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AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN MARASH ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT WAR

Bilkent University 2017

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN MARASH  
ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT WAR

A Master's Thesis

by

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Department of International Relations  
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Ankara  
June 2017



To my family...



AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN MARASH  
ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT WAR

The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences  
of  
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

by

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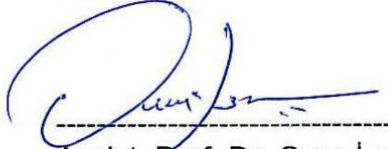
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS  
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BILKENT UNIVERSITY

ANKARA

June 2017

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



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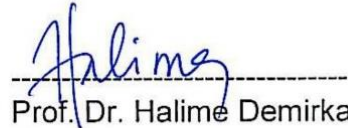
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## **ABSTRACT**

### **AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN MARASH ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT WAR**

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M.A., Department of International Relations

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Onur İşçi

June 2017

This thesis investigates the area of Marash from the eyes of the missionaries when the Ottoman Empire was approaching to the First World War, between 1913 and 1915. Was the crisis that the Ottomans faced an opportunity for the missionary organizations? It aims to demonstrate the demographical change, the psychology of the local population, the attitudes of the missionaries, the system in the schools and hospitals and how the local Ottoman population handled the war crises. This was done by revealing various untapped archives. Methodologically, the archival research employed in this thesis can be regarded as a qualitative, historical analysis. Some of the missionary letters, correspondences and annual meeting reports were investigated by utilizing screening method at the microfilm archives. Five main primary sources were utilized in this thesis. Firstly, letters and correspondences from Bilkent University, Library microfilm archives and online archives of the Universities were used. Secondly, The Missionary Herald was

reviewed. Thirdly, the annual reports and fourthly the memoirs, diaries and books of the missionaries were utilized. Finally, Ottoman Empire archives were used. The thesis arrived at three main conclusions, firstly, the deteriorating relationship between the German Hulfbond and ABCFM indicated the complex and intermingled relationship of missionary organizations with the existing power relationships of their governments and how involved they were with the politics. Secondly, it revealed that pre-war periods or crises times were an opportunity for the missionary organizations to spread their values and beliefs and influence local populations. Finally, ABCFM has strengthened its position.

**Key Words:** ABCFM, Great War, Marash, Missionary, Ottoman Empire.

## ÖZET

### BİRİNCİ DÜNYA SAVAŞI ARİFESİNDE MARAŞTA AMERİKAN MİSYONERLİK

### ÖRGÜTLERİ

Kılıç, Çağla

Yüksek Lisans, Uluslararası İlişkiler Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Yard. Doç. Dr. Onur İşçi

Haziran 2017

Bu tez 1913-1915 arasında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu I. Dünya Savaşına yaklaşırken misyonerlerin gözünden Maraşı incelemektedir. Osmanlı'nın karşılaştığı bu kriz durumu misyonerler için bir fırsat olabilir miydi? Bu tez demografik değişiklikleri, yerel halkın psikolojisini, misyonerlerin tutumunu, okul ve hastanelerdeki düzeni ve Osmanlı'nın krizi nasıl yönettiğini göstermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu, daha önce incelenmemiş olan çeşitli arşivlerin gün ışığına çıkarılmasıyla yapılmıştır. Bu tezde uygulanmış olan arşivsel araştırma, method olarak niteliksel tarihsel analiz olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bazı misyoner mektupları, yazışmalar ve yıllık toplantı raporları mikrofilm arşivlerinin incelenmesiyle ortaya konmuştur. İlk olarak Bilkent Üniversitesi kütüphanesinde yer alan mektup ve yazışmalar ve üniversitelerin çevrimiçi arşivleri kullanılmıştır. İkinci olarak aylık misyoner raporları. Üçüncü olarak yıllık raporlar. Dördüncü olarak Misyonerlerin anılarından, günlüklerinden ve kitaplarından



faydalanılmıştır. Son olarak ise Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun arşivleri kullanılmıştır. Tez üç ana sonuca ulaşmıştır; İlk olarak Alman Hulfbond ve ABCFM arasındaki ilişkinin zedelenmesi, bu misyoner kuruluşların, hükümetlerinin mevcut güç çekişmelerinden nasıl etkilendiklerini ve siyasetle ne kadar içi içe olduklarının göstermiştir. İkinci olarak kriz zamanının bu tür misyoner örgütler için değerlerini ve inançlarını yerel halk üzerinde yaygınlaştırmak için bir fırsat olarak kullanıldığı görülmüştür. Son olarak ise ABCFM'in konumunu güçlendirdiği sonucudur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** ABCFM, Dünya Savaşı, Maraş, Misyonerlik, Osmanlı Devleti.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my warmest gratitude to my supervisor Asst. Professor Dr. Onur İřçi for his insight, patience, infinite support, belief and his invaluable guidance throughout my thesis. I would not have been written this thesis with such a peaceful mind without his advice, knowledge and encouragement throughout this journey. He has been an excellent supervisor and mentor. His support means a lot.

I also wish to express my sincere thanks to Asst. Professor Dr. İbrahim Özgür Özdamar for his immeasurable support and encouragement on my thesis throughout the time I was writing. It has been an honor for me to have a chance to work with him. I will never forget his invaluable input to my intellectual development. Both of my professors have been a source of inspiration and will always be a role model for me throughout my journey in academia. For that, I feel very lucky. I am also indebted to my thesis committee member Prof. Dr. Neře Özden for her constructive comments and criticisms on my thesis. I would especially like to thank Kerem Özata from Bilkent University Library Electronic Resources and Serials Department and Güzide Ülker Özen from Bilkent University Library Reference and Librarianship who helped me whenever I needed help. Thanks to their extremely fast responses, work ethic and concern, they

made this process much easier for me. I would also like to acknowledge to whole Bilkent Library staff for making archival research easier for me. Otherwise, I would probably be lost.

I would also like to thank my loving and dearest husband, Sinan Demirdüzen who has not only accompanied me but also been extremely supportive throughout this journey. I am very lucky to have him. And finally I would like to express my gratitude to my dearest and invaluable family members for their endless support throughout my academic career. And for many others whom I was not able to acknowledge, I want to send my sincere greetings, gratitude and love to all those who have made this thesis possible.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|       |                                                                   |
|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| ABCFM | American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions              |
| ACG   | American College for Girls                                        |
| WBMP  | Woman's Board of Missions for The Pacific                         |
| YMCA  | Young Men's Christian Association                                 |
| CMS   | Church Missionary Society                                         |
| BOA   | Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivleri (Turkish Ministry Ottoman Archives) |

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Earle Ballou, an American Board Missionary in North China (1916-1950), once wrote a mission study book for Americans in the 1940s under the title “wei chi,” which means “crises” in Chinese. The translation verbatim of the term actually means “dangerous opportunity.” He suggested that there is no better phase, not even one that could describe this concept and the current situation of the country more adequately in any world dictionary where the word is made up of two characters, first being “danger” and the second “opportunity.” Hence, he argued, the word “crises” is literally a “dangerous opportunity.”<sup>1</sup> In this vein, this thesis investigates the area of Marash from the eyes of the missionaries when the Ottoman Empire was approaching to the First World War, between 1913 and 1915. Was the crisis that the Ottomans faced an opportunity for the missionary organizations? The present work aims to demonstrate the demographical change, the psychology of the local population, the attitudes of the missionaries, the system in the schools and hospitals and how the local Ottoman population handled the war crises this thesis do so by revealing various untapped archives and by looking at an ignored part of history. Numerous studies have been conducted on the American Board for Foreign Missions. Some previous studies indicated that ABCFM had several impacts

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<sup>1</sup> Fred Field Goodsell, *They Lived their Faith* (Boston: The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1961), 117.



on the Ottoman society in general, such as adopting certain aspects of American lifestyle.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless early 20<sup>th</sup> century demographic structure of the Marash region has not been studied at all and remains to be terra-incognita in the literature. This thesis also aims to contribute to the existing literature by revealing the unknown part of that history and to demonstrate the situation of the Marash people in the pre-war period in this frightening environment in a rigorous framework by encompassing the society as a whole (not excluding any non-muslims or institutions) and to view its demographic structure and, cultural change through the experiences of the missionaries. Studying the Marash region in the pre-world war period during 1913-1914, is important to expose the change in the society and reveals the pre-war situation of the city.

The terminology of the word “missionary” comes from the Latin word *missio* which means “duty” or “authority.” Hence the meaning of the concept “missionary” can be derived as “the one with a duty.” In the Christian ideology, “the missionaries” were the people who had the duty of transmitting the message (or the school of thought) from Jesus Christ to spread out across the world. Evangelism which is similar to this understanding actually refers to the approach of submitting this message. The main duty of the missionaries is to deliver the message of Christianity to those who does not believe the “miracle of Jesus” return, and to establish churches and create the appropriate environment for the rule of God.<sup>3</sup> In the late 18th century, Christian

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<sup>2</sup> Ayşe Aksu, “Amerikalı misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolusundaki (1820-1900) eğitim faaliyetleri ve bunun Osmanlı toplum yapısına etkileri” unpublished P.h.D. Dissertation. Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, (2012).

<sup>3</sup> Neşe Tozkoparan, “19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Sivas’ta Amerikan Protestan Misyoner Faaliyetleri” Unpublished PhD. diss., Ankara University, (2014), 4.

missionaries began to organize in the United States.<sup>4</sup> Among those Christian institutions, the most effective, cardinal and widespread one was the Calvinist Protestant American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) which is also the first overseas American missionary organization.<sup>5</sup> The American Board, shortly referred also as “the Board,” is a protestant agency, which its services began as a voluntary missionary society (an association of like-minded individuals for the specific purpose of sending Christians missionaries to un-evangelized nations abroad) which was set up by the General Association of the Congregational ministers of Massachusetts on June 26, 1810.<sup>6</sup> What is more, nine commissioners were appointed who were going to include other people to become missionaries and enlarge this enterprise more with the support of the churches and the human capital that they will obtain.<sup>7</sup> Later on, in 1810, ABCFM was incorporated with in the Massachusetts General Court and it adhered to its principle of “undenominational catholicity.”<sup>8</sup> It started to send its missionaries to abroad in 1812 for religious reasons.<sup>9</sup> ABCFM opened many schools and hospitals around the world. It is the biggest Protestant missionary organization of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among the students of the school were Jews, Orthodox and Protestant Armenians, Christians from Asuri and Nasturi groups and Greeks.<sup>10</sup> It is also stated that the Board owes much of its success to its sister society “The London Missionary Society” in England.<sup>11</sup>

ABCFM’s Turkey adventure began in 1820s when it opened its first school in Smyrna.

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<sup>4</sup> Hans-Lucas Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış: Doğu Vilayetleri’nde Misyonerlik, Etnik Kimlik ve Devlet 1839-1938* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 36.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Goodsell, *They Lived their Faith*, 89.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 89.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “American Board Archives” Digital Library for International Research *dlir.org* <http://www.dlir.org/arit-american-board-archives.html>, last accessed: February 18, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> Ömer Turan, *Avrasya’da Misyonerlik* (Ankara: ASAM yayınları, 2002), 148.

<sup>11</sup> Goodsell, *They Lived their Faith*, 151.

The missionary services through ABCFM were operated in different areas of the world including Africa, the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, China, Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire. The reason why ABCFM decided to operate in the Ottoman Empire is because almost all of the holy sites which were mentioned in the Bible for the three fundamental religions were located in Anatolia and in the Middle East. Therefore, in most Christian texts, this region was addressed as the “Bible land.”<sup>12</sup> ABCFM opened approximately 20 more missionary stations around Anatolia, which mostly served the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire: especially the Armenians and the Greek populations and ABCFM became the most dominant American presence in that area. ABCFM began to establish stations to the Ottoman Empire by first constructing girl schools, hospitals, colleges and workshops. According to Hans Lucas-Keiser, those colleges were not discriminatory at all in terms of nationalism, religion or ethnicity. It was also not aiming to convert non-Christians to Christianity. Students that entered those schools whether they were Muslims or atheists were able to enjoy all the advantages of its education and had the freedom to graduate as the way they were (Christian, Muslim or Atheist).<sup>13</sup> The only condition for the students to graduate from the school was to know what Christianity stands for and why those missionaries were believing in it.<sup>14</sup> But there were also opposing views. For example Serim Deringil indicates that “none of the threats toward the independence of Ottoman Empire was more dangerous than the long term missionary activities.”<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Turan, *Avrasya’da Misyonerlik*, 146.

<sup>13</sup> Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış*, 39.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>15</sup> It was translated from Turkish. The original quotation was: “*Osmanlı Devleti’nin meşrutiyetine yönelik tehditlerden hiçbirisi, uzun vadede misyoner etkinlikten daha tehlikeli olmadı.*” İn Selim Deringil, *İktidarın Sembolleri ve İdeoloji, II. Abdülhamid Dönemi (1876-1909)*, çev: Gül Çağalı Güven, (İstanbul: YKY,

The operations of the schools were terminated during the First World War and following that period, the remaining ones were incorporated in to the new national secular system with the establishment of the new republic in 1923. Even though the Board opened more schools and hospitals in 1928, it began to shut down those places in the following years. During the 1960, ABCFM is replaced by United Church Board for World Ministries (UCBWM) which was a mission program under the United Church of Christ (UCC). In 2010, the existence of American Board's hospitals came to an end in Turkey. Missionaries of the board first went to Marash in 1855.<sup>16</sup> Missionaries were not simply dispatched to new locations but transferring a missionary from one city to another was also a common practice. An example can be given from Dr. Frederick William MacCallum who was born in Ontario, Canada on March 18, 1863 (a Canadian Congregationalist), MacCallum was transferred from the Central Turkey Mission of Erzroom (Erzurum) to Marash in 1895 where the theological seminary of that mission was located.<sup>17</sup> His son spent his childhood in Marash (South Central Asia Minor) when they were transferred there to escape the rigors of Erzurum's climate.<sup>18</sup> Dr. MacCallum, who was later on called to Istanbul in 1911 to take charge of the Publication Department of the Near East Mission, became the mainstay of the faculty of that school. He retired in 1938.<sup>19</sup>

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2002), 119. quoted in Ali Rıza Bayzan *Türkiye'de Amerikan Misyonerleri* (Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 2006), 185.

<sup>16</sup> "American Board Archives" Digital Library for International Research *dlir.org* <http://www.dlir.org/arit-american-board-archives.html>, last accessed: February 18, 2017.

<sup>17</sup> Goodsell, *They Lived their Faith*, 96.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

The organization had a very well-structured, very disciplined and well-functioning system which was at one point blamed by the Americans for resembling too much of a state itself which is against the US constitution.<sup>20</sup> The organization divided itself into four main administrative units: European, Western, Central and Eastern Turkey Missions in the Ottoman Empire. What is more, 1/3 of Board's operations were located in the Ottoman Empire, which made the Empire a significant area of operation. By 1914, ABCFM already had 450 schools, nine hospitals, ten dispensaries and some printing presses.<sup>21</sup> This disciplined system not only aimed to spread Christianity but also aimed to collect information. On January 5, 1848, secretary Rufus Anderson of the ABCFM (who is among the 5 charter directors of the American Oriental Society under ABCFM and served in the Board from 1832-1866<sup>22</sup>) made an informal statement in the Journal of American Oriental Society where he said that American Board missionaries are likely to be their most productive source of information and "information gathering" is among the most important duties of the society.<sup>23</sup> As Mr. Anderson also stated, those missionaries were important sources of information since most of them knew the area very well, have been living there for generations and speaking the language fluently. Missionaries for most of the times were marrying with each other and most of their children who were raised in those countries were also becoming missionaries. Hence these generations were staying in the same places for centuries. One example to this can be given as the members of four generations of Dwights who served a total of six hundred and thirty years. The combined years of totals for the missionary services of Dwight and Riggs

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<sup>20</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, (Istanbul:Arba, 1989), 16.

<sup>21</sup> "American Board Archives" Digital Library for International Research [dlir.org](http://www.dlir.org/arit-american-board-archives.html) <http://www.dlir.org/arit-american-board-archives.html>, last accessed: February 18, 2017.

<sup>22</sup> Goodsell, *They Lived their Faith*, 19.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 452.

families who made intermarriages totaled more than 1530 years. Their children and grandchildren became nurses, teachers, professors, college presidents, editors and bible translators.<sup>24</sup> Another example can be given from the “Chandler” family. They were represented in the Board with fourteen people from three generations.<sup>25</sup> But there were also some marriages between the students of the missionaries where Miss Victoria Sarkissian can be given as an example. In 1923, Professor Levonian whose work life lay in two closely related fields: teaching in theological seminaries in the Near East and the preparation of brochures on Christian themes for Muslim readers (these brochures were written originally in Turkish but they were translated into many languages including Arabic, Persian, Bulgarian, Chinese, Marathi, Gujarati, Urdu and Hindi), married Miss Victoria Sarkissian, a talented graduate of Central Turkey Collage for Girls at Marash. Years later, the Levonians became American citizens and lived in Los Angeles, California with their two children.<sup>26</sup>

The aim of the missionaries were defined by an important figure in ABCFM missionary community, Benjamin Schneider, (he was born on January 18, 1807 at New Hanover, Pennsylvania and between 1834-1849, he pioneered at the former Capital of Ottoman Empire, Bursa, before being transferred to Antep in 1849) as to “revitalize the Christian communities” (Armenian and Greek) which according to him “had struggled for centuries against foes within and without.”<sup>27</sup> They also defined themselves as the “champions of freedom and Justice” and as people who have much to answer for before

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 105.

the High Court of Consistency. Considering their “most vulnerable point in their spiritual armor” is described as the “race relations” while indicating that they are “prone to sympathize with distant people struggling against tyranny and colonialism.”<sup>28</sup> The purpose of the organization also emphasized in its paper which was submitted during its very first conference which was held in Cairo, Egypt: Missionary Conference on behalf of the Mohammedan World in 1906.<sup>29</sup> The paper is like a roadmap explaining how to reach Muslims. For example, according to the paper, Muslims will be Christianized via social activities.<sup>30</sup> A variety of sources like this paper were utilized.

