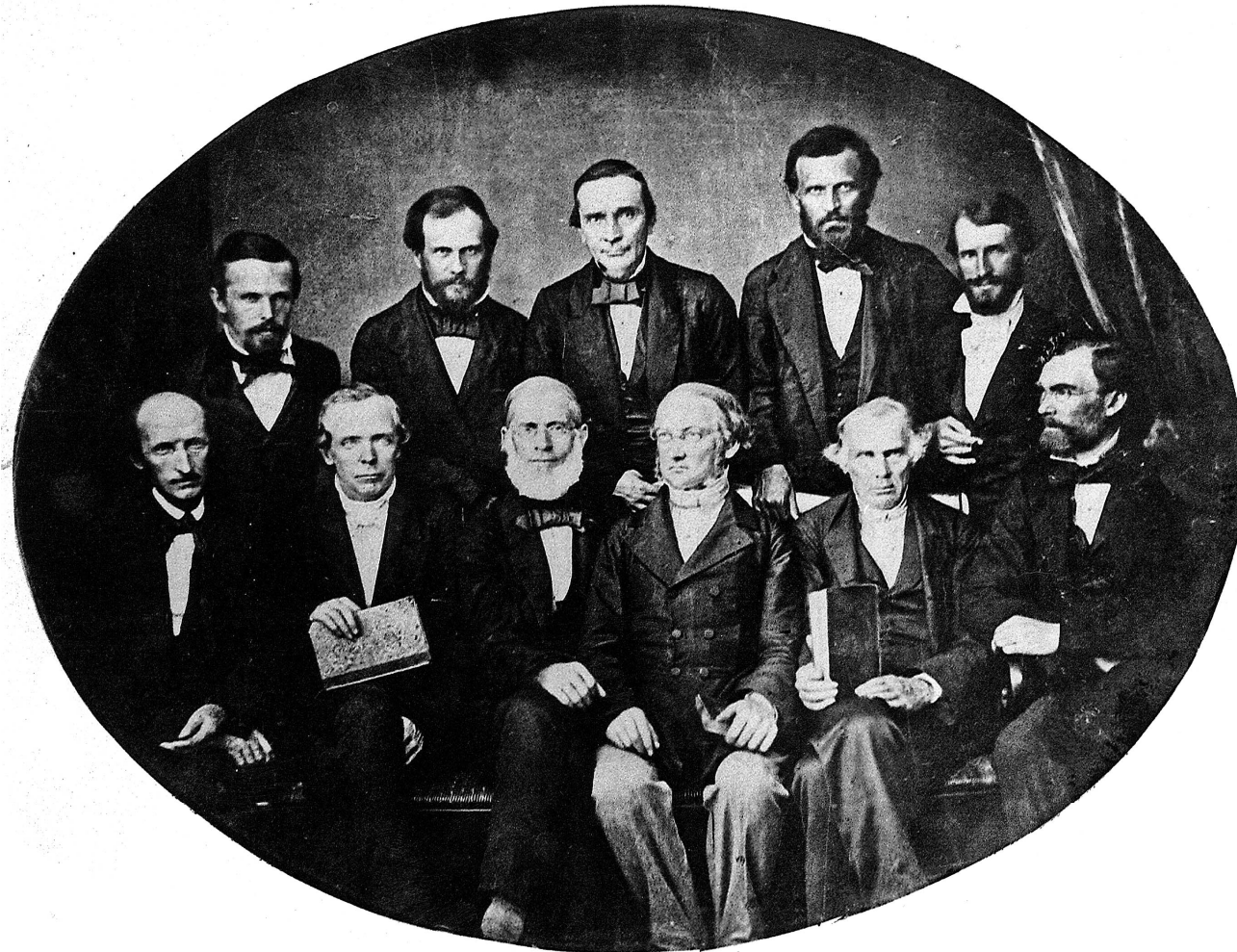


FAITH, FREEDOM, AND FLAG: THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN
MISSIONARIES IN TURKEY ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1830-1880

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of
The School of Continuing Studies
And of
The Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
Doctor of Liberal Studies

By
Elizabeth W. Shelton, M.A.

Georgetown University
Washington, D.C.
April 4, 2011



Frontispiece: Northern Armenian Mission, Constantinople, 1859

Back Row, l to r: Parsons, Isaac Bliss, Ladd, E.E. Bliss, Walker

Front Row, l to r: Hamlin, E. Riggs, Schauffler, H.G.O. Dwight, Goodell, Van Lennep

FAITH, FREEDOM, AND FLAG:
THE INFLUENCE OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES IN TURKEY
ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1830-1880

Elizabeth W. Shelton, M.A.

DLS Chair: John O. Voll, Ph.D.

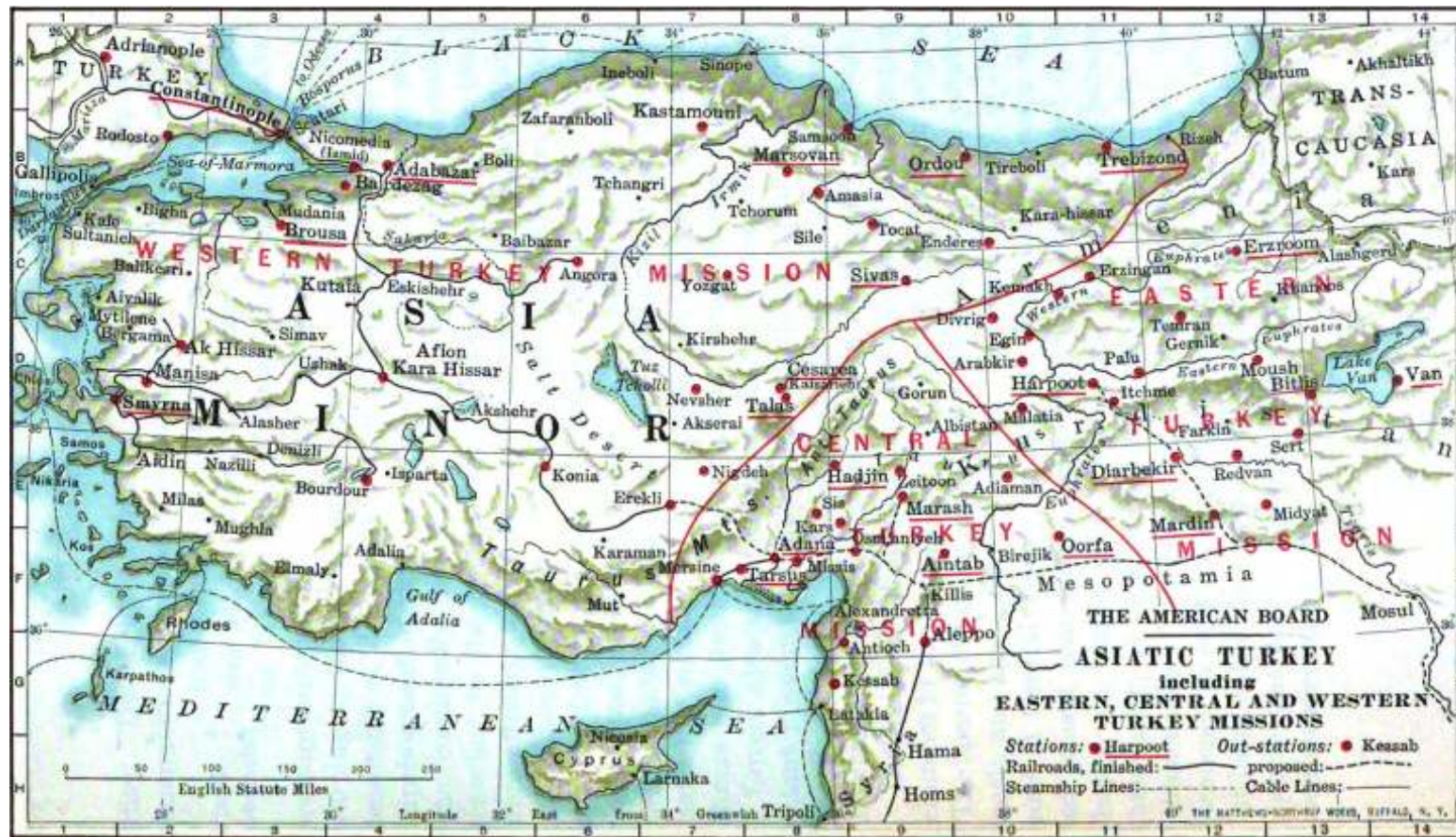
ABSTRACT

From the early days of the American Republic, Protestant Christianity and the American values which derived from it have had a heavy influence on U.S. foreign affairs. The initial 19th century missionaries to Anatolia in the Ottoman Empire were highly-educated men steeped in Calvinistic and American values. In the period 1830-1880, when American official representation was slight and generally confined to Constantinople, information about activities in Anatolia came largely from the missionaries who were scattered across the region, living in towns and regularly visiting scores of villages in their mission areas. Their reports, letters, articles, lectures, and books profoundly shaped the views of policy makers and have influenced policies and opinions to this day.

