called the “Levant Company”³² was conducting the commercial activities of the colonial states in the USA. Moreover, eastern goods were brought to the American colonies by British merchants. USA’s struggle to change this order was successful. After these developments, the USA started to search for a market and started to carry out the commercial activities that Britain had done before. Previously, merchant ships using the British flag gradually began to carry the USA flag. During this period, the Mediterranean trade was mainly under Ottoman control. Especially in the western Mediterranean waters, it was not possible to trade without making an agreement with the Ottoman Empire. The United States sent John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson to Europe to make trade and friendship agreements with a decision taken by the congress on 7 May 1784 to open up to the outside. The Ottoman Empire was also on the list of countries to be agreed upon in these meetings. Britain naturally did not welcome this decision as it did not want another competitor state in trade. At the same time, the United States decided that it was necessary to build a strong fleet to have a say in the trade.

The work to establish a strong war fleet started immediately. The USA wanted to both strengthen its hand in trade against Britain and secure the Mediterranean trade. Especially after the fleet was ready, the USA’s requests began to be realized one by one, and some concessions were obtained. After these events, the USA’s Mediterranean trade showed a significant development, and the first ship carrying the United States flag arrived in Izmir port in 1797.³³ After these developments, USA-flagged ships started to visit the port of Izmir.

³² For more information about The Levant Company please visit; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Levant_Company (20.08.2020).

³³ For further reading; Henry N. Howard, **The Bicentennial in American Turkish Relations**, Middle East Journal, Vol: 30, 1976, pp. 291-303.

After establishing the United States, the first attempts to establish a relationship with the Ottoman state began when Rufus King, the London ambassador of the United States of America, contacted Yusuf Agah Efendi, the Ottoman Turkish ambassador the period. With this agreement, the power of the USA would increase in the Mediterranean, and the USA would also gain the right to trade in the black sea. After these developments, Dawid Offley came to Izmir in 1811. “He started the business by opening a trading company in Izmir and unofficially undertook the American consulate until formal relations were established.”³⁴ Dawid Offley has been trading in Izmir for more than thirty years, and this situation played a vital role in Turkish-American relations. “As a result of the development of trade relations between the United States and Turkey, the number of trade companies in 1811 was one, and then in 1827 this number reached four.”³⁵

2.1. FIRST OFFICIAL RELATIONS AND 1830 TRADE AGREEMENT

After several unsuccessful attempts, the United States did not give up and managed to agree on a trade and friendship agreement on May 7, 1830.³⁶ These articles of agreement consist of two parts as open and confidential articles. According to the confidential articles, United States would make a warship for Ottoman Empire and bring timber from America for the ships built in Anatolia. This secret article convinced the Ottoman state to sign the treaty. After this trade and friendship treaty was signed with the USA, there was a significant increase in commercial activities. “While the number of ships coming from the USA to Izmir in 1823 was around seven to eighteen, in 1832 this number increased to forty-six.”³⁷ The United States did not recognize the secret article in this signed agreement and suspended the warship construction. Although this situation strained the US-Ottoman relations, the arrival of the American shipbuilder Henry Eckford to sell his ship named the United States had softened the atmosphere a little. Henry Eckford managed to sell his ship for one hundred fifty

³⁴ Kocabaşoğlu, p.9

³⁵ Oral Sander and Kurthan Fişek, **ABD. Dışişleri Belgeleriyle Türk-ABD. Silah Ticaretinin İlk Yüzyılı 1829-1929**, İstanbul, 1977, p.19.

³⁶ For the details of the agreement; Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p.17

³⁷ Bilal Şimşir, **Ermeni Propagandasının Amerikan Boyutu Üzerine. Tarih Boyunca Türklerin Ermeni Toplumu ile İlişkileri Sempozyumu**, Ankara, 1984 p.81.

thousand dollars after coming to Istanbul. In addition, after this sale, an agreement was made to construct American warships in Aynalıkavak.

Moreover, it is decided to use the USA to supply labor and materials required for shipbuilding and resources. Foster Rhodes, Henry Eckford's assistant, also contributed to this work, and fifteen craftsmen and skilled workers were also brought from the United States for this work. In addition, six hundred Turkish, Greek and Italian workers have been employed in this shipbuilding project. While these studies continued, after Henry Eckford became ill and died, his assistant Foster Rhodes was assigned. Foster Rhodes has remained in Turkey until 1839, and he put much effort into the construction of the ship and the Turkish Navy re-establishment. These relations, which developed with the construction of the warship, also developed commercial activities. In addition, close attention was paid to maritime developments in the United States. Excellent facilities were provided to American engineers in the Ottoman state. Major Emin Bey, one of the teachers of the naval school, was sent to the United States in 1850 during the first visit made by the Ottoman to the USA. In 1862, a new agreement was signed between the Ottoman Empire and the USA to develop trade further.³⁸ Furthermore, the USA was given comprehensive rights with this treaty.

As is the case today, the arms trade was of great importance among states. The arms trade played a vital role in the Ottoman-USA trade. Developing trade relations increased the share of the arms trade in the total percentage of the exports from the United States to the Ottoman. "In the United States Consulate reports, this rate goes up to ninety-seven percent."³⁹ In the 19th century, the Ottoman state authorities saw America as less harmful than the European states. Moreover, because the navy was burned by the British, French, and Russian navy in Navarin, the idea that arms trade links can be made with America is positively affected.

³⁸ For the document itself; Fâhir Armaoğlu, **Belgelerle Türk-Amerikan Münasebetleri**, Ankara, 1991, p. 7.

³⁹ Sander and Fişek, p. 7.

2.2. THE ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN ANATOLIA

Most of the first to come from the United States to Anatolia were tradesmen and captains. Furthermore, they are followed by protestant missionaries. The protestant missionaries who were influential in Ottoman lands, especially in Anatolia, were the “American Board of Commissioners For Foreign Mission” (ABCFM) missionary organization called the American Board. The missionaries who achieved great success by first spreading Protestantism in the United States later established the American Board to spread this belief. This missionary organization, whose main purpose is to spread Christianity to foreign countries, was established in Boston, America, in 1810.⁴⁰ The first representatives of the Puritan sect American board, a branch of Protestantism, arrived in Izmir on January 14, 1820. The first of these representatives had minimal information about Turkey and Turks. They had only shallow information learned from travelers, European immigrants, and some English books. For this reason, the missionaries only had limited information about Ottoman Empire’s religious character, its global nature, and its Islamic majority before their arrival. The aim of the American missionaries who came to Anatolia was to spread Christianity among the irreligious. However, in the Ottoman state, almost everyone had a religion, albeit different. American missionaries first thought of Christianizing Muslims. However, they realized that this would not be possible under the laws of the state and the rules of religion. In addition, they did not dare to do so in order not to confront the Turks. American Board Missionaries started to do comprehensive research from the first years, mostly focused on domestic educational institutions. Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk were the first American board missionaries to come to the Ottoman state, landing in Izmir on January 14, 1820. They stayed in Izmir for a year and researched Greek schools there. “They went to the island of Chios and did research there. They also reproduced the pamphlet “reading the holy scriptures” and another pamphlet prepared by the monastery director using the printing press of a Greek monastery located there.”⁴¹ They returned to Izmir and conducted an environmental survey covering an area of approximately three hundred miles. In a short time, during

⁴⁰ Füsün Çoban Döşkaya, “Amerikan Board (ABCFM) ve Fetullahçı Terör Örgütü (FETÖ)”, **Akademik Tarih ve Düşünce Dergisi**, Vol: 7, No: 3, 2020, pp. 1434-1435.

⁴¹ Frank A. Stone, **Sömürgeciliğin Hasat Mevsimi**, İstanbul, 2011, p.95.

this research trip, they worked as a mobile bookseller and managed to distribute forty-one bibles together with the two mentioned brochures. Later, Pliny Fisk stayed in Izmir, Levi Parsons went to Jerusalem to work on the Jews in the Holy Land. With the outbreak of the Greek rebellion, Levi Parsons, who returned to Izmir from the holy lands, set out again the following year but died on the way before reaching the Holy Land. Pliny Fisk traveled in cities such as Damascus and Jaffa, stayed in the area for two years, and reported his views and studies to the American Board after doing the necessary research. As it can be understood, American Board requests regular reports from the missionaries it sends to the regions it has chosen as its field of work. The Board also makes survey trips through missionaries to selected regions at regular intervals. William Goodell and Isac Bird joined two American missionaries who previously lived in Beirut in 1823. An American mission center was established in Beirut, and thus a new missionary movement started. Due to these studies, the first American missionary school in the Ottoman Empire was opened in Beirut in 1824.⁴² The United States of America is one of the states with the latest contact with the Ottoman state. The ocean between Ottoman and America has a large share in this delay. European states have strengthened their influence both because of their closeness and by taking advantage of capitulations. For this reason, until the protestant missionaries started their work, the Catholic missionaries had a certain advantage in Ottoman lands against Puritan missionaries. French was a common language at that time in the Ottoman lands. So, the protestant missionaries had to do more intensive work to influence this area. They also had to do social and cultural studies for the Mediterranean trade, which had huge importance. It is possible to understand from previous articles how much they attach importance to the Mediterranean trade. They even formed a naval fleet to control the Mediterranean trade. Initial examinations showed that there was a suitable ground for the required activities. For this reason, it was necessary to act very carefully and build a durable foundation on this ground. This foundation could be formed by opening some needed social institutions but could not be established due to the lack of education and financial difficulties in the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, since America is a secular state, it could not do these works by the hand of the state. It would be less costly and would not break the principles of the

⁴² For more detailed info; Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 16.; Stone, 2011, p. 96.

state for societies such as the American Board. As mentioned, the American missionaries had to be very careful, so the work they were going to put into practice in the first place should not have been about conversion. For this reason, they first gave secular religious education, used books, medical and other useful information, and then set aside these and started religious propaganda. The USA sent many American Board committees to Turkey. The most important reason these committees were sent to Anatolia was the desire to use the new information formed due to academic movements in the USA after 1825 in other countries. The contribution of the institutions established to the success of these activities was enormous.

American Board missionaries opened many schools and made great efforts to reduce the influence of France. Although the American Board started its activities late in the Ottoman lands, it has intensified its activities by opening many institutions. The first of these institutions was opened in Beirut. After this date, missionaries started to come to the Ottoman lands in huge numbers. The year 1826 is accepted as the start date of the activities in Anatolia. "On this date, a primary school was opened by Mary Reynold, who came to Izmir in 1826."⁴³

2.3. FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND ORGANIZATION OF THE MISSION

Since 1820, despite the missionaries' arrival in Anatolia have been operating in a very intensive way, it has not yet established an official Turkey mission. These early years passed with little understanding of the environment. The American Board appointed William Goodell to Istanbul in 1831. As a result, in the same year, "the first official center of the American Board was opened in the capital of Ottoman, İstanbul."⁴⁴ American board missionaries began working hard after the establishment of the center in Istanbul. This work has been mainly in the field of education. Realizing that their work cannot be practical for the Muslims, the missionaries concentrated on the Greeks and Armenians. The missionaries, who said they aimed to Christianize the non-Christians, could not go beyond working among Christians. Together with the Armenians of the gregorian sect, they also worked to make Christians of the Catholic

⁴³ Kırşehirlioğlu, pp. 31-32.

⁴⁴ Frank A. Stone, **Academies for Anatolia**, Boston, 1984, p. 35.

and orthodox sects protestant, who had their dominance in the region before them. During these initial efforts in Istanbul, they continued their activities by opening primary school level schools or helping other schools. The Armenian clergy, who did not see this situation as harmful to them, established good relations with the missionaries and helped them. The Turkish-American friendship and trade treaty also played a significant role in the American Board's easy establishment of a center in Istanbul. The missionaries quickly opened their first center due to the Ottoman rulers' great interest in American weapons and warships.

As a result of their work in the first years, American missionaries have decided that educational institutions are the leading initiatives that will benefit them the most. Missionaries were aware of the need to carry out activities in education to familiarize themselves with the public without making themselves look like enemies before starting their primary purpose of religious propaganda. The fact that education was given importance, especially during the reform movements in the Ottoman state, provided an advantage for missionaries. There was such a need for education in the Ottoman Empire that even some non-Muslim clergy were illiterate. Moreover, prayers were often held in languages such as ancient Armenian that the public could not understand. Even literate people could hardly understand the religious books that were not written in the languages spoken by the people. Therefore, missionaries opened the printing house in Malta, one of the first establishments, with the help and support of the British, to meet the needs of the communities they are interested in.⁴⁵ At first, this printing house started to publish religious publications, and then, in 1824, it printed the textbooks required for the educational activities of the missionaries. Until 1828, in this printing house in Malta, 62 Greek, 43 Italian, and one Turkish publication with Armenian letters were printed.⁴⁶ In the first years, the high number of Greek works is the ongoing Greek rebellion and the missionaries' activities around Izmir, especially towards the Greeks. Italian was also the predominant language in Malta, where the printing house is located. Therefore, the number of Italian publications is relatively high. However, as the missionaries increased their activities towards the Armenians, Armenian publications would increase. The striking point in these published works is

⁴⁵ Kocabaşoğlu, 1988, pp. 267-285.