Methodologically, the archival research employed in this thesis can be regarded as a qualitative, historical analysis. Some of the missionary letters, correspondences and annual meeting reports were investigated by utilizing screening method at the microfilm archives. Hence, as also the method suggests, a past event tried to be revealed. Five main primary sources were utilized in this thesis. Firstly, letters and correspondences from Bilkent University library microfilm archives and online archives of the Universities were utilized. Secondly, this thesis explored The Missionary Herald<sup>31</sup> as one of the main sources. Being the Activity journal of the Board, these reports were reporting the monthly activities of the missionaries all around the world. There is a wide range of very detailed interesting information in these journals including any kind of missionary information, statistics, problems, new projects, relations with the

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 168.

<sup>29</sup> Tozkoparan, “19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Sivas’ta Amerikan Protestan Misyoner Faaliyetleri,” 36.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> The source was suggested by the Board himself in order to understand American Board History. see Goodsell, *They Lived their Faith*, 427.

government, the new institutions that were built, political situation of the countries and the potential changes, education activities and more. These monthly reports were prepared from the first hand and therefore can be considered as a very valuable primary source. This thesis will cover all of these activities in the Missionary Herald happened during 1913, 1914, 1915 in the Marash region. The history of Marash especially after 1900s, remains to be unknown. Thirdly, this thesis looked at the annual reports that were published by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. These reports were published from 1840 to 1927 every year. These reports can also be considered as more reliable since they were written by a single person. This source mostly contained statistical and numeral information. The thesis unearthed the information in the 1913, 1914 and 1915 Annual Reports in these sources. Usage of these reports were significant to wrap up the detailed information. Finally, the thesis also reviewed the memoirs, diaries or the books of the missionaries and Ottoman archives. Some pictures from the Marash region and the pictures of the missionaries were also collected from the library and internet sources which will be included to the thesis. Considering the secondary sources, books, articles, phd thesis were utilized. The secondary sources were especially significant to have a background information and to analyze their findings. Certain documents will also be included from these sources.

This thesis will consist of three main chapters apart from introduction and conclusion. The first chapter will provide not only a background information to the structure, history and system of the missionary organization, but also a brief introduction to the activities of the Board (statistics, schools, hospitals, their relations with the local people, the



number and ethnicity of the students ect) in the Marash region until 1900s which will be provided by previous studies. The second chapter will provide information about the demographic situation during the 1913, 1914, 1915 Marash era by providing documents from the archives and will provide more numerical information. The third chapter will analyze the relations of the local people with the missionaries and explain how the pre-war period became an opportunity for the Board to increase their influence over the Marash population. As such, this thesis is the story of Marash before the Great War seen from the eyes of American missionaries.

## CHAPTER 2

### A.B.C.F.M. AND MARASH

*“We can be sure that the hearth of all true method is brotherhood, comradeship, partnership in obedience to the directions of God’s Holy Spirit. Noting that is inconsistent with brotherhood can be tolerated”.*

Dr. Fred Field Goodsell<sup>32</sup>

This chapter will mostly offer a background to the subject material. It will provide some information regarding not only the missionary works and the system of ABCFM in general (first section) but also about its brief history, its emergence, missions and its arrival to the Ottoman lands (second section). In the third section, the history of Marash and the geographical, demographical and sociological situation will be analyzed in a rigorous framework in order to demonstrate the effect of missionary activities in the city and to differentiate ABCFM sources from these of the Ottoman archives. What is more, most sources included in this research were firsthand accounts including books written by missionaries, the ABCFM candidate manual, the ABCFM missionary handbook, a “Note Verbale” from France and the Ottoman Empire archives and more. Ultimately, the present work seeks to provide an objective background and a better picture of the interesting story of American missionaries.

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<sup>32</sup> Goodsell, *They Lived their Faith*, 474.

## 2.1. What is a mission for ABCFM?

The etymology of the term “missionary” comes from the Latin word *missio* which means “duty” or “authority. Hence the meaning of “missionary” can be explained as “the one with a duty. In the Christian ideology, “the missionaries” were the people who had the duty of transmitting the message (or the school of thought) of Jesus Christ across the world. Evangelism which is similar to this understanding actually refers to the approach of submitting this message. The main duty of missionaries is to deliver Christianity to those who do not believe in the “miracle” of “Jesus,” establish churches and to create the appropriate environment for the rule of god.<sup>33</sup> Another significant duty of missionaries is for the ones who are already “Christians.” Two processes in the human life are important; the Baptism and the childhood period.<sup>34</sup> The ceremony of “Baptism” is an essential part of the religion since it is believed that every human being is born with sins and it could only be eradicated through this process. It is important to teach the religion especially during childhood. It would both be easier to teach without much resistance and it is considered to be the primary duty of mothers and fathers. According to the Christian theology, mothers and fathers are considered to be missionaries as well, in terms of guiding their children to the road of god.<sup>35</sup> Similarly one of the main purposes of the Protestant missionary work is to educate young people of both sexes in elementary schools and more advanced institutions.

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<sup>33</sup> Tozkoparan, “19. Yüzyıl Sonunda Sivas’ta Amerikan Protestan Misyoner Faaliyetleri,” 4.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 19.

Missionary activities began as early as the passing of Jesus. Twelve followers of him were distributed to the different parts of the world in order to transfer his messages. The aim was to spread Christianity just like other major religions. The term “missionary” was strictly applied to “ordained ministers of the gospel in other words; for members of the ABCFM.”<sup>36</sup> In order to become a missionary, one would be able to apply as a candidate in his/her senior year of theological seminary.”<sup>37</sup> (Home Secretary was responsible for the applications)<sup>38</sup> where their application papers consisted of preliminary papers (health photograph, certificate of church membership, certificate of graduation), life sketch, testimonials (usually ten names are desired where pastors should certainly be included and a personal acquaintance is sought where it is possible),<sup>39</sup> answers to doctrinal and other questions.<sup>40</sup> All women and men who were received an appointment to become a missionary were called “assistant missionaries.” And those who got formal appointments were named “missionaries.” What is more, ABCFM, for convenience, classified the types of missionaries as; ordained missionaries, medical missionaries, educational missionaries, industrial missionaries, wives and unmarried women. Businessman as well as nurses were sent out for the missionary work as well.<sup>41</sup>

In order to qualify for a missionary position, one needed to sustain not only a “good character” among those who know him but also an unimpaired physical constitution, good intellectual ability, well disciplined by education (mental powers and scholarly

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<sup>36</sup> *Manual for Missionary Candidates and for Appointed Missionaries Before Entering their Fields* (Boston: ABCFM, 1908), 4.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

attainments of the highest order. Especially knowing a foreign tongue is a valuable qualification.), power in public address, executive ability, practical experience (if possible), good sense, sound judgment of men and things, capacity for leadership, versatility, tact, adaptation to men of all classes and circumstances, a cheerful hopeful spirit, ability to work pleasantly with others (possessing ordinary social graces, neat as to his person and clothes, being a person of culture and refinement), ability to yield to the will of the majority, persistent energy, and, finally, single-hearted, self-sacrificing devotion to Christ and his cause.<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, it is also emphasized in the manual that for those who expect to be engaged mainly in teaching duties should not only have scholarly attainments, intellectual discipline but also they “should have shown special fitness by their success in actual service, not only in the general work of teaching but in *molding character*, shaping the minds and hearts of their pupils.”<sup>43</sup> But what is more important than all of this, was the “trust” or “brotherhood” that should be established between the new members and the old ones. Afterall, as Goodsell indicates; “we can be sure that the hearth of all true method is brotherhood, comradeship, partnership in obedience to the directions of God’s Holy Spirit. Noting that is inconsistent with brotherhood can be tolerated.”<sup>44</sup>

At this point, it would be useful to highlight the difference between the “designated duty” and “appointed duty” in order to clarify the duties of the missionaries as it was emphasized by the board that these two concepts were two distinct things. Designation

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 5-6.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>44</sup> Goodsell, *They lived their faith*, 474.

was explained as to “have regard to assignment to a particular mission, and for obvious reasons this determination cannot always be reached at the time of the appointment” where after the designation, they were addressed to the Foreign Secretary in order to get their passage to the field, passports (it can be obtained from the Secretary of State at Washington and it is indispensable to missionaries going to some Eastern countries especially like Turkey and China),<sup>45</sup> outfit, correspondence about the date of sailing, life memoranda (it is of the utmost importance. it supplies information in regard to relatives to be notified in case of sickness, accident or death)<sup>46</sup> ect.<sup>47</sup>

Considering the ordination process of the missionaries, “the clerical missionary having received official notice of his appointment by the Committee, it is left with himself and his friends, or with the Church or ecclesiastical body with which he is connected, to make arrangements for his ordination” depending on the time, place and manner.<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, ABCFM also has a section considering the marriages of their missionaries. Getting married before going to a missionary work is described as desirable where it is important for women to be in good health.<sup>49</sup> The outfit of the missionaries are also another significant subject since it “will make both him (the missionary) and his home more attractive to them (indigenous people).”<sup>50</sup> Regarding the missionary rules and regulations, missionaries were not allowed to engage in any employment other than their regular work without the approbation of the mission and of the Prudential Committee.

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<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 31.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., 17-19.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 28.

Missionaries were not allowed to borrow money from natives or foreigners in mission fields neither for themselves nor for the missionary work unless in cases of emergency (where the Board cannot be hold responsible if anything happens whatsoever). If a missionary desires to return to US for health or any other reason, approval of his mission should be obtained, otherwise return is not permissible. If the rules are not obeyed, then the missionary can be dismissed by the Prudential Committee.<sup>51</sup> At the end of the designation process, every missionary upon appointment, were getting a handbook which they should know with their heart.<sup>52</sup>

## 2.2. A Brief History of ABCFM

Before examining Marash archives in a rigorous framework, it is significant to understand the history, aim, and function of the ABCFM in detail. As mentioned in the introduction, in the late 18th century, the Christian missionaries began to organize in the United States<sup>53</sup> upon revival moment called “the Second Great Awakening,” which was strongest in New England and profoundly affected the Protestant Christians.<sup>54</sup> It quickly became the biggest Protestant missionary organization of both the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Among all Christian institutes, the most effective, cardinal and widespread one was the Calvinist Protestant ABCFM in the United States. It is also the first overseas

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>53</sup> Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış*, 36.

<sup>54</sup> “American Board of Foreign Commissioners for Foreign Missions” *ohhistory.org*  
<http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AM002> last accessed: February 15, 2017

American missionary organization.<sup>55</sup> The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (alas ABCFM) officially began in 1806, when some students including their leader, Samuel Mills, from the Williams Collage decided to send “the saving gospel of Jesus Christ to non-Christians in foreign lands” at a Prayer Meeting in the shelter of a haystack.<sup>56</sup> When they graduated from Williams College, some of these students enrolled in the Andover Theological Seminary. The Seminary was founded in 1809 as a “Trinitarian seminary” against Harvard’s Unitarianism.<sup>57</sup> The works of the Connecticut Home Missionary Society, John Elliot, David Brainerd, London Missionary Society and William Carey inspired Samuel Mills, the leader of the Board.<sup>58</sup> The leader, Samuel Mills, had a word with the General Association of Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts during the Bradford meeting about the missionary works in India and with Native Americans where a contemporary method was decided to be employed: appointing commissioners. Hence the Board was officially established in 1810 in Boston by prominent members of the Congregational Church at Andover Seminary in Massachusetts<sup>59</sup> with its nine appointed commissioners: John Treadwell, Timothy Dwight (who was a respected Presbyterian leader),<sup>60</sup> Jedidiah Huntington, Calvin Chapin, William Bartlett, Samuel Worchester, Deacon Samuel L. Walley, Dr. Samuel Spring and Dr. Joseph Lyman.<sup>61</sup> They have adopted a constitution during their first

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<sup>55</sup> Kieser, *Iskalanmış Barış*, 36.

<sup>56</sup> Fred Field Goodsell, *You Shall be my Witnesses* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1959), 6.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>59</sup> Dianna Everett, “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions” *ohhistory.org* <http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AM002> last accessed: February 15, 2017

<sup>60</sup> Dianna Everett, “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions” *ohhistory.org* <http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AM002> last accessed: February 15, 2017

<sup>61</sup> Goodsell, *You Shall be my Witnesses*, 8.



annual meeting in Massachusetts.<sup>62</sup> In the second annual meeting in Massachusetts (Worcester), the prudential committee reported on their consultations with the London Missionary Society.<sup>63</sup> The ABCFM was officially chartered on 20<sup>th</sup> of June 1812, in Massachusetts by William Bartlett, John Hooker, Samuel Spring, Joseph Lyman, William Philips, Jedidiah Morse and Samuel Worcester.<sup>64</sup> According to the act of incorporation, at least one third of the Board should consist of “respectable layman,” at least one third of the Board should consist of “respectable clergyman” and the remaining one third would again be either respectable laymen or respectable clergyman where any person who is considered to be suitable would be able to be elected in the annual meeting.<sup>65</sup> Peoples of ancient civilizations, peoples of the ancient Christian Churches, peoples of Islamic faith and peoples of primitive cultures were identified by the Board as the four fields of missionary activity where the missions started under these headings.<sup>66</sup>

ABCFM began as an inter-denominational society by merging with different missionary organizations of similar doctrinal beliefs in order to reduce competition in areas such as the Indian territory (or the current Oklahoma) when they saw it as necessary such as the United Foreign Mission Society which was founded in 1817 in New York by the Presbyterians, the Reformed Church in America and the Dutch Reformed Church.<sup>67</sup> Nevertheless, in 1930s, Presbyterians started to experience internal dissent and this entailed the Board to change where old school Presbyterians started to leave the Board

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>63</sup> Goodsell, *You Shall be my Witnesses*, 10.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 11.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>67</sup> Everett “American Board of Foreign Commissioners for Foreign Missions”

in 1837 before building up their own Board of Foreign Missions, Dutch reformed withdrew in 1857 and finally New School Presbyterians started to leave in 1870 due to different opinions on the slavery issue. After then, only Congregationalists remained in the Board.<sup>68</sup>

Among the students of the school, there were Jews, Orthodox and Protestant Armenians, Christians from Asuri and Nasturi groups and Greeks.<sup>69</sup> By the time of ABCFM's centenary in 1910, the Board was responsible for not only 102 mission stations but also a missionary staff of 600 people from all around the world. The Board, during this process, has produced voluminous letters, correspondences, reports and statistics which are regarded as the fundamental sources of history where the Board operated.<sup>70</sup> The Board also established an official newspaper in 1821<sup>71</sup> and most of the activities of ABCFM were being heard by this mean: *The Missionary Herald*.<sup>72</sup> In 1868, Women's Board of Missions were organized in association with ABCFM as a separate organization until 1936.<sup>73</sup> Finally, in 1961, ABCFM merged to form the United Church Board for World Missions.

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Turan, *Avrasya'da Misyonerlik*, 148.

<sup>70</sup> "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, 1810-1961: Guide," Houghton Library, Harvard College Library [oasis.lib.harvard.edu](http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467)

<http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467>, last accessed: February 19, 2017.

<sup>71</sup> "Global Ministries," [http://www.globalministries.org/resources/mission-study/what-is-haystack/haystack\\_timeline/timeline-of-mission.html](http://www.globalministries.org/resources/mission-study/what-is-haystack/haystack_timeline/timeline-of-mission.html), last accessed: February 18, 2017.

<sup>72</sup> Dianna Everett, "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" [ohhistory.org](http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AM002) <http://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AM002>, last accessed: February 15, 2017.

<sup>73</sup> "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Archives, 1810-1961: Guide," Houghton Library, Harvard College Library [oasis.lib.harvard.edu](http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467) <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467>, last accessed: February 19, 2017.

ABCFM sent its first group of missionaries (five missionaries) to India in 1812. Then to China (1830)<sup>74</sup> and Ceylon mission.<sup>75</sup> The missionaries of ABCFM arrived in the Ottoman lands in 1819 where ABCFM sends its first missionaries to the Near East during that time.<sup>76</sup> The missionaries of ABCFM concentrated mostly on the places where there were an intense Christian population including Middle-East, Balkans and Istanbul. As proposed, they have established schools, hospitals and facilities to aid the Christian population, but these facilities were also utilized for missionary purposes.<sup>77</sup> Ottoman Empire was a significant location for the missionaries, after all, it was named as the “bible land” by the missionaries due to its location with holy places where all three religions emerged.<sup>78</sup> During that time, the Ottoman Empire was about to enter a century of protracted reform and reorganization with its first Tanzimat decree of 1839.<sup>79</sup> The Ottoman Empire was under the site of “missions among the people of the Ancient Christian Churches” where it was described as the missions among the Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Syrians, Assyrians and other Christian people in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>80</sup> All of these *millets* (Non-Muslim people of the Ottoman Empire) belonged to one or the other of the Christian Churches. Ottoman lands or people were also included in other classifications as well. The Ceylon mission, where the Board aimed at the Tamil people of Jaffna at the northern tip of Ceylon (1816) and Jews in Constantinople

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<sup>74</sup> “Global Ministries,” [http://www.globalministries.org/resources/mission-study/what-is-haystack/haystack\\_timeline/timeline-of-mission.html](http://www.globalministries.org/resources/mission-study/what-is-haystack/haystack_timeline/timeline-of-mission.html), last accessed: February 18, 2017.