Who these missionaries were, what uniquely American values they took with them overseas--rule of law, democracy, equality of citizens and respect for their "inalienable" rights, including freedom of conscience--how they reacted and then responded to the traditional Islamic yet slowly modernizing societies they found in the Ottoman Empire, what experiences--especially their efforts among the Christian minorities--molded these impressions, and how they were portrayed to policy makers in

Washington, are the subjects of this thesis. This examination of the eleven men (see frontispiece) who comprised the “Northern Armenian Mission, 1859” of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Constantinople concludes that the first groups of missionaries in the 19th century set the stage for America’s outraged response to the massacre of Armenians in the mid-1890s and to the enforced, inhumane expulsion of the Armenians from the eastern provinces of Turkey at the beginning of World War I. They set the stage for the massive, multi-million dollar outpouring of America’s relief efforts in the Near East, and finally, for President Wilson’s decision, in the face of missionary establishment pressures, not to declare war on the Ottoman Empire when the United States entered the First World War in 1917.

Over the decades, the missionaries pressed the U.S. government for protection of themselves and their property, setting the precedent for protection of citizens abroad. They sought, and obtained, official U.S. representation to the Sublime Porte on issues of freedom of conscience, religious liberty, equality of all citizens before the law regardless of religion, the development of civil society, and education for women. These issues continued to color American relations with Turkey throughout the 20th century, and remain as foundations of foreign policy today. The missionaries’ perceptions and their images of the “Terrible Turks” portrayed in their writings persist in today’s relations with Turkey.



American Board Mission Stations

Source: Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, 1910, page 386.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first bumped into remnants of the missionary movement in Turkey during my first tour (1987-1990) in Turkey at the consulate in Istanbul—the missionaries who remained, one a choir director, their publications, schools, and medical facilities. At that time, I had no knowledge of the missionaries nor of the movement that brought them to Turkey. It was during my second tour (1994-1997), at the consulate in Adana in southeastern Turkey, that I began to feel their presence in the region. Tarsus American College was in my consular district, as was the American Hospital in Gaziantep, an historic institution then largely forgotten by the American community.

I recall standing in the little cemetery adjacent to the hospital, weeds knee high and markers askew, thinking about the missionaries who lay buried there, who had given their lives in what was then an obscure corner of the Ottoman Empire. I learned about Dr. Asariah Smith and his Yale classmates who built the first stone hospital building in his honor, the first hospital in that region. I saw markers of the extraordinary Sheperd family, with four generations engaged in missionary work. I felt an immediate bond with Dr. Fred Sheperd as he was a graduate of the University of Michigan (my alma mater) Medical School and his wife Fanny, who must have been one of the first women to graduate from the University of Michigan Medical School, and was a Mount Holyoke graduate. Only later did I learn of the important influence of Mount Holyoke on the missionary movement.

As I traveled around my consular district, I saw other evidences of the missionaries: a girl's school here, a boy's school there, a kindergarten, a playground, an occasional clinic—all abandoned or revamped for different use. Some buildings still had the original names on them; others had had their original identity removed and replaced. I began to wonder about the Americans who came to this part of the Ottoman Empire and stayed for their entire lives, people who learned languages, bore children and buried a good number of them in these soils, people who left their homes and families behind and headed into the unknown for the sake of a belief. As a Foreign Service Officer, I felt somewhat akin to them, but I could not imagine the hardships they must have endured, the dangers with which they lived, the strangeness of the culture and the food, the isolation, and the determination they must have shown by staying for decades and finally being accepted by the local communities.

Still ignorant of the enormity of the American missionary movement, the tipping point came for me after visiting my parent's church in Florida, and meeting so many people who said to me, "I had a great-grandfather who was a missionary to" "I had a great-aunt and uncle who were missionaries in" It was a United Church of Christ parish, and that was my first exposure to the Congregational connection with the American missionary movement. Over lunch that day, I remember my Mother and I questioning what were the origins of the American missionary movement, and why had so many missionaries gone to foreign lands. I determined that day to find information about it.

Building on my conviction that *people* make history, I was interested in trying to find the missionaries as *people* by reading what they had written and said, and *how* they said what they did. Because of that quest, this thesis will feature more and longer quotations than might usually be found in a work of this nature. It is important to understand the missionaries by reading their own words. In my research, I found a group of highly educated, articulate, and very observant commentators in their communications to their colleagues, employers, friends, schoolmates, publications, and families back home.

I began a bit of reading, but it was only when I retired from the Foreign Service that I was able to devote some proper time to learning about the movement, and that led me to seek a doctorate at Georgetown University. (The Dean who interviewed me, after listening carefully to my interest in Protestant American missionaries in Turkey, looked at me over his half-glasses and said, kindly, “But you do understand, my dear, that this is a *Jesuit* institution!”)

At the top of my list of acknowledgments must be Georgetown University which offered an academic home, intellectual encouragement, and a thorough shaking-up of all those things I had decided must be true when I was an undergraduate at the University of Michigan decades before. Professors John Voll and Gabor Agoston at Georgetown reintroduced me to the pleasures and rigors of academic work. A particular thanks goes to Dr. John Voll, who guided me, encouraged me, and kept me going through the ups and downs of dissertation writing, and to my ABDers group that gave support to each other over many, many months of writing.

Thanks also must go to Dr. Heath Lowry and to Amb. Robert Finn, both of Princeton, for their early encouragement and confidence in my ability to accomplish this research. Dr. Lowry gave me the greatest of academic gifts, a large annotated bibliography.

Various archivists were especially helpful to me at Amherst College, Mount Holyoke College, Bowdoin College, Houghton Library at Harvard University, Williams College, Middlebury College, the Congregational House Library, and Georgetown University. Bruce Johnson and Ken and Betty Frank welcomed me to Bible House and the missionary archives in Istanbul.

Family members kept me going. My three daughters bought me a laptop computer so that I could move into 20th century technology and be able to make the most effective use of my time in archives. My cousin, Celinda Scott, a French teacher of many decades, took over the French translations and made them correct. And my dear husband, Napier, my favorite editor, proofreader, and master of the English language, endured trips, my ups and downs, and many TV dinners during the writing of this dissertation.

Lastly, the Turkish Cultural Foundation and the Turkish Coalition of America were generous in supporting a research trip to Istanbul to work in the archives at Bible House, and in financing my last semester at Georgetown. I am deeply grateful for both their financial and their moral support. The American Friends of Turkey

and the American Turkish Council completed my support group, cheering me on through the final stages of this work.

Some notes on style: throughout their writings, the missionaries consistently referred to the Ottoman Empire as the Turkish Empire, and after consideration, I have left their words untouched. I have followed the same practice for place names, using the spellings of the missionaries, which today are woefully out of date. Readers will understand the names. The work presupposes knowledge of 19th century Ottoman history on the part of the reader, and does not dwell on the events of the times as much as on the missionaries' reactions to them. As I wished to understand—and illustrate—the *thoughts* of the missionaries, based on my premise that *people* make history, I have deliberately included many quotes, some of them very lengthy, so that their mindsets could be fully disclosed.

One final note: Only 10% of the archives in Bible House had been digitized, and those were the only archives I was able to see. The rest were in boxes, packed away, and now reside in the vaults of the Ottoman Bank in Istanbul. The remaining 90% will tell us some fascinating stories. I look forward to the time when they will be available to researchers.

CONTENTS

FRONTISPIECE.	ii
ABSTRACT.....	iii
MAP.....	v
PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.	vi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1. THE MISSIONARY: THE “INVISIBLE MAN” IN AMERICAN HISTORY.....	8
CHAPTER 2. EVANGELIZATION OF THE WORLD.....	35
CHAPTER 3. “THE GLORIOUS ELEVEN”.....	71
CHAPTER 4. THE MISSIONARY: HIS PROTESTANT THEOLOGY AND AMERICAN VALUES.....	141
CHAPTER 5. MISSIONARY WORK, ARMENIAN OPPOSITION, AND THE “TERRIBLE TURK”.....	198
CHAPTER 6. INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.....	233
CHAPTER 7. INFLUENCE ON DUTCH AND BRITISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS	293
CONCLUSION.....	334
APPENDICES.....	336
GLOSSARY OF CITY NAMES.....	359
BIBLIOGRAPHY	360

INTRODUCTION

A Psalm of Life

Tell me not, in mournful numbers,
Life is but an empty dream! –
For the soul is dead that slumbers,
And things are not what they seem.

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou are, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of the soul.

Not enjoyment, and not sorrow,
Is our destined end or way;
But to act, that each tomorrow
Find us farther than today.

Art is long, and Time is fleeting,
And our hearts, though stout and brave,
Still, like muffled drums, are beating
Funeral marches to the grave.

In the world's broad field of battle,
In the bivouac of life,
Be not like dumb, driven cattle!
Be a hero in the strife!

Trust no Future, however pleasant!
Let the dead Past bury its dead!
Act – act in the living Present!
Heart within, and God o'erhead!

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again.

Let us then be up and doing,
With a heart for any fate;
Still achieving, still pursuing,
Learn to labor and to wait.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882)

From the early days of the American Republic, Protestant Christianity and the American values that derived from it have had a heavy influence on United States foreign policy. The initial 19th century American missionaries to Anatolia in the Ottoman Empire, highly-educated men steeped in Calvinistic values, set the stage for later American foreign policy through their perspectives, their impressions of their encounters with Islam and the “Turks,” rulers of the empire. In the period 1830-1880, when American official representation was slight and generally confined to Constantinople, information about events in Anatolia came largely from the missionaries who were, indeed, “up and doing,” living in towns scattered across the region, and regularly visiting scores of villages in their mission “station” areas. Their reports, letters, lectures, and books profoundly shaped the views of American policy makers who were also largely Protestants and who shared the same values as the missionaries. These have influenced policies and opinions in America to this day.