⁴⁶ Kocabaşoğlu, 1988, p. 269.

that the publications were primarily published in Turkish with Armenian letters and Turkish with Greek letters. The missionaries desired to teach the Turkish-speaking Armenians the Armenian and the Turkish-speaking Greeks the Greek. Approximately 350.000 works were printed in this printing house in Malta during its ten years of operation.⁴⁷ Part of this printing house was moved to Izmir in 1833 and the other part to Beirut to publish in Arabic.⁴⁸

It is an indisputable fact that one of the most necessary tools for human integration is language. The most important differences of missionaries from local people are undoubtedly their apparel and language. Although changing their clothes was easy for missionaries, they needed time and effort to learn the language. Hence language was a big problem for missionaries. Missionaries are very well-educated people. Specially trained missionaries learn several foreign languages during their education. Although the first missionaries who came to Anatolia had trouble with the language, the missionaries who later learned the region's language they were going to while in the U.S.A overcame this problem. They also quickly learned the local languages in the region where they worked. When the history of a missionary is examined, it is seen that the subject of language learning occupies a significant place. It is clear that the first foundations of language schools, especially oriental language schools, were permanently established for this reason. Orientalism, though indirectly, developed through missionaries. American Board missionaries learned the local languages during their study trips from when they first arrived. Although most first missionaries knew Hebrew and Greek, they learned Turkish, Arabic, Armenian, and Greek after arriving in Ottoman lands. Missionaries thought this was necessary to transmit religious information to communities that performed rituals in ancient languages and translate religious books into the languages used. American Board missionaries have shown great success in this translation and language studies.

One of the most successful missionaries in this field was William Goodell. William Goodell was also the founder and first president of the Istanbul missionary center. Having learned Turkish, Armenian, Greek, and Arabic perfectly, he ensured that the Bible was printed in Turkish with Armenian letters with the help of Elias Riggs

⁴⁷ Kocabaşoğlu, 1988, p. 270.

⁴⁸ Kocabaşoğlu, 1988, p.150.

and William G. Schauffler.⁴⁹ In addition to these developments, the old and new testaments were primarily printed in Turkish with Armenian letters, Turkish with Greek letters, and other locally spoken languages. In a short time, many books were printed and distributed for free or at low prices. These first works carried out by American missionaries in Istanbul can be seen as preparatory work. They have been cautious not to stand out to eliminate their strangeness, get to know the environment better, and acquire new relations with the community. Even though the Friendship and Trade Treaty made it easier for them to carry out their activities, they still feared the reactions. The missionaries were very careful in their movements during their work in Istanbul, as the religious and political authorities were in Istanbul.

For this reason, American missionaries transferred the printing house from Malta to Izmir instead of Istanbul to keep themselves away from these authorities in Istanbul. Even though the missionaries, who acted carefully, started intensive activities in Istanbul in 1831, they equipped the houses and used them as schools in their first works and tried to acquire new relations with the community by organizing conversation meetings. Of course, they also focused on translation and publication studies.

One of the biggest reasons for the American Board Missionaries' success was that they are well educated and graduated from outstanding schools. These missionaries had extensive knowledge of the regions in which they operated and knew the region's languages very well or quickly adapted to the environment by learning those local languages in a short time. In addition to their religious knowledge, their knowledge of positive sciences was also very high. They had experience and knowledge about social life and practical knowledge during their thorough education. In addition, they had extensive knowledge of medicine. In his book, American Board missionary Cyrus Hamlin, who continues his missionary mission in Istanbul, Pera, explains how the period struggled with plague, cholera, and malaria epidemics and how he cured many people with his medical information.⁵⁰ In the success of missionaries', the effect of missionaries' support of the U.S.A and Britain behind them, abundance of financial means, determined and persistent work is also undoubtedly

⁴⁹ For more info about Elias Riggs' studies about this matter; Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, pp. 42-43.

⁵⁰ Cyrus Hamlin, **Türkler Arasında: Türkiye'deki Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri ve Robert Koleji**, İstanbul, 2015, pp. 277-289.

great. Another factor that was effective in the success of American missionaries was some deficiencies in the regions selected areas to be worked on. Due to insufficient education, people from different races, religions, and cultures in the Ottoman people structure, insufficiency of health and other social institutions, heavy impact of economic problems on the people can be counted as some of those deficiencies. This lack of education has increased the interest in missionary schools, especially to learn languages. Because of the convenience of those who know the language to find jobs and trade in commercial matters, missionaries have included English along with other languages such as French and Italian, which are effective in Ottoman trade, into their education programs, or they have increased public's interest by organizing language courses. According to the third article of the Turkish-American friendship agreement, American companies had the right to use local merchants.

For this reason, the possibility of being a broker in American companies has been another reason for choosing missionary schools. In addition, the fact that the education given by the missionaries includes some information that will be useful in social and economic life is another compelling reason for families to want to send their children to these schools. This interest in missionary schools by the public has led to an increase in teaching staff. Missionaries, by making use of local helpers, tried to increase their numbers. Missionaries were aware of their differences within this society. During their study trips and when they first arrived, they wandered around with their local clothes to eliminate their foreignness to some extent.⁵¹ Since local helpers approach their communities more efficiently and know them better, naturally, missionaries thought that the influence of Armenians on Armenians, Greeks on Greeks, and Muslims on Muslims would be more effortless. The increase in local helpers has enabled the activities to be concentrated and spread to a broader area. Based on the idea that it would be easier to approach each community with their language, they accelerated both their language studies and their publishing activities in these languages. Missionaries not only opened schools themselves but were also influential in non-Muslim schools. These schools cannot be seen as missionary schools, but missionaries have always viewed them as their schools or tried to portray

⁵¹ Cyrus Hamlin wrote that he wore a fez with a beard for this in his work. Cyrus Hamlin, **My Life and Times**, Boston, 1924, p. 217.

them that way. In addition to training teaching staff for these schools, they supported them with education, equipment, and financial aid.

Missionaries developed their activities in Beirut, Istanbul, Izmir, Trabzon, Erzroom, Bursa, Adapazarı, Yozgat from 1820 to 1839 in Thrace and the Balkans. Of course, these developments drew the reaction of local clergy and rulers. The administrators of the Armenian community thought that the effects of these activities would decrease, but the activities increased even more. Due to the further increase in activities, managers have started to impose punishment procedures. After these punishments, the American Board concentrated its activities in the inner parts of Anatolia, which were out of sight.

2.4. THE ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONERS IN HARPOOT

After the Tanzimat Edict was published in 1839, missionaries started to continue their activities in the Ottoman Empire more easily. Later, the recognition of the Protestants as a community by the Ottoman State made the missionaries feel safe. On this occasion, they established relations more easily with the Armenians, who were not afraid of being excommunicated. In addition, the reform edict issued in 1856 enabled the missionaries to carry out their activities much more quickly. After these developments, the fields of activity of the missionaries started to expand. Eastern and South-Eastern Anatolia regions have become the most active regions after these developments. “In the annual meeting of Turkey mission in 1850, it is decided that, Harpoot, Mus, Bitlis, and Van, stations to be followed closely by Erzroom station which established previously.”⁵² As a result of these developments, Harpoot was added to the mission’s field of activity. The first American Board missionaries to arrive in Harpoot are George W. Dunmore and his wife. George W. Dunmore lived in Izmir until 1851 and was later assigned to work in the interior of Anatolia. First, they were assigned to Diyarbakır. They stayed there until 1855 and learned Turkish. Later, the mission officials sent George W. Dunmore and his wife to Harpoot due to the prevalence of cholera and malaria diseases due to the damp and hot weather of

⁵² Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 92

Diyarbakır.⁵³ Arriving in Harpoot in 1855, George W. Dunmore and his wife started their activities immediately, and they faced a great reaction here as everywhere. Since they divided the Armenian Gregorian community and converted it to Protestantism, the Armenian rulers and congregation in the old sect reacted to the missionaries. In his first report to his administrators, George W. Dunmore said, "Christians are so hostile to us that one day I might be killed like a dog in the streets."⁵⁴ George W. Dunmore opened a Protestant school in Harpoot to train local clergy, local helpers, and teachers. Coed education was given in this school. Missionaries frequently used local helpers. At the age of sixteen, a young native Armenian named M.A. Melcon began teaching here. With the arrival of George W. Dunmore in Harpoot, the activities of local Protestants started to increase. The new information he gave in his following reports was very useful in establishing and developing the mission after his first report. In a report sent to Boston, he said, "Harpoot plain is the richest, most convenient and most promising plain in terms of missionary work I have ever seen in Turkey."⁵⁵

For this reason, new missionaries probably started to be appointed to Harpoot after a while from the center in Boston. After the increase of these activities of the missionaries, the reactions against the missionaries started to occur. Armenians belonging to other sects complained to the community officials, especially disturbed by these studies in the Harpoot area. These activities caused great clashes, especially between the Protestants in Harpoot and the gregorian and Syriac Armenians. These conflicts have grown so much that there has been a debate between Protestants and Gregorians about whether a Protestant child should be buried in the Armenian cemetery. As can be understood from this incident, changing sects among the Armenians meant leaving that Armenian nation. If an Armenian was converted to Protestant or Catholic, they were not considered an Armenian. Those who converted to other sects also considered themselves to be Protestant or Catholic, not Armenian.

As a result of intensive activities in Harpoot and its surrounding areas and sent reports, in Turkey mission's annual meeting held in 1857 in Istanbul, two missionaries were chosen to be sent to Harpoot. These were O. P. Allen, who previously worked in

⁵³ Frank A. Stone, "The Life and Death of Armenia or Euphrates College", **The Armenian Review**, Vol: 30, No: 2-118, Boston, 1977, p. 149.

⁵⁴ Barbara J. Merguerian, "An American In Kharpert", **The Armenian Review**, Vol: 24, No: 2, Boston, 1983, pp. 24-30.

⁵⁵ Şimşir, 1985, p. 95

Trebizond, and Crosby H. Wheeler from the United States. In addition to these two missionaries, Dr. Herman N. Barnum also came to Harpoot in 1857.⁵⁶ In the first years, education in Harpoot was conducted in Turkish by visiting villages.⁵⁷ These first missionaries who came to Harpoot laid the foundations of the Harpoot mission with intensive work. In the following chapter, the establishment and development stages of the Harpoot mission will be examined and explained.



⁵⁶ Merguerian, p. 25.

⁵⁷ Herman N. Barnum, "Forty Years in Harpoot, Eastern Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, Vol: 95, No: 10, October 1899, Boston, 1899, pp. 402-403.

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES IN HARPOOT

3.1. ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT STAGES OF THE HARPOOT MISSION

The missionaries who came to Harpoot started schooling as their first job. In this first period, the opened schools provided education at the primary school level to teach literacy education. This education was organized as courses before schools were established. Before schools were opened, these lessons were taught in local churches. Adult women were also trained through the wives of the missionaries. About the education of Armenian women, missionary Dr. Herman N. Barnum says that "until then there was no such understanding of women's education."⁵⁸ The first schools that are opened are usually the schools where coed education is carried out. According to the statements of Herman N. Barnum, even many Armenian priests in the region were illiterate.

Moreover, even the prayers that most Armenian priests recited were those they had memorized beforehand. In addition, Herman N. Barnum reports that very few people were literate in the region apart from a few Turkish civil servants. The fact that missionaries increased these literacy activities started to disturb the Muslims too.

Nevertheless, since this movement was not against them, they did not react like the Armenians. The intensive schooling of the Protestant community in the villages made the Muslim people nervous, and they tried to prevent the opening of these schools by opposing from time to time. M.A. Melcon, who was first assigned to the school opened in Harpoot, brought another Armenian girl to school with her sister, and thus the mixed system started to settle in Harpoot. After the first school was opened, the second school in Harpoot was opened by George W. Dunmore, and the third school in a village of Mezre.⁵⁹ However, the Armenians did not show much interest in these first schools because they were affiliated with their old sects. Reactions due to the sect difference created hesitation in other communities' coming to missionary schools;

⁵⁸ Barnum, 1899, p. 402

⁵⁹ Mezre is the name given to the region where the city of Elazığ is located today.

only people wondering about Protestantism showed some interest. However, in the following years, Gregorian Armenians mostly attended the schools with the passing of the adaptation period. Armenians and non-muslims were aware of what missionaries were doing. Non-Muslims knew that American Board's every move was to get closer to them. For example, missionaries would also help put out the fire when a fire broke out in their neighborhood.

During their first activities in Harpoot, the missionaries bought a few buildings in the neighborhoods where Armenians were living. In 1857, missionary Mrs. Dunmore's health deteriorated, and she had to return to the USA with her husband the following year.⁶⁰ George W. Dunmore initiated theology lectures, and later it was conducted by O.P. Allen. O.P. Allen made great efforts in the opening of churches and regular schools. As a result of the outstanding efforts of Crosby H. Wheeler, O. P. Allen, and Herman N. Barnum, they succeeded in placing the mission in the Şehroz district with their local assistants.⁶¹

Missionaries made an intense effort to school the local Protestant community. By establishing new stations, they leased places that would serve as churches and schools in different places. American Board missionaries opened schools and later handed them over to local Protestants. These schools were opened in places belonging to a non-Muslim.

As a result of these efforts, small communities occurred around schools.⁶² Especially since 1857, while churches were built around Harpoot, schools were established next to them, or churches were used as schools. After 1857, books kept in the book store in Harpoot were also started to be distributed. These books were published in Armenian or Turkish with Armenian letters, as education was made in the native language.⁶³ American missionaries point out that native communities do not have their appropriate textbooks.⁶⁴ The mission's opening of schools and arranged meetings grew rapidly; another contribution to this growth came from the theology school for boys, which opened in 1859. The main factor in the missionaries' rapid growth and development was their resourcefulness.

⁶⁰ Stone, 1984, p.250.

⁶¹ İshak Sunguroğlu, **Harpoot Yollarında**, Vol: 1-2, İstanbul, 1956-1959, p. 83.