<sup>75</sup> Dianna Everett, “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions” *ohhistory.org* <http://www.ohhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=AM002>, last accessed: February 15, 2017.

<sup>76</sup> “Global Ministries,” [http://www.globalministries.org/resources/mission-study/what-is-haystack/haystack\\_timeline/timeline-of-mission.html](http://www.globalministries.org/resources/mission-study/what-is-haystack/haystack_timeline/timeline-of-mission.html), last accessed: February 18, 2017.

<sup>77</sup> William Ellsworth Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (New York :Amo Press,1969).

<sup>78</sup> Ayhan Doğan, “Maraşta Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri” *Selçuk University Journal of Institute of Social Sciences* 11 (270-317), 273.

<sup>79</sup> Jeremy Salt “Trouble Where Ever They Went: Missionaries in Anatolia and Ottoman Syria in the Ninetieth Century” *The Muslim World* 92 (2002), 287.

<sup>80</sup> Goodsell, *You Shall be my Witnesses*, 14.

(1832) fell under the mission of “Peoples of Ancient Civilizations”<sup>81</sup> where this missionary site usually included missions from India and China. “In the Missions among Muslims,”<sup>82</sup> there was “Turkey, Arab, Persian and Turkish Muslims” (1820) where this mission directed to all people of the Near East in addition to large populations of Arab, Persian and Turkish. Nonetheless the permanent mission of the ABCFM in the Ottoman Empire (or as the ABCFM calls “Turkish Empire”), began with the coming of the Dr. and Mrs. Goodsell to Constantinople in 1831. In 1821, Plink Fisk and Levi Parsons (the first missionaries who were sent to the Orient) did not stay long in Smyrna. Hence, ABCFM tend to believe that their birth of the “Turkey” mission was actually in 1831.<sup>83</sup>

The missionary work is described as four kinds by the Board: evangelistic, educational, literary and medical.<sup>84</sup> The total number of the churches in Western Turkey, Central Turkey and Eastern Turkey missions is given as 120 (where nine tenths of their membership is Armenian) in 1914. The Board divided itself into European Turkey Mission (in fact it was taken aside due to the belief that they were a “distinct race and using a different language”) Western Turkey, Central Turkey and Eastern Turkey Missions.<sup>85</sup> Considering the Eastern Turkey Mission, in 1914, there were thirteen men of whom four were veterans with 35 or more years of missionary service behind them.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Goodsell, *You Shall be my Witnesses*, 13.

<sup>82</sup> Goodsell, *You Shall be my Witnesses*, 17.

<sup>83</sup> H. Matteosian, *Missions of the ABCFM in Turkey*, (Constantinople: ABCFM, 1914), 1.

<sup>84</sup> Matteosian, *Missions of the ABCFM in Turkey*, 2.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

According to the Board, Eastern Turkey mission was is “almost exclusively Armenian.”<sup>87</sup>

### **2.3.The City of Marash**

It is significant and necessary to explain the historical background of the city of Marash, especially between 1913 and 1915, since this thesis will analyze the ABCFM archives during that period. It will be cardinal to know about the situation of that period in order to comprehend the flow of events, their prominence and effect in order to see the whole picture in an objective manner. Hence, this part of the chapter will provide a brief introduction to Marash’s demography, geographical location, its importance and history by analyzing the archives of late 19<sup>th</sup> century from the Ottoman Empire.

Marash was included to the Ottoman land in 1515 by the Yavuz Sultan Selim after Dulkadiroğlu principality became part of the Ottoman Empire. Since 1866, Marash became a part of Aleppo province in Ottoman Empire’s last terms and it included the townships of Elbistan, Göksun, Pazarcık and Andırın.<sup>88</sup> But in 1915, it became a sovereign sanjak (sub province). It was surrounded by the Malatya sanjak (on its east), Aleppo central sanjak (on its south) and Adana province (on its south-west). Since ancient times, the city was known from its significance for providing a road to Syria.

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<sup>87</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>88</sup> Mehmet Yetişkin, “Osmanlının son döneminde Maraş” *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*, 23 (2007),1.

This city was also in the center of the roads that connect Kayseri, Sivas, Malatya, Besni, Antep and Antakya to Adana.<sup>89</sup>

Marash was a strategically important city and it was also regarded as a gate that opens to the Middle East due to its exceptional location and Muslim and Non-Muslim relations of local people with each other.<sup>90</sup> What is more, Marash was an ethnically diverse city with numerous *millets* living there.<sup>91</sup> The Muslims and non-Muslims were getting along with each other on an almost perfect basis in terms of economic relations, social relations and personal relations. Despite their similarities that emerged over time, Muslims were more involved in agriculture whereas non-Muslims were more into trade and art. There were also some rich families in the city from both Muslim communities and non-Muslim *millets*.<sup>92</sup>

It should also be emphasized that Marash was an area where plenty of Armenian incidents were observed due to its mountainous geography and intensive non-Muslim community.<sup>93</sup> Among those incidents, there were uprisings in 1781,<sup>94</sup> 1810, 1829,<sup>95</sup> 1832, 1836, 1840, 1842,<sup>96</sup> 1852, 1854, 1860-1862 and in 1895 (Zeytun uprisings) which

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<sup>89</sup> Yetişkin, “Osmanlının son döneminde Maraş,” 2.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>91</sup> Ayhan Doğan, “Maraş”ta Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri,” 272.

<sup>92</sup> Yetişkin, “Osmanlının son döneminde Maraş,” 1.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.

<sup>94</sup> Nejla Günay, *Maraş’ta Ermeniler ve Zeytun İsyanları* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2007), 228.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 229.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., 230.

was the most known one.<sup>97</sup> Especially the Zeytun Township became a safe haven for the Armenian convicts, separatists and militants where there were continuous uprisings between 1860 and 1915. One of those uprisings, the longest and scariest one was the “Zeytun rebellion” which took place in 1895.<sup>98</sup> After the rebellion, the Empire arrests some of these Armenians in Marash and Aleppo where the French embassy condemns this action by giving a verbal note to the Caratheodory Pasha on 8 March 1879.<sup>99</sup> Recognizing and appreciating the works of the commission lead by the Galip Pasha and the Nourian Pasha from Babiali, French embassy was calling for an urgent investigation of the incident from the authorities so that the innocent Armenians could be released with a minimum duration of detainment. They demand that two Pasha’s should come to Halep for the investigations urgently until the emergence of a new commission. What is more, this commission was also responsible for investigating the underlying causes of the insurgency and preparing an appropriate reform project in line with the demands of the rebels.<sup>100</sup> French Embassy also reminds the obligations of the Berlin Treaty and asks the Empire to act in its limitations. An important article of Berlin Treaty (article 61) required the Commission (which responsible to prepare the reform project-Article 23) to report its works periodically to the monitoring states.<sup>101</sup>

With the emergence of the First World War, the situation changed very quickly. On 25 April 1913, the deportation of the Armenians from the Zeytun Township to a different

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<sup>97</sup> Ibid., 225.

<sup>98</sup> Yetişkin, “Osmanlının son döneminde Maraş,” 1.

<sup>99</sup> Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü (Hereafter B.O.A.), HR. SYS. 78/6, Belge no: 60 (Sera le 8 mars 1879, Note Verbale, 1879).

<sup>100</sup> B.O.A. HR. SYS. 78/6, Belge no: 60 (Sera le 8 mars 1879, Note Verbale, 1879)

<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

place is commanded.<sup>102</sup> Nonetheless, on 19 May 1333 (1914/1915) it was stated by the Dahiliye Nezareti to Maraş Mutasarrıflığı that no debt will be taken whatsoever from the deported Armenians.<sup>103</sup> On 25 April 1915, those Armenians in that region were deported to Konya. Nonetheless, according to the Ottoman Empire archives, the empire ordered not to send any more Armenians to Konya since they suspect that insurgency may also happen there if number of Armenians increase in that region.<sup>104</sup>

Building schools were extremely significant for the ABCFM. Only through primary, middle and high schools, the true religion could be taught and again, only through this mean, children can be raised, formed and shaped appropriately with a religious education. It was easier to shape or raise a child than to change an adult. In that case, schools were the key institutions for the American Board. The non-Muslim population in Marash have long been establishing schools known as the “Mekatib-i Gayr-i Muslim.” What is more, Marash is known to have the highest rate of Armenian schools in the entire Empire. The schools that were built by the foreigners were addressed as the “Mekatib-i Ecnebiyye” by the Ottoman Empire.<sup>105</sup> Protestants were allowed to open any

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<sup>102</sup> B.O.A. DH. ŞFR, nr. 52/286 (Bâb-ı Âlî Dâhiliye Nezâreti Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti Husûsî:21, 19 May 1913).

<sup>103</sup> B.O.A. DH. ŞFR, nr. 53/200 (Bâb-ı Âlî Dâhiliye Nezâreti Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdîriyyeti Husûsî: 21).

<sup>104</sup> B.O.A. DH. ŞFR, 52/93 (1533-4 Bâb-ı Âlî, Dahiliye Nezâreti, Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti Hususî: 14, 26 April 1913).

<sup>105</sup> Doğan, “Maraş’ta Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri,” 270.



school without restrictions or limitations with the declaration of 1862 Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi (article 129).<sup>106</sup>

In a report submitted to Abdülhamid II, only 51 out of 392 Protestant schools were operating with a license. Here, clearly the Ottoman Empire did not have any policy regarding the missionary schools. Out of this 51, 33 of them got their license through Ferman-I Ali (Sultan's edict) and 7 of them got it through *emr-i sami* (with the authority of the Sadaret).<sup>107</sup> The missionary schools were very flexible in terms of being able to do whatever they want.<sup>108</sup> When the Ottoman Empire started to increase their monitoring on the schools, the American Embassy applied "Maarif Nezareti" for its 400 schools in order to get license. When the "Maarif Nezareti" did not approved this demand (because they wanted the unlicensed ones to be closed, hence remained silent towards the American demands), ABCFM applied for the schools whose sub-unit was different under the American embassy and pressured to the Empire by threatening to cut diplomatic relations. Only then, they were able to get license.<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, Zühtü Pasha (Maarif Nazırı) in one of the archives indicates that they were unable to monitor and inspect these schools since they did not have license. Hence, the books and the course programs were not determined or checked by the local authorities and even if

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<sup>106</sup> Yahya, Akgüz, "Abdülhamid Devrinde Protestan Okulları ile İlgili Orijinal İki Belge" *Ankara Üniversitesi Dergisi* 1 (1970), 123 <http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/40/487/5712.pdf> last accessed: April 17, 2017.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 122.

<sup>109</sup> H. Matteosian, *List of American Educational, Religious and Charitable Institutions in the Ottoman Empire* (Constantinople 1903) last accessed: February 2, 2017. <http://www.dlir.org/archive/archive/files/53a77dc2a6ecada37424a3a9e6992703.pdf>

an inspector wants to go check these schools, they were most of the time not allowed to enter.<sup>110</sup>

When looking at the school program provided by the Ottoman Empire, it divided the schools into two categories; iptidai-rüşdi and iptidai-idadi. In iptidai-rüşdi (part ibtidai, part rüşdi), there is English and Armenian language courses (in Anatolia), English and Arabic courses (in Arabic geography), Ulum-u Diniye (Religion lesson), Hesap (Math), Geography, Turkish (sometimes), French, History, Botanic, Zoology, anatomy and Malumat-i Fenniye (Technique courses). When it is kısm-i idadi (partly idadi and iptidai), the courses are: Turkish, Arabic and Persian grammar, English, Armenian, French, Akaid-i Diniye (Religious believes), Geography, History, Hukuk-u Düvel (State Law), Usul-ü İdare ve Hikmet (Physics), Chemistry, Geometry, Astronomy, Hygiene, Gym, İlm-i Ruh (Psychology), İlm-i Ahlak (code of conduct) and Musiki (Music). The most important courses were Religion, History and English.<sup>111</sup> When looking at the statistics by the Ottoman Empire in 1901, it can be seen that there were three American schools built by the Americans in Marsh. The first one did not have license and the degree of the school was “Ali” and it had 6 students (Zükur). The second school that was built in 1883 (1298) and got its license in 1893 and it had a school degree of “idadi.” The school had 54 students (İnas). The third school had 60 students (Zükur) and it was

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<sup>110</sup> Akgüz, “Abdülhamid Devrinde Protestan Okulları ile İlgili Orijinal İki Belge,” 126.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 124.

built in 1863 (1279). Its license was given to Simon Küpeliyan in 1893. The degree of the school was Idadi. <sup>112</sup>

Bearing in mind the demography of the Demographics in the Ottoman Empire, the population of Marash in 1908 was 67.974 where there were 46,557 Muslims, 11.180 Armenians, 3.567 Catholics, 6 Roman Catholics, 4.057 Protestants, 884 Latin, 1510 Foreigners and 213 Jews.<sup>113</sup> By 1914, the total population of Marash was 187.227, which was considerable. A majority of the population was composed of Muslims (149.024 which means that 79.32% were Muslims).<sup>114</sup> Missionary activities to other than the Turkish majority, ABCFM was also interested to spread Protestantism among different groups like Arab, Armenians, Greeks and Kurdish people. They have established the Turkish college for that purpose.<sup>115</sup> Finally, Marash is considered to be in the Central Turkey Mission (The other cities in Central Turkey Mission is Aintab, Adana, Tarsus, Hajin and Urfa) where ABCFM describes it as the strongest mission of the Board in the Empire.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> “1319 Tarihli Maarif Nezareti Salnâmesi” 544

<https://archive.org/stream/1319YiliMaarifNezaretiSalnamesi/1319%20yili%20maarif%20nezareti%20salnamesi%20#page/n37/mode/2up> last accessed: March 1, 2017.

<sup>113</sup> Said Öztürk, *Osmanlı Salnamelerinde Maraş Sancağı: 1284-1326*. (Istanbul: Düzey, 2006), 794.

<sup>114</sup> Yetişkin, “Osmanlının son döneminde Maraş,” 5.

<sup>115</sup> American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Collection Archives (Hereafter ABCFM), Reel 646 No 452. (From Bezjian to Rev. Clark, 1886).

<sup>116</sup> Matteosian, *Missions of the ABCFM in Turkey*, 3.

## CHAPTER 3

### MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

*“The nations of the earth have received a Kingdom that cannot be shaken, the Kingdom of God, inadequately but significantly and token-wise realized in the growing world Christian community...it is God’s purpose to bring to completion that which he has begun.”*

Dr. Fred Field Goodsell<sup>117</sup>

ABCFM reports indicate that, Marash, its population, culture and its surroundings were very well observed by the board. According to one report in 1878, there were 4000 Protestant churches where three of them were significant in terms of their sizes. The education was given by the people who were working in the “Sunday Schools.” The women Committee on the other hand, was providing a high level education to women and girls in the Turkish Central Girl’s collage.<sup>118</sup> ABCFM firstly opened the Theology seminars and the Turkish Central Collage in its Marash Station. Then, as it can be seen from the documents, they also opened some orphanages. The places that they opened stations are also extremely significant in terms of their similarities. All these places,

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<sup>117</sup> Goodsell, *They lived their faith*, 474.

<sup>118</sup> Marrion Nossor, “Educational Policies Of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Turkey 1823-1923” Unpublished Master Thesis Chicago: Chicago University, (1925).

where the missionaries resided, were inhabited by an intense Christian population. Apart from that, these regions were mixed ethnically and very abundant with natural resources. The transition zones were also strategically considerable locations for the missionary Board.<sup>119</sup> Hence, Marash has been a great place to open schools, hospitals and to settle for the missionaries. Marash had an ethnically mixed population, it was located on the road to Middle-East and there was a significant level of Christian population living in this area.

Anatolia was separated into different missionary stations where the activities in Anatolia mostly focused on the Christian Armenians. Hence, they have turned the West Turkey mission into an Armenian mission.<sup>120</sup> Then, the mission was separated into North and South Armenian missions in 1856. In the South Armenian mission, there was Marash, Antep and Antakya. At the very end, these missions got their arrangement as the West, East and Central Anatolia missions. Marash was included in the Central Turkey Mission and the center of the Central Turkey Mission was Antep.<sup>121</sup> The American Evangelic (Protestant) Missionaries began working in the Central Turkey mission in 1847.<sup>122</sup> On the other hand, the first missionary activities on Marash began in 1850 and on 1854, they established the first Church there.<sup>123</sup> Interestingly, Armenians didn't want the Protestants

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<sup>119</sup> Myra A. Proctor, "Aintab, Central Turkey," 276 in *The Missionary herald*. (Boston: ABCFM, June 1891).

<sup>120</sup> Leon Arpee "A century of Armenian Protestantism" *Church History* 5, 2 (1936), 154.

<sup>121</sup> "A letter from Mr and Mrs Christie" in *The Missionary herald*. (Boston: ABCFM, June 1875), 152.