Who these missionaries were, what uniquely American values they took with them overseas, how they reacted and then responded to the traditional Islamic—yet slowly modernizing--societies they found in the Ottoman Empire, what experiences, especially their efforts among the Christian minorities, molded these impressions, and how they were portrayed to policy makers in Washington, are the subjects of this study. This examination of the eleven men (see frontispiece) who comprised the “Northern Armenian Mission, 1859” of the American Board of Commissioners for

Foreign Missions¹ in Constantinople concludes that the first groups of missionaries in the 19th century set the stage for official and private American reactions to events in the last decade of that century and the early decades of the 20th century. Not only did they contribute to the shaping of Turkish images in America; more importantly, they influenced the United States government to put in place certain foreign policies.

The missionaries came from a society based on the rule of law, on equality of citizens, and respect for their “inalienable” rights, including freedom of conscience. They found themselves in a society based on the whim of an authoritarian sovereign, a rigid, differentiated society based on religious affiliation, with citizens having no rights, little liberty, and no freedom of conscience.

Over the decades, the American Protestant missionaries pressed the U.S. government for protection of themselves and their property, setting the precedent of protection of citizens abroad. They sought, and obtained, official U.S. representation to the Sublime Porte on issues of freedom of conscience, religious liberty, equality of all citizens before the law regardless of religion, social justice, the development of civil society, and education for women as valuable and equal citizens in the society. These issues continued to color U.S. relations with Turkey throughout the 20th century, and remain as foundations of U.S. foreign policy today. The perceptions of the missionaries, and their images of the Turks portrayed in their writings, persist in contemporary relations with Turkey.

1. Hereafter referred to as “the American Board.” or “ABCFM.”

The questions taken up in this examination of the missionaries' influence on foreign affairs are: *What was the role of Protestant religion in early American society, what values flowed from it, how were these values expressed in American foreign policy during the nineteenth century and continuing to the present day?*

Chapter 1 looks at the writings on the missionary movement and why the missionary was, as John Fairbank said, "the invisible man" in American history. Chapter 2 offers a brief history of the missionary movement in the United States, of the founding and development of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and of the work of the American Board in Anatolia.

Who were the early missionaries? Chapter 3 introduces "The Glorious Eleven" in the frontispiece, with short biographies of each of the eleven, each representative of specific activities and characteristics of the early, pioneering missionaries: William Goodell, the elder statesman; H.G.O. Dwight, the explorer; William Schauffler, the linguist with 28 languages; Cyrus Hamlin, the educator and founder of Robert College; Henry van Lennep, the scholar, artist, and writer; Elias Riggs, the translator and patriarch of a four-generation missionary family; Isaac Bliss, the purveyor of Bibles; Daniel Ladd, the instigator of native church dissention; Justin Parsons, martyred in an "out-station"; Augustus Walker, who died of cholera while treating others; and Elias Bliss, who served for decades in Constantinople, first of another four-generation missionary family.

What influences of religion and education shaped the values of the missionaries? Chapter 4 shifts attention to the influences of religion and education that shaped the missionaries and places the missionaries as purveyors of those values. It explores the changes in Calvinism during the first two hundred years in America and the influences of the First and Second Great Awakenings on society and churches. The education these men received is the next topic, as they were among the best-educated men in America at that time. The missionaries were inculcated with the American values of the 18th and 19th centuries, based on Protestant reformist and enlightenment philosophies, leading to ideals of the rule of law, democracy, freedom of conscience, social justice, individualism, egalitarianism, universal education, disinterested benevolence, voluntary associations for societal betterment and, importantly, the Protestant concept of progress.

Having sited the missionaries in their own milieu, the next question is: *what did they find when they reached the Ottoman Empire?, and how did they interpret what they saw and heard?* Chapter 5 discusses the domestic and international context of the empire's adjustment to its changing fortunes, loss of territory, financial reverses, and the varying--generally conflicting--proposed responses to Western modernity. During the *Tanzimat* Period in Ottoman history (1839-1876) the rulers were in the throes of change: of struggles for power between the Sultan's centralizing forces and the provincial notables, the *ayanlar*, who supported continued decentralization; change dominated by rapid shifts of the place of the empire in the West; and of great and growing influence of the

Western Powers. How did the missionaries carry on their “errand to the world” in these conditions, what influence did they have in Turkey’s domestic setting, and how did they portray Turkey to their supporters in America and Europe?

Additionally, Chapter 5 explores *the missionary activities and issues in Anatolia*. Understanding that the missionaries did not operate in a vacuum, but in a vibrant and changing environment with conflicting and tense forces at work, this chapter offers a close look at missionary activities in Anatolia, and the issues with which they grappled, such as the Christ-vs.-culture controversy; whether “civilizing” had to take place before conversion was possible (a highly debated question at that time was whether “Christianizing” was possible without “civilizing”); the place of education in the road to salvation; the nature and authority of native churches vis-à-vis the missionaries; and the growth of educational institutions. Although the missionaries originally arrived to try to “reform” the Armenian church and those of other “forgotten” Christian groups such as the Chaldeans, the Nestorians, and others, they rapidly became embroiled in the development of a Protestant Church and *millet* in order to protect those who had converted to Protestantism, and were unwillingly involved in the politics of the Sublime Porte as they sought an Imperial *firman* allowing the formation of a Protestant Church.

How did the missionaries influence foreign affairs? This crucial question, addressed in Chapter 6, is at the heart of the entire thesis. Missionaries insisted that their government protect them and their property, taking the issue all the way to the

President of the U.S. They worked constantly for religious liberty, for freedom of conscience, obtaining an official representation from the U.S. Government on the issue, as well as collaborating with the British government on this subject. They were concerned with equality of all subjects in the empire, and with equal rights before the law for all. They involved the U.S. government in the issue of the right to education for all, especially for females, a precedent-setting policy in the empire. They promoted individual freedom, individualism, and economic opportunity, and above all, the rule of law. They worked through letters to the American Board in Boston, which in turned raised issues in Washington; they wrote for newspapers, they lectured while on furlough in the United States, they carried on correspondence with university presidents, with editors, and with publishing houses. They provided information, knowledge of the region, and images of the peoples to the official American representatives in the Ottoman Empire. Many of their efforts have been incorporated in American foreign policy and remain cornerstones of our policies today, as the interviews with contemporary ambassadors will show in Chapter 6.

In Turkey at the time of the “Eastern Question” and “The Great Game”, the Crimean War, and the Bulgarian Crisis of 1876, missionary influence was not limited to *American* foreign affairs. Chapter 7 contains examples of communications with the King of Holland’s Foreign Minister, and with the British public.

CHAPTER 1

THE MISSIONARY: THE “INVISIBLE MAN” IN AMERICAN HISTORY

The missionary in foreign parts seems to be the invisible man of American history. His influence at home, his reports and circular letters, his visits on furlough, his symbolic value for his home church constituency seem not to have interested academic historians....Mission history is a great and underused research laboratory for the comparative observation of cultural stimulus and response in both directions.

- John K. Fairbank²

Religion and American Foreign Affairs

Religion in foreign affairs seemed of little interest to American scholars and the American public until the stunning events of September 11, 2001 when the U.S. was attacked by Islamic “fanatics” flying airplanes into major American buildings. Suddenly the U.S. discovered that it was no longer a solely “Christian” nor certainly a “Protestant” country as it was considered in the 19th and 20 centuries, but a country of great religious diversity, of increasing secularization, with the necessity to rethink basic assumptions about its foreign policies. In the New England world of the first American Protestant missionaries in the early 1800s, Americans had unanimously incorporated Protestant human rights and political values, inherited from our Puritan forefathers—the value of each person, political liberty and religious freedom, democracy, the notion of progress towards perfection, the value of education, and

2. John K. Fairbank, “Assignment for the ‘70’s,” *The American Historical Review* 74, no. 3, 877. This is taken from the speech he made when assuming the position of President of the American Historical Society. Fairbank was, at that time, Francis Lee Higginson Professor of History and Director, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University. The speech was delivered at the Statler Hilton Hotel in New York City, December 29, 1968.

the vital importance of salvation for those who seek it. These values were spread throughout the lands of the Ottoman Empire by our American missionaries in the 19th century, and, in our own times, incorporated into the United Nations Charter on Human Rights. We believed these values were universally accepted, but on September 11, 2001, we learned that they were rejected, as represented by those who carried out the September 11 attack on the United States. In America, our foreign policies were now being questioned, and the importance of religion in foreign policy suddenly came to the fore.

After the September, 2001 tragedies, scholars began to question why it was that a discipline such as political science or international relations, that had developed for almost a century and had intellectual roots extending hundreds of years, had not included religion in its terms of reference.

Two recent scholars³ posited that these disciplines are microcosms of the Western social sciences, which for most of the twentieth century ignored religion. The founders of the social sciences and their heirs, including most major Western social thinkers, they contend, rejected religion as an explanation for the world. Early social scientists believed that primordial factors such as ethnicity and religion had no part in modern society or in rational explanations for the way the world works. Religion in foreign policy was largely abandoned by scholars after the Treaty of West-

3. Jonathan Fox and Sandler Shmuel, *Bringing Religion into International Relations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).

phalia (1648), which redefined how states would conduct themselves in the international arena, and marked the end (or so they thought) of religious wars. Social scientists also initially focused most of their studies on the West, assuming that as the non-Western countries modernized, their “non-Westernness” would disappear and they would join the community of nations in the Western mold. This Western-centric mentality failed to take into account the strength of traditional religions in various parts of the world. The “they will be like us as they modernize” outlook implicitly seemed to assume a gradually secularizing world. The central role of factors like economic power, trade, access to raw materials, the state, the nation and its military in international relations theory left little room for the consideration of religion as a causal influence.⁴ Another author, Alan Geyer, suggested that in examining the issue of religion and politics, the missionary influence on foreign policy exhibited five functions, ranging from direct participation in the work of the diplomatic corps, influencing the writing of treaties and agreements, to fomenting nationalism in their host countries, equally fomenting opinions in the U.S. about their host countries, both negative and positive, and using a missionary lobby to pressure Congress and other policy-makers.⁵ As we examine 19th century missionary activities in Turkey, we will see examples of those functions.