⁶² David Brewer Eddy, **What Next in Turkey**, The American Board, Boston, 1913, p. 115.

⁶³ Stone, 1984, p. 154.

⁶⁴ Barnum, pp. 402.

Harpoot was one of the most important centers for the American Board. Herman N. Barnum has significant contributions to it. Dr. Herman N. Barnum married the daughter of Crosby H. Wheeler, a missionary like himself, and was able to work efficiently.⁶⁵

There were sixty-six villages with populations ranging from one hundred to five hundred in and around Harpoot. Each of the villages was a few hours away from Harpoot. For this reason, as the Harpoot mission could easily reach these villages, it had a convenient feature for the Harpoot mission center. Due to this feature, Harpoot was the center of the American's Eastern Turkey Mission. Initially, all the American Board's activities in the Ottoman State were called the 'Turkey Mission.' As a result of the development of the mission in 1860, it was decided to make an administrative arrangement by dividing it into three central regions. At this stage, considering the characteristics of Harpoot, it is decided to be the center of the Eastern Turkey Mission.

Upon becoming the central station in Eastern Turkey, Harpoot has become an important center for American Board. Thus it was decided that the board should be focusing not only on men but also on girls' educational training. As a result of this thought, in the annual meeting of 1861, it was decided to open a girls' school with a developed educational system.⁶⁶ With the girls' school opening, educational activities have intensified, and the Harpoot station has started to train an elite educational staff not only for its region but also for neighboring stations. The missionaries' wives took an active role in the educational activities at this girls' school and provided significant assistance to the missionaries. Lancaster education method was applied in Harpoot, and the students who were educated in the missionary schools here went to the surrounding villages and gave lectures. These students were single Armenian students who could read and write. These young people took with their textbooks and reading books to teach, and they also taught in common schools throughout their education using New Testament. In a school opened by Armenians in Hohaliya village in 1863, one hundred and sixty adults, fifty girls and ten boys were educated by those young single Armenians.⁶⁷ The schools where Lancaster-type education was given were so

⁶⁵ Sunguroğlu, p.85.

⁶⁶ Stone, 1977, p.152.

⁶⁷ Stone, 1977, pp.150-151.

valuable to American missionaries that missionaries even provided financial aid to these schools. Even a small amount of money was given to students to encourage them.

As a result of these incentives and aids, significant success has been achieved in the Harpoot mission. The role of female students in these tasks increased and doubled the station's success.⁶⁸ Harpoot station has become a critical station globally due to its broad impact area, the high number of end stations in this area, and the intensive training activities. As a result of the missionaries' intensive training activities, small protestant groups started, and the "Harpoot Protestant Armenian Churches Union" was established in 1865. During these studies, which were particularly intense between 1857 and 1867, the American Board allocated 13,111 dollars to their schools in Harpoot. 3,501 dollars of this money were spent on schools in the city and the outer stations, 2,140 dollars for girls preparation school in four years, and 7,470 dollars for the Harpoot Theology School in seven years.⁶⁹ Most of these schools were organized by local Protestants, especially by churches. Since there was no control mechanism during these periods, the protestants were able to work quite comfortably. Students who graduated from these schools, which spread over a vast area, worked as teachers in the surrounding schools and clergy members in churches.

American Protestant missionaries were not the only ones engaged in educational activities in Harpoot. Other communities did not stand idly against these activities of the Americans and were working hard by opening schools for their communities. Primarily Latin schools led by French, Spanish, and Italian priests provided a comprehensive organization. Local Catholics were helping them. Against the success of the Protestants in education, the French opened a college-level school in Mezre. Although French missionaries chose Mezre as their center, they also opened schools in different region settlements. Like the Americans, they started their education by renting a house, and then they tried to expand the school following their needs. After the American and French missionaries, the city of Harpoot also hosted the schools opened by German missionaries. There were also schools in Harpoot that Gregorian Armenians opened. On August 12, 1869, the education regulations were published to bring the Ottoman Empire's educational institutions in order, including

⁶⁸ Crosby H. Wheeler, "For Young People-Euphrates College, Harpoot Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, Vol: 84, No: 3, March 1888, Boston, 1888, p.135.

⁶⁹ Stone, 1977, p.154.

these missionary schools. However, despite this regulation, the educational programs and openings of the schools could not be taken under control, new ones continued to be opened, and even they increased their activities. These increased activities and the increase in the number of schools combined with the competition between communities increased the quality of education in Ottoman lands. Especially the reform movements in the Ottoman state prepared the ground for the education of Muslims.

As a result of the studies related to education since II. Mahmud, Schools developed considerably. The primary and secondary schools opened at that time formed a basis for the Turkish education system.

Other congregations did not stand still, and the emergence of male and female high schools necessarily forced Americans to develop and grow their institutions. After all these developments, the idea of enlarging and developing the schools since 1874 has become the greatest goal of the missionaries working in Harpoot. To this end, Crosby H. Wheeler, head of the Harpoot mission, took action and raised more than \$140,000 in the United States to open a school in 1875 while he was in the USA. Armenian benefactors living in that region also donated 40,000 dollars.⁷⁰ These contributions and donations from the locals played a significant role in the development of the Harpoot mission. The 180,000 dollars Crosby Wheeler collected in 1875 came to life as Armenian College in 1878. This college became complex over time, and all the schools that Americans opened in the Harpoot region began to be called colleges.

Later, the name of this college was changed to Euphrates College. This college trained teachers and clergy members to work in the region and made many young people become professionals through craft workshops. In addition, with its superior education, many students from other academies have been trained in this college. The wide field of activity of the Harpoot station has been mentioned before. This magnitude shows itself in the twenty-two churches of the Harpoot Protestant Armenian Churches Union, which was under the influence of the mission in 1877, with one thousand three hundred and twenty-two members and around five thousand congregations and eighty-three primary schools providing education. This broad field

⁷⁰ Stone, 2011, p. 259

of activity played a crucial role in the establishment and development of Euphrates College. The missionaries' having all kinds of opportunities with the help of the European States and the USA without any obstacles caused them to have an education system above the Ottoman education system. Craft workshops for vocational training, vocational courses, free training courses, medical knowledge, assistance to orphans, and allowances given to students in their early years can be counted as some of the financial opportunities for developing this education system of missionaries. In addition to those living in Harpoot and its surroundings, Armenians in the surrounding provinces also benefited from these opportunities that Muslims could not benefit from. The opening of this college affected other communities, and they tried to make their schools run like Euphrates College, which has fundamental rules and methods. There was a great deal of interest in these missionary schools in the region. Interest in these schools mainly was due to financial concerns. Giving the information needed in social life, the desire to benefit from the opportunities of the USA, the desire to immigrate to the USA, the comfortable lives of Americans and the admiration for this life, the desire to have this life were the reasons for parents to want to send their children to these schools. The ability of students graduating from American Board's missionary schools to go to education in the United States was also a major influencing factor.

After the American Board started its activities in Harpoot and the schools gave their first graduates, a wave of immigration from Harpoot to the USA started. This admiration for American life and ideas is a result of the missionary activities in Harpoot. However, this result was in contrast to the missionaries' goals when they first arrived. The missionaries' motto has always said, "Our main goal is religion, not education." Their activities showed that their aim was not to reform the existing Armenian churches but to break them up. With the development of missionary activities, the missionary influx from the USA to Harpoot naturally increased. After a while, missionaries' wives became insufficient for women's education, and missionaries were employed. Thus, missionaries also aimed to influence all members of families through the mother. As a result of these developments, the education-training network has been formed, from literacy courses to primary schools, from secondary education to college education. Well-trained male and female teachers were provided and trained at the same time. Although the missionaries said that their

primary purpose was not education but religion, they knew that education was essential to achieve their real purpose.

Moreover, to achieve this primary goal, they continued to serve this high level of education by improving it every day. After all these increased efforts, it was planned to open a consulate in Harpoot for the mission to work more efficiently, solve the United States' bureaucratic issues, and ensure the safety of its citizens in the region. However, this idea became official only in the 1895s by the application for the consulate. However, permission to open this consulate was obtained in 1900.⁷¹ In the meantime, a hospital named Annie Tracy Riggs was built to overcome the shortcomings in medical matters and started to serve in Mezre in 1909.

The missionaries in Harpoot lived a very comfortable life compared to the local people and had vast opportunities. It was something that aroused admiration and interest towards missionaries. Missionaries even built a "country house" that they could go to in the summer, just like the locals. About two kilometers from the town, they bought several gardens and combined them into a large farm. It was a perfect summer resort with country houses, regular gardens, poolside, and tennis courts. In addition, since there was no water network, they even built a windmill to pump water to the houses.⁷² They have benefited from all the blessings of modern life as much as they can. While many establishments in Harpoot did not have a telephone, they had a telephone connected to the Euphrates College. These experiences of the missionaries aroused admiration and interest among the locals. Thus, they have become very effective in the environment.

The missionaries' most intense activities were on educational work. It would not be wrong to say that education was the most effective field among the missionaries' activities. This situation was the same in the Harpoot region, as in all other missionaries' working areas. The primary purpose of the training given by the missionaries was to raise an elite administrative group in the region and prepare the future administrators of the region from this group. The missionaries' opening of educational institutions at different levels, from literacy courses to college institutions, also resulted from this thought. American missionaries operated in the schools they

⁷¹ Thomas H. Norton, "Influence of an American College in Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, Vol: 99, No: 7, July 1903, Boston, pp.298-299.

⁷² For a much more detailed description of the lifestyle in Harpoot; Merguerian, pp. 24-30.

had opened during their educational activities and played a significant role in developing other non-Muslim local schools. They carried out their activities through financial assistance, particularly the recruitment and training of non-Muslim schools' teaching staff. Missionaries have been the supporters of other congregations' educational activities. American missionaries started their educational activities by buying a few houses in the Şehroz quarter in Harpoot, where Armenians lived. Missionaries traveled around Harpoot during these first educational activities, made study trips, and encouraged literacy. During these activities, they also attach importance to religious conversations and sermons. It was mentioned that the first missionaries to arrive in the Harpoot region were George W. Dunmore and his wife. During these early activities, George W. Dunmore and his wife were afraid of the reaction of Christians and had to act very cautiously. However, despite acting with such caution, they opened the first school to carry out their activities the same year they arrived. The local population initially hesitated to come to this coeducational school, but later on, an Armenian boy named M.A. Melcon started to teach at the school and brought some Armenians from people he knew to the school, and the students at the school began to increase. This school aimed to teach literacy. In addition to opening this school, the missionaries also encouraged the local Protestant community to increase literacy. Over time, literacy started to be taught in churches or schools. Later, when there was a need for a school where only men would be educated, another school was opened in Harpoot, and another school was opened in Mezre.⁷³ As a result of these educational and propaganda activities, the community formed in a short time. Later, boarding schools started to be opened for boys and girls. Another method applied in Harpoot is that literate students in missionary schools teach adults how to read and write by going to their shops and houses one by one. "These little teachers were paid a quarter-cent for their sixty-minute lessons per day."⁷⁴ This money payment thing of missionaries is one of the methods they applied to encourage the communities they operate. They provided financial aid to victim families who helped them, attended their schools, and even sent their children to their schools. As the number of students increased, the missionaries' amount of money (scholarship) also

⁷³ For more detailed information; James L. Barton, "Euphrates College, Harpoot", **Turkey, The Missionary Herald**, Vol: 95, No: 2, February 1909, Boston, pp. 529-534.

⁷⁴ Stone, 1977, p.154.

increased. Missionaries considered this practice to be essential for the development of education in the region. As a result of the increasing interest in schools, the students to be accepted were also subjected to a unique selection in the following years. Students who were thought to fail in this exam were sent back without being admitted. The Harpoot Mission manager Crosby H. Wheeler explains this choice as follows;

If someone is empty and incompetent, if he is proud of what he has learned a little and elevates himself, and if he gets caught up in arguing about the unnecessary things people like most, we send him back to his/her farm or his/her job and it is a pity to break a good cobbler or farmer to make him a poor preacher.⁷⁵

The success of the missionaries in these works was undoubtedly due to their financial means and the quality education they had received. The schools they opened, the positive social life of their education, and the validity of their applied methods have also aroused admiration among non-Protestants. Along with this admiration, the growing interest in Protestantism and the idea that Protestants can establish superiority over other communities brought an intense reaction.

The recognition of the Protestants as a congregation, the fact that the new congregation members could benefit from all kinds of conveniences, and the existence of a congregation in which they would take shelter if the old congregation excommunicated them made the missionary movements easier and increased their activities. The missionaries, who interpreted the sectarian freedom obtained with the Reform Edict of 1856, used local helpers to sell books to gain community for their sect, and they distributed books together with sugar for the same purpose.⁷⁶ Protestant missionaries were not the only active missionaries in Harpoot. Catholic French missionaries were also operating in the Harpoot region. With the effect of these activities, some Gregorian Armenians converted to Catholicism by changing their sects. This situation shows that American Protestant missionaries and French Catholic missionaries were influential in the region. American missionaries opened a theology school in Harpoot in 1859 after their preliminary studies. With the opening of this school, the shape of the mission in Harpoot began to emerge. In this way, the American Missionaries would have both local Protestants open schools in the area they chose,

⁷⁵ Stone, p. 151-152.

⁷⁶ For more detailed information; Paul N. Taşo, **Mon Frere I'Abbe Paul**, İstanbul, 1939, p.8.

and they would have an education network in the region with the schools they would open in and around Harpoot.