<sup>122</sup> ABCFM Reel: 642, no: 422 (Letter from Trowbridge to ABCFM, 1867)

<sup>123</sup> *The Missionary herald*. (Boston: ABCFM, January 1875), 152.

to be in this city and most of the native assistants of the Board were dismissed from the city.<sup>124</sup>

By 1913, there were 12 outstations,<sup>125</sup> 2 American ordained missionaries, 5 single American women, 2 American wives, 6 native ordained preaches, 6 unordained native preaches, 54 native teachers, 9 native bible-women, 6 other native laborers, 15 places of regular meeting, 7 organized Churches, 4 entirely self-supporting churches, 1980 communicants, 44 confessions from people, 6090 adherents, 4020 average attendance to church, 20 Sabbath schools, 3115 Sabbath school memberships, 1 theological school (Marash theological seminary) (9 students for the ministry), 1 college (143 students), 2 boarding and high schools (98 boys), 42 other schools (836 boys, 711 girls). Considering the native financial contributions; there was an amount of \$21843.30 aid for Christian work and \$28441.54 for education.<sup>126</sup> As confirmed in one first reports of the missionary Board in 1854 and also the central reports of the board, among the first missionaries there were Mr. William Sage Woolworth (rev.) as the accountant, Mrs. Edith Cold, Mrs. Ellen M. Blakely and Pauline M. Rehder as responsible for the general staff and education.<sup>127</sup> By 1915, there was Edward C. Woodley as charge of the Theological Seminary and treasurer of the station, Mrs. Edythe G. Woodley as work for women, James K. Lyman as the Language professor in Theological Seminary, Miss Ellen M. Blakely as the President of Girl's Collage and the supervisor of women's work,

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<sup>124</sup> ABCFM Reel: 642, no:422 (Letter from Trowbridge to ABCFM, 1867)

<sup>125</sup> Within a year, the number of outstations increases to 15 as it can be seen from the statistics of 1914 in ABCFM Reel: 668, no: 139 (Estimates for 1915, 1915)

<sup>126</sup> ABCFM Reel: 642, no: 132, no: 133, no: 134 (Letter from Perry to Clark, October 19, 1868)

<sup>127</sup> *The Missionary herald*. (Boston: Congregational House, 1922), 152.

Miss Annie E. Gordon as the teacher of Girl's Collage and general evangelistic work for women and Miss Bessie M. Hardy as the teacher of music in Girls' College.<sup>128</sup>

ABCFM also tried to influence the Muslim students. According to the religious policy book of ABCFM, there were five main policies: contact, sympathy, example, teaching and prayer.<sup>129</sup> For the evangelization of Muslim students, the Board has outlined a plan to "approach to many Muslim homes and hearts" such as opening kinder gardens, schools for Muslim girls, reading and club room, medical work and bible-women's training school.<sup>130</sup> The Board calls for establishment of kinder gardens especially in Marash, Aleppo, Antep and in Adana where it is considered to be open for the attendance of Muslim children alone. The mission calls for at least three kinder gardens and especially one of these kinder gardens will conduct as a training class in connection with the Girl's college at Marash.<sup>131</sup> Considering the bible-women's training school; the reports indicate that this line of approach has been very effective.

The evangelization (or making them protestants) of Armenians was a step by step process. It was not in the same level in every region. It was only after 1960 that evangelization efforts started to spread to Maraş, Kilis and Keşşab properly. The Protestants in these other regions also financially supported these institutions. Marash

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<sup>128</sup> *The Annual Report*, (Boston: Congregational House, October 26, 1915), 73.

<sup>129</sup> ABCFM Reel 668, No: 120 (Salary statement for Central Turkey Mission. Special Estimates for 1913)

<sup>130</sup> ABCFM Reel 668, No: 160 (Estimates for work among Moslems in Central Turkey, 1915).

<sup>131</sup> ABCFM Reel 668, No: 160 (Estimates for work among Moslems in Central Turkey, 1915).

and Antep were extremely significant cities for the Central Turkey Mission.<sup>132</sup> The statistics of ABCFM in 1876 indicates that there is Marash and Antep central stations and 29 external stations which belongs to the Central Turkey Mission. The Central Turkey Mission had 26 churches, 6 missionaries, 1 physicist, 13 assistant women missionary, 19 local assistant, a licensed preacher, 50 teachers and 8 assistants in 1876.<sup>133</sup>

In a meeting report of 1874, there were discussions about whether the bibles should be written in Ottoman/Arabic instead of Armenian/Turkish which was rejected as a result of these meetings. On the other hand, in the 22<sup>nd</sup> annual meeting (1879) in Antep, the missionaries discussed the necessary measures and long term plans of the ABCFM activities in these areas. As a result, several significant topics were discussed agreed upon including; proliferation of women activities, raising local authorities for the colleges and high school administrations, continuing to support the local missionaries and teaches, evangelization of Muslims, spread of Christian literature through local languages and the recent political developments and their effect on the work of the missionaries.

Following the 1880s, there were also some students in these colleges of the Central Turkey Mission who were the children of some local bureaucrats and wealthy people of

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<sup>132</sup> *Missions of the ABCFM in Turkey and Bulgaria with Christian Friends Work by Americans and their native Associates* (Constantinople: ABCFM, 1883).

<sup>133</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 73(D. T. Penny to ABCFM, May 1874) and *The Annual Report*, (Boston: Riverside Press, 1876), 21-22, 33-34, 41-42.



the city. ABCFM also succeeded to convince some poor and orphan Muslims with their scholarships and the words of commitments of settling into United States.<sup>134</sup>

### **3.1. The Women Missionaries in Marash**

American missionaries has utilized women missionaries a lot in order to be more successful in their missionary work, to better infuse on the other half of the society, to set a better example of the Christian family life and to get into the houses and befriend the local people. There are three significant societies considering the women missionaries in Anatolia. The first one is Women's Board of Missions (WBM) which was organized in association with ABCFM in 1868 in the Southern Church of Boston to promote work with women in the mission field.<sup>135</sup> An interdenominational New England's Foreign Missionary Society was organized in January 1868 by a group of Congregationalist women in Boston. Following the September, the constitution was altered and the name of the organization was changed into WBM. The second one is Women's Board of Missions of the interior (WBMI) which was established in October 1868 in Chicago area. The second institutions was formed because the members thought that United States was too vast for one organization to cover the whole nation. It should also be emphasized that these institutions were established on the very same day of the American civil war. The third one as the Young Women Christian Association (YWCA) which had 20 local members and 6 advisors.<sup>136</sup> Both WBM, WBMI and YWCA began

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<sup>134</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, 148.

<sup>135</sup> "Harvard Library" <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467> last accessed: March 4, 2017.

<sup>136</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 101 (Report of the Antioch of the Antep Station from The Women Church in Urfa to Antep Missionaries, April 7, 1877).

their activities in Marash in 1878.<sup>137</sup> The women institutions supported the American Missionary institutions both financially and in terms of labor force in addition to disseminating missionary intelligence, training children to interest and participation in work, home visits and organizing bible reading days. The woman's board continued independently until 1936 when it finally merged with the ABCFM.<sup>138</sup>

These schools were especially utilized to recruit new women instructors to supply their labor needs in their country of mission. In some places, there were no teachers. In these situations, the wives of the preachers gave these courses. The girls that were graduating from these girl schools were sending to villages and towns as teachers. And they were most of the time getting married with the other male missionaries in these places. Then these wives were guided by the women missionaries. The missionaries were more concerned about the education of the ones who will be used as teachers in the outstations. They have compensated the expenditures and school needs of the poor girls and even helped them to achieve better levels of education.<sup>139</sup> This was the essential system of the ABCFM. The missionaries were usually raising local Christian students as teachers, sending them to their locations and then they were supervising, guiding and consulting them.<sup>140</sup> Then, these teachers mostly self-financed their schools with the help of the local people as well. After all, the main aim was to educate native ministry and to aid in the establishment of a self-controlling and self-supporting body of evangelical

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<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> "The Burke Library Archives, Columbia University Libraries, Union Theological Seminary, New York" [http://library.columbia.edu/content/dam/libraryweb/locations/burke/fa/mrl/ldpd\\_4492681.pdf](http://library.columbia.edu/content/dam/libraryweb/locations/burke/fa/mrl/ldpd_4492681.pdf) last accessed: March 6, 2017.

<sup>139</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, no: 99 (Letter from The elders of the Kessab Church to Rev. Clark, February 17, 1877).

<sup>140</sup> ABCFM Reel: 644, No: 311 (Letter from Christie Thomas to Rev. Clark, 1880).

Christian churches.<sup>141</sup> But in some reports, it was also indicated that these teachers got some financial aid from Boston. The missionaries were concerned not only about the self-sufficient and self-financing churches but also the education of the local people and high levels of bible disposal.<sup>142</sup> It can also be argued that these women institutions were extremely effective especially among women and children.<sup>143</sup> What is more, according to a report written in 1872, the women missionaries not only formed primary schools in Marash but also in the outstations such as the Yerebakan village of Marash. They have opened a class to for 8 women in this village. The administration of this school was again given to a local Armenian women named Eve Terekciyan. As it can be seen from the reports that ABCFM has formed schools and conducted daily prayers in most of the villages of the Marash city including Haçin (SAİMBEYLİ), Elbistan and Zeytun.<sup>144</sup> The missionaries in these schools were working more like the coordinators. Their primary concern also seemed to be evangelization of the local people rather than providing contemporary education.<sup>145</sup> When looking at the financial budget of the Marash station of the 1875 Women Board Society, it can be seen that the local personal was gaining 16500 kuruş and the teacher expenditures was 8000 kuruş.<sup>146</sup> The rest of the expenditures including books and the expenditures of the outstation women schools

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<sup>141</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 107 (Action of Board of Managers of Central Turkey College, 1913).

<sup>142</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 101 (Report of the Antioch of the Antep Station from The Women Church in Urfa to Antep Missionaries, April 7, 1877).

<sup>143</sup> ABCFM Reel: 644, No: 268 (Letter from Christie Thomas D. to Rev. Clark, 1879).

<sup>144</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 95 (Report of the Antioch Station, April 1872).

<sup>145</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 99 (Letter from The elders of the Kessab Church to Rev. Clark, February 17, 1877).

<sup>146</sup> In 1869, the exchange currency was as following; 100 kuruş=1 Turkish Liras and 1 American gold (dolar) was equal to 1 TL and 22.760 kuruş. In ABCFM Reel 640, No 21 (Report of the Aintab Station Presented At the Annual Meeting, April 1861). In 1869, the budget expenditures were used to be given as both kuruş and dolar but after this date, the archives only provided it as kuruş. In ABCFM Reel: 640, No: 21 (Report of the Aintab Station Presented At the Annual Meeting, April 1861).

were 1950 kuruş and the total salary of the women missionaries were 38600 kuruş.<sup>147</sup>

What is more, the children of the Muslim families started to go to these schools starting from 1880. In 1876, there was 3 women missionary in Marash.<sup>148</sup>

According to a financial report of Marash that was prepared in 1881, it can be seen that the total expenditure of the station was 82742 kuruş.<sup>149</sup> The missionaries were working in a boarding school and their expenditures mostly consist of building a library, recruiting teachers from the local population, bible sales and book sales. The ones who were evangelized and work with the missionaries were included to their financial reports.<sup>150</sup> Considering the financial sources of the missionaries, the middle schools were supplied from mainly three sources where they clearly state that “such institutions cannot always be governed and supported by America.”<sup>151</sup> The first one was the donations that were provided by the women and men missionary organizations such as ABCFM, WBM or WBMI. Second one was the money that was taken from the students and thirdly, there was the money that was gathered by the missionaries during their travels to other Western countries by joining the church services.<sup>152</sup> For the American

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<sup>147</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 98 (Special Report on Kessab Church from G.O. Powers to ABCFM, February 5, 1872).

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 30 (Letter from Myrna Proctor to ABCFM about report on Works of the Women’s Board in the Antep field, 1880).

<sup>150</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 101 (Report of the Antioch of the Antep Station from The Women Church in Urfa to Antep Missionaries, April 7, 1877).

<sup>151</sup> ABCFM Reel 668, No: 107 (Action of Board of Managers of Central Turkey College, 1913).

<sup>152</sup> ABCFM Reel: 645, No: 424 (Letter from Miss Nutting to Rev. Clark, 1876).

schools in Marash and Antep, a donation committee was established in order to raise money for these schools. As a result of these donations, 200.000 dollar were collected.<sup>153</sup>

When looking at the report of the financial report of Marash station in 1961, it can be seen that every detail was reported to the expenditures part. Among those expenditures were; student trips, annual meetings, letters, books for the assistants, health services, education services, student scholarships, building expenditures, garden rents, library services, student rents and the aids that were given to the local workers. These reports also indicate that the missionaries were settling into Marash more intensely especially after 1880s. After this date, missionaries, instead of renting apartments for themselves, they were starting to build their own apartments in Marash and its surrounding villages. There were also some expenditures under the name of “medical traveling.” This situation also indicates that missionaries were continuing their jobs in different places.<sup>154</sup>

### **3.2. The Missionary Schools**

The missionaries put a great deal of emphasis on improving the writing, reading and speaking skills since their primary aim was to make them read and properly understand the bible. They also emphasize the significance of winning native sympathy and support in most of their correspondences. For this purpose, they have not only established

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<sup>153</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, 130.

<sup>154</sup> ABCFM Reel: 640, No:21(Report of the Aintab Station Presented At the Annual Meeting, April 1861) and ABCFM Reel: 643, No:29 (Letter from Myrna Proctor to ABCFM about report on Works of the Women's Board in the Antep Station, April 1878,1879).

hospitals, schools and kinder gardens but also they gave poor and unfortunate children scholarships and opportunities to study.<sup>155</sup> For this purpose, they have opened Sunday schools for the native population and opened primary schools for the children. Among the first schools that missionaries built in Marash, the first ones were the primary schools. Similarly, in less populated rural areas in Marash, there were mostly primary schools with a single room or homeschools. In 1863, there were 360 students in 7 schools.<sup>156</sup> In these institutions, theology colleges were opened to raise instructors mostly because there was insufficient number of instructors for missionary schools. Through this, native instructors were raised and therefore; by being part of it, the Board was able to impact the native population as well. It was also able to reach to the families and even to Muslim people through children who were having their education in these schools.<sup>157</sup> At the beginning of the 1870s, the Missionaries succeed to open 220 primary schools which indicates that 44% of world's missionary schools were in Anatolia. Later on, it can be seen that the school curriculums, number of teachers, style of teaching and the books also varied as time goes on<sup>158</sup>. According to the general statistics of 1878, there were 5 primary schools, 2 middle-schools, 1 boy's high school and a girl's high school. The total number of students were 470.<sup>159</sup>

The colleges divided themselves into three classes; 1) those one fifth of whose students are Moslems; 2) those having only 3% or 4% of Moslem students; 3) those whose

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<sup>155</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 107 (Action of Board of Managers of Central Turkey College, 1913).

<sup>156</sup> ABCFM Reel: 640, No: 62 (Annual Report of the Adana Station, 1868).

<sup>157</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 37 (Letter from Myrna Proctor to ABCFM about report on the Antep Female Seminary April 17, 1878).

<sup>158</sup> ABCFM Reel: 645, No: 396 (Letter from Miss Nutting to Rev. Clark, 1872).

<sup>159</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 101 (Report of the Antioch of the Antep Station from The Women Church in Urfa to Antep Missionaries, April 7, 1877).

Moslem students do not amount to over 1% of the entire student body. When looking at observed results of the education of Moslem students in Missionary colleges, it can be seen that %14 of the students were Muslims in all colleges of Turkey (496 Moslem students out of 3560). These were the figures from the table that was published in the Orient early in 1914.<sup>160</sup>

These schools were formed for the adults to join the religious ceremonies on Sunday. With the help of the local assistants, the bible was able to reach even to the villages. One the aims of these schools were to raise teachers from these institutions. In 1870s, the number of these schools already reached to 4 in Marash and the number of the attendants were significantly high in number.<sup>161</sup> What is more, a certain amount of money was also earned from the book sales in these schools and even wrote to Istanbul to decrease the prices of the books being sold in these schools. Because, ABCFM not only wanted to earn money from these books but also they wanted these books to spread and sold rapidly so that it can reach as many as it can. They have also sent their ideas about that to the headquarters in Istanbul.

After opening the primary schools, ABCFM also started to open middle schools in order to raise teachers, preachers or missionaries.<sup>162</sup> The first missionaries who came to Marash studied with the students personally in different fields such as Arithmetic,

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<sup>160</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 116 (ABCFM. General Work, 1913).

<sup>161</sup> ABCFM Reel: 642, No: 422 (Letter from Trowbridge to ABCFM, 1867).

<sup>162</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, 123-124.

Grammar and Geography. These personal courses lead the missionaries to open schools in high school levels and in 1860s they succeed to open high schools. Students from different cities (especially surrounding cities such as Antep) were also coming to study in the Marash high schools. The empty places near the church were utilized as the high school buildings.

These schools were giving education at nights.<sup>163</sup> The courses mostly composed of bible history, general history, English and Medicine. There was the same situation for the girls. After 1860s, the women missionaries were giving classes to the girls. The primary aim for the girls high schools were first to educate the girls and secondly to raise women teachers or instructors for their future schools. Hence, it can be seen that ABCFM were raising their staff from the very foundation. According to the missionaries, there were two main problems considering the education of the girl students in the Ottoman Marash. The first one was the “early marriage” problem. The parents were eager to get their daughters married on early ages and therefore the students were not able to continue their studies. The missionaries also emphasized that if a girl who is already 15 years old and haven not married, this was considered as a “shame” in the country. The second obstacle was the fact that the parents did not consider their daughter’s education as a necessity.<sup>164</sup> Hence, this situation was preventing girls to go the schools. Despite these obstacles, in 1865 the first girl’s collage in Marash was opened by Josephine L. Coffing. When the school opened, the missionaries traveled through the city in order to

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<sup>163</sup> ABCFM Reel: 640, No: 62 (Annual Report of the Adana Station, 1868).

<sup>164</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 90 (Letter from G. Saliloyan to Rev. Clark unknown date) and ABCFM Reel: 642, No: 457. (Letter from White G. H. to Central Turkey Mission, 1863).