4 . Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987) . This is an example of this kind of theory.

5. Alan Geyer, *Piety and Politics: American Protestantism in the World Arena* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1963), 78.

Nearly two decades after Fairbank threw out his challenge to study the missionary movement, Robert Hutchison of Harvard responded with his publication of *Errand to the World*,⁶ an examination of the changing intellectual basis of the missionary movement in America over three centuries: from the earliest days of Pilgrims' sense of "chosenness" and "exceptionalism," and their own missions to the Indians (their "errand to the wilderness"); through the era of American evangelism as the "Redeemer Nation" in the early 1800s; the rapid rise of student movements determined to "evangelize the world in our generation," to the moral equivalent of imperialism in the late 1800s; on to the great World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910 which first brought "natives" into the missionary fold; to the 1960s and the realization that the West's dominance in the Christian world "appeared to have ended definitively,"⁷ that Americans had become simply "a people among peoples."⁸

As the intellectual basis for missions changed over time, as Hutchison argued, the motivations for missionary work changed correspondingly. Tracking Hutchison's intellectual changes, Beaver and Varg⁹ describe the change in underlying missionary motivations. The Puritans' desire was to establish the kingdom of God in the western far ends of the earth: *Gloria Dei*, the glory of God, was the basis of mis-

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

7. Ibid. , 209.

8. Ibid., 208.

9. R. Pierce Beaver, "Missionary Motivation Through Three Centuries" in Jerald C. Brauer ed. *Reinterpretation in American Church History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968); and Paul A. Varg, "Motives in Protestant Missions, 1890-1917," *Church History* 23, no. 1 (March, 1954): 68-82.

sion; millenarianism later gave urgency to their work. By the early 1800s the love of God and Christ and the desire to convert the heathen had become the “disinterested benevolence” that attracted hundreds of students into missionary work. By the last quarter of the 19th century, love and compassion had turned into humanitarianism, and a need to carry the American version of Anglo-Saxon civilization to the world; to “evangelize the world in this generation” joined the love of God and Christ and the duty to spread the gospel. Another century later, the missionary enterprise had mellowed to a steady desire to preach the Gospel and to assist one’s fellow man as one equal to another.

The missionary movement was the recipient of the largest contributions of Americans to any cause in the era of blossoming voluntary organizations of the 1800s, generating millions of dollars, and sending thousands of Americans to foreign countries. Despite its relative decline in interest to the American public following World War II, nonetheless, missionary fervor has not disappeared in America—the number of American career missionaries abroad increased 300% between 1935 and 1980, rising from 11,000 to 35,000 during that half-century.¹⁰ The intellectual and moral underpinnings of the missionary movement may have changed over the course of three centuries, as Hutchison posits, but the zeal and determination have remained constant. By the 1960s, its secular equivalent, the Peace Corps, attracted thousands of young, idealistic American college students.

10. Beaver, “*Missionary Motivations*,” 14.

As America has moved from a religious to a secular society, the way in which we view missionaries and their work has changed accordingly, from one of veneration and support for their sacrifices and convictions to one which analyzes their impact through secular lenses. For the academic community, the new issues in missiology (the study of missionary activities) are gender, cultural imperialism (including race), and missionaries as molders of public opinion and foreign policy. The Hutchison book, in the historiography of the missionary movement, is a pivotal work between the old and new approaches to missiology. Why was the missionary so overlooked by scholars in the first seven decades of the 20th century before Fairbank's speech? Perhaps because missionary work seemed to many to smack of imperialism, which we associated with the British, the French and the Germans, and refused to associate with our own foreign policy, despite the historical record.

Christ: With or Without Civilization?

Hutchison stressed that the oldest and most vexing of all the American Protestant missionary issues was whether it was possible to proselytize for Protestant Christianity without bringing along the cultural context in which it had arisen. The earliest admonition to spread the Christian faith came from Jesus in the Great Commission, when he instructed his disciples to "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel." Sixteen hundred years later, as the Americans undertook their first evangelical efforts, there was an active dispute about whether it was possible to spread Christianity into the "heathen lands" without at the same time spreading the Western

culture from which the missionaries came. It was important to understand that culture, but for many decades that was overlooked by scholars.

American Cultural Context

There has been considerable renewed scholarly interest in the cultural context of the earliest American missionaries and the early missionary movement, beginning with the work of Perry Miller in the 1950s,¹¹ which examined the roots of the American sense of mission in the Reformation and Calvinism, and reasserted the importance of Jonathan Edwards and the First Great Awakening. Alan Heimert¹² echoed those conclusions, finding that the eighteenth century Liberals were not as generally portrayed--the enlightened espousers of rationalism--but were “profoundly conservative, politically as well as socially, and were the most reluctant of rebels...while the evangelical religion...of Jonathan Edwards, was not the retrograde philosophy in the Age of Reason....Rather Calvinism, and Edwards, provided pre-Revolutionary America with a radical, even democratic, social and political ideology, and evangelical religion embodied, and inspired, a thrust toward American nationalism.”¹³

11. See, for example, Perry Miller, *Errand to the Wilderness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). Also, Perry Miller, *The Life of the Mind in America: from the Revolution to the Civil War* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965); Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972).

12 . Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1966).

13. Ibid., from the Preface, unnumbered pages.

These early works, combined with the renewed scholarly interest in America's religious roots in Calvinism, Puritanism, and the revival movement, opened the way for serious work to be done on the religious theoretical basis of the American Protestant missionary movement. Scholars have begun to stress such facets of the development of American Protestantism as the Covenant of the Puritans, the sense of building "the city on the hill" and of being the "Redeemer Nation."¹⁴ They have examined the fundamentals of Puritan society and culture, the evolution of American theology under Jonathan Edwards and his followers in the "New Divinity" school,¹⁵ and how these influenced and in turn were influenced by the American Revolution, the Enlightenment,¹⁶ the emergence of capitalism with its emphasis on individualism, the rise of the Academy system and the establishment of Congregational "provincial" colleges in New England immediately after the Revolution.¹⁷ The roots of

14. Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968).

15. David W. Kling, "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets, 1750-1825: A Case Study in Ministerial Education," *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 2, Special Issue on Education in Early America (Summer, 1996): 195-223.

16. Joseph A. Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995).

17. Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960); David F. Allmendinger, Jr., *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975); Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Puritan Presence: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1936); Douglas Sloan, ed. and intro., *The Great Awakening and American Education: A Documentary History* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1973).

American democracy and the democratization of American Protestant Christianity¹⁸ have received considerable attention and both are now seen as basic to understanding the American Protestant missionary, his mind, and the values he carried with him on his “errand to the world.”

A number of scholars have emphasized the singular significance of the Great Awakenings, especially the Second Great Awakening, in the formation of the missionary spirit among a generation of young people.¹⁹ The influence of revivals and “enthusiasms”--Awakenings--on early 19th century American society has been characterized as “the shaping power of American culture,” “the results of a...profound cultural transformation affecting all Americans and extending over a generation or more...a restructuring of our institutions and redefinitions of our social goals....To understand the functions of American revivalism and revitalization is to understand the power and meaning of America as a civilization.”²⁰

Unlike the First Great Awakening (1720-1740), which many scholars believe ushered in the Revolutionary fervor, the Second Great Awakening created “a society accustomed to working through voluntary associations for common goals...that emphasized self-help...[that] included the belief that Americans are a peculiar race,

18. See Nathan O. Hatch, *Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). For more recent treatment, see Mark A. Noll, *America's God: from Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

19. See, for example William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakening, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978); Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism & Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War* (Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1957).

20. William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakening, and Reform*, 2.

chosen by God to perfect the world. That was clearly the nation's manifest destiny, and it was unique."²¹ Signs of the Second Great Awakening were "everywhere: not only in the astonishing variety of religious sects, both imported and native, but also in literature, politics, educational institutions, popular culture, social reforms, dietary reforms, utopian experiments, child-rearing practices, and relationships between the sexes."²² The plethora of social and religious reform associations that sprang up during this period was termed the "Benevolent Empire"²³ and led directly to the rise of the missionary movement. Young men at Williams College²⁴ had experienced conversion during the early years of the Second Awakening, which led to the creation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM, or "The American Board") in 1810. Autobiographies of early missionaries recount powerful conversion experiences in their colleges in these early 19th century years.²⁵ These were the cultural characteristics the early American missionaries carried with them

21. Ibid., 105.

22. Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. Vol. 2 of *The Oxford History of the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 186.

23. Ibid., 192.

24. Known to history as the "Haystack Incident," it was the beginning of the spread of missionary fervor across campuses in New England, later across the country. These young men are credited with persuading their elders to form the ABCFM. For more details, see Chapter 2, page 43.

25. See, for example, Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, Fourth edition (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, originally published in 1893); Edward D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire* (Cambridge: The Press of John Wilson and Son, 1895).

as they went into the field. Was it possible to separate these Western values from preaching the Gospel?