3.2. AMERICAN MISSIONARY SCHOOLS IN HARPOOT

3.2.1. Harpoot Theological Seminary (1859-1916)

American missionaries used an education model based on literacy education to understand the lessons taught by the missionaries during their first period, which was called the schooling period. In this educational model, an education including Turkish and Armenian language lessons and religious knowledge was applied. Those successful in this training were employed as teachers and clergy members in the surrounding stations such as villages and towns. As mentioned earlier, missionaries whose apparent purpose was education were trying to bring believers into their sects. To bring those believers, they needed education, and to provide this education, they had to train local helpers. For this reason, missionaries have always designed their education for this purpose. This opportunity was provided to the missionaries in Harpoot after a sad event. The theology school previously opened in Tokat by the American Board Missionaries was burned by fire.⁷⁷ The Armenians usually carried out the incident of burning missionary schools as a reaction to the activities of the missionaries. There are many examples of such reactions in almost all cities of the Ottoman Empire. Especially after the Islahat edict in 1856, missionaries who found the opportunity to move more easily increased their activities, and in turn, such arson incidents increased. In addition, Armenians who abandoned their sect and became Protestant were punished severely by their former sect. After the American Board's theology school in Tokat was burned by arson, the missionaries moved the school to a safer place. Thus, in the autumn of 1859, the school was reopened as Harpoot Theological Seminary in Harpoot. Four basic requirements were sought for students to enter this school. These were "religiosity, literacy, Jones's Catechism, and four mathematical operations." However, the initial training was subsequently reduced to mediocre. Missionaries did not like that education in such schools was oriented

⁷⁷ Stone, 1984, p. 113.

towards social life. Because well-educated Armenian youth were turning to other business fields with better financial means. Therefore, such schools are taught in the local language to prevent students from turning to other areas. It is possible to see a similar situation in the Bebek Seminary opened by Cyrus Hamlin in Istanbul. The students who graduated from the Bebek Seminary turned towards other professions rather than priesthood. For this reason, a dispute arose between the American Board general secretary Rufus Anderson and Cyrus Hamlin over the training method. The reasons such as the students' knowing the language, having practical knowledge, and being in a big city such as Istanbul affected their engagement in jobs other than their education purposes. For this reason, those schools providing this kind of education were opened or moved to centers in the inner parts of Anatolia, such as Marsovan, Harpoot, Marash, and Mardin. The Americans' theology school in Bebek also had an impact on the Turkish educational system. Cyrus Hamlin's "Turkish with Armenian Letters" mathematics book was printed by Ahmet Vefik Pasha, the minister of education in Ottoman, and distributed to the education directorates. The American Board's school of theology in Bebek was transferred to Marsovan in 1860.⁷⁸ Although these schools kept their curricula limited for their real purpose, they also felt the need to improve their education. Through Theological Schools, American Missionaries had the opportunity to improve and increase their training on priests and preachers for the region. Other primary level schools established in the region became a sub-level for this school. Students were recruited and trained for four years. This school in Harpoot trained clergymen for the surrounding stations. These clergymen were even called to Iran. In this school, financial aid was given to the students to help them with their education, and they were given a weekly allowance. Generally, males between the ages of 25 - 35 are selected for these schools.⁷⁹ Married males had to earn the money necessary to support their families. For this reason, the missionary provided a weekly allowance. Students who come to these schools are adult males who get married at a very young age and often have children. While single students were given twenty-one piasters a week, twenty-eight piastres were given to married men in need. Except for these habits of men using tobacco, all other local customs were tolerated. To prevent

⁷⁸ Hamlin, p. 1924.

⁷⁹ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 85.

tobacco habits, non-smokers are rewarded, while a certain amount of money is cut from smokers' weekly allowances. Although paid education is provided at other American Missionary Schools in Harpoot, the weekly allowance given to students in the School of Theology is due to the less interest in this school than other schools. Those who want to enter other schools are quite high and have to pay money, so those who attend this school generally have no financial means. The Harpoot Theological Seminary has made great progress in a short time. Four years after its opening, in 1864, students educated in the school were clergymen and students who could write and think critically.

Local language or dialects have also been a problem in this school, which provides education in the local language because students were coming from the surrounding regions. Because most of the schools were Armenians, the lessons given in Armenian and Turkish could not be understood by those who knew other local languages and dialects. Therefore, the issue of language and dialect was a big problem for missionaries. The missionaries were in trouble because Armenians who spoke Arabic and Kurdish came to this theology school in Harpoot. Before 1867, among the 81 students who attended the theology school, there were 9 Arabic and 6 Kurdish students.⁸⁰ The theological school had a separate building and program, but after the college was established, the school began to be seen as part of the college, a classroom. Theology studies continued as a separate school. This school, opened without a license, was seen as a private school by the Ottoman State authorities and was not given much attention. It was considered a clergy school within the college. The school closed in 1893 while training clergy for Protestant churches and congregations. One hundred and fourteen students were graduated from Harpoot Theological School in 1893. However, this number was not enough for East Turkey Mission. Because graduates not only worked for the Eastern Turkey Mission but were also assigned to other centers. There was much trouble when the school was closed as there was no qualified personnel working in churches and other religious places. However, later in 1903, due to the extreme demands of the Harpoot Protestant Armenian Churches Union and the missionaries, the administrative board in the United States decided to reopen the school. Harpoot Theological Seminary was reopened in September 1904

⁸⁰ Stone, 1984, p. 151.

with a special ceremony after this decision. After reopening in 1904, the school continued its education in a short time. The school was an academy in 1906, with six teachers, a five-room building, and a library with three hundred books.⁸¹

3.2.2. Girls Preparation School (1863-1907)

The girls' preparation school was opened to provide the education needed for girls. Half of the boys' schools that needed to be opened were opened and operating within a system. For this reason, it was time to open an educational institution for girls. It was possible to direct women by approaching the ones who learned reading and writing by missionaries. For this reason, it was felt the need to integrate and develop women's education into a system, and work had begun. The Girls Preparation school was opened by a decision taken at the 1861 annual meeting of the 'East Turkey' mission. Later, as a result of constructing a new church and transforming the old Protestant Church into a school, the girls' school was transferred here.⁸² Three issues have been taken into consideration in the opening of these schools. The primary goal was to concentrate on women's education, which was lacking. Because most of the wives of the male students at the theology school were uneducated, if these women were expected to help their husbands, they had to be trained. Secondly, since the Armenian Protestant Union could not appoint any student who graduated from the theology school to the priesthood without getting married, the girls who attended the prep school for girls would be well-educated wives for the priests. Thirdly, the staff working in the schools next to the small Protestant churches were required more teachers. The number of teachers was not sufficient due to the rapid opening of these schools. The education applied in this school was aimed to be the same as the education for boys, but then the curriculum was specially prepared for girls. This education of the girls aimed to raise educated mothers for the future of the people. Girls brought from different regions were trained here and sent back to their regions, thereby expanding the scope of the mission.

⁸¹ Edward F. Carey, "The Eastern Turkey Theological Seminary at Harpoot", **The Missionary Herald**, Vol: 102, No: 8, Boston, 1906, pp.20-22.

⁸² Stone, 1984, p. 152.

The girls were taught housekeeping. In the absence of female missionaries, local teachers and the wives of missionaries were attending classes. Mrs. Wheeler and her daughter Emily both were educated at Mt. Holyoke Girls Theological Seminary. Emily taught at this school for sixteen years. Her mother was teaching English to the girls. Miss Barnum was teaching physical geography classes. Miss Allen accompanied the choir while Miss Daniels and Miss Wheeler taught how to sing. Miss Daniels also taught girls on pedagogy. A local teacher named Nazlı was in charge of teaching moral science.⁸³ It can be seen that the missionary ladies who are among the educators of the Girls Preparation School in Harpoot were also impressed by the schools they graduated from in the United States. In the following years, the girls' school grows yearly and does not fit into the old Protestant church held as a school.

Thereupon a new building was needed. However, mission officials do not have any financial resources. Despite this, school construction starts with a hundred dollars. Due to the physical structure of the neighborhood where the mission is located, it takes two years to complete the building.⁸⁴ After these developments, female missionaries come to Harpoot from the United States. The girls' school continues to develop until the college is established. Later, with the establishment of Euphrates College, it forms the girls' section of the college, and its structure changes with its programs. However, their goals remain the same; a program for girls' education is followed. This school later formed the basis of secondary and high schools providing girls' education at the upper primary school level. Missionaries paid much attention to the school they opened for girls in Harpoot as they did for the schools they opened for boys. This situation shows how much the missionaries attach importance to girls' education because missionaries considered the development of girls' education as a pleasing event and an indicator of success.⁸⁵ There was a theology school in Harpoot, and that the graduates will receive great help from their wives also increased the importance given to girls' education. Girls' schools have permanently been established in separate buildings, and attention has been paid to another building between the boys' schools. This girls' school is organized as a boarding school. It can be said that this situation

⁸³ Stone, 2011, p.199.

⁸⁴ Stone, 1984, p.152.

⁸⁵ Wheeler, 1888, p.137.

has become a necessity at some point since it provided education to students from the surrounding provinces, districts, and villages.

3.2.3. Euphrates College (1878-1918)

A vast primary education network was established in and around Harpoot, but these schools were insufficient for advanced education. American Missionaries needed a high-level school to compete with the high-level schools that the Ottoman state began to open and with the emerging educational institutions of the French and other communities. This school had to be opened because there was great competition between missionary organizations. In addition, there was a need for a more advanced education institution to please the Armenians they wanted to attract to their sect, grow the Protestant community by gaining new supporters, and make their interests in the region permanent. In addition, it has been observed that in the regions where missionaries operate, the people themselves wanted such a school. The Robert College opened by the American missionary Cyrus Hamlin in Istanbul and the Syrian Protestant College opened in Beirut set an example for this school. The first study to establish a college in Turkey is the Central Turkey College, which opened in Aintab in the 1870s. This college was established as a result of the insistence of the native people to the American missionaries. Colleges have attracted significant attention due to their education for social life. The public interest in these colleges can be seen in a report written in 1890.

Each school is a Christian center. Given the universal interest in Christian education, when this interest was explored, many exemplary families and children saw it as the best means of achieving success in their work and increasing their wealth, rather than being ready for more zealous and effective Christian studies to reap the major monetary advantages that this valuable education brought.⁸⁶

Due to the interest and enthusiasm for this advanced education school in Harpoot, the American Board Missionaries on duty started to think about the issue from 1870 onwards. In the 1870s, there were approximately one hundred schools and churches in the vicinity.⁸⁷ Crosby H. Wheeler, head of the Harpoot mission in 1875,

⁸⁶ Stone, 1984, p.180.

⁸⁷ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, **Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika**, 3rd ed, İstanbul, 2000, p.150.

managed to raise 140,000 dollars for this school during his vacation in the USA. When the local contribution of forty thousand dollars was added, the necessary money for opening the college was completed. The collected money merged in Massachusetts, and the total amount of money reached one hundred and eighty thousand dollars.⁸⁸ The Massachusetts state committee formally accepted the college's founding and administrative committees on May 13, 1878.⁸⁹ When the college was founded in 1878, it was named "Armenian College." Later, upon the objection of the Ottoman government, the name of the school was changed to "Euphrates College" on February 16, 1888, after the river flowing nearby.⁹⁰ Euphrates college was under the control of the board of trustees elected by the American Board as the central college in Aintab. The board of trustees, consisting of ten people, were all residents in or around Boston, USA.⁹¹ Because girls are also educated at the college, the subsidiary of the American Board, "Woman's Board of Missions," which was established for missionary activities among women, was given the right to elect one-third of the board of trustees.⁹² The American Board organization wanted a missionary to be elected president who would not allow the character of the mission to change. In this election, the board of trustees unanimously elected Crosby H. Wheeler as chairman because his acceptance would not mean leaving the American Board. The college was expanded in 1880, and alongside religious education, it began to focus on secular education.⁹³ Euphrates college was divided into two main parts. One is the "normal part," and the second part is the "high part." In this way, education, divided into two main parts, has been subjected to a separate classification: orphanage, theology school, kindergarten, primary school, secondary school, and high school. No fees were collected from local Christians who attended literacy courses and studying in schools. It was done to encourage local people to send students to these departments. In addition, as mentioned before, even financial aid was given to families who sent their children to these schools. Theology students were given weekly pocket money, and also, they were free.

⁸⁸ Stone, 1977, p.156.

⁸⁹ Stone, 1977, p. 188.

⁹⁰ Stone, 1977, p.157.

⁹¹ Kocabaşoğlu, 2000, p.150.

⁹² Kocabaşoğlu, 2000, p.150.

⁹³ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, **Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda XIX. Yüzyılda Amerikan Yüksek Okulları**, Ankara, 1988, p.314.