### 3.3. Central Turkey Girl's College

The Central Turkey Girl's college was opened in 1880. The school started its education in 1882<sup>170</sup> with its 91 students, Ellen M. Blakely being the head of the school and never stopped its education even in the war times.<sup>171</sup> The school consisted of two buildings; one of them was used for the school and the other one was used for the boarding department which was home for American and native teachers and for the practice and lessons of the Music work. The value of the property on the ground including buildings, land, library, and apparatus were impressive in numbers. The school building cost \$2000.00, home building was \$2000.00, Apparatus was \$235.00, 1 piano and 4 organs were \$425.00.<sup>172</sup>

This school was able to raise women teachers for the schools in Adana, Antep, Marash and Saimbeyli (Haçin). The diplomas of this school were also approved by the Ottoman Empire Maarif Nezareti and there was a written permission.<sup>173</sup> Hence, the students of this school were able to become teachers anywhere they wish in the Empire.<sup>174</sup> The school were reporting the current situation of the school to the higher educational work connected with the American Board on an annual basis. In 1908, the American teaching

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<sup>170</sup> It was also mentioned by Nejla Günay "Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Maraş'ta Yabancı okullar" *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi* <http://www.atam.gov.tr/dergi/sayi-64-65-66/cumhuriyet-oncesinde-marastaki-yabanci-okullar>, last accessed: April 5, 2017.

<sup>171</sup> *The Annual Report* (Boston: ABCFM, 1922).

<sup>172</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 103 (Central Turkey College. Aintab. Estimates for 1912).

<sup>173</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 105 (Summary of Indebtedness of Central Turkey College for years 1908-1909, 1909-1910. and 1910-1911).

<sup>174</sup> *The Annual Report* (Boston: ABCFM, 1922).

staff of the school were named as Ellen M. Blakely, Annie E. Gordon and C. May Welpton. On the other hand, the number of the native professors and the teachers were six.<sup>175</sup> Institution was controlled by a board of managers of whom four were Armenians appointed by the Cilicia Union and four were missionaries appointed by the Central Turkey Mission.<sup>176</sup> When looking at the number and the character of the students; it was indicated that there was an average attendance of 115 female students whose nationalities were all Armenian and their average ages were ranging from 13 to 21. Nonetheless, it was also indicated in the reports that despite the single nationality of the students (Armenian), the school was open to all nationalities. The school had a preparatory department which had two classes (62 students attending), College Department (52 students attending) and a Music department (average number of attending pupils are 18). The medium language of education in preparatory school was largely in Turkish, Armenian and English. On the one hand, Bible story was forming a part of the work of all the classes, on the other hand, drawing, singing, and sewing were taught in all classes except for the Senior year. Junior sewing work was including cutting, fitting and making dresses. Drawing in Junior class was more of a map work which was in connection with history and drawings for biology. Considering the College department, they were studying Physiology and Chemistry; Astronomy; English Literature; Geometry; Psychology and Ethics; History; Biology and finally Physics.<sup>177</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 102 (Central Turkey College. Aintab. Estimates for 1912).

<sup>176</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 103 (Central Turkey College. Aintab. Estimates for 1912).

<sup>177</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 102 (Central Turkey College. Aintab. Estimates for 1912).

When looking at the annual income of the school, apart from the appropriation from the W.B.M.I (\$1179.20)<sup>178</sup> which consisted as being the biggest source of income for the school, the only income of the school seems to be the music fees (\$110.00) fees/board of students (\$470.00) and tuitions (\$378.00) from the students.<sup>179</sup> The immediate needs of the institution apart from endowment were listed to Boston as: Library, Museum, Observatory building (costing \$3500.00), music building with rooms for lessons and singing practices (costing \$1500.00), Preparatory Department Building (costing \$2000.00), equipment for the music building such as organs and seven octave clavier (a total of \$350.00) and a good copying apparatus and a type writer with adjustable keyboard for Armenian and English.<sup>180</sup>

The two great needs for Marash and the abilities that the graduates of this school were able to give were described as raising “Christian teachers and mothers” by the school.<sup>181</sup> When looking at the graduates of the school (132) for 1908, it can be seen that it was accomplished. 11 of these students were married to pastors, 6 of them were married to teachers, 5 of them married to doctors, 57 of them were teaching, 2 of them became bible women, 11 of them were in United States and England.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 104 (ABCFM. Salary Statement for Central Turkey Mission. Estimates for 1912).

<sup>179</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 103 (Central Turkey College. Aintab. Estimates for 1912).

<sup>180</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 104 (ABCFM. Salary Statement for Central Turkey Mission. Estimates for 1912).

<sup>181</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 105 (Summary of Indebtedness of Central Turkey College for years 1908-1909, 1909-1910. and 1910-1911).

<sup>182</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 104 (ABCFM. Salary Statement for Central Turkey Mission. Estimates for 1912).

### 3.4. Central Turkey Theological Seminary

After the emergence of primary and middle schools at the Central Turkey College, the Board started to open high level theology colleges especially to raise Protestant men of god. The fundamental aim of these colleges were to train young people who went through the missionary education system, to create local teachers who can replace the missionaries in these countries and to provide a high level religious education. In all of the missions in Turkey including the Central Turkey college mission, there were at least one theology school.<sup>183</sup> The theology school of the Central Turkey Mission was located at Marash. The Central Turkey Theology Seminary had one department<sup>184</sup>. The school was originally founded in 1854 in Aintab by Dr. Schmeiden. Then it was transferred from Antep to Marash in 1865.<sup>185</sup> When it was in Antep, the school was formed as a “theology class” which included courses like not only Protestantism but also medicine, Philosophy, History of doctrines, public speaking, and priesthood classes. The time of education in Marash theology school was three years.<sup>186</sup> In later years, some of the faculty members of the school were again the graduates of this school such as Rev. S. Terzian (a graduate of Marash Theological Seminary and Postgraduate student at Hartford Theological Seminary), Rev. G. H. Haroutunian (A graduate of Marash Theological Seminary and Postgraduate student at Mansfield College, Oxford). The rest of the faculty members during their time were Rev. F.F. Goodsell and Rev. E.C.

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<sup>183</sup> ABCFM Reel: 640, No: 62 (Annual Report of the Adana Station, 1868).

<sup>184</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 107 (Action of Board of Managers of Central Turkey College, 1913).

<sup>185</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 115 (ABCFM. General Work).

<sup>186</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 163 (Central Turkey College, Provisional Budget 1915-1916) and Günay “Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Maraş’ta Yabancı Okullar.”

Woodley.<sup>187</sup> When looking at the courses for junior year for 1911-1912 were; Theological Propaedeutic (by F.F.Goodsell), Hebrew (by S. Terzian), Biblical Geography (by S. Terzian), Greek, Lecture Course, Introduction to the Philosophy of Religions (by F.F.Goodsell), History of Religion (F.F. Goodsell), Church History (by G. Haroutunian) and Rhetorical.<sup>188</sup> The courses for other years also included; Christian Fundamentals, The Art of Preaching, Early Church History, History of Byzantine Christianity, History of the Protestant Reformation in Europe, The Synoptic Gospels, History of the New Testament Canon, The Apostolic Age, Hebrew and History of the Old Testament Canon. The Seminary was also under strict control of Central Turkey Mission of the American board and the Cilia Union of Armenian Evangelical Churches.<sup>189</sup> The school had been built on a 12.000 sq. yards and its estimated value was \$1500.<sup>190</sup> Theological Seminary consisted of two buildings which were; Seminary building and Library building.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 163 (Central Turkey College, Provisional Budget 1915-1916).

<sup>188</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 157 (Summary of accounts of CTC for the year 1914-1915).

<sup>189</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 157 (Summary of accounts of CTC for the year 1914-1915).

<sup>190</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 109 (Central Turkey College. Estimates for the year 1912-1913).

<sup>191</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 110 (ABCFM. General Work, 1912).



Harvard University, Houghton Library, modbm\_abc\_78\_2\_box\_18\_folder\_5\_girls\_college\_boys\_seminary

Figure 2: Girls College and the Seminary of Boys Academy in Marash, Turkey (1885)<sup>192</sup>

Nonetheless, due to the black plague, many missionaries have lost their lives and the school reopened in 1867.<sup>193</sup> In 1868, the scientific department was dissolved and it remained purely theological.<sup>194</sup> The ones who went this school indicated that it was the place that ABCFM had the highest control. There were a strict Protestant education in

<sup>192</sup> "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Affairs-Houghton Library of Harvard University [oasis.lib.harvard.edu http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467](http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467) " last accessed: April 7, 2017.

<sup>193</sup> Kocabaşoğlu *Anadolu'daki Amerika: 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, 136.

<sup>194</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 115 (ABCFM. General Work, 1913).

these school and even the salaries of the teachers were determined by the Boston. The administration of the Marash Theology school was given to the Mr. Trowbridge in 1868 who has a good knowledge of school administration. Mr. Trowbridge came to Turkey in 1856 and he is the husband of Dr. Elias Riggs who is the daughter of the famous missionary who translated the Bible to modern Armenian for the first time.<sup>195</sup>

The students of this school were also organizing trips to the surrounding villages and towns on vocation or school times.<sup>196</sup> The Board also opened a “Mission Training School,” some kind of a preparatory school for the theology college since the theology college was high level and a necessity occurred to increase the levels of the students who came to the theology school to study.<sup>197</sup> These schools especially emphasized that students who wish to become missionaries must do internships.<sup>198</sup> Hence, the students were spending their vacations by working in the villages. On the one hand, they were giving lessons, preaching and doing other missionary stuff, on the other hand they were reporting about these.<sup>199</sup> The students were traveling the houses in the villages in order to preach to them. Apart from that, the students who were studying in these schools were also conducting religious ceremonies in small groups in these houses. Later on, the program of the school became very similar to those theology schools in the United States. The students of the Marash theology school were working not only in Marash and its surroundings but also on the near cities such as Antep and Adana. What is more,

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<sup>195</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 37 (Letter from Myrna Proctor to ABCFM about report on the Antep Female Seminary April 17, 1878).

<sup>196</sup> ABCFM Reel: 642, No: 412. (Letter from Trowbridge to Central Turkey Mission, 1862).

<sup>197</sup> ABCFM Reel: 642, No: 422. (Letter from Trowbridge to Central Turkey Mission, 1862).

<sup>198</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 137 (Report of Antioch 1872).

<sup>199</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 41 (Letter from Kara Kerekore, A. Simona, Nutting to ABCFM about Translation of Certain Proposals, June 9, 1873).



there were also intermarriages between the students who were educated in this school. The exams of the school were very difficult and the courses were very hard to pass as well.<sup>200</sup> After graduating, there was a “trial period” which was a kind of internship. Preaches, teachers and priests who were working in Marash and outstations were taken into some kind of in service training. In 1882, the school was reorganized and students started to be raised according to this new reorganization. Marash Theology College transformed into a faculty of theology and in 1888 it was accepted as a Seminary.<sup>201</sup> In 1895, the school got burned down during the unfortunate events in the Ottoman Empire. In 1904-1905, new building was established with indemnity funds. In the documents it was also stated that 17 graduates were martyred. Overall, from its establishment in 1854 to 1909, the school gave 119 graduates.<sup>202</sup>

According to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions higher education statistics for the year December 1909, it can be seen that there were only six students and one teacher. Two American teachers were giving part time courses to the students depending on the demands of the seminary.<sup>203</sup> The total cost of the institution last year was \$1804.80. This cost not only included the salaries of the teachers but also the amount of help that was provided to the students. But when other costs such as the costs of the building and the gatekeeper salaries are included, it raises to \$ 2872.00. For example, this aid to students cost for \$148.50. For American teachers, \$1057.54 was

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<sup>200</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 137 (Report of Antioch 1872).

<sup>201</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 41 (Letter from Kara Kerekore, A. Simona, Nutting to ABCFM about Translation of Certain Proposals, June 9, 1873).

<sup>202</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 115 (ABCFM. General Work, 1913).

<sup>203</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 108 (Building needs of Central Turkey College, January 13).

spent, for native teachers, the cost was only \$330.00. This indicates that the native teachers were not only useful to connect with the native population and the students but also less costly than the Americans.<sup>204</sup> The estimated cost of a native teacher for the Board was \$440.<sup>205</sup> When looking at the incomes of the schools, the incomes were able to complement the expenditures (\$1868.68). These included American Board (especially the salaries of the missionaries, \$1077.84), endowment funds (\$166.99), students, special gifts (\$33.88), government and other sources. Considering the endowments, it can also be seen that these were also invested in the United States (\$3260).<sup>206</sup>

### **3.5. Reading and Club Rooms in Marash**

Central Turkey College was established primarily to educate the future administrators of the Protestant society. In the documents, the fundamental aim of the college was indicated as such: educate the youth to become the future leaders of the Christian population and to educate students for the theology schools.<sup>207</sup> The missionaries were also suggesting the students that they should not go to schools that did not belong to missionaries. By doing this, the missionaries were in a way separating the Christian population from the Muslims. In these schools, there were also reading and club rooms for students. These clubs not only attracted the students that were already being educated in the missionary schools but also the Ottoman youth who were not going to missionary

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<sup>204</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 111 (ABCFM. General Work, 1912).

<sup>205</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 112 (ABCFM. General Work, 1912).

<sup>206</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 111 (ABCFM. General Work, 1912).

<sup>207</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 68 (Mrs. D. A. Dean, Mrs. H.E. Barren to ABCFM about Women's Work in Marash Station, April 1873).

schools at all.<sup>208</sup> What is more, the diploma of this school was accepted widely including for admission to the school of law in the University of Paris and any department in Yale University as a basis for admission to postgraduate work leading to a degree.<sup>209</sup> The reading and club rooms proved enormous success and seems to be the most feasible approach to Muslim men especially in Marash.<sup>210</sup> This club room in Marash is aimed to be developed steadily as an uplifting center for Muslim young men.<sup>211</sup>

When looking at the correspondences, it can be seen that missionaries were not only learning and making researches about the Christians in Marash but also about Turkey's demography, ethnical diversity (existence of a variety of different races including Arab, Kurds and Turks), minerals, plantation, geographical features, herbs, animals, its ontology and even its climate as well.<sup>212</sup> They indicate that certain facts are apparent. For example; the Arabs were inhabiting the country south of a line drawn through Severek, Urfa, Bilecik, Antep, Kilis and Adana where Turks were inhabiting the cities just mentioned. The Kurds were inhabiting the fertile plains for the most part in the northern section. There was also a dense Kurdish population of the untouched Suruç plain between Bilecik and Urfa. The missionaries also indicated that some Muslim

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<sup>208</sup> ABCFM Reel: 642, no: 447, No:427, No:450. (Letters from Trowbridge to ABCFM, 1860, 1864, 1870).

<sup>209</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 107 (Action of Board of Managers of Central Turkey College, 1913).

<sup>210</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 160 (Estimates for work among Moslems in Central Turkey, 1915).

<sup>211</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 161 (Provisional Budget 1915-1916).

<sup>212</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 68 (Mrs. D. A. Dean, Mrs. H.E. Barren to ABCFM about Women's Work in Marash Station, April 1873).

groups were more easily approachable such as Alawite community, the Babis, and the Dervish orders.<sup>213</sup>

Almost all of the colleges that the missionaries built, chose a minority group to themselves as the target during their founding years. Robert College can be given as an example to that. It mostly targeted Bulgarian people.<sup>214</sup> Two of the Bulgarian prime ministers were the graduates of Robert College. Despite the suggestions of Townbridge, the college was opened in Antep. After it was burned in 1895, it was moved to Syria.<sup>215</sup>

In the light of these, firstly, it can be stated that ABCFM was an experienced and professional organization which not only knew the field (by observing its population, culture and surroundings) but also how to approach to children (by their religious policies). They were following a step by step process especially considering the evangelization of Armenians and Muslims. They were very patient in that sense.

Secondly, The Board was organized very well in terms of their women missionaries and schools (Sunday schools, middle schools and high schools). Thirdly, ABCFM's primary focus was on Christian Armenians where Marash was extremely suitable for that especially considering the numerous numbers of Armenian uprisings in the region. In addition to that, the Board was financially supported not only by the headquarters in Boston, but also by the personal and native donations. Finally, they were trying to appeal

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<sup>213</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 162 (Central Turkey College, Provisional Budget 1915-1916).

<sup>214</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 68 (Mrs. D. A. Dean, Mrs. H.E. Barren to ABCFM about Women's Work in Marash Station, April 1873).

<sup>215</sup> ABCFM Reel: 643, No: 68 (Mrs. D. A. Dean, Mrs. H.E. Barren to ABCFM about Women's Work in Marash Station, April 1873).

to not only boys but also girls who will become the future mothers and teachers of their children.



## CHAPTER 4

### ON THE EVE OF THE GREAT WAR

*“We are in a better strategic position than ever before to face Mohammedanism and, through fully recognizing the exceeding difficulty of the task, we go forward to the struggle determined and expecting to win.”*

ABCFM<sup>216</sup>

The war happened so suddenly that it caught many people by surprise. There were certain indications, which the Board began to feel already in 1912 but no one truly thought that it was going to be that “long,” “disastrous,” and “bloody” fitting what later named to be as the “great war.” Some missionaries from the board interpreted the pre-war period as an opportunity, some interpreted it as a danger while requesting their return to the United States. There was one definite thing though; no one was ready for its consequences and none could have guessed adequately. In 1911, the situation in Marash was far away from any kind of war fear or atmosphere especially concerning the activities of the Board. The missionaries in Marash even voted and took a unanimous approval of requesting grant for the construction of a dining room, kitchen, pantry, one recitation room, chapel, social room and halls.<sup>217</sup> In addition to that, they even indicated

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<sup>216</sup> *The Annual Report*, (Boston: ABCFM, 1918), 173.