Hutchison contended that the early missionaries conscientiously attempted to combine Bible teachings with education so that converts could read the Bible, whether in English or in their native tongue (the earliest missionaries translated the New Testament into many languages, and often provided the first printing presses in a region). That approach (education and publications) was abandoned and the American missions adopted the “Christ-only” (preaching only) approach. Other scholars, such as Prof. R. Pierce Beaver of the University of Chicago,²⁶ supported Hutchison’s conclusion. Beaver examined the works of those who directed the American Board, especially the General Secretaries--Rufus Anderson, James Barton, and Robert Speers. Their writings illuminate the changing theories of missionary activity and their issues.

Of all the missionary theorists, without doubt the most influential was Rufus Anderson, who for over one-half century was the leader of the American missionary movement. All of the missionary agencies in the United States and Canada adopted nearly all of the fundamental points of his policies. Succeeding General Secretaries of the Board, Mr. James Barton and Mr. Robert Speer, drew copiously from Anderson’s basic ideas and principles, although Barton began moving away from Anderson’s theories as these were challenged by the realities of a changing global picture.

26. R. Pierce Beaver, *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1967).

Nonetheless, Anderson's strict principles lasted largely intact through the 1800s and gradually shifted with the advent of the First World War. The American missionary boards and societies, until the end of the Second World War, generally stated their aims in terms of Anderson's three "selfs:" self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating. Anderson wielded such power that "when he retired, more than twelve hundred missionaries were serving under the American Board, and only six had not been appointed under him and upon his recommendation."²⁷

Anderson's tenure highlighted three basic issues that were debated within the movement for the next one hundred years, when social convictions changed missionary policy. The three themes continue in the missionary historiography down to today: The Great Commission and modern times; the proper role of the missionary; and "Christ vs. Culture:" evangelism, imperialism, education, social and other programs. Anderson was very clear about all three. "The missionary's first and great concern is for the *soul* to save it from impending wrath."²⁸ The sole object is "the reconciling of rebellious men in heathen lands to God."²⁹ The purpose of evangelism was the winning of the world for Christ through individual conversions, one at a time; therefore the missionary's single goal must be conversion, salvation of the soul.

27. Ibid., 12. It is important to understand that he had far more missionaries serving in foreign countries under his direction than there were diplomats serving under the Secretary of State during the same years.

28. Rufus Anderson, *The Theory of Missions to the Heathen, A Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Edward Webb, as a Missionary to the Heathen, Ware, Mass, Oct. 23, 1845* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1845). Reprinted in Beaver, Ibid. , 78.

29. Ibid., 81.

The role of the missionaries, Anderson posited, is to convert the heathen, and to train native pastors to carry on once the missionaries leave. And leave they must. It is not the role of missionaries to open schools or provide assistance programs, and not to become permanent pastors. Their goal must be to establish native churches that can be self-sustaining.

In the early years of Anderson's tenure at the American Board, there was a great dispute over the issue of whether the missionary's role was to be strictly evangelizing or whether it should be "civilizing" as well. This debate became more heated as the century progressed and Western nations believed they were increasingly called up to teach "the heathens" about Western society and values, which were derived from Christianity. Anderson opposed education—other than for native pastors—as an inappropriate activity for missionaries.

More recently, Paul Harris has revisited the question of the power and authority of Anderson,³⁰ challenging the scholarly consensus about Anderson. Harris contended that the hard times that followed the Panic of 1837 exerted constant financial pressure on the American Board, and that American Board secretaries had to tighten their control over the missionaries for financial reasons. It was through this process that Anderson was able to shape policy and develop the ideology of missions that subsequently determined American Board priorities. Harris faulted the movement for its early "Christ only" policy and for not assisting the indigenous people to sur-

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

mount the challenges they faced as their societies were transformed by encounters with the West.

Following Anderson's retirement, missionary policies changed, as Hutchison pointed out and others concur. By the time of the great outpouring of missionaries to all parts of the globe in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, it was understood that "Christ" and "civilization" were indistinguishable in the minds of the missionaries, that it was important to provide education, medical, and other assistance along with the spread of the faith.

Great missionary educational programs were undertaken, resulting in the establishment of such institutions as the American University of Beirut, the American University of Cairo, and Robert College in Istanbul. In recent years a body of literature has sprung up on the effects of missionary educational programs, generally prepared by those whose lives were touched by these programs. In a standard book of this genre, Syrian scholar Tibawi³¹ assessed the missionary program in Syria. Most important were the educational institutions from kindergarten through college and seminary; secondly, the printing press and the dissemination of a vast number of books from textbooks to religious tracts, many in Arabic; only lastly the creation of native Protestant communities. Another Syrian scholar has suggested that the American missionary educational programs in Syria significantly helped define and promote a concept of "Syria" in which Arab Christian intellectuals then grounded their

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

aspirations and ideals of Syrian patriotism, bringing about a Syrian identity that was cultural, patriotic, and territorial.³²

American Imperialism

By the end of the 1800s, as Hutchison pointed out, imperialism was at its height, the “Christ plus civilization” intellectual school had won out. Missionary programs had moved clearly into areas of the Social Gospel. Many questioned whether missionaries were simply harbingers of imperialism and colonialism. Some contended that they should be. The Rev. Josiah Strong, in 1895, in *Our Country* stated that two great needs of mankind in that era were civil liberties and a pure, spiritual Christianity, both of which came from Anglo-Saxon societies. He wrote: “evidently it is chiefly to the English and American peoples that we must look for the evangelization of the world,” adding, “It follows then, that the Anglo-Saxon, as the great representative of these two ideas, the depository of these two great blessings, sustains peculiar relations to the world’s future, is divinely commissioned to be, in a peculiar sense, his brother’s keeper.”³³ Echoing Brooks Adams, Strong declared that empires are heading west, “The Eastern nations sink, their glory ends, And Empire rises where the sun descends,”³⁴ therefore the United States, with its vast resources,

32. Fruma Zachs, “Toward a Proto-Nationalist Concept of Syria? Revisiting the American Presbyterian Missionaries in the Nineteenth-Century Levant,” *Die Welt des Islams*, New Ser., 41, Issue 2, (July, 2001): 145-173.

33. Rev. Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Recent Crisis* (New York: The Baker and Taylor Co. for the American Home Missionary Society, 1885), 209, 210.

34. *Ibid.*, 215.

population, economic strength, and Protestant faith must be the leader in civilizing and evangelizing the world.

Taking this notion further, James Barton, the American Board Secretary, begged his readers to listen to the voice of the U.S. Consul in Harpoot, Turkey, on the occasion of dedicating a new American missionary college: “I have had occasion to revert to the work of the accomplished and devoted band of American missionaries and teachers settled in these districts. In a thousand ways they are raising the standard of morality, of intelligence, of education, of material well-being, of industrial enterprise: directly or indirectly every phase of their work is rapidly paving the way for American enterprise....I know of no import better adapted to secure the future commercial supremacy of the United States in this land...than the introduction of American teachers, of American educational appliances and books of American methods and ideas.”³⁵

Writing in the mid-twentieth century, Stephen Neill attacked the notion that colonialism and the missionaries were responsible for the breakdown of traditional societies. He disagreed with the “slap-dash” assertion that the penetration of the world by the political power and the culture of the West has nowhere produced anything but destruction, and that Christian missions without distinction had been involved in the guilt of that destruction and declared that it would not stand up to the

35. James Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1908), 170. Speech of Prof. Thomas H. Norton, Ph.D., U.S. Consul at Harpoot and Smyrna, Turkey. Barton quotes another academic, Prof. Harlan P. Beach, F.R.G.S., as saying: “Education has contributed more toward the regeneration of these lands than anything else.”

light of sober historical investigation. He rejected equally the writings that cast imperialism as “the white man’s burden” and the missionaries as unfailingly the friend of the African or Asian. All are grave mythological distortions, not based on scholarly research.³⁶

More recent scholarship of the cultural and imperial issues have not treated the missionary movement so kindly. Charges have been made that American missionaries were “insensitive” to the effect of missionary-mandated changes on women’s roles in Zulu culture;³⁷ black African-American missionaries to Africa in the late 1800s experienced the idea that culture matters, skin color doesn’t matter--“all missionaries are white;”³⁸ that the interaction between Alevis in the far reaches of Anatolia and Protestant missionaries left a lasting mark on Alevis societies, which has been of questionable value since it caused great political difficulties.³⁹ The role of missionaries in mid-nineteenth-century China has been defined as one of “cultural

36. Stephen C. Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966).

37. Amanda Porterfield, “The Impact of Early New England Missionaries on Women’s Role in Zulu Culture,” *Church History* 66, no. 1, (March, 1997): 67-80.

38. Walter L. Williams, *Black Americans and the Evangelization of Africa, 1877-1900*; and T.O. Biedelman, *Colonial Evangelism: A Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots*. Both reviewed by Robert W. Wyllie in *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 18, no. 1, (1984).

39. Hans-Lukas Kieser, “Muslim Heterodoxy and Protestant Utopia: The Interactions between Alevis and Missionaries in Ottoman Anatolia,” *Die Welt des Islams*, New Ser., 41, Issue 1, (March, 2001): 89-111.

imperialists” because of ingrained cultural values of the missionaries and the structure of the missions.⁴⁰

Women in the Missionary Movement

By the 1980s, a new group of scholars began to study missiology from a different perspective—that of women. Whether influenced by women missionaries who wrote of their experiences, or whether by interest in the social reform movements of the 19th century, or by other reasons is difficult to assess, but as women’s studies gained in stature in academic institutions, the role of women in missionary movements gained interest in academic writing. This new subject—that of missionary women—is barely addressed in Hutchison, so his book marks a break between traditional missionary scholarship and new approaches.