In these paid schools, fees were charged according to the level of education. In addition, boarding students studying at the higher part of Euphrates College paid a pension and tuition fees. The tuition fee, which was one dollar in the first parts of the school, would gradually increase to six dollars and forty cents in the College. The annual rent of the men's bedrooms also increased from twenty cents one dollar to twenty cents. Girls' room rates ranged from twenty to forty cents annually. In 1888, boarding students' annual tuition and bed fees from remote areas were approximately twenty-six dollars forty cents.⁹⁴ It is not possible to talk about a standard fee as tuition increases over the years. In addition, as can be understood, less tuition was charged to female students at Euphrates College. The reason for this was the desire to increase the number of girls studying in the college. Some college students would bring food from their homes weekly to save money on meals. The female students' meal money was twenty-two dollars. Some female students were also given a discount on this issue. Euphrates College did not only provide education for Christian students. Every student who could pay the fee and was willing could study at Euphrates College. In fact, in the first years, Gregorian Armenians constituted the majority in Euphrates College.⁹⁵ In the 1880s, sixty-two of the sixty-six villages around Harpoot had an American Mission station and twenty-two Protestant churches.⁹⁶ Students from Harpoot and its surrounding local schools (especially in Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Eğin, Arapgir, Malatya, and Tunceli stations) would come to the Euphrates college to receive higher education. Euphrates college was a complex that included all education levels from primary school to higher education. At the same time, both girls and boys were being educated. For these reasons, the college has great importance for its surroundings and Turkey Mission. Although there were several mission schools in Turkey Mission (Kayseri, Sivas, Van, Aintab, Erzroom), Harpoot was the most important center. The college was established in the Şehroz district of Harpoot, where houses are located on very narrow streets and terraces. The college consisted of the boys' building at the end of a long and wide plain, the president's house opposite it, and the girls' school on the other side. The school settled in this way expanded over time and spread to the whole Şehroz district. The college has become a large educational site with new buildings and

⁹⁴ Kocabaşoğlu, 2000, p.151.

⁹⁵ Henry F. Tozer, **Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor**, London, 1881, p.228.

⁹⁶ Barton, pp. 533-534.

additions to old buildings. The President's house is placed between the boys' and girls' buildings to prevent the buildings from facing one another. Crosby Wheeler, president of the Euphrates College, explains this situation as follows: "Christians grow up more oriental than Turks. Education should be carried out in separate classes as it is considered inappropriately for young boys and girls who are not from the same family or who are not engaged in marriage to talk to each other."⁹⁷

Euphrates College had its first male graduates in 1880 and its first female graduates in 1883.⁹⁸ These graduates are primarily assigned to fill the teacher shortage needed in schools in the region. Although the number of college students varies over the years, the number of students in the higher parts generally remained around thirty-five.

Table 1: Student Numbers in Euphrates College between 1890-1892.

	College		High School		Middle School		Primary School		Total		Grand Total
Years	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
1890	34	39	57	25	80	79	123	181	294	324	618
1891	30	32	37	33	86	88	121	120	274	273	547
1892	34	39	48	26	102	84	115	107	299	256	555

Resource: Kocabaşoğlu, 2000, p.151.

In all parts of the Euphrates College, the number of male and female students was kept equal. The students at the girls' school were boarding students, and they came from different backgrounds. As shown in the table above, female students were around thirty-five at the college level. The school administration has provided excellent facilities for girls to attract them more and encourage families to send their girls to the school. At Euphrates College, female students paid half of the school installments paid by male students. For example, the school installments of female students in 1888 were determined as twenty-two dollars. Some of the female students were even offered discounts. The mission also provided some poor female students' books and clothes.

⁹⁷ Wheeler, 1888, p. 136.

⁹⁸ Kocabaşoğlu, 2000, p. 152.

Another convenience provided to female students was that while males were obliged to buy textbooks, female students were also given textbooks for rent.⁹⁹ Some students' school installments were also taken as promissory notes, and parents paid by coming to the school.

Since the first year it was founded, Euphrates College's girls' department has been managed by two single missionaries of the American Board's women's mission organization. The curriculum applied in the girls 'college department was different from that in the boys' section. Students were to study in separate buildings as boys and girls in all departments from primary school to the higher part of the college. This application is not unique to Euphrates College. This practice is present throughout the Ottoman education system. Non-Muslims also adopted this system in the schools they opened. Judging by way of life, Christian communities do not differ much from Muslims.

For this reason, as in the whole Ottoman state, except for literacy courses and the unified primary education schools, other schools in Harpoot are separated as girls and boys. Of course, the American schools in Harpoot also followed this rule. The college had two separate departments, one for boys and one for girls. Although many male teachers attended the girls' section, their classes were separated. Courses were taught in Armenian at Euphrates College. In addition to Armenian, the language of education, students were also taught English and Turkish. One of the fundamental reasons for giving an English education is that the textbooks used in the college are from the USA, and the language is English. Knowing English will help students understand these books more easily. Another reason students learn English is to talk to foreign teachers who do not know local languages and follow the lessons better.¹⁰⁰ As it can be understood, an education similar to the education system and courses in the United States was provided at Euphrates College.¹⁰¹

It was mentioned that American missionaries received reactions from many local communities during their school opening efforts. However, they did not encounter such a reaction during the establishment of the high-level college. The reason for this is that the local people themselves demand this higher education.

⁹⁹ Wheeler, 1888, pp. 137-138.

¹⁰⁰ Stone, 1977, p.158.

¹⁰¹Wheeler, 1888, p.137.

Because of these mutual expectations, missionaries and local people generally had good relations. One of the local teachers at the college, M.A. Melcon, explains that the Gregorians are now beginning to appreciate this education. As it can be understood from here, the college's education programs were developing day by day. In 1888, each lower level, except for the higher part of the college, followed a three-year curriculum. The college program was a five-year plan. If students wanted to get all their education at Euphrates College, they had to go through a fourteen-year education. The high part of the Euphrates college differs slightly from the traditional four-year high school education. Approximately thirty to fifty students graduate from the higher parts of the Euphrates College each year. Most of these students went to Europe to study at a higher level and then returned to their hometown and practiced their profession in Armenian schools.¹⁰² Going to the United States or Europe to continue their education after graduation is seen in almost all American schools in Anatolia. Naturally, very intense immigration to the United States and Europe started during this period. These migrations were made not only for educational purposes but also for earning money and changing nationality. The Ottoman government officials tried to prevent these migrations due to the confusion that arose to most of those who left. However, this immigration movement could not be prevented because it was mostly done secretly. In the following years, this migration continued increasingly, especially to the American continent. Euphrates College in Harpoot has made great progress in a short time. First of all, the American Board missionaries increased the fees in the face of the excessive attention of the locals and tried to make the college self-sufficient. Despite the increase in the price of the school, the number of students tripled. As a result of this fee increase and student increase, Euphrates College has become self-sufficient since 1887, not requiring financial aid from the American Board.¹⁰³ Harpoot Protestant League provided great support to existing American schools before the college met its expenses. Grants and donations made up the bulk of the money raised to cover the mission's expenses. As expected, most of these donations came from the United States. These donations also provided the establishment of the Euphrates College, and a fund was established for the Harpoot mission in the USA. This fund has

¹⁰² Sunguroğlu, p. 87.

¹⁰³ Kocabaşoğlu, 2000, p. 154.

received donations from many different cities in the USA over the years. The college needed to continue its activities with these donations before it could become self-sufficient. In 1898, the college spent eight thousand three hundred and eighty-one dollars for a year for students' housing, food, and other needs. Of these eight thousand three hundred eighty-one dollars, only four hundred and eighty-seven dollars were provided from student fees. The rest was covered by funds and private donors in the United States.¹⁰⁴ Missionaries also made great efforts to increase local aid and donations to make their schools self-sufficient. In the first years, they did not expect any rewards for their work, but they began to put pressure on them to cover their expenses in the following years. James Levi Barton, who was the president of the Euphrates College for a short time, stated in an article he wrote after his return from Harpoot that the annual income of the Euphrates College was around four thousand dollars, and he asks to be raised to a twenty-five thousand dollars.¹⁰⁵ Although missionaries generally complained about the lack of donations and aids and student allowances, they did not neglect to keep their wages always high according to the day's conditions. They have received several times the wages of the local teachers they employed in their schools. This situation naturally caused more than half of the total income of the mission to be paid as missionaries' salaries. Apart from these donations and aids, the missionaries also made very clever initiatives to benefit their schools financially. The best examples of this situation are the initiatives of Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of the Bebek Seminary in Istanbul and Robert College, to contribute to the expenses of the mission.¹⁰⁶ In addition to these initiatives, missionaries also marketed the products produced in the art workshops they opened, like handicrafts crafted in the courses for women. In Harpoot, Crosby H. Wheeler carried out one of the smartest of these initiatives. He brought the stoves needed in the region from the United States and marketed them to those in need, especially churches.¹⁰⁷ Euphrates College's 1891-1892 education budget was 1034.5 Turkish lira. Fifty-five lira of this budget was donated by an American named Mr. Peet. The share of student fees is 256.6 TL. The remaining 722 lira was obtained from other revenues. The expenses that make up a

¹⁰⁴ Barton, p. 531.

¹⁰⁵ Barton, p.534.

¹⁰⁶ For more detailed info about Hamlin's initiatives; Hamlin, 1924, p. 219

¹⁰⁷ Eddy, p. 115.

large part of this budget are the annual fees of the academic staff.¹⁰⁸ At Euphrates College, the school principal's annual fee was 187.5 lira, professors 63 lira, private teachers 45 lira, and other on-duty teachers 10-12 lira per year. The total annual fee was 852 Ottoman liras.¹⁰⁹ Six school principals' appointed by the American Board received this 187.5 lira fee for thirty-seven years. For thirty-seven years, six school principals headed the Euphrates College. As mentioned earlier, its founder was Crosby H. Wheeler. His administration continued from 1878 until he had to resign in 1892 due to health problems. James Levi Barton replaced him. However, Barton's wife also fell ill and was forced to return to Boston. After Barton left his job, Dr. Herman N. Barnum has taken his place. He continued his duty till Dr. Caleb Frank Gates became the principal in 1894. About a year after Caleb F. Gates became principal, Euphrates College fell into a huge disturbance. Its seven buildings were looted and burned. In this disturbance, the total damage to the assets of the American Board was calculated to be \$ 88,000. This loss was paid to the United States in 1901 by the Ottoman government as 100,000 dollars.¹¹⁰ All this turmoil is evidence of a widespread local conflict between the peoples of Ottoman Anatolia.

Euphrates College, which was in all this confusion, nevertheless recovered in a short time, and the school continued to grow as if these events had never happened. A few years after the events, in the academic year 1897-1898, the total number of students increased more than before, reaching nine hundred ninety-eight, as seen from the table below.¹¹¹

Table 2: 1897-1898 Academic Year Student Numbers

Class	Male	Female	Total
Kindergarten	168	190	358
Primary	132	130	262
Intermediate	119	80	199
High School	72	37	109
College	33	37	70
Grand Total	524	474	998

¹⁰⁸ Kocabaşoğlu, 2000, p. 152.

¹⁰⁹ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 216.

¹¹⁰ Kocabaşoğlu, 2000, p. 153.

¹¹¹ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 191.

The number of college students increased even more in the 1898-1899 academic year, reaching the highest number of all semesters. The distribution of students in this academic year by the department can be seen in the table below.¹¹²

Table 3: 1898-1899 Academic Year Student Numbers

Class	Male	Female	Total
Kindergarten	191	220	411
Primary	132	120	252
Intermediate	120	89	209
High School	72	37	109
College	33	37	70
Grand Total	548	503	1051

There is a particular issue in 1902 when the American Schools in Harpoot were completed and made significant progress. Although the number of students in the lower-level parts of the college decreased, there was an unprecedented increase in the upper classes. It is possible to see this situation from the table showing the number of students for the 1902-1903 academic year.¹¹³

Table 4: 1902-1903 Academic Year Student Numbers

Class	Male	Female	Total
Kindergarten	94	100	194
Primary	85	191	276
Intermediate	172	92	264
High School	124	78	202
College	65	44	109
Grand Total	540	505	1045

As can be seen in the table, the number of students in the kindergarten department, which was around 350-400, decreased by almost half, but while the

¹¹² Barton, p.531.

¹¹³ Stone, 1977, p.159.

number of male and female students in the higher part of the college rarely exceeded seventy, this number reached one hundred nine. This situation can be explained by the proliferation of lower-level schools that support the College and education establishment.

Another educational activity carried out by the American Board Missionaries in Harpoot is the opening of handicraft workshops. These workshops are opened both for women and men. For women, there were sections such as handicraft, knitting, and knitwear. There is a chain of workshops consisting of art branches such as shoemaking, bookbinding, carpentry, and tinning for men. Henry Riggs, the principal, did not neglect to commission a deep well and a windmill that draws water from the well and a new dormitory and an alarm clock heard all over Harpoot to expand and develop the school. In addition, Henry Riggs built many tin and carpentry workshops. Moreover, Henry Riggs brought the seismograph instrument, which the public admired greatly, to Harpoot.¹¹⁴

Euphrates College's student population decreased significantly towards World War I. In the 1912-1914 academic year, the total number of students decreased to six hundred six.¹¹⁵ In 1914, when the war broke out, twenty-seven students received diplomas at the ceremony held on Wednesday, 11 June 1914, at the Euphrates College.¹¹⁶ The distribution of these diploma students according to their place of origin is as follows; Six of the sixteen men are from Arapgirli, two from Harpoot, two from Mezre, one from Çemişgezek, one from Hüseyinik (Hüseyinik village), one from Hoğu (Hoğu Village), two from Bitlis and one from Gürün. Four of the girls were from Harpoot, two from Arapgirli, two from İçme, one from Diyarbakır, one from Mezre, and one from Hoğu (Hoğu village).¹¹⁷

As it can be understood from the differences of the regions where the students come from, Euphrates College has provided education to students from other stations and different backgrounds because it is a central station, and its education is superior to the surrounding stations. Graduates of the school have turned to quite different professions. Many have become teachers, some have worked in high-level civil service

¹¹⁴ Stone, 1977, p. 160.

¹¹⁵ Stone, 1977, p. 157.

¹¹⁶ Sunguroğlu, p. 88.