<sup>217</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No. 102 (Letter from Unknown to Rev. J. L. Barton October 17, 1912).

their wish to finish construction before September 20, 1911.<sup>218</sup> Among their problems, there were rumours of some missionaries (such as Mr. Leavitt) who madly fell in love with one of the college ladies and their marriage proposal were refused which caused them to get into severe depression (in the reports, as a result of these circumstances that he lost his mind).<sup>219</sup> Mr. Leavitt who was the victim of this love affair was appointed to Marash to work in the Theological Seminary on October 21, 1910.<sup>220</sup> ABCFM started to sense the war feeling and political uncertainty only by 1912 (as stated in a report dated 17 October 1912) mostly due to the defeat of the Ottoman Empire by the Italians in a short war and later in the upcoming first Balkan war on November 28, 1912 while reporting that there was an element of fear that their schools may be invaded and those over 17, may be conscripted in the army on November 17, 1912.<sup>221</sup>

Before the war began, the Mission at Marash was continuing its regular works which included writing reports on works for Muslims, papers on the dervishes of Central Turkey, reports concerning Muslim evangelization and some accounts of Muslim village touring and ect.<sup>222</sup>

Before the War, some missionaries (including Dr. Lee) and the leaders of the native community of Marash were carrying correspondences where those leaders were

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<sup>218</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 128 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton May 6th, 1911).

<sup>219</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 129 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton May 8th 1911).

<sup>220</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 118 (Letter from Fred Fried Goodsell to Dr. J. L. Barton October 21, 1910).

<sup>221</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No. 102 (Letter from Unknown to Rev. J. L. Barton October 17, 1912).

<sup>222</sup> ABCFM Reel 670, No: 1037 (Marash Theological Seminary Report, Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. James L. Barton, July 10, 1912).

requiring the closure of the Theological Seminary from Dr. Lee. The pastors visited Goodsell several times for that matter. Goodsell requested another personnel for next year from Dr. Barton.<sup>223</sup> The preaching also continued where Goodsell was preaching to more than 3000 people on the courtyard of the Second Church (Hadjin).<sup>224</sup>

#### **4.1. German Evangelistic work (German Hulfsbund) and ABCFM**

A tension and a matter of cooperation between the members of the Board and the German Hulfsbund,<sup>225</sup> a sister organization of Deutsche Orient Mission<sup>226</sup> can be sensed even before the Great War began. The German Missionaries began to come Marash in 1890s. For the first time in 1888, Mr. Hama, the director of the Berlin Museum, visited Halep (Aleppo), Antep and Marash. After this visit, new German institutions were opened in the city. In 1898, the German priest Brunnemann, praised the Turkish Sultan in his speech. Henceforth, the German population began to increase there. In his speech, he talked about the significance of Ottoman-German relationship and how this relation served the interest of both countries.<sup>227</sup> Of the twelve outstations three of them were entirely financed by the Germans and they initiated projects completely under their directives where they also undertook an aggressive work in a number of untouched

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<sup>223</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670. No: 135 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton June 5th 1911).

<sup>224</sup> When referring to the first Church, they mention the Church in Antep. When they mention the Second Church, it is the church in Hadjin. Finally, the Church in Marash is referred as the Third Church.

<sup>225</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 135, 136, 137, 138, 139. (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton June 5th 1911, Marash).

<sup>226</sup> Hans Lucas Keiser "Johannes Lepsius: Theologian, Humanitarian and Activist and Historian of Volkermord" in Anna Briskina-Müller, Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan, Axel Meibner *Logos Im dialogos* (Lit Verlag: Berlin, 2011), 222.

<sup>227</sup> Günay, *Maraş'ta Ermeniler ve Zeytin İsyanları*, 187.



villages. As it can be seen from the archives, the Germans withdrew from the Marash academy and had their own high school built in the orphanage in 1909. The Board interpreted their decision as “unwillingness to cooperate with existing American plans in assisting the Academy” also indicated by the “native friends.” Interestingly, there were several considerations experienced by the missionaries in Marash. The first was the semblance of rivalry between the Germans and the Board members. This impression of competition was not only deriving from the difference in their methods but also from the very presence of the Germans in Marash. Germans were capturing their zones of influence which was creating a natural competition. The second consideration was the apparent difference in their methods of work. This was especially most evident in their work of orphanage where Germans undertook projects on a large scale and opened a new orphanage at Kharnu, being one of Board’s most promising outstations where member of the German circle permanently resided.

The Germans were paternalistic to the very finger tips and did not seem to interpret “the idea of cooperation with the people in their effort toward self-realization and self-control as calling for a practical sharing of the responsibilities involved in that process” in contrast to Americans and “the” idea of Central Turkey Mission. What is more, the Germans were not approving the type of theology taught in the American schools where the Board warned that these two communities might face an unpleasant friction despite their unessential differences. Hence, the Board expressed their concerns and proposed “complete and final separation of the fields occupied by the two missions” solution. Nevertheless, the Board missionaries in Marash and especially Fred Field Goodsell even

though approved the American proposition from A to Z and indicated that this appealed to them as the logical Christian solution of the question, they hesitated to insist on it from this end, due to their good fellowship with their German friends.<sup>228</sup> What is more, the Board members in Marash suggest a modification of the American proposition to the extent of recommending an indefinite continuation of German medical work in Marash.<sup>229</sup>

ABCFM's problem with the German Hülfsbund did not cease easily. On January 22, 1912, the Mission in Marash explained the situation with reference to their relation with the German Hülfsbund: "There is no way left at present other than that of "benevolent assimilation" to our plans and methods." Germans were slighting the American circle by acting in contrast to their customs. For example Mr. Schuchardt, a member from the German circle, did not even send an invitation to unite the two groups in prayermeeting.<sup>230</sup>

As indicated by the Board, the original understanding was that even though Germans contributed to the financial support of the outstations, the control and the supervision was supposed to be in the hands of the Station Committee, meaning Armenians and Americans. Interestingly, by 1911, it seems that the Board was losing its impact and control over the outstations in Marash due to the Germans. A consciousness began to

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<sup>228</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 141 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton June 5th 1911, Marash).

<sup>229</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 137, 138, 139, 140, 141 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. J. L. Barton June 7th, 1911 Marash).

<sup>230</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1024 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. J. L. Barton January 22, 1912, Marash).

emerge on the part of Board's ordained men that they were not able to carry out a request by the Station Committee without first consulting to the German Committee.<sup>231</sup> As a solution to this problem, the missionaries in Marash even considered including a member of the German circle to serve on the Station Committee which can trigger harmonious cooperation.

Furthermore, the Germans were also recruiting the pastors and preachers of ABCFM to work for themselves. One such example was Pastor Yeghoyan of Urfa (a church which had 400 members) who stayed as a guest at the Marash mission between 7 -11 March 1912 conducting meetings in the second church and delivering a series of lectures to the seminary students. Pastor Yeghoyan told Mr. Goodsell that he decided to leave his church in Urfa and enter upon Christian work in connection with the German Hufsbund. He was persuaded as a result of the invitations from the German pastors Ehman and Pastor Lohman for the past two years. In November 1911, Herr Schuchardt of the Hufsbund Committee paid a visit to Marash while sending an urgent letter of invitation to Pastor Yeghoyan that he made a visit to Marash for an interview. As explained by Pastor Yeghoyan; upon being refused by Yeghoyan, Schuchardt went to the trouble of making a visit from Marash to Urfa just to see him and if possible persuade him to accept the long pressed invitation. Schuchardt freely offered him, his wife and eight children a trip of several months to England in addition to the provisions of the family,

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<sup>231</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 140 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton June 5th 1911, Marash).

travel expenses, maintenance abroad in Germany.<sup>232</sup> These incidents makes the Marash mission to question their method of cooperation.

As the war approached and the German-Ottoman relations got better, the cooperation and friendship between the two missionary organizations also began to deteriorate. By October 1913, the conduct of German Evangelistic work in Marash station in the last twelve months of that year indicates their attitude toward Protestant Evangelistic Churches. Germans withdrew their support from the Church in Zeitoon in connection with the Protestant Church. These withdrawals put the Church in Zeitoon to go through difficult times financially where the salary of pastors were not even paid. The Germans also withdrew their annual gift to the kinder garden in Zeitoon in connection with the Protestant Church.<sup>233</sup> The Germans emphasized that they had no intention whatsoever of organizing a separate Protestant body and their purpose was to work among Gregorian's. The pronounced theological difference between the German and American missionaries were still a very significant problem for the board. Some students who received their education at ABCFM were rejected from financial support when applied to Miss Rohner (a German evangelist). Later, during the conversation between Miss Rohner and Mr. Goodsell, she told him about the theological matter where the position of Germans was closer to rigid verbal inspirational theory. Nevertheless, the Mission at Marash ultimately concluded that the Germans were not/could not be a threat for them since they were not conducting widespread work in the outfield and the dog-in-the-manger policy

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<sup>232</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1030 (Marash Theological Seminary Report, Fred Field Goodsell To J. L. Dr. Barton, Marash, March 11, 1912).

<sup>233</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1044 (Marash Theological Seminary Report, Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. J. L. Barton, Marash, October 15, 1912).

was wrong since the Board had nothing to fear for the areas that they cannot occupy.

Marash outfield in these years did suffer a lot from lack of supervision.<sup>234</sup>

#### **4.2. Pre-1915 Period**

As the war came nearer in 1911, life was getting more difficult both for the missionaries and the local population there. What is more, the war was not the only variable for these difficulties. There were many other variables available. The cost of living rose rapidly and steady increases in Central Turkey were due to the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad railway which in return increased the prices. Hence, Marash Central Turkey Girl's College was compelled to ask for additional sums for general running expenses. The Marash station was in fact so concerned that they emphasized their fear for additional sums that will have to be asked in the near future, simply to maintain the old work. By 1911, the missionaries were paying for cheese exactly 125% more than in 1909 where cheese was not a luxury but a necessity, therefore bought in great quantities by boarding schools and the like in Marash as stated by a missionary.<sup>235</sup> For the year 1912, the income of Marash Theological Seminary was 261.72 Turkish pounds (\$1151). Nonetheless, the Seminary requests an increase from \$300 to \$393 in the salaries of the professors due to the inevitable rise of the living expenses.<sup>236</sup> The financial difficulty that the Marash mission experienced can be seen in almost every letter where Fred Field

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<sup>234</sup> ABCFM Reel 670, No: 1045, 1046 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton, Marash, October 15, 1912).

<sup>235</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 156 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton, Marash, July 15 1911).

<sup>236</sup> ABCFM Reel 670, No: 1049,1050,1051 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton , Marash, January 3, 1913).

Goodwill emphasized the urgent financial need to support the reading room in Marash. The Missionaries in Marash were not able to collect financial support by themselves anymore, both due to the bad economy of the city and more than the half of the regular frequenters of the place were with Muslims whom they were unlikely to make personal contact.<sup>237</sup>

In September 1911, the Board conducted a research considering the attitudes of the various portions of the populations of the Turkish Empire toward Evangelical Christianity.<sup>238</sup> By October 23<sup>rd</sup> of 1911, the foreign stock was considerably below in the region where some missionaries were rejected by the local government when they requested a zaptieh which was indicated by the Board as “reflecting the present attitude of good many Turks in view of the conduct of Italy in Tripoli. What is more, Marash was in an unfortunate condition of being without its local governor where the temporary ones in charge were also hostile towards the Americans and were not “distinguishing Americans from Italians.” Hence when trouble arose, the Board felt insecure and “awkward” and endangered.<sup>239</sup> As of January 15 1912, the Board emphasizes the significance of continuing and strengthening the Marash Theological Seminary. Moreover, a missionary family was stationed at Kessab for the next ten or fifteen years which was recommended by the Kessab Commission and therefore the Mission in Marash adopted their recommendation in June 1911. The Mission vote set forth that the

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<sup>237</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1052,1053 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton , Marash, January 10, 1913).

<sup>238</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1005 (Suggestions regarding the program for the All Turkey Conference prepared by a Committee Appointed By the Central Turkey Mission for that Purpose, September 11).

<sup>239</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1016 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. J. L. Barton, October 22, 1911, Marash).

evangelistic work among Muslims, or as the Board address, the Mohemmedans, should be undertaken at once.<sup>240</sup> For the Board, war era and the crises that came along with it, was an opportunity to strengthen themselves. Because war brings desperation, fear, frustration, demoralization and therefore it creates weakness. This kind of a weakness provides the right environment and conditions for the Board to evangelize Muslims. After all, the Board wrote something very intriguing in their annual report of 1918. As they also say “(ABCFM) we are in a better strategic position than ever before to face Mohemmedanism and, through fully recognizing the exceeding difficulty of the task, we go forward to the struggle determined and expecting to win.”

Meanwhile the Board was planning to use the current mood in the city for their own opportunity. As the levels of ignorance, low standards of morality, warped religious live and ideals prevail in the city (which does prevail according to the missionaries), the Central Turkey Mission gets stronger.<sup>241</sup> For this purpose, the Central Turkey College also requested and emphasized that they were in great need of well-trained preachers and pastors.<sup>242</sup> They even requested from America to accept their students and let them continue their education in the United States by writing several letters to the headquarters in Boston. Dr. Goodsell proposed the Board to consider some sort of fellowship schemes for the two or three American Seminaries where the Board could

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<sup>240</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1021 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. J. L. Barton January 15, 1912, Marash).

<sup>241</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1023 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell to the Prudential Committee of the American Board January 18, 1912, Marash).

<sup>242</sup> ABCFM Collection Reel: 670, No: 1025 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton, January 22, 1912, Marash).

offer proper conditions for a year of study abroad to one or two from each class.<sup>243</sup> The Board wanted the graduates of the Marash theological school to pursue their post-graduate studies in America with scholarships.<sup>244</sup> As a result on April 5<sup>th</sup> 1912, Board considered appointing Mr. Woodley.<sup>245</sup> Mr Lyman was assigned for the year 1912-1913 to Marash for language study where he was strongly supported to learn the Turkish language.<sup>246</sup>

On February 28 1912, almost the entire Muslim population of Marash (well over 30,000 people) were out to welcome the bearer of a gift from Sultan to a Mosque in Marash for about four hours where the gathering was explained by missionaries as “one’s hearth sinks and then rises again. Such ignorance, such need, such fine tenacity, such possibilities. Oh that God would hasten the day.”<sup>247</sup> This gift was a hair from the beard of the Prophet Mohammed which intensified the concerns of the Board considering the Muslim problem and the Seminary question. Findings are in conclusive.

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<sup>243</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1036 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton, June 6, 1912, Marash).

<sup>244</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 101049,1050,1051 (Letter from Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton ,January 3, 1913, Marash).

<sup>245</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1033 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Mr. Bell , April 5, 1912, Marash).

<sup>246</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1025 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Mr. Bell, July 10, 1912, Marash).

<sup>247</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1028-1029 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Rev. E. F. Bell, February 29, 1912, Marash).



### 4.3. Post-1915 Period

Considering the Turkey missions, it was indicated that during the period of the Great War, long before Turkey severed diplomatic relations with the United States, lines of communication within and without the country had been cut.<sup>248</sup> Hence it was indicated that it was impossible for the Secretaries of the ABCFM in Boston to keep in close touch with the Turkey Mission field. The missionaries who were leaving the country were not able to bring any papers of any kind except by smuggling them through at great risk. The station accounts were also in a bad shape which was causing much anxiety on the part of both missionaries and the treasury officials.<sup>249</sup> As it was indicated in the annual report, those who remained in the country were dependent on the official Turkish bulletins for news of the outside world. From ABCFM's perspective; the news that were published by the Ottomans were "pure invention" where France was being hard pressed and England losing prestige at the Dardanelles and on the Tigris. The Board was apparently on the side of the "Allies" where they clearly indicated that "...not a missionary in the whole land doubted that the outcome would be victory for the Allies and for the cause for which they as missionaries risked their lives."<sup>250</sup>

As indicated by the annual report of the American Board, at the beginning of the war in 1914 in the three missions of the American Board in Asia Minor, there were 151 American missionaries, 1,204 native workers, 137 organized native churches, 8 colleges,

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<sup>248</sup> *The Annual Report*, (Boston: ABCFM, 1918), 169.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

46 secondary schools, 9 hospitals and 369 elementary schools while there was a total attendance of 25.199 people and a nearly \$200,000 annual local contribution for religious and education purposes.<sup>251</sup> By 1918, there were only 36 missionaries left in the field while most churches, schools and hospitals with the exception of those in Constantinople and Smyrna were closed. The situation in the Ottoman Empire and also in Europe was described as the era of “general shifting of populations” or “state of flux.”<sup>252</sup> After the Great War began in 1914, another Muslim wave began to flux westwards due to the Russian pressure on the Eastern frontier in the Caucasus. The report was also indicating that fearing Russian domination, Moslems were rushing back into Asia Minor from the Caucasus and met on the central plateau lying between Eskişehir and Sivas where “a historic battle ground between the East and the West” happened and “an ancient Christian race caught” between the Muslims.<sup>253</sup> As it can be seen from the reports of the Board, ABCFM mission stations were healing the wounded stragglers, protesting, pleading, and even hiding the people threatened with death if found despite the official orders.<sup>254</sup>

The post-war situation of the missions were described in detail. Coastal cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Trabzon were treated better than those in interior as told by the Board. Van mission, Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Bitlis, Harput, Urfa, Cesarea, Bursa and Bahçecik (Bardizag) missions were all temporarily abandoned, institutions were closed and the

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<sup>251</sup> Ibid.