Concerning the power of women in missionary programs, Helen Montgomery’s work of 1910⁴¹ included information of women missionaries in Ceylon, China, India, Japan, Congo, and Muslim lands. Besides the interesting individual stories, however, her information on the work of the home missionary societies offered a full—and striking--account of the fifty years of work of the women’s missionary societies and their importance in U.S. society. Her publication marked the 50th anniversary of the organization of the first women’s Board of Missions in America,

40. Paul W. Harris, “Cultural Imperialism and American Protestant Missionaries: Collaboration and Dependency in Mid-Nineteenth-Century China,” *The Pacific Historical Review* 60, no. 3 (Aug., 1991): 309-338.

41. Helen Barrett Montgomery, *Western Women in Eastern Lands: Fifty Years of Women’s Work in Foreign Missions* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910).

the Woman's Union Mission Society. Contemporary women scholars have picked up on her description of this movement of "active and ubiquitous Women's Missionary Societies, on the background of the social and religious forces that produced it, its organizations and aims, its work and its workers; to picture its possibilities and hopes for the future."⁴² Montgomery declared the 19th century was known as "the women's century," in which there was a "readjustment of thought and practice" about the role of women in many nations.

Complete with extensive data for that organization since its founding in 1860, Montgomery showed that in 1909, the women's missionary societies raised \$3,328,840 (up from \$115 the first year); they supported 2,368 women missionaries in the field; 3,263 schools overseas of which 2,410 were in villages and 11 were colleges; and the organization had published over 63 million pages of literature, including a 10-volume series of books that had sold over 600,000 copies. There were, in 1909, 815,596 contributing members.

Beaver, in his 1968 book about the power of these women's organizations *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission* (republished in 1980 as *American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*),⁴³ contended that these organizations were the

42. Ibid., 9.

43. R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1968). Republished by the same firm in 1980 as *American Protestant Women in World Mission: A History of the First Feminist Movement in North America*.

font of all organized women's activities in the churches and to some extent in the community. These were established, he said, out of the inspiration and power generated by the overseas missions. "No other form of American intervention overseas has made a more powerful cultural impact than this work for women and children."⁴⁴ When Beaver wrote, the women's involvement in The Women's Foreign Mission Movement was 150 years old, and, Beaver believed, was the first feminist movement in the U.S. It was the prototype and spawned the rise of various other women's movements in the 19th century struggle for women's rights and freedom. The forces it set in motion, Beaver stressed, still work for the liberation of women in Africa and Asia. It was instrumental in spreading education for women around the world, and emphasized the important, positive role single women could play in society. Additionally, he believed the organization of the mission societies taught women how to organize, the importance of raising their own voices, and how women could develop from simply being wives to becoming professionals in their own right. Beaver believed the single most important influence on the changing roles of women was Mary Lyon, founder of Mount Holyoke College in 1837.⁴⁵

A more contemporary scholar, Dana Robert, agreed wholeheartedly with Beaver's assessment. In *American Women in Mission* (1996) and other publica-

44. Ibid., 9.

45 . For more information about Mary Lyon and the role of Mount Holyoke in educating women, see Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

tions,⁴⁶ Robert said that “without examining the influence of missionary women on their home constituencies, it is impossible to grasp the full significance of the woman’s movement in the churches that began around 1800 and continues in various forms today, especially in conservative evangelical churches.”⁴⁷ She contended that women missionaries were important in three ways for the women’s movement: they were viewed as saints, martyrs, and as heroines (Robert points to Helen Montgomery as one of the heroines); they were catalysts for women’s leadership (by the 1900s, women constituted about 60 percent of the mission force); and they were cultural bridges between the American home churches and their host countries overseas.

Other scholars have stressed the important role women played as mission work became more imperial and more cultural.⁴⁸ By the end of the 1800s, as the imperial era was at high tide, more and more missionary women overseas were involved in education in the classroom and sanitation and medicine in the homes. They spread “missionary-imperial feminism” and were concerned with “altruism and domesticity” in their work. They spread the Mary Lyons model of education

46. Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Missions: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1996); and “The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home,” *Religion and American Culture* 12, no. 1, (Winter, 2002) : 59-89. See also the book she edited, *Gospel Bearers, Gender Barriers: Missionary Women in the 20th Century* (New York: Maryknoll Press, 2002).

47. Robert, “The Influence of American Missionary Women on the World Back Home,” 59.

48. Mary Huber and Nancy Lutkehaus, eds. *Gendered Missions: Women and Men in Missionary Discourse and Practice* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999).

for women, and were instrumental in changing the roles of women in traditional societies.

Women were “seen solely as adjuncts to men rather than as historical figures in their own right; women have been systematically written out of historical and anthropological records,” complained a group of women anthropological scholars.⁴⁹ They examined the role of missionary women, their influence, and the way they contributed to the development of specific settlements. They illustrated how much the national identities of some African nation-states were owed to them, especially through the life experiences of the elites.

This same group of scholars also presented “native” points of view about the missionaries, and the impact of the missionary women on other groups overseas, in this case in Africa. They cited the benefits of mission education and medicine, the development of craft industries (all carried out by women), and also the less material aspects of the missionary influence, for example their honesty and their care and concern for individuals were obvious and appreciated by nearly everyone. Any considerations of cultural disruptions were far outweighed by the improved standards of living and political recognition. However, one especially negative Kenyan commenter said:

The European mission had attacked the primitive rites of our people, had condemned our beautiful African dances, and images of our gods, recoiling from their suggestion of satanic sen-

49. Fiona Bowie, Deborah Kirkwood, and Shirley Ardener, *Women and Missions: Past and Present Anthropological and Historical Perceptions* (Providence: Berg, 1993).

suality. The early African convert did the same, often with even greater zeal, for he had to prove how Christian he was through his rejection of his past roots. So that in Kenya, while the European settler robbed people of their land and the products of their sweat, the missionary robbed people of their soul. Thus was the African, body and soul, bartered for thirty pieces of silver and the promise of a European heaven.⁵⁰

Other women scholars have stressed the paradoxical role of women missionaries toward the end of the 19th century: they were encouraged to go out from their homes to reform the world, while at the same time they were to set the tone for the urban domestic retreat, home, for the bourgeois family. Jane Hunter⁵¹ outlined the central tension within female American culture at the turn of the century—expansive and defensive commitments, public and private responsibilities, missionary fervor vs. the core of the family, the home. She examined the experiences of forty American women missionaries to see how they handled these tensions.

Missionaries as Shapers of Public Opinion and Foreign Affairs

Some scholars have viewed the missionaries and the global problems they raised as responsible for dragging the U.S. into world affairs. Missionaries and commerce were the two components that drove U.S. 19th century policies toward the Middle East.⁵² Ernest May contended that missionary activities forced the United

50. Ibid., 3,4. The quotation is from Ngugi wa Thiong'o in his essay *Church, Culture and Politics*, 1972.

51. Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

52. James A. Field, Jr., *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

States into world politics,⁵³ citing the 1894-5 Armenian massacres in the Ottoman Empire, the support of Julia Ward Howe and other luminaries for American action to defend the Armenians, rallies in major cities, the establishment of lobbying organizations such as the United Friends of Armenia, and the actions of other groups which called upon the U.S. government to remind them of their “duty” to protect the missionaries in foreign lands. Showing the power of the church and the press, May quoted Abbott’s *Outlook* which declared it the duty of the U.S. to protect them “and, if necessary, to spend its last dollar and call out its last soldier for that purpose.”⁵⁴ That position was supported by other scholars.⁵⁵

The Miss Stone Affair, concerning an American missionary taken hostage in Bulgaria for six months in 1901, also propelled the U.S. into world affairs, as it brought the U.S. into diplomatic maneuvering with Britain, the Ottoman Empire, Russia, and Bulgaria as it wrestled with questions concerning kidnappings, terrorism, hostages, ransoms, and other diplomatic issues at just the same time as the U.S. had moved into world affairs in the Pacific by virtue of taking Manila.⁵⁶ Another scholar

53. Ernest R. May, *Imperial Democracy: The Emergence of America as a Great Power* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961).

54. *Ibid.*, 29.

55. Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971); James Eldin Reed, “American Foreign Policy, The Politics of Missions and Josiah Strong, 1890-1900,” *Church History* 41, no. 2, (June, 1972): 230-245.

56. Teresa Carpenter, *The Miss Stone Affair: America’s First Modern Hostage Crisis* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003).

has added to that the actions of the U.S. to protect its missionaries in China.⁵⁷

China looms large in the historiography of missions dealing with foreign policy. The classic study, by Paul Varg, examined the roles of missionaries and diplomats in shaping U.S. policy toward China.⁵⁸ Missionaries have been accused of providing erroneous perceptions of China to justify the need for conversion, of being in bed with merchants, and of conducting an “imperious” imperialism which clouded our relations with China.⁵⁹ Another scholar contended that the combination of various components of the Open Door--economic institutions, businesses, reform organization, missionaries--worked together and influenced foreign policy in China.⁶⁰

One of the few contemporary writers to try to bring the strands of missiology and political science together, Mead, in his 2002 book, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World*,⁶¹ credits the missionaries with

57. Valentin H. Rabe, *The Home Base of American China Missions, 1880-1920* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Council on East Asian Studies, 1978) .