¹¹⁷ Sunguroğlu, p. 89.

positions in government offices, and some have become priests, dentists, doctors, farmers, and lawyers. In addition, some of the students studying here went to the United States and worked in professions such as tradesman, priesthood, and teacher.¹¹⁸ It was understood that the Euphrates College did not fit into the central buildings of the institution and the district of Şehroz. It was decided to move the college to a broader, flat land for better development and growth. As a result of the research, it has been calculated that the budget required for this relocation is three hundred and forty thousand dollars.¹¹⁹ However, this relocation project could not carry out due to the First World War and internal conflicts during those times. Since most American Missionaries in Harpoot left Harpoot due to the war, all missionary activities except health activities were stopped. After Henry Riggs' exile abroad by government officials, all establishments were closed entirely. After signing the Mondros agreement, the missionaries came back to Harpoot to recover, but they were fired again by the supporters of the National Struggle, and local people demolished all of the mission buildings in retaliation for the missionaries' activities.

3.3. THE REACTIONS OF THE NON-MUSLIM SOCIETY AGAINST THE AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES

The missionary activities met with reactions from society. As usual, the people's reaction should be seen, especially considering that the missionaries' activities are about trying to convert people of their religion to another religion or sect. Although these reactions by the people were not directed against the missionaries, those who took their side were put under pressure by people devoted to their old religions. As a result of the friction between these two groups (those who change their religion or sect and those affiliated with their religion and sect), some confusion occurred, and the officials had to deal with the issue in the relevant region. Authorities took drastic and direct measures against the missionaries to avoid confusion. One of these measures can be counted as deportation. Due to the missionaries' activities, the conflicts between the communities increased, and the measures taken to prevent the

¹¹⁸ Stone, 1984, p.176.

¹¹⁹ Stone, 1984, p. 176.

conflicts increased accordingly. Naturally, the responses and measures went hand in hand with each other. The measures taken against the activities of the missionaries caused either the states to which the missionaries were affiliated or other states that supported the missionaries to respond with countermeasures or reactions. This struggle between the states brought reactions and measures carried out in different dimensions and focal points.

For this reason, in the Ottoman Empire, where missionaries were very common and intense, missionaries struggled with a series of problems that we can call reaction and precaution not only by the people and the rulers but also by other states. It is possible to define this situation as a chain reaction. The reaction required a measure, and it drew the opposing party's reaction to the measure taken and brought the precaution it took against this reaction. In this chain reaction, it is unknown whether the action taken is a reaction or a precaution. However, there is no doubt that the activities of the American Protestant Missionaries have faced many reactions to prevent their activities from both the Protestant missionaries or the administration of different states and other communities. The harshest and most of these reactions came from the sects in which missionaries operate intensely. As mentioned in the previous chapters of the study, American missionaries chose the Armenians as the most suitable congregation since they realized that they could not convert Muslims to Christians when they first arrived in the Ottoman lands. As a result, they concentrated their activities on Armenians. This situation was met with a strong reaction by the administrators of the Armenian Gregorian Patriarchate in Istanbul, and, as the guardians of the community, they took great care to take measures against these activities of the missionaries.

When missionaries first arrived, the community was welcomed as guides who helped them improve their education. However, when the community realized that missionaries' activities were to win other sects to the Protestant sect, the former congregation members and administrators who welcomed and helped them showed a great reaction. Missionaries clearly stated in the reports they wrote to their headquarters that, in every region they visited, non-Muslims reacted to them more than Muslims and would kill them if they were not afraid of the administration and other states. The activities of the Protestant American Missionaries promoting this sectarian

change were strongly reacted by the Catholic and Gregorian Armenian Patriarchs. Although the missionaries thought that they would be relieved with the edict of the Tanzimat, which was declared in 1839, they could not escape from the reactions of the patriarchs. The missionaries had to close the schools that the Americans opened in Istanbul due to the persistent demands of the patriarch and the pressure exerted on those who had converted to Protestantism.¹²⁰ Even the Armenian Patriarch Secretary Baron Nişan went even further and asked the missionaries for a list of students attending the schools opened by the Americans and said that he would imprison them.

Unable to prevent Protestantization despite these threats and measures, the Gregorian Armenian Patriarch further aggravated the punishments of those who converted to Protestantism, went so far as to excommunicate them and send them into exile. These punishments were so severe that an excommunicated Greek or Armenian lost all their rights. Nobody respected them, s/he could neither be baptized nor buried when s/he died nor could s/he marry or shop. No bakery gave bread and could not even find a job. Neither court accepted their complaint nor received protection. For this reason, those who approached Protestant American Missionaries were punished, and members of the other sect did not dare to do so. Undoubtedly, this situation made it difficult for the missionaries.

The Armenian Patriarch, who punished the members of his congregation, did not touch the missionaries much. The reason for this was that the missionaries were under the United States' protection, especially Britain. Britain's influence on the Ottoman Empire, especially the officials such as Lord Stratford Canning and Sir Austen, who managed to use this influence in the best way, also greatly benefited this matter.¹²¹ When the American missionaries turned towards the inner parts where these policies implemented by the Armenian Patriarch and the Ottoman administration were less felt, they faced a reaction from the people belonging to other communities. Missionaries carrying activities in those provinces were also complained to the government by local non-Muslim administrators. The local non-Muslim rulers first tell the missionaries to leave the place, but when it is understood that the missionaries will not go anywhere, the American Ambassador is asked to take the missionaries from

¹²⁰ For more details about Armanian's reactions; Hamlin, 1924, pp.211-222.

¹²¹ Hamlin, 1924, pp. 241-242.

there. Ottoman government officials advised the administrators of Gregorian Armenians, who complained about the missionaries, not to send their community to the missionary schools. However, the Armenian priests said this situation was difficult to prevent because the American missionaries did not receive education money from the students and gave money to them, which attracted more people every day. As a result, the Ottoman government officials advised the Armenian Patriarch to take measures through their local administrators. However, since it is known that the missionaries never leave the field of study they entered, there was no result from these measures and reactions. In addition, with the aid and activities of the missionaries, the Protestants spread to a wide area and increased their number.

Although the number of converts to Protestantism has increased, American missionaries have not had much-organized movement yet. The reaction movements against the American missionaries in 1844 reached the highest level in parallel with the increasing number of Protestants. As a reaction, the shops of Protestant Armenians were boycotted, and their priests and teachers were exiled. Those who had converted to Protestantism were stoned in the streets, spat on their faces, and laid in bastinado by members of the former congregations. They were sent to prison by the Patriarchate without trial.

In some cases, the Gregorian Patriarchate even sent its rulers into exile because they could not hinder missionaries' activities.¹²² As a result of all these events, with the help of the British Ambassador to Istanbul, Lord Stratford Canning, the Protestant Armenian Church was officially recognized as a congregation in 1850.¹²³ With this legal comfort, protestants started to gather under one roof. These Protestant Armenians were generally protected by the British. When those converted to Protestantism from 1846 were disturbed by Gregorian and Catholic Armenians, Protestant community officials complained to the British Embassy officials about the offenders. These complaints were conveyed to Bab-ı Ali by the British embassies, and they were asked to take measures. Bab-ı Ali also had to take precautions in order not to be subjected to complaints.

¹²² Eddy, p .20.

¹²³ Eddy, p. 70.

The establishment of missionary schools was another source of the reaction. People of many religions and races did not like the establishment of these missionary schools. The community did not welcome those who sold or rent a building to missionaries. Job opportunities were also limited, as graduates of missionary schools were not recruited into jobs held by the members of former sects.¹²⁴ Missionaries were aware of the difficulties of their graduates in finding a job, so they provided job opportunities to students studying at their schools after graduation, and they were also trying to prepare students for life by establishing Industrial Schools to find jobs in other fields.¹²⁵ Another missionary activity, the sale of books, was reacted significantly by the Armenians too, and Protestant Armenians, who wandered to sell books, were beaten very badly.¹²⁶ The beating and stoning of Protestant Armenians, who are not part of their community, may also indicate the rivalry between the communities. Communities also achieved superiority by demanding some rights and privileges that another congregation had acquired to their congregations. Their supporter's states generally supported these demands of the congregations.

There is competition between communities and between the states that are the patrons of the communities and their missionaries. However, some missionaries did not agree with them and saw this issue as harmful for Christianity and opposed this kind of competition. For example, Horatio Southgate, an American missionary, supported the measures taken by the Gregorian Armenian Patriarch and never adopted the other communities that left the Armenians. Missionary Horatio Southgate instead supported unification around an episcopal rather than division. Southgate believed that the Protestant Missionaries would help the division by establishing a new congregation and specifically noted that the American Board Missionaries were involved in this split.¹²⁷ The French also stated that they were uncomfortable with such competition. However, they could not help stating that French should be taught in missionary schools still. They even went further and tried to get all Eastern Christians under their influence. They even believed that to compete with other missionary schools, they had

¹²⁴ Ortaylı, p. 90.

¹²⁵ Hamlin, 1924, p. 292.

¹²⁶ Marshall, p. 54.

¹²⁷ Esra Danacıoğlu, **Anadolu'da Amerikan Misyoner Faaliyetleri (1820-1914)**, Hacettepe University Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished Master's Thesis, Ankara, 1987, pp. 50-51.

to make their schools better.¹²⁸ Italians also took part in this competition. Noting that as a result of the activities of France, which was Catholic for them, Italian was about to be forgotten, and even its subjects started to speak French, they asked the government for permission to open a school. This competition that has continued to increase over the years and the efforts to be the patron of non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire is nothing more than the idea of establishing their influence. It is an undoubted fact that this struggle is also the cause of the turmoil in Anatolia. Even while American Missionaries examined the conditions of that region for a state to be selected as a station, they also emphasized the degree of Russian and French influence in that center.¹²⁹ In the struggle for influence between states, missionaries, seen as a tool, tried to intervene in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire by supporting the communities they were guardians of or the mission organizations they accepted as closer to their interests. Britain, in particular, tried to patronize missionary groups, whether British, American, or German. For the Ottoman Empire not to oppose these missionary activities, those states with the same interest cooperated and tried to make the Ottoman Empire make decisions favoring non-Muslims. Although most of these requests were under the guise of religion, they were made for financial benefits. France was assumed to be the patron of the Catholics due to the privileges it had gained years ago and made significant gains from it. France has been described for centuries as the deputy of the Papacy in the east with this influence. Likewise, the Germans tried to establish German protection over the German Missionaries and refused to accept the protection of other states. As a result of such movements and conflicts between sects and the power struggles of the states, the central authority of the Ottoman Empire weakened and prepared the ground for a specific disorder.

This kind of strife and conflict has also been seen frequently between the American Board Missionaries and other mission organizations. The British Anglican Church and the Episcopal Church have also consistently conflicted with the American Board's Missionaries. The American Board Missionaries complained about the indigenous communities for provoking them against them due to these disputes.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ For more detailed info; Nuri Bekir, "Şarkta Fransız Mektepleri", **Terbiye Mecmuası**, No: 2, pp.59-64.

¹²⁹ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p.66.

¹³⁰ Danacıoğlu, p.92.

American board missionaries have constantly asked that their mission sites be left only to them, which was not to the liking of other Protestant missionary organizations. Moreover, Missionaries of the American Board claimed that other Protestant missionary organizations' information and religious education were fraught with inaccuracies and errors. For this reason, because the British were dissatisfied with the reckless actions of the American Board Missionaries and their work for American interests, in some regions, they withdrew their support from the American Board missionaries and entered into a conflict with them.¹³¹ However, because of the commonality of American and British interests in some aspects, the American Board Missionaries were often supported by the British.

Undoubtedly, Russia is among the countries that reacted the most to the Protestant Missionary activities due to its interests and aims in the Ottoman state. Since the Russian Tsarism, the patron of Orthodox, accepts itself as the patron of Gregorian Armenians, which is slightly different from Orthodoxy, it has entered into a struggle against England and the United States to prevent Protestantism. For this purpose, American Missionaries were constantly complained to the Ottoman State officials by Russian officials. As a result of one of these complaints, after the Ottoman state arrested an American missionary, American mission official William G. Schauffler asks the Russian ambassador what the reason for these complaints was; the ambassador answers by saying; "Our lord tsar will never let you spread Protestantism in the ottoman empire." The well-known American missionary Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Bebek Seminary and Robert College, states that Russia decided to excommunicate those who converted to Protestantism or helpers to stop Protestantism and cleanse the Empire from Protestants.¹³² The Russian Tsarism, which did not allow any missionaries to enter its territory, fought equally against the Protestant Missionaries operating in the Ottoman Empire.

Missionary activities, which have turned into a struggle between mission groups and states, have become an area where states compete fiercely to gain influence with each other. States have made great efforts to increase their mission investments to gain influence against other states in this field and have increased the financial

¹³¹ Kocabaşoğlu, 1988, p.271.