<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid., 171.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid., 173.

pupils were scattered by the Turkish authorities.<sup>255</sup> Not much was reported and very little information was received from these places. At Konya, Sivas, Hadjin and Tarsus, there were some women left (one women in each station) where local authorities permitted them some degree of liberty in carrying their work. The works after the war mostly turned into the works of relief. In each of the remaining stations, Mardin, Marash, Antep, Adana and Marsovan, two or more missionaries were left there.<sup>256</sup> At Marash, there were Mr. Woodley and family, Mr. Lyman, Misses Blakeley, Hardy, Gordon, and Mr. Martin (he was interned there for a long period but then left for America late in 1918) left.<sup>257</sup>

When looking at the number and percentages of students, it can be seen that in Central Turkey Girl's college, just before the first world war, there were a total of 157 students where only 4 percent of them were Muslims (5 Muslim students out of 157.)<sup>258</sup> These figures were from early 1914s just before the war began. The increase of Muslim population in schools were explained with detail by the institution in early 1914. This emphasizes that Muslim students became broader and more tolerant. What is more, a feeling of fraternity was aroused and a desire to serve others as the Board emphasizes when talking about the Muslim students. Even in some cases, the students were led to break some of their "bad" habits including the usage of bad language. What is more interesting, it has been emphasized that their "confidence in ordinary Islam has been

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<sup>255</sup> Ibid., 174

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 175.

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., 176.

<sup>258</sup> ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 116 (ABCFM. General Work).

shaken”<sup>259</sup>and since their “spiritual hunger has been awakened...there may be those even who are almost persuaded.”<sup>260</sup>

A new atmosphere prevailed throughout Asia Minor during the autumn and beginning of winter, even after Turkey entered the war and the fighting began. ABCFM felt both positive and the negative effects of the war, no less than other institutions in the Ottoman Empire. War time reports indicated the fearful and desperate psychology of the Marash people. By September 25, 1911 when the war atmosphere began to be “sensed,” students who were examined individually and questioned regarding their Christian experience and motives for wishing to enter the ministry, the result was satisfactory. The seminary building was full and so many students were entering this class where the number of teachers were not enough anymore.<sup>261</sup> The students of the Theological Seminary were also going to America for their theoretical training.<sup>262</sup> It was indicated that in 1914, the schools were opened throughout the Turkey with an unusual number of pupils in attendance due to the fear that Turkey might be involved in the war and the safest place for their children would be the schools of the American Board. Their concerns were verified after drastic mobilization measures began during their summer. As a result, 1914 has ended with an unusual level of enrolment in nearly all schools in Turkey. The evangelistic work during that time also seemed to receive a new impulse.

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<sup>259</sup> Considering this, the correspondences in the archives emphasizes that some of these Muslim students assumed an eclectic position and some of the students have come to an understanding of spiritual teaching. In ABCFM Reel: 668, No: 116 (ABCFM. General Work, 1913).

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1009 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton, September 25, 1911, Marash).

<sup>262</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No: 1012 (Marash Theological Seminary, Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton, September 29, 1911, Marash).

The board emphasized that the people were driven to god with the fear of a pending disaster. Moreover, 1914 has experienced an unusual level of drastic attendance to places of worship, an increase in attendance to the prayer meetings in nearly all the stations of the Board and even in the outstations throughout the Asiatic Turkey.

But in 1915 (after the war began) the Board started to experience the difficulties during this time. School work and attendance in religious services become interrupted once the war began. Despite this, the unusual number of attendances upon religious services were still reported in the reports of the Board.<sup>263</sup>

In 1915, in Central Turkey Girl's College in Marash, the work of the year was maintained without interruption. Nevertheless, as it was stated by the school, it was impossible to keep up all the classes to the usual standard since the students were concerned about their friends and themselves. The attendance number in the school was 139 which was less than previous years. This decrease occurred mostly in the boarding department. What is more, no public functions were held at the commencement season where it was decided to conduct a summer school for some of the "backward" students.<sup>264</sup> Considering the Central Turkey Theological Seminary of Marash, it is indicated that the institution trained for ministry in the Central Turkey mission. Now, a college diploma became a requirement for admission except for the ones who had finished a special training class. There are four faculty members, two of them being

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<sup>263</sup>*The Annual Report*, (Boston: Board Congregational House, October 26 1915), 79.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 104.

missionaries. The number of enrollment for 1915 was seven. Despite the war conditions, it was also indicated that these men hold of their work admirably. Two of those men were temporarily called for army service.

Despite the property losses of the ABCFM in some cities like Van<sup>265</sup> and the detainments and arrests of the ABCFM members in some cities,<sup>266</sup> no such incidents were reported in the Marash region. As for education; Central Turkey College continued its service even during the war years. Before the war, the total enrollment in Central Turkey Girls' College was 143 (including 73 in college and 70 in preparatory department.) Considering the demography of the school, there were 102 Protestants, 30 Gregorian, 1 Catholic including 25 boarders in addition to five Americans on staff.<sup>267</sup> Whereas, total enrollment during 1917-1918, the number decreased to 80. Nevertheless, in 1919, the school got eventually affected from the war environment of the country, and in January 1920, 11 college students and 2 teachers lost their lives due to the collision between Turks and the French. 33 students were detained by the French. That year education continued with too many hardships and interruptions. In 1921, both the primary schools and the high level schools continued their education and a total of 1000

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<sup>265</sup> There were several property losses in 1915 due to the negative impacts of the World War. It is stated that there were no positive information in Van considering a hospital, college buildings, high and boarding schools for girls, and missionary residences and several buildings were burned. Troops occupied the two of the larger buildings of Euphrates College, the Theological Seminary building and other buildings at Harpoot. What is more, the supplies for collages, schools and hospitals were confiscated. Board emphasized that their property interests in Turkey are estimated at about \$2.000.000. see *The Annual Report*, (Boston: Board Congregational House, October 26 1915), 254.

<sup>266</sup> One missionary was on furlough such as Fred Field Goodsell. Some were detained in Hadjin including Mr. And Mrs Goosell, Mrs. Martin, Miss Blake and Miss Peck because of their inability to enter Turkey during this time. Due to the war conditions, some of them were on furlough and some had left Turkey such as Mrs Haas, Miss Ainslie, Miss Cold, Miss Wallis and Dr. Christie. in *The Annual Report*, (Boston: Board Congregational House, October 26 1915), 73.

<sup>267</sup> *The Annual Report*, (Boston: ABCFM, 1918), 178.

students enrolled in 4 schools in Marash. Then in 1921, the school was closed.<sup>268</sup> In Central Turkey Theological Seminary, there were two missionaries and two American professors in addition to nine students in regular course and five in special course. This school was closed after the war.<sup>269</sup> The communication between the headquarters of the Board in Boston and the Marash station were interrupted occasionally. Before the war period, especially in 1911, it mostly happened due to the weather conditions where on March in 1911, there was heavy storm and snow.<sup>270</sup>

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<sup>268</sup> “The American Board of Commissioners of Missions in the Near East” in *The Annual Report* (Boston: ABCFM, 1922).

<sup>269</sup> *The Annual Report*, (Boston: ABCFM, 1918), 178.

<sup>270</sup> ABCFM Reel: 670, No. 123 (Letter from Goodsell to Dr. Barton March 17, 1912, Marash).

## CHAPTER 5

## CONCLUSION

*“Christian missions understand crisis in terms of the Chinese character for the word, which is a combination of two characters — one meaning danger and the other meaning opportunity.”*

John Foster Dulles at National Council of Churches<sup>271</sup>

According to Machiavelli, in order to foresee the future, one must consult the past for human events, which resemble those of preceding times. Hence, history provides us the necessary information of how a particular event began and what followed suit. When collected, it provides the results of different permutations and combinations of possible outcomes. Throughout this research, a variety of sources including letters of correspondence, annual and monthly meeting reports, statistics from microfilm archives of ABCFM, both secondary and primary books, Missionary Heralds, magazines from library, Foreign Ministry Ottoman Empire archives and other archival sources from different Universities were utilized, analyzed and interpreted.

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<sup>271</sup> Benjamin Zimmen ‘The Plot Thickens’ last updated: March 27, 2007 <http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/myl/languageblog/archives/004343.html> last accessed: May 22, 2017.



The first chapter of the thesis was more of a brief introduction to the terminology, organization, system, methodology, primary and secondary sources and chapters of the American Board of Commissioners for the Foreign Missions. The Second Chapter consisted of three sections: analysis of the term “mission,” a brief history of the ABCFM and the history of Marash. In the first section, the etymology of the term “missionary,” its religious background and how it was used by the missionaries was explained in a rigorous framework. In the second section, the history of ABCFM, its establishment, rules, selection process, regulations, recruitment process, the history of missions and their work was described in detail. In the final section, the geography, demography, history of Marash was elucidated. Chapter III generally explains and introduces the school structure and system of the missionaries. It consists of five sections: the women missionaries in Marash; the missionary schools; Central Turkey Girl’s College; Central Turkey Theological Seminary; Reading and club rooms in Marash. Each section explains those schools in detail. In the final chapter, pre-war and post war periods were analyzed.

As such, this thesis arrived at three significant and intriguing conclusions. Firstly, pre-war period was indeed an opportunity for ABCFM as some Board members had also interpreted. They had significantly increased the number of students enrolled in their schools in 1911-1914. The significance of schools cannot be underestimated for the missionaries in Marash. Schools had been a significant asset to influence young people and to reach the Marash people. The enrollment experienced its peak in 1914. Pre-war period was not only an emotional crises but also an economic one. Most people of

Marash feared for their future; with ascent of the uncertainty, frustration and desperation increased proportionally. By 1912, the warnings of war began to be felt by the Board and also by some people in Marash. But no one knew that the impending war was unlike previous wars. They were able to guess neither its consequences nor its length.

Nonetheless, ABCFM somehow managed to turn this pre-war crises into an opportunity for themselves. There were several reasons for this situation (which was also indicated by the Board members). In the pre-war period, levels of illiteracy increased, economy went bad and cost of living peaked especially in the Marash region (due to high inflation), local governance began to experience some obstacles; standards of morality decreased, the religious life warped and people began to seek spiritual support.

Secondly, the deteriorating relationship between German Hulfsbund (German Evangelistic Work) and ABCFM was equally interesting. The pre-war period also influenced the relationship of these two missionary organizations in a negative way. Before 1911, the relationship between these two missionary organizations were pretty good. German Hulfsbund was even supporting ABCFM outstations financially. After 1911, things have changed where German Hulfbunds attitude toward American missionaries changed suddenly. There were four drastic changes in that sense. Firstly, in 1911, they were unwilling to cooperate. Secondly, Germans withdrew their financial support from ABCFM outstations and from the Marash Academy. They also began to separate their orphanages. Thirdly, there was the spiritual separation. They began to act against the customs by not inviting Board members to unite in prayer meetings. Fourthly and finally, they began to recruit ABCFM's pastors and began invading their

zone of influence where the situation get worsened by 1913. At that point, ABCFM started to worry about the possibility of unpleasant friction and proposed complete final separation in the fields occupied by these two missions.

Here, one needs to ask three important questions. (1) What caused this change in ABCFM-German Hufsbund relationship? (2) How did ABCFM interpret it? (3) How did this change alter the political landscape for the American Board? Considering the first question, ABCFM was told that this change in their behavior was due to Germany's disapproval in their type of theology taught in the American schools. This was also true, nevertheless, it was not enough to explain the sudden change in their behaviors. The answer lied in German Hufsbund's relationship with the German government and the existing international structure. Missionary organizations were also influenced by their government's/state's position. German-Ottoman relations altered the direction of American-German missionary cooperation and friendship. An example to the relationship between German Hufsbund and the German government can be found in the Armenian issue. On October 11, 1915, Friedrich Schuchardt (director of the German Hufsbund) asked for a travel permit in order to visit their Asia minor stations to help the Armenians. But the German Embassy was vehemently opposed to this idea. They indicated that this behavior may be understood as a threatening political move by the Ottoman Empire and damage the existing German-Ottoman relations.<sup>272</sup> When they realized that helping Armenians would be good for publicity in the West, they did grant

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<sup>272</sup> Hans Lucas Keiser, "Johannes Lepsius: Theologian, Humanitarian and Activist and Historian of Volkmord" in Anna Briskina-Müller, Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan, Axel Meibner *Logos im dialogos* (Lit Verlag: Berlin, 2011), 222.

a visit permit but they did not risk to damage their relations with Turks by revealing this to the Turkish government. One German missionary, Johannes Lepsius, was discredited both by his organization, the Church, Foreign Office and Public Life as a “bad angel” and he was blamed for stabbing “German War Effort” due to his aid to the Armenians.<sup>273</sup> Considering the final question, American Board experienced rivalry in the field more than ever.

A third important conclusion is that, Evangelization works were strengthened as a result of the demoralized population in Marash before the Great War began. As explained by the missionaries, the society was morally devastated and extremely concerned by the coming war and were in search of a spiritual support. This was conceived as an “opportunity” by the missionaries, bringing to mind the Chinese proverb “crises.” The meaning of “weiji” (危机), this Chinese proverb, in fact does not necessary mean ‘dangerous opportunity’ in Chinese. “Wei” indeed means dangerous which does not have much secondary meanings.<sup>274</sup> Nevertheless the same cannot be said for the syllabus ‘ji’ (机) which does not always convey the notion of “opportunity.” This syllable can acquire hundreds of secondary meanings depending on the character near it, yet ABCFM choose the one which was near “hui” (ji hui together means opportunity). Whereas, when looking at the word, most Chinese would interpret it as “Dangerous change/crucial point.” The verb “Ji” is actually neutral where it can either turn out for better (dangerous change) or worse (dangerous opportunity). Even J.F.K. did the same mistake by stating

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<sup>273</sup> Keiser “Johannes Lepsius: Theologian, Humanitarian and Activist and Historian of Volkermord,” 223.

<sup>274</sup> Benjamin Zimmen ‘The Plot Thickens’ last updated: March 27, 2007

<http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/myl/languageblog/archives/004343.html> last accessed: May 22, 2017.

that “When written in Chinese, the word “crises” is composed of two characters-one represents danger and one represents opportunity.”<sup>275</sup> This interpretation by the American Board or the way they conceived this word, surprisingly reflected their perspective to how they interpret life and their missionary fields. It is equally surprising to see how people with different backgrounds, education, experiences, culture or life style perceive the exact same fact from different angles.

This was extremely significant in terms of analyzing their point of view and perspective from where they perceive the world. Those tricky syllables in Chinese are great in terms of reflecting the mental operation of people. What is more, this word extremely amazed the Board members that they even wrote it as the title of their book and praised it as the “reality”. In the past, ABCFM was able to impact the minorities (*millet*) such as Armenians or Christians from different sects. It was easier to convert them. Nevertheless, when the war got closer, ABCFM began to impact the Muslim population for the first time in Marash. Hence as a result, this was seen as a real victory and fulfillment of a “dangerous opportunity.”

The story of ABCFM in Marash has much more to say. As George Santayana once put it: “Those who cannot learn from history are doomed to repeat it.” This is to say that the story of American Missionaries in Marash is telling in other ways and it is part of a broader narrative. International politics and relations are extremely intermingled with

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<sup>275</sup> “J.F.Kennedy Speeches: Remarks at the Convocation of the United Negro College Fund, Indianapolis, Indiana, April 12, 1959” *jfklibrary.org* [https://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Research-Aids/JFK-Speeches/Indianapolis-IN\\_19590412.aspx](https://www.jfklibrary.org/Research/Research-Aids/JFK-Speeches/Indianapolis-IN_19590412.aspx) last accessed: May 22, 2017.

not only history (historical roots of those countries, and institutions), but also the psychology (of the people involved in the process), sociology and economy (of the city), making it an interdisciplinary science. This research brought all of this together.

Rumi says “When a butterfly moves its wing, the entire world trembles.”<sup>276</sup> Butterfly effect says that small causes can have larger effects that no one can ever expect. Even a small change in one single variable can change the whole equation. When and ever, human beings master all variables and acquire the entire knowledge of the universe, then we may have a chance to give better decisions in international relations. Similarly, in the case of American Board members, the existing political relationship between Germans and Turks impacted the American-German missionary relationship and their overall influence to the region. This rivalry between these two missionary organizations prevented ABCFM to obtain full control over Marash. Countries were not only conducting war among each other. This Great War was among everyone and everything including the missionary organizations whose sole aim should have been spreading Christianity and nothing else.

Furthermore, the American Board Members did utilize every privilege that was given by the American government. They were not allowing Ottomans to inspect or supervise them while insisting on not to register their schools. Board members were extremely aware of their rights in Ottoman Empire and using every right that was given to them by

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<sup>276</sup> The original quotation was “Bir sineğin kanadını oynatması, arş-ı rahman’ı titretir.” In “Kelebek Etkisi” *blog.milliyet.com.tr* <http://blog.milliyet.com.tr/kelebek-etkisi/Blog/?BlogNo=34678> last accessed: May 24, 2017.

International rules and treaties. The Missionaries were highly involved with the political landscape of the country and even conducting meetings with some high ranking officials of Marash. In this regard, the hands of the Ottoman Empire were tied. The pamphlet of “The Rights of American Citizens in Turkey” that was given by the Board indicates “The Turks would have no more right to expel the professors and students from the American College...The ground on which it was built originally belonged to the city, and was subject to its control. It has sold this ground to United States...They make this college and Americans who live in it, subject to American law and to be judged by American judges.”<sup>277</sup> This sentence clearly indicates that Ottoman Empire lost its independence over its territory long before the Treaty of Serves. The schools, hospitals, colleges and almost everything that Board builds and buys belongs to United States and was subject to its law. This tragic situation provides an overall picture of Ottoman Empire. The existing international order was strengthening the missionary organization while decreasing the Ottoman influence over its population and leaving its population vulnerable to the missionaries. They were left to their mercy. This situation in Marash most likely was a concern for the Ottomans but it seems that there was nothing much left to do about it.

The interests of the American Board were not limited to the Armenians living in Marash. In their letters of correspondences, they were continuously making plans about how to evangelize Muslims. Muslim people of Marash were among the most resistant population that was rejecting to convert Christianity. During this period, they have

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<sup>277</sup> Everett P. Wheeler *The Rights of American Citizens in Turkey* (New York: The Knickerbocker Press 1896), 7

utilized the fear and demoralization in the society to evangelize them. What is more interesting, American politicians too, did try to involve in Ottoman Empire's domestic affairs by utilizing the reports of the American Board members. Those reports were also significant in international politics. It can also be observed in Dulles' speech where he clearly states that "Christian missions understand crisis in terms of the Chinese character for the word, which is a combination of two characters — one meaning danger and the other meaning opportunity."<sup>278</sup> Thus giving one an impression that the study book of Earle Ballou was known by the US bureaucracy as well.

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<sup>278</sup> Benjamin Zimmen 'The Plot Thickens' last updated: March 27, 2007 <http://itre.cis.upenn.edu/myl/language-log/archives/004343.html> last accessed: May 22, 2017.



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- Reel: 643, No: 95 (Report of the Antioch Station, April 1872).
- Reel: 643, No: 98 (Special Report on Kessab Church from G.O. Powers to ABCFM, February 5, 1872).
- Reel: 643, No: 99 (Letter from The elders of the Kessab Church to Rev. Clark, February 17, 1877).
- Reel: 643, No: 101 (Report of the Antioch of the Antep Station from The Women Church in Urfa to Antep Missionaries, April 7, 1877).
- Reel: 643, No: 137 (Report of Antioch 1872).
- Reel: 644, No: 268 (Letter from Christie Thomas D. to Rev. Clark, 1879).

Reel: 644, No: 311 (Letter from Christie Thomas to Rev. Clark, 1880).  
 Reel: 645, No: 396 (Letter from Miss Nutting to Rev. Clark, 1872).  
 Reel: 645, No: 424 (Letter from Miss Nutting to Rev. Clark, 1876).  
 Reel: 646 No 452. (From Bezjian to Rev. Clark, 1886).  
 Reel: 668, No: 102 (Central Turkey College. Aintab. Estimates for 1912).  
 Reel: 668, No: 103 (Central Turkey College. Aintab. Estimates for 1912).  
 Reel: 668, No: 104 (ABCFM. Salary Statement for Central Turkey Mission. Estimates for 1912).  
 Reel: 668, No: 105 (Summary of Indebtedness of Central Turkey College for years 1908-1909, 1909-1910. and 1910-1911).  
 Reel: 668, No: 107 (Action of Board of Managers of Central Turkey College, 1913).  
 Reel: 668, No: 108 (Building needs of Central Turkey College, January 13).  
 Reel: 668, No: 109 (Central Turkey College. Estimates for the year 1912-1913).  
 Reel: 668, No: 110 (ABCFM. General Work, 1912).  
 Reel: 668, No: 111 (ABCFM. General Work, 1912).  
 Reel: 668, No: 112 (ABCFM. General Work, 1912).  
 Reel: 668, No: 115 (ABCFM. General Work, 1913).  
 Reel: 668, No: 116 (ABCFM. General Work, 1913).  
 Reel: 668, No: 120 (Salary statement for Central Turkey Mission. Special Estimates for 1913).  
 Reel: 668, No: 139 (Estimates for 1915).  
 Reel: 668, No: 157 (Summary of accounts of CTC for the year 1914-1915).  
 Reel: 668, No: 160 (Estimates for work among Moslems in Central Turkey, 1915).  
 Reel: 668, No: 161 (Provisional Budget 1915-1916).  
 Reel: 668, No: 162 (Central Turkey College, Provisional Budget 1915-1916).  
 Reel: 670, No: 102 (Unknown to Rev. J. L. Barton October 17, 1912).  
 Reel: 670, No: 118 (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. J. L. Barton October 21, 1910).  
 Reel: 670, No: 123 (Goodsell to Dr. Barton March 17, 1912, Marash).  
 Reel: 670, No: 128 (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton May 6th, 1911).  
 Reel: 670, No: 129 (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton May 8th 1911).  
 Reel: 670. No: 135 (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton June 5th 1911).  
 Reel: 670, No: 135, 136, 137, 138, 139. (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton June 5th 1911, Marash).  
 Reel: 670. No: 137, 138, 139, 140, 141. (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. J. L. Barton June 7th, 1911 Marash).  
 Reel: 670, No: 140. (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton June 5th 1911, Marash).  
 Reel: 670, No: 156 (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton July 15 1911, Marash).  
 Reel: 670, No: 141. (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton June 5th 1911, Marash).  
 Reel: 670, No: 1005 (Suggestions regarding the program for the All Turkey Conference prepared by a Committee Appointed By the Central Turkey Mission for that Purpose, September 11).  
 Reel: 670, No: 1009 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton "Marash Theological Seminary" September 25, 1911, Marash).  
 Reel: 670, No: 1012 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton "Marash Theological Seminary" September 29, 1911, Marash).  
 Reel: 670, No: 1016 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. J. L. Barton "Marash Theological Seminary" October 22, 1911, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1021 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. J. L. Barton, January 15, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1023 (Fred Field Goodsell To the Predencial Committee of the American Board January 18, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1024 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. J. L. Barton “Marash Theological Seminary” January 22, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1025 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton “Marash Theologica Seminary” January 22, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1028-1029 (Fred Field Goodsell To Rev. E. F. Bell “Marash Theological Seminary” February 29, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1030 (Fred Field Goodsell To J. L. Dr. Barton “Marash Theological Seminary” March 11, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1033 (Fred Field Goodsell To Mr. Bell “Marash Theological Seminary” April 5, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1036 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton “Marash Theologica Seminary” June 6, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1037 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. James L. Barton “Marash Theological Seminary” July 10, 1912).

Reel: 670, No: 1044 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. J. L. Barton “Marash Theological Seminary” October 15, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1045, 1046 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton October 15, 1912, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1049, 1050, 1051 (Fred Field Goodsell To Dr. Barton ,January 3, 1913, Marash).

Reel: 670, No: 1052, 1053 (Fred Field Goodsell to Dr. Barton ,January 10, 1913, Marash)

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- 1876.
- 1911.
- 1915.
- 1918.
- 1922.

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- January 1875.
- June 1891.

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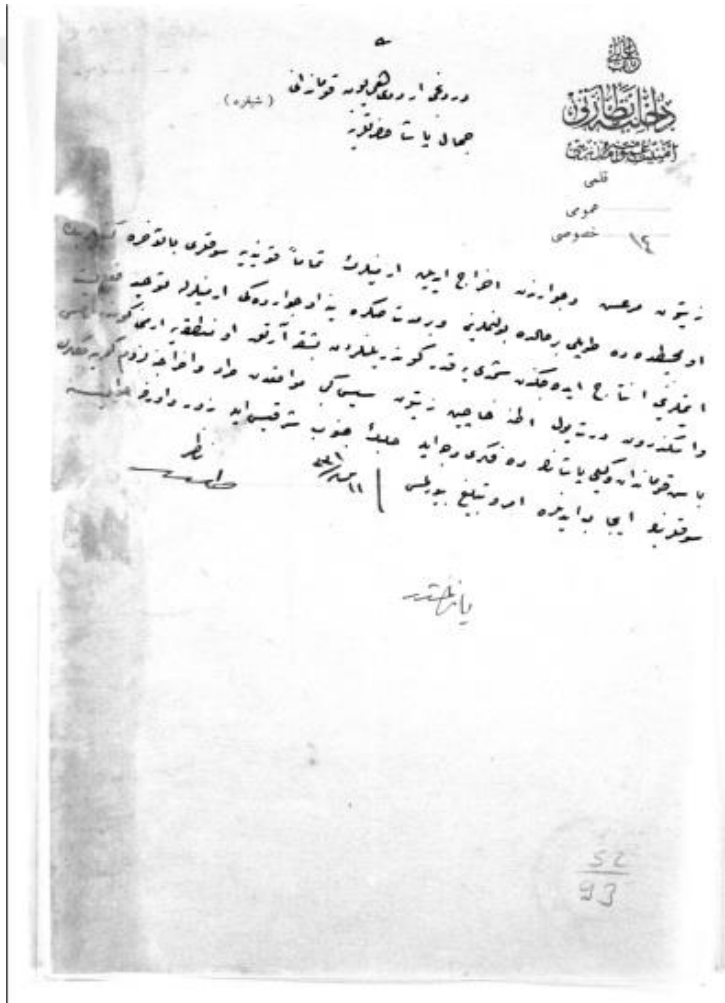
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## APPENDICES



Appendix A: THE DEPORTATION OF ARMENIANS TO KONYA AROUND ZEYTUN AND MARASH<sup>279</sup>

<sup>279</sup> “1533-4 Bâb-ı Âlî, Dahiliye Nezâreti, Emniyet-i Umumiye Müdüriyeti” DH. ŞFR, 52/93,” Osmanlı



Ambassade de France  
pour  
la Porte Ottomane: Sera le 8 mars 1879.

Note Verbale.

N: 27.



A la suite de troubles en  
Arménie et dans le district de  
Léikoun en particulier, un certain  
nombre des habitants de cette  
dernière province ont été  
emprisonnés à Marash et à  
Alep. Cette captivité prolongée,  
le dénuement et la souffrance  
ont amené déjà la mort de  
plusieurs d'entre eux: il y a

Son Excellence  
Carathéodory Pacha  
Ministre des Affaires Étrangères.

#### Appendix B: NOTE VERBALE DE FRANCE<sup>280</sup>

Arşivleri, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü.

Hususî: 14

<sup>280</sup> T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, "Sera le 8 mars 1879, Note Verbale"  
HR. SYS. 78/6, Belge no: 60



Harvard University, Houghton Library, modbm\_abc\_78\_2\_box\_18\_folder\_5\_girls\_college\_boys\_seminary

Appendix C: PHOTOGRAPH OF GIRLS COLLEGE BUILDINGS, MAREN HOUSE  
AND FAMILY, THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY AND BOYS ACADEMY IN  
MARASH, 1885.<sup>281</sup>

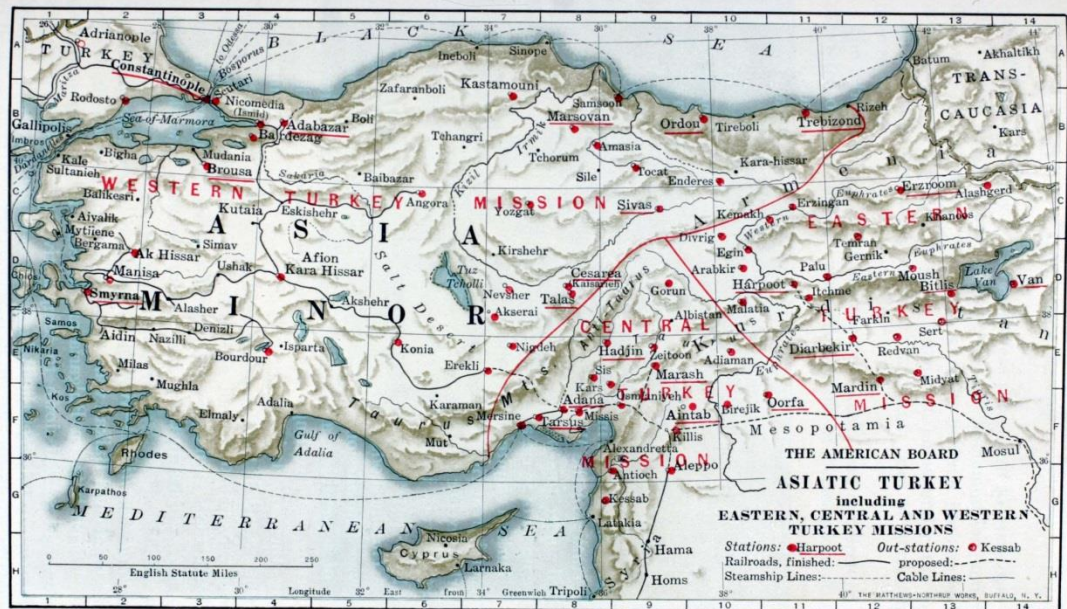
<sup>281</sup> "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, 1810-1961" last accessed: April 7, 2017  
<http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467>



Appendix D: ABCFM MAP<sup>282</sup>

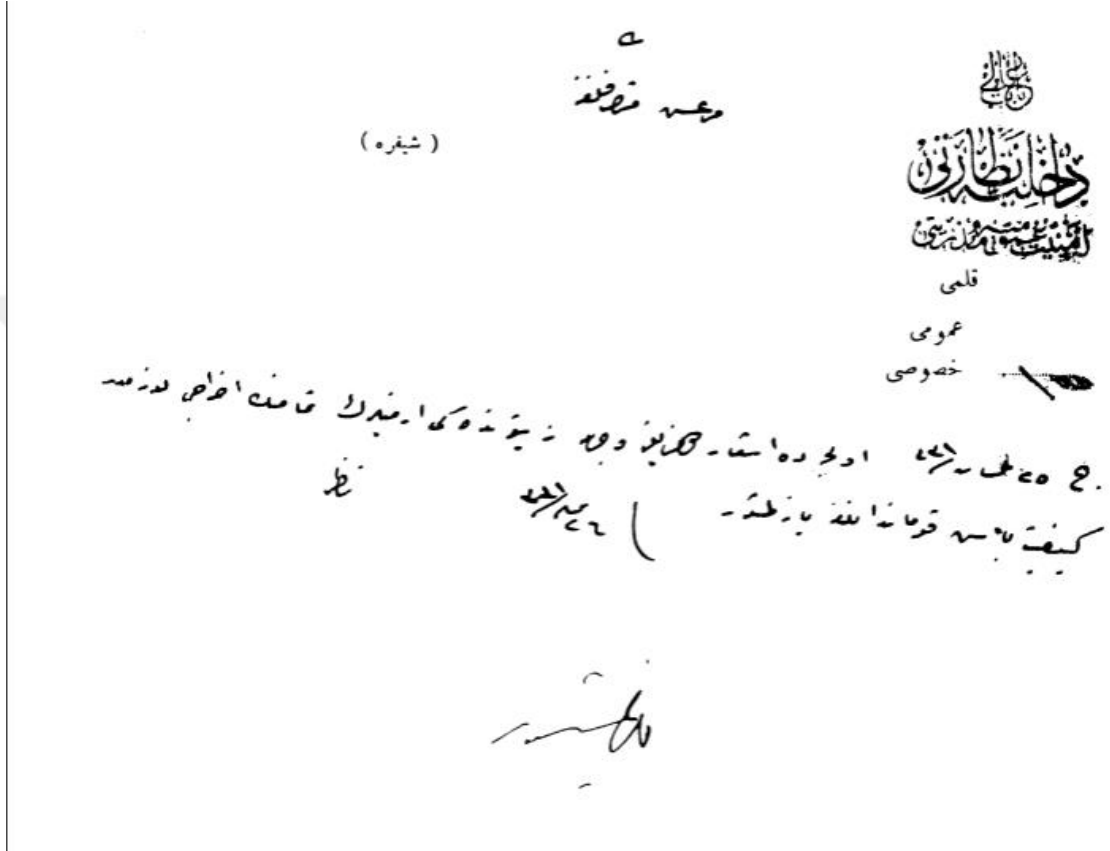
<sup>282</sup> "Digital Library for International Research" [dlir.org](http://www.dlir.org) last accessed: April 25, 2017  
<http://www.dlir.org/images/stories/dlir/arit/map1.jpg>





Appendix E: MAP OF AMERICAN BOARD-ASIATIC TURKEY<sup>283</sup>

<sup>283</sup> "Digital Library for International Research" [dlir.org](http://www.dlir.org) last accessed: April 25, 2017  
<http://www.dlir.org/images/stories/dlir/arit/map1.jpg>



Appendix F: THE “URGENT NEED TO DEPORTATION” COMMAND OF  
ARMENIANS FROM THE ZEYTUN TOWNSHIP<sup>284</sup>

<sup>284</sup> “Bâb-ı Âlî Dâhiliye Nezâreti Emniyyet-i Umûmiyye Müdiriyyeti Husûsî: 14” “DH. ŞFR, nr. 52/286, Osmanlı Arşivleri, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü





Harvard University, Houghton Library,

#### Appedix H: GROUP PICTURE OF WESTERN TURKEY MISSION <sup>286</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> "Group Picture-American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, 1810-1961" *oasis.lib.harvard* last accessed: April 20, 2017 <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467>



Harvard University, Houghton Library, modbm\_abc\_78\_2\_box\_17\_folder\_3\_group\_photograph\_of\_11

# Appendix I: GROUP PHOTO OF THE FIRST 11 MISSIONARY OF ABCFM.<sup>287</sup>

<sup>287</sup> "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions archives, 1810-1961" *oasis.lib.harvard* last accessed: April 25, 2017  
<http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467>





Appendix J: FRED FIELD GOODSSELL (1880-1976)<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>288</sup> "Congregational Library: Photograph is from the Blake and Goodsell Family Papers, 1883-2005 [Bulk: 1905-1980]." *Flickr.com* last accessed: May 21, 2017 <https://www.flickr.com/photos/congregationallibrary/4967799170>