¹³² Hamlin, 1924, p.284.

support they provide to their missionaries. Naturally, as a result of this struggle, the financial support provided by the states to the communities in which they operate has increased considerably. All missionaries have almost entered into a race with each other about free education. Like the American and British schools, French and Russian schools also provided free education. Even as a result of this race between the missionaries, free meals and clothes were given. However, the American missionaries have managed to outwit other mission organizations for this type of aid. Despite this strife and rivalry, the missionaries have also taken a collective attitude against the Muslims they see as common enemies and the Ottoman officials who took precautions against them. Especially American Missionaries have always received the most significant help and support from the British and British consuls. The states, which aided and supported the missionaries in this way, used their influence to favor the missionaries through their consuls when necessary. When American missionaries were in a difficult situation, they either applied to their consulates or asked for help from the consulate of another state they felt close to. Until the end of the American Civil War, they operated under the auspices of other states, especially Britain, rather than their diplomats.¹³³

Missionaries pressured the states to which they were affiliated to help them further. By asking states to undertake their protection, they tried to make their surroundings feel safe. Missionaries also made great efforts to get the consulates to take care of them. They pressured them to open consulates to their states in the main centers of the mission to carry out more practical activities. Harpoot and Erzroom American Consulates are the best examples of these. These two consulates were opened due to the pressures and letters sent by the missionaries to the American Congress.¹³⁴ American missionaries have also been influential on the rulers of their states. By influencing the American public in their difficult moments, they have enabled their states to help them more. They were influential in Turkish-American relations by asking their states to send warships to Turkish territorial waters to obtain their requests and prevent the measures from being taken by the Ottoman Empire.¹³⁵ Sometimes even diplomats were in a difficult situation in the face of the relations of

¹³³ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 21.

¹³⁴ Frederick Davis Greene, **The Armenian Crisis in Turkey**, New York, 1895, pp. 163-164.

¹³⁵ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 20.

the states with the missionaries, and they got into friction with the missionaries and were complained to their headquarters by the consuls for their improper actions.¹³⁶ Their consuls sometimes reacted to missionaries for their imprudent and reckless behavior. Over time, there was a decrease in the reaction of non-Muslims, especially Armenians, against American missionaries.

Nevertheless, there has never been a situation in which nobody is left to react. There have always been few reactions. The relationship between the Armenian community and missionaries in all Ottoman lands, especially in Harpoot and its surroundings, took a new form over time. With the help of American missionaries, the idea of earning a convenient place among the Turks with the advancements in education began to be realized amongst the Armenians. That is why, as mentioned by Crosby H. Wheeler, Head of the Harpoot Mission, since the 1880s, the Armenians began to regard American missionaries as an educator, a helper for them, and they accepted them even more.

Besides Protestant Armenians, Armenians from other sects also attended American schools during this period. It is possible to say that the riots of Armenians and the separatist idea given by the missionaries during these years were also effective, as one of the reasons why Armenians from all sects continued to attend American schools. In addition, the role played by the American Missionary Henry Marden in bringing the Armenians in the region closer to them during the events of 1879 is very important. American Missionary Henry Marden tries to assume the role of the patron of the Armenians by entering into a cooperation with the British Consul of the time. He makes efforts to pardon the rebellious Armenians through mediation. A series of events that started with these efforts have been the spark of the Armenian revolts.

At first glance, the Armenian uprisings can be seen as internal events stemming from Turkish-Armenian relations. However, in reality, these revolts resulted from the Western diplomats trying to take the communities of various religions and sects in the Ottoman Empire under their protection and establish their influence under the name of the "Eastern Question." For this reason, churches and missionaries were the spokespersons of Christians in such events, and consulates and ambassadors were their advocates. As a result of these actions, the Armenians found courage, and with the

¹³⁶ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, p. 19.

moral support of their missionaries and the encouragement and protection of Britain and Russia, they started to establish the first Armenian Revolution Societies in Europe and the United States.¹³⁷ The Armenian revolutionary gangs, encouraged by the Christian giants, started to cause incidents and rehearse the revolution at the end of these developments. At first, some American Missionaries supported and encouraged such events, but when it was understood that these rebel movements were in the interest of Britain and Russia, a reaction was started by the American Missionaries. Especially when the American influence in Anatolia, which the American Missionaries were trying to establish with great care, began to fall into danger, the American missionaries began to dislike these rebellion events. Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of Robert College, is also disturbed by such movements. The Ottoman authorities started to take precautions, primarily because of the Protestants' role in these events, and the Protestant and American Schools were also involved in the events. Since the Muslim people did not show any resistance against the American missionaries for years, the missionaries could easily carry out their activities, but this situation could be damaged due to the reactions from the incidents; Cyrus Hamlin was afraid of this. For this reason, he states his reaction as follows in an article he wrote;

*An Armenian Revolutionary Party serves great harm to missionary work and Christians in the Ottoman Empire living in some areas. A secret organization governs it. This party's aim in Turkey is to provoke Turkish people against Protestant missionaries and Protestant Armenians. The origin of this party is Russia. The Russian gold and the loom are financing it. All local and foreign missionaries should report this party. They sympathize with the sufferings of the Armenians. Foreign missionaries should stay away from alliances or similar activities with this party.*¹³⁸

The reaction of the American Missionaries here is mainly that the Protestant societies started in 1893, and the institutions of the Protestant Armenian Community, the Americans, and their assistants, were damaged during the Armenian incidents. Although American missionaries seemed to be against the Armenian incidents, they took an active role in the events. It is possible to say that they were very effective with their training at the beginning of the revolution. They shouted "Long live Armenia," hid in the school with the Armenians, and fought against the Ottoman Police forces during the meetings.

¹³⁷ Enver Ziya Karal, **Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ermeni Meselesi**, Ankara, 1971, p.135.

¹³⁸ **Osm. Bel. Ermeniler Kat.**, Vol: 17, No: 16, Date: 3 January 1894, No: 250.

In the later incidents, they said that they were not responsible. The Armenian Community naturally opposed this claim and said that the idea of revolution originated from the missionaries. Just as missionaries and states supporting missionaries have expectations from the Armenian community, Armenians also had expectations from missionaries. According to the Protestant missionaries, the Armenians approached the missionaries due to financial expectations, and according to the Armenians, the missionaries approached the Armenians to increase the influence of the Christian states. According to the United States and European states, Armenians were a tool that can be used to enter Turkey, and by helping the Armenians, they tried to use this tool for their purposes. However, Armenians also saw the states that helped them as a means of leaving the Ottoman state. In this way, mutual reactions were shown between American Missionaries and Protestant Armenians when their interests were contrary to mutual expectations. The American Missionaries, who assumed the role of the protector of the Armenians, did not hesitate to report the Armenians to the Ottoman State officials, who harmed them by approaching Russia. With these actions, the missionaries would ensure the Ottoman authorities' assurances and prevent the pro-Russian revolutionaries' activities. Such conflicts continued until the First World War.

3.4. THE REACTIONS OF THE OTTOMAN GOVERNMENT AND THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY TO THE ACTIVITIES OF BOARD MISSIONERS

To gain the protection of the Christians in the Ottoman state, foreign states put significant pressure on the Ottoman state. The purpose of these pressures was to intervene in the internal affairs of the Ottoman state but also to gain influence by forming communities close to them. With the Edict of Tanzimat, Christian communities gained new rights in 1839. Taking advantage of these rights and interpreting them in a way, missionaries increased their activities. In his memoirs, Harrison Gray, an American Board Missionary, stated that the Edict Tanzimat's influence in the Armenian community prepared a suitable environment for missionaries, and it was not an edict on paper. However, it had significant effects on

missionaries' lives. The founder of Robert College, American Missionary Cyrus Hamlin, confirms Harrison Gray Otis Dwight and states that they moved the administrative centers and bookstores to Istanbul after the Tanzimat's announcement.¹³⁹

As a result of these developments, the American Board Missionaries increased their activities, but at the same time, they encountered intense reactions from the patriarchate. With the efforts of Lord Stratford Canning, Britain's ambassador to Istanbul, efforts to introduce Protestants as a community to the rulers of the Ottoman Empire gained momentum to avoid these reactions. As a result of these efforts and pressures, this decision was taken by the Ottoman State officials in 1850. However, since there was no sectarian freedom in this decision, it was not enough for the missionaries. As a result of the war with the Russians, the Ottoman State signed a protocol in Vienna on February 1, 1856. With this protocol, the principle of equality of law has been adopted for Christians. In addition, before the Paris Peace Conference, an imperial decree was declared on 18 February 1856, confirming and expanding the Tanzimat Edict. With this move, the Ottoman officials declared the Reform Edict decisions openly and aimed to eliminate the European states' control and give the image that a line that gave them authority was not present. In addition, a peace agreement was signed on 30 March 1856 to prevent the European state's intervention in the Ottoman state's internal affairs. However, this situation later proved to be of little use. The right to protection of Christians ceased to belong only to Russia. It was given to all states. The officials of the Ottoman State tried to apply the idea of making reforms in the following years to ensure that European states do not interfere in the Ottoman's internal affairs.

What European states are trying to impose on the Ottoman State is not to ensure equality. They aimed to attract Christians to their side, intervene in the Ottoman Empire's internal affairs, and provide a more comfortable working environment for missionaries engaged in activities. With the Reform Edict declared in 1856, each community gained the authority to open its school with the freedom of religion and sect in the Ottoman state. This right gave rise to the idea that the authority to open schools for communities that feel close to them has also been gained in Christian states.

¹³⁹ Kocabaşoğlu, 1989, pp. 74-75.

Based on this idea, after the Reform Edict, missionaries increased their activities even more. Protestant British and American Missionaries started to work on Muslims by interpreting the Reform Edict in their way, faced with a great reaction by Muslims. Until the Reform Edict, missionaries thought it was impossible to act against Muslims in terms of both religious and legal aspects. In addition, they did not attempt to avoid any reaction from the Muslims and the administration. The missionaries, who evaluated the freedom of religion and sect brought by the Edict of reform as Muslims could also switch to other religions and sects, started to increase their activities towards Muslims. As a result of the missionaries' activities carried out in silence, a few Turks converted to Protestantism. The public did not react much to these silent activities, but the five people who converted to Protestantism until 1864 began to preach in Istanbul khans, and missionaries tried to distribute the Bible to Muslims freely in public places, which led to the reaction.¹⁴⁰ In the face of these developments, the Muslim people became anxious and started to react, especially against the activities of apostates. In this case, the Ottoman government had to take a series of measures. The government imprisoned apostates who were engaged in activities against the religion of Islam and closed conference halls and inns used by protestant missionaries as lecture halls. Authorities, which closed shops selling Protestant books, also banned the sale of books. As a result of the reactions of the Muslim people and the administration, the missionaries reduced their activities on Muslims. Mainly because of these reactions, they could not achieve success on Muslims. The closed shops and inns were allowed to reopen, and the ban of selling books lifted, perhaps due to external pressure and the reduction of the missionaries' activities over the Muslim population.¹⁴¹ This reaction of the Ottoman administrators against the missionaries and the measures they took were not the first. Previously, some decisions were taken, especially on the complaints of the leaders of the Christian communities. These decisions were generally related to non-Muslim communities. Since the first activities of the Protestant Missionaries, all complaints were conveyed to the American Ambassadors and asked to be prevented. However, these activities of the Protestants were not seen as a problem among the Christians, and no measures were taken against the activities of the missionaries,

¹⁴⁰ İlknur Polat, **Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Yabancı Okullar**, Ankara University Institute of Social Sciences, Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Ankara, 1986, pp.60-61.

¹⁴¹ Kırşehirlioğlu, p.94.

similar to those taken by the Muslims. In such cases, it was thought that the patriarchate should take a measure.

As a result of the intense invasion of the missionaries to the Ottoman Empire, some of the lands fell under the control of foreigners, and a decision was made to prevent this. In summary, this decision aims to sell the lands that foreigners have bought so far to the citizens of the Ottoman state, but this has not been very successful. This issue kept the Ottoman State officials busy in the following years. Especially the lands requested for the construction of schools, hospitals, and similar foreign establishments on state lands were kept by missionaries, and efforts were made to give these lands to missionaries not as large as they wanted but as little as possible. As a result, the American Board Missionaries wanted sixteen acres of land for Annie Tracy Riggs Hospital in Harpoot, but only six acres were considered to be given. The continued acquisition of excessive land by foreigners made the authorities uneasy, and solutions began to be sought. However, this issue cannot be solved for reasons such as the objections of the embassies. The priests of foreign states were also subjected to several measures because they carried out activities against the Ottoman state and caused uneasiness amongst the non-Muslim community.

In summary, in these measures, it is said that foreigners are prohibited from serving as priests to the citizens of the Ottoman state. Foreign priests who are engaged in this and similar works must be exiled abroad. However, this measure was not implemented very much, or its implementation was not allowed by the authorities of foreign states, and for years settled, and mobile foreign missionaries and priests continued their activities by preaching and lecturing from village to village.

Due to another freedom introduced by the edict of reform, it has become possible for the community and foreigners to open a printing house and publish intensively. To prevent this, the Printing Press Regulation was published in 1857. With this regulation, the establishment of printing houses is subject to license. Thus, the printing houses to be opened and the publications to be made were tried to be controlled. In this way, measures were taken from the first years, but missionaries were not touched much to establish good relations with foreign states. However, over the years, many foreign institutions were opened, and minority schools and churches increased their numbers with the aid of foreign states. It was necessary to provide an

order in education, and the Ottoman state officials started to work mainly on the subject. It was especially needed to make the studies on education more organized and reach a level that could compete with other governmental organizations in education.

Meanwhile, European States have started to offer separate reform projects by increasing their pressure on the Ottoman state. The Ottoman State officials, who were forced to accept one of these reform proposals, accepted the French thesis presented on 22 February 1867.¹⁴² This project recommended that non-Muslim communities be given educational and cultural independence. The French convinced the Ottoman authorities that an "Ottoman Union" would be around Turks and Turkish. This project was also recommended to encourage educational institutions owned by non-Muslim communities and establish secondary schools -especially in large cities- where Christian children will be accepted. Training teachers to develop primary education, establish a university for Muslim or non-Muslim students, and teach medicine, history, administration, and law courses at this university were other recommended subjects. The French also declared that if a school for Muslim and Christian students is allowed, they would be very pleased and that the French Minister of Education, M. Duruy, would do his best to open this school. The opening of the Galatasaray Highschool in 1868 as a result of this cooperation sets an example.¹⁴³

While all these developments were happening, Saffet Pasha, the minister of national education, started to prepare a new education system with the ministry of education. On September 1, 1869, a new education regulation was published, including new decisions regarding the education system. The most important part of this education regulation is its one hundred twenty-ninth article. As can be guessed, this article is about private schools in the Ottoman state. This article contains the rules that schools other than public schools must comply with. This regulation covers the rules regarding the regulation, opening, inspection of foreign and minority schools that are an extension of these schools. It has an important place in the Turkish education system as it is the most comprehensive regulation that includes the rules.¹⁴⁴ With the one hundred and twenty-ninth article of this regulation, the American Missionaries claimed that their activities were restricted and made complaints. However, before this

¹⁴² For more details; Enver Ziya Karal, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, Vol: 7, 2nd ed, Ankara, 1977, p.338.

¹⁴³ Bayram Kodaman, **Abdulhamit Devri Eğitim Sistemi**, İstanbul, 1980, p.50.

¹⁴⁴ Reşat Özalp, **Milli Eğitimle İlgili Mevzuat (1857-1923)**, İstanbul, 1982, pp.165-197.

regulation, it should not be forgotten that measures such as the prohibition of preaching on the street, the condition of obtaining permission for printing houses, checking all kinds of periodicals and books by authorities, and approving the diplomas of doctors before starting their duty were already taken. Missionaries objected to all these measures because they viewed them as restricting the rights gained by capitulations.¹⁴⁵ The officials of the Ottoman state stated that there was no clause about the education system in the capitulations. They stated that the schools that had been opened until now were only a favor made with the thought of improving relations. They said that the missionaries should not interpret this favor as they could open a school unconditionally. As a result of the measures taken, the missionary schools opened without a license had to be closed or obtained. Regulations and decisions clearly stated this. However, instead of closing these schools, their number has increased gradually. Moreover, this situation left the Ottoman administrators in a difficult situation. The Ottoman authorities wanted a special ministry to be established to deal with the inspection and procedures of foreign schools. However, such initiatives and measures have led European states, which are the patrons of non-Muslims, to demand wider privileges. European states, which demanded privilege, especially in the difficult moments of the Ottoman Empire, repeated their requests after the treaty was signed at the end of the 1877-1878 Ottoman-Russian war. The Treaty of Berlin, signed on 13 July 1878, includes such privileges. In particular, the 61st article of the Berlin treaty allows the European States to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. With Article 62, an additional privilege has been obtained. In summary, Article 62 allowed European states to protect all private schools except the state schools in the Ottoman state. European and American Missionaries who wanted to use this privilege gained with the Berlin Treaty took action and directed their activities to this matter. Upon this, the Armenians became active and started to cause unrest in the Ottoman Empire. Upon these incidents, the authorities considered opening an organization to regulate non-Muslim and foreign schools as a precaution. For this purpose, an inspectorate institution was established, and Thessaloniki Governor Kostantinidi Pasha was appointed as its president.¹⁴⁶ After that, the Sultan, with an order, asked that

¹⁴⁵ Kocabaşoğlu, pp.120-121.

¹⁴⁶ Kocabaşoğlu, pp. 120-121.

the inspection of foreign schools should never be neglected and asked that the persons to be assigned for inspections be selected from Muslims.¹⁴⁷ The schools that opened had to be licensed by the Ottoman authorities to be able to inspect them. It was not possible to inspect unlicensed schools. For this reason, the minister of education declared on December 16, 1886, that unlicensed schools would be granted a license if they fulfill the necessary conditions, both to identify the schools that have been opened with a license and to make the schools opened without a license can be inspected by giving a license.¹⁴⁸ American Ambassador Pendeton King reports this to his missionaries and asks them to apply in harmony and obtain a license. Countries such as France, England, Germany, Austria also apply for the schools they have opened and obtain their licenses, but American Missionaries do not apply for many of their organizations. Nevertheless, a license is issued by the authorities for the institutions they apply to. As a result of the Ottoman officials pressuring the American missionaries to obtain a license, the missionaries seek help from the United States through their embassies. As a result of these compressions, the American Ambassador to Istanbul writes a letter to his foreign ministry on June 8, 1886, saying; "It will be in the interest of American citizens to visit Istanbul port by Keansarge, one of the famous ships of the American Civil War."¹⁴⁹ However, it should be known that the United States should not be interested in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire due to the Monroe Doctrine. However, the missionaries constantly pressured their embassies and government officials and sought help by breaking this rule. Missionaries constantly complained of the Ottoman authorities and the Ottoman officials of the missionaries regarding this inspection and licensing issues. Despite all these decisions and measures, missionary institutions' license and inspection issues could not be carried out well for various reasons. One of the reasons why this situation could not be resolved is the intervention of other states. Another reason is that missionaries first organized a house, turned it into a school, and then opened it without a license and supervision. The method they used, they continued their activities without being too unobtrusive, as a building was not built as a school.

¹⁴⁷ Kodaman, p. 97.

¹⁴⁸ Ortaylı, pp. 87-96.

¹⁴⁹ Sander and Fişek, 1977, p. 36.

This method was also used in most of the missionary institutions in Harpoot. First, a house was rented and converted into a school, and activities were carried out for a long time without obtaining a license. Moreover, since some churches were used as schools, it was not even determined whether they were temples or schools. This method was used not only by American missionaries but also by all other missionary organizations. Missionaries' purpose in using this method is to avoid being inspected and paying taxes. "This method made all the measures taken by the authorities ineffective, and the number of these missionary schools, which were opened without a license, should have decreased, but on the contrary, it has increased."¹⁵⁰



¹⁵⁰ Erdal Açıkşes, **Amerikalıların Harput'taki Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri**, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara, 2003, p.236.

CONCLUSION

Undoubtedly, a state and society can compete with other states and increase the welfare of its people only with a modern and developed education system. At the same time, keeping a society with more than one ethnic and social group together is possible only with education. Inevitably, states that do not give the necessary importance to the education system will collapse, or riots will break out. Suppose the state itself cannot open the necessary educational, health, and social institutions. In that case, other states will take advantage of this to make up for this deficiency and try to benefit from this situation by increasing their influence in society. It is possible to see these and similar events at every stage of history. Although the missionary activities carried out in the Ottoman Empire seem like the missionaries' attempt to make Muslims Christians at first glance, the primary purpose is to increase their influence in the country with the help of their Christian communities. This clearly shows that Christian missionary activities are a competition between states to increase their influence. Undoubtedly the religious tolerance in the Ottoman state made it possible for missionaries to carry out their activities.

Encouraged by the environment of religious tolerance, missionaries turned the opportunities they gained with the weakening of the Ottoman Empire into a privilege. The missionaries, which weakened the Ottoman state internally by using education and minorities, aimed to expel the Turks, which they could not do so with their military weapons. For this purpose, the missionaries, who showed their activities in the form of a humanist religious indoctrination, did everything in their power to influence the Ottoman state both politically and economically. The competition between states shows itself in missionary activities in this aspect. Undoubtedly, the only way to get rid of this situation is that the state is strong and establishes and supplies the social institutions and organizations that its people need. However, the missionaries, who obtained certain privileges from the Ottoman Empire's capitulations, increased their numbers and activities. Hence, the decisions taken by the state to prevent the activities of the missionaries could not carry out successfully. This situation clearly shows that the best precaution is to provide society with the facilities that society needs without missionaries. The Ottoman officials themselves stated that the best of the precautions

considered was developing the state education system. The administrators of the non-Muslim communities also agree with the Ottoman authorities, as they complained about the harms of the missionaries' activities. They, too, worked to improve their education system to reduce the impact of the missionaries' work. Missionaries' impact was not only in the education field, but they also tried to impose their religion and the power of their political authority on members of other non-Muslim communities. Missionaries wanted to control the communities into their own hands or penetrate the newly established authority through their activities.

The location where the missionaries operated in the Ottoman Empire is not accidental. The missionaries, who chose all the locations where they operate on a planned and scheduled basis, did not want other missionaries or countries to enter these regions. All these regions where the missionaries operate are the sphere of influence of their affiliated countries. All these locations have been selected in line with the policies of those states. When the regions occupied by the occupying states after the first world war are examined, this issue can be seen more clearly. The French have been interested and invested in Syria and the South-eastern Anatolia region over the years. Naturally, this region constitutes the central point of the French mission. British missionary establishments are much higher in Arabia, Iraq, and especially in regions with abundant oil reserves such as Mosul, Kirkuk, Sulaymaniyah, and South Azerbaijan.

On the other hand, Italians concentrated their missionary activities on West Anatolia and South West Mediterranean. All these show that the selected regions have not been chosen for no reason, states have a particular interest in those locations, and according to their interest, they concentrate their missionary activities in these regions. An essential mission center of the U.S.A in the Ottoman Empire is the Harpoot mission, which is the subject of this research.

Although the Americans' mission in Harpoot seems to be a humanitarian task of educating non-Muslim minorities in the region in terms of religion and culture, the main goal is to establish the United States' economic and political influence amongst the citizens of the Ottoman Empire. Like the work they carried out in Robert College to train leaders for Bulgarians, they aimed to train leaders for Armenians in the Harpoot Mission. If they had achieved these goals, they would have ensured that the

leaders they trained would occupy extreme governmental positions in the planned Armenian State, and in this way, they would have achieved the American influence they aimed. The Armenians' sense of loyalty and gratitude towards them for the opportunities and assistance they provided to the Armenians during their missionary activities also served this purpose. All of the American missionaries' activities were geared towards the implementation of this idea. Unable to intervene directly due to the Monroe doctrine, United States tried to carry out the idea of establishing this American influence in a seemingly humanitarian way through its missionaries. The support of the American government to the missionaries is proof of this purpose of the USA.

Although different missionaries and countries affiliated with different countries seem to be rivals, these missionaries and states acted together in certain situations against the Ottoman Empire, which was considered a common enemy. These states cooperated, especially when certain privileges were required to defend the rights of non-Muslims and enable missionary organizations to work more comfortably.

Reforms were made to stop the collapse in the Ottoman state, and these reforms increased the way other states intervened in the Ottoman as a result of external pressure. Decisions such as the Tanzimat and Reform Edict caused western states to demand new rights for Christians, enabling Western states to attract non-Muslim minorities to their side. Western states demanded these rights because they claimed the Ottoman state was unfair to Christians. The military and economic weakening of the Ottoman Empire caused an authority gap. Taking advantage of this authority gap, missionaries and representatives of foreign states have almost gained a power within the state that we can call a state in a state. The balance policy of the Ottoman state also played a significant role in the missionaries and representatives of foreign states gaining this power. Some decisions taken by Ottoman authorities could not be applied to foreign people to not spoil the relations with other states and not offend them. Taking other decisions did not help either, due to the privileges given by the capitulations and the balance policy.

Moreover, since the civil servants did not implement the decisions for their interests, mission organizations developed, and missionaries expanded their field by increasing their activities dramatically. Although these activities of missionaries are present in almost every field, the subject of this research covers their activities in the

field of education. It is possible to list these activities in education as opening a school, preaching by traveling from village to village, selling books, etc. The missionaries opened schools in the Ottoman lands were institutions that regularly processed the academic calendar, selected their students and gave diplomas. These schools were opened separately for both boys and girls and provided simultaneous education for both genders. These schools were generally established in the major centers of Anatolia, in regions far from the city and high locations. In these schools, where western-style education was predominant, students were taught western philosophy, literature, and history. These schools were very successful in education, but their education was not the only reason for their success. They followed their students after their graduation. It was followed by where the graduates lived, what they did, what kind of contributions they contributed to the evangelization project, and whether they opened schools in their villages and homes or not. If they opened a school, their success in these schools, with whom they married, financial means, addresses, and essential changes in their lives was also closely monitored. This method significantly increased the penetration rate of the missions into the society where they were working.

These schools opened by the missionaries did not only provide theoretical information. Professional knowledge was also taught to students in these schools. Workshops such as shoemaking, carpentry, blacksmithing, tin material making, construction, embroidery, and sewing were essential in providing business education. In this way, missionaries penetrated people from all segments of society and increased their sphere of influence. In addition, the economic lives of these educated minority members were revived, and their capital gained strength against the capital of the Muslims. After the education they received, the assets of the Armenians, Greek, and partially Muslims who went abroad started to increase and enabled them to have a say in profession and trade. Naturally, the empowerment of these people, who were educated by the American way of life and thinking, caused the missionaries to affect society's general structure significantly. A similar effect to this effect has also been experienced in clothes. Dresses replaced the colorful robes worn by the public with loose cuffs, consisting of a white blouse and long black skirts worn by American women after the arrival of the missionaries. Instead of long braided hair, the people started to make their hair in buns and wear hairpins. The women's headdresses, which

were used by the people before the Missionaries, bearing each region's specific colors and lines, were removed, and the public began to walk around with open heads or hats. The furnishing of the houses has also been affected by missionaries. Seating on the floor, houses without windows, walls darkened from the stove soak were gone, replaced by spaces with plenty of sunshine, chairs, and sofas, with books on the shelves, tables, and whitewashed places with a vase on it.

Examining all the research done so far is very important to understand the effects of the American Board missionary organization on the education, politics, diplomacy, and social life of our country. This study has taken great care to explain the effects of missionary activities on Ottoman society. It is known that the graduates of the missionary schools opened in the Ottoman Empire turned to very different fields, and some of them held crucial positions. The education and lives of these people will also help understand the impact of missionaries on our society.

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