58. Paul Varg, *Missionaries, Chinese and Diplomats: The American Protestant Missionary Movement in China, 1890-1952* (New York: Octagon Books, 1977).

59. Robert McCellan, “Missionary Influence on American Attitudes toward China at the Turn of This Century,” *Church History* 38, no. 4 (Dec., 1969): 475-485.

60. Jerry Israel, “For God, for China, and for Yale – The Open Door in Action,” *The American Historical Review* 75, no. 3, (Feb., 1970): 796-807.

61. Walter Russell Mead, *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How it Changed the World* (New York: Routledge, 2002). See particularly Chapter Five, 132-173.

what he terms the “Wilsonian” approach⁶² to American foreign policy, the belief that America has a “moral obligation and an important national interest in spreading American democratic and social values throughout the world” leading to international peace based on the rule of law. Their strong Puritan piety, combined with Calvinistic values, linked the American missionaries with their British cousins in the notion that the Anglo-Saxon countries had a duty to change the behavior of other, “heathen” countries to conform with what we knew was “right,” both domestically and in their conduct of international affairs. The missionaries were concerned not just with saving individual souls, Mead contends, but in reforming societies to allow individuals to find their salvation, which meant a framework of democracy, human rights (although they might not have used that phrase), and the rule of law. The spread of Anglo-Saxon, or American, values, became an important part of the missionary experience around the world, and was largely responsible for solidifying the “Wilsonian approach” in American foreign policy.

Conclusion

The historiography of missiology involves literature over a period of three centuries: writings of the missionaries themselves, writings of those who directed the missionary programs, and later, commentators on the results of their work. As the interests of scholars have developed over the past century, the nature of the writings has changed. It is possible to track the change in emphasis of both the programs and

62. Other bases for foreign policy, Mead contends, were the preservation of business and trade (Hamiltonian); safe-guarding democracy at home (Jeffersonian); and national security with economic prosperity (Jacksonian).

the scholarly analysis of the programs. Hutchison's *Errand to the World* represents one approach, that of the intellectual history of the movement. Earlier writers were concerned with the religious and cultural components that formed the missionaries and the missionary movement; later scholars have found interest in the influence of the movement on women and vice-versa, suggesting that the missionary movement was the beginning of a profound change in the role of women in American society. More recently, focus has been on a reappraisal of "cultural imperialism;" on the successes or failures of missionary work in particular regions;⁶³ on the role of missionaries as shapers of public opinion and foreign policy.

Each of these disparate approaches seeks to put the movement and its participants into an international context—the missionaries as carriers of American culture and ideals to other lands, and as cultural bridges from foreign parts to America. The "invisible man" (or woman!) is invisible no longer. There is now a lively academic interest in the missionary movement, its influence on America and its influence on the world.

During the past decade, Turkish scholars have shown a significant increase in interest on these subjects. Authors such as Açıkse, Aydın, Öztürk, Yıldız and Mutlu have written on individual missionaries, missionaries and particular cities, missionaries and imperialism, and missionary schools. See the Bibliography for details and titles.

63. See, for example, Heather J. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

CHAPTER 2

EVANGELIZATION OF THE WORLD

The Missionary Movement in 19th Century America

One of the most perplexing and complex questions is why did the missionary movement arise so strongly in the United States, and why did that happen at the time when it did. There seems to be a confluence of factors posited by scholars and practitioners alike. One is certainly the sense of “chosenness” of America by God, that Americans were the new “chosen peoples,” the successors to the Israelites. America had become the “exceptional” nation. During the First Great Awakening, in 1740, Jonathan Edwards preached that the world’s final redemption would begin in America. The Puritan “Errand to the Wilderness” became an errand to the world.

To some, by 1800, America already seemed a chosen people whom God would never forsake. Nathaniel Emmons, who with Samuel Hopkins was a great successor to Jonathan Edwards ¹ and who was the President of the Massachusetts Missionary Society, preached, “we shall, in a very short time have the possession and dominion of this whole western world. It seems to be the design of Providence to diminish other nations, and to increase and strengthen ours...Hence there is great reason to believe that God is about to transfer the empire of the world from Europe to America, where he has planted his peculiar people...This is probably the last pe-

1. Emmons was also the teacher of Mary Lyons, founder of Mount Holyoke, and her strong supporter.

culiar people which he means to form, and the last great empire which he means to erect, before the kingdoms of this world are absorbed into the kingdom of Christ.”²

In the late 1800s, thinkers such as Josiah Strong expressed the idea that the manifest destiny of this Christian republic was to advance Christian values: civil liberties, pure, spiritual Christ and divine favor; that an Anglo-Saxonized mankind would be spread around the world in a generation, as a humanitarian venture. The political scientist, Prof. Burgess at Columbia, in 1880, offered the same sentiments, that the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon nations had a “world duty” to bring Protestantism to the world. This, of course, was a strongly anti-Catholic, anti-Spanish nationalistic reaction at the time of the Spanish-American War.

The Second Great Awakening with its millennial beliefs helped spur on the notion of readying the world for the second coming of Christ and the start of a glorious age of the kingdom of God on earth. Virtually all Christians believed some such upturn in history was near. Samuel Hopkins, in his 1793 *Treatise on the Millennium*, was full of hope that by the end of the 20th century the millennium would be upon them, but to achieve that, they must first overcome Romanism and Moham-madism and other forms of infidelity. This was a major theme at William Goodell’s ordination.³

By the late 1790s, there were small missionary societies in Connecticut and Massachusetts, modeled on early missionary societies in Britain. There were a num-

2. From his sermon, “*God Never Forsakes His People*,” 179-180, in Volume 5 of 6 of *Work*, (Boston: Congregational Board of Publication), 1862. Quoted in Hutchison, 61.

3. Miller, *Errand Into the Wilderness*, 17, 21.

ber of influential clergymen, early promoters of missionary work, who preached enthusiastically about missionary outreach from their churches and schools in New England. One was Edward Dorr Griffin (1770-1837) who preached a famous missionary sermon in 1805, *The Kingdom of Christ*, in which he said, “If the Church ... is to rise from this day forth, where is it more likely to rise than in the United States, the most favoured spot on this continent which was discovered, as I may say, by the light of the Reformation? And if in the United States, where rather than in New England? And if in New England, where rather than in Massachusetts, which has been blessed by the prayers of so long a succession of godly ancestors? And if in Massachusetts, on what ground rather than this...?”⁴ He was one of the founders of Andover Theological Seminary and was the head from 1808-1811, then became President of Williams College from 1821-1836. Of this early group of missionary enthusiasts, says Hutchison, “their enthusiasm for human spiritual and social renovation rolled through their addresses to the Christian public like great breakers on a windy shore...”⁵ After the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (see below), the American Board leaders said that although they had seen grievous events in their times, they “have found a happy relief in hearing the glad sounds of salvation reverberating through heathen lands...”⁶

4. Edward Dorr Griffin. *The Kingdom of Christ*. 11.

5. William Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 55.

6. ABCFM, *Annual Report, 2nd Meeting*. 49-50.

America not only had a religious fervor after the Second Great Awakening, and young men educated and willing to dedicate their lives to missionary work, plus a tradition of domestic missionary outreach to the native tribes of Indians. America also had enough prosperity to carry on both the domestic and now overseas missionary work. While resources for the ABCFM were slender, they grew rapidly during the 19th century, with thousands of individual supporters willing to send money to support the missionaries. The American Board felt that there would be only a slight expansion from support of missionaries to the American Indians to the rest of the world.

Lastly, the growth of voluntary associations (excluding churches) in America during the century allowed a very wide range of people to contribute in a variety of ways to the missionary effort. In this very Protestant society, Bible associations, Tract Societies, Women's groups, children's groups – all supported the missionary movement in differing ways. They combined all classes and groups, freely acting together for a common object. "This free, open, responsible Protestant form of association, embracing both sexes, and all classes and ages – the masses of the people, -- is peculiar to modern times. It could not have worked, could not have existed, even, with sufficient energy for the conversion of the world, without facilities for inter-communication among the nations, civil and religious liberty, extended habits of reading, and a wide-spread intelligence."⁷

7. ABCFM. *Memorial Volume*, 299.

By the half-way mark in the 19th century, the European Great Powers and the United States had agreed on the value of missionary work across the globe, often converging in weaker countries to support their missionaries and to flex their power on policy as well. The political ascendancy of Protestant Christian countries allowed the missionaries protection to carry on their work. “Just at the close of the half-century, we saw the representatives of the four great powers of Christendom assembled in China, and uniting in the declaration that the Christian missionary ought to receive the respect, confidence, and protection of all governments, and treating upon this basis with a third part of the heathen world for the toleration and safety of these gospel messengers and of their converts.”⁸

There has been, in recent decades, a great deal of academic concern that the missionaries were out of touch with the societies in which they served, that they did not understand the cultures or did violence to them by insisting that the “heathens” in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere, adopt Western cultures and mores. It is undoubtedly true that there were some, especially European missionaries who were caught up in “cultural imperialism.” While acknowledging the difficulties brought about by these deficiencies, it must also be acknowledged that the missionaries brought to these formerly little-known cultures in the West the benefits of education (although it was a Western value-laden education), of Western medicine, and innovative ideas of equality among classes and between men and women. At the same time, the missionaries sent back to their own countries information about these cultures: languages,

8. *Missionary Herald*, 1858, 364.

geography, archeology, anthropology and ethnology. Some were great scholars whose works stand today as superb examples of nineteenth century scholarship. Most were keen observers of the world around them, which they shared in reports, letters home, and contributions to *The Missionary Herald*. *The Missionary Herald* may be thought of as the forerunner of *The National Geographic* and *CNN*. Above all else, the missionaries were engaged in the business of saving souls. At the annual meeting in 1860, when discussing questions of funding and appropriations for the next year, questions arose about how they were to continue funding the missions. Someone in the group stood up and began to sing, with all the rest rapidly joining in:

Shall we, whose souls are lighted,
By wisdom from on high –
Shall we to man benighted
The lamp of life deny?–
Salvation! – oh , salvation!
The joyful sound proclaim,
Till earth’s remotest nation
Has learnt Messiah’s name.⁹

While this might be looked upon with a certain cynicism today, and considered cultural imperialism, that was, simply said, the driving force behind the entire missionary movement.

9. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1860*, 25.

Robert E. Speer, in summing up the missionary movement in America and Europe, remarked in 1902 that there were altogether 558 missionary societies worldwide employing nearly 18,700 missionaries and 79,400 native workers. They oversaw, he claimed, nearly 7,320 mission stations, 14,364 churches, 94 colleges and universities, 20,458 schools, 379 hospitals, 782 dispensaries, 152 publishing houses, 452 translations of the Bible, and “sixty-four ships belonging exclusively to Christ.” Speer estimated annual income of all the missionary societies stood at more than \$ 20 million.¹⁰

One other fact stood out: at the American Board, typical of most missionary boards, the number of women appointed in the early 1900s was 63% of all missionaries. The women, of course, were not ordained, nor were an increasing proportion of the men who were sent out as “laymen” to run schools, YMCAs, or provide social services. Speer also pointed out that the great majority of colleges, medical schools, and hospitals had been founded only in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century. These numbers make the claim of the Student Volunteer Organization – “Evangelization of the World in our Generation” – seem not so foolish. By the early years of the twentieth century there was hardly any corner of the world that had not been visited by some form of missionary activity.

10. William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 100. All figures are from Speer, *Principles and Practice*, 501-2.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was incorporated in June, 1810, in Massachusetts, a single generation since the Revolutionary War and only twenty-one years after the United States adopted Federalism and a new constitution. Europe was still caught up in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the ensuing continental wars of Napoleon.

The Ottoman Empire was beginning to weaken, with the recent French invasion of Egypt and, with the help of the British, the repulsion of the French from North Africa. What internal reforms had been introduced in the Empire were in their infancy and were not well received; less than a decade later, Greece would begin its bid for independence and that action would initiate a century of Ottoman loss of imperial territory.

Relations between America and the Ottoman Empire were minimal: very few trading vessels went to Smyrna, and there were no formal relations, no commercial or other treaties, no diplomatic representation at capitals. America continued to be at war with the Barbary pirates along the North African coast and only two years later, America would be at war with Britain.

In this difficult international environment for a new and untried nation, what had brought about the desire to form a Board to begin overseas missionary activities?

In August, 1806, a group of five young students at Williams College went walking in the nearby fields to pray together.¹¹ A sudden rainstorm drove them to seek shelter on the leeward side of a haystack. While they continued their prayers and waited for the storm to pass, one of the young men, Samuel J. Mills, suggested something that must have been on his mind for some time – he prayed that they might dedicate their lives to spreading the Christian gospel to the heathens in foreign lands. Known to history as the “Haystack Incident,” it was the beginning of a fervent missionary movement that swept through colleges, first in New England and later in the Middle and Southern states, and continued for nearly one and a half centuries.

Mills, born in 1783, the son of a Congregational minister in Torrington, Connecticut, was a product of the Second Great Awakening, as were many of his contemporaries at the Congregationalist-based Williams College. The five students who participated in the Haystack Incident went on to form a secret “Society of Brethren” (later renamed the Society for Inquiry on the Subject of Missions) for the purpose of supporting foreign missions and devoting themselves to mission work. The Society and its work were carried to other campuses where its influence spread rapidly.

11. Information about Mills drawn from Williams College Archives, Williams College Christian Association Records; John A. Andrew III, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists & Foreign Missions, 1800 – 1830* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1976), 20,21; Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 5. Mills died in 1822 at sea, returning from a trip to Liberia, Africa, to establish a colony of returned slaves.

Several of the Brethren, including Mills, attended the newly-established Congregationalist Andover Theological Seminary, formed in 1808 in response to Harvard becoming a center of Unitarianism, and soon other theological seminaries sprang up in New England.¹²

Among the early students at Andover Seminary the missionary zeal burned brightly. In 1810, four students, Samuel J. Mills (Williams) and three members of the class of 1810, Adoniram Judson (Brown), Samuel Nott (Union) and Samuel Newell (Harvard), presented a petition to Dr. Griffin, who, as shown in a paragraph above, was enthusiastic about mission work..

Two other supporters from Andover, Dr. Worcester and Dr. Spring, shared a chaise from Andover to the meeting in Bradford that spring, discussing the possibility of a mission association as they rode along. Apparently by the time they reached Bradford they had shaped a plan. They were likely influenced by sermons delivered in London at the formation of the London Missionary Society in the late 1790s. These sermons were sent from friends in Scotland to Bristol, then to Maine, then the pamphlets were sent to Newburyport. There several copies were printed, and sent on, including one to Dr. Spring who “caught the sacred flame.” Said Rev. Bayley, “The sermons preached in London were sent to Scotland, and from Scotland to Maine, and from Maine to Newburyport.

12. Andover graduated its first class in 1809; Princeton in 1812; Bangor, in 1820; at Auburn in 1825; New Haven in 1826; Western Reserve in 1832; Lane 1833; East Windsor 1836; Union, 1838. Up through 1858, Andover had furnished nearly four times the number of missionaries (130) from the next largest group, Union at 41. Princeton had contributed 31, Auburn, 28, and New Haven 20.

There the seed germinated, and the fruit will yet shake like Lebanon.”¹³ Once again, we see the connections of people in the transmission of ideas.

The Institution of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was formalized on June 29th, 1810, at Bradford, by the General Association of Massachusetts. The founders were an impressive group of men: seven academicians, six clergymen, and thirteen eminent citizens.¹⁴ Many had taken an active part in the Revolutionary War. They were:

Academicians:

Dr. Timothy Dwight – grandson of Jonathan Edwards, Yale grad, and President of Yale, a Congregational pastor.

Ashbel Green – Princeton grad, Chaplain of Congress, close to General Washington, established the Princeton Theological Seminary, President of Princeton. A Presbyterian clergyman.

Prof. James Richards – Yale, Professor at Auburn Theological Seminary, Presbyterian.

Prof. Samuel Miller – Univ. of Pennsylvania grad. Prof. at Princeton Theological Seminary.

Prof. Henry David – Yale grad. Prof. of Divinity, Yale; Prof. of Greek language at Union College; President of Middlebury College and later President of Hamilton College.

Dr. Jesse Appleton – Dartmouth grad; President of Bowdoin College.

Prof. Eliphalet Nott – Brown grad, missionary to state of New York, President of Union College.

13. Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years*, 5th Edition (Boston: ABCFM, 1863), 42, 43.

14. *Ibid.*, 104-125.

Clergy:

Samuel Spring – Princeton, Congregational pastor at Newburyport, Mass., a well-known Hopkinsian.

Joseph Lyman – Yale grad, pastor of a Congregational Church in Hatfield, Mass.

Seth Payson – Harvard grad, pastor of a Congregational Church in Rindge, New Hampshire. Member of the state senate in New Hampshire.

Jedediah Morse – Yale grad, pastor, Congregational Church, Charlestown, Mass. Worked with Indians, founded in 1805 the *Panoplist*, to combat Unitarian tendencies. This later evolved into *The Missionary Herald*.

Calvin Chapin – Yale grad, pastor in Rocky Hill, Connecticut. A strong, early promoter of temperance.

Samuel Worcester – Dartmouth grad. Pastor, Tabernacle Church in Salem, Mass. Became the Board's first Corresponding Secretary.

Prominent Citizens:

John Langdon – merchant, delegate to the Continental Congress. Speaker of the New Hampshire House of Assembly, delegate to the Constitutional Convention. Senator from New Hampshire to the U.S. Senate, Governor of New Hampshire, a Congregationalist.

Elias Boudinot – lawyer, member of Congress from Pennsylvania. President of the Continental Congress, later under the Constitution was a member of Congress, then Director of the U.S. Mint. First President of the American Bible Society and philanthropist.

Jedidiah Huntington - Harvard grad, Brigadier General during the Revolutionary War. He served as Treasurer of Connecticut. A philanthropist.

John Treadwell – Yale grad, read law. Served as Lieutenant Governor of Connecticut, then Governor. Characterized as one of the most influential members of the Corporation of Yale College.

John Jay – King's College (Columbia) grad. Delegate to the first American Congress in 1774. Helped frame the government of New York. President of the Continental Congress, Minister to Spain, Secretary of State under Continental Congress, later appointed by President Washington as

Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court. Later served as Minister to Britain and then Governor of New York. Active in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

Egbert Benson – Columbia College grad. Practiced law, then became a member of Congress. Judge of New York Supreme Court, later of Circuit Court of the U.S. Dutch Reformed Church.

William Bartlet – Newburyport, Massachusetts ship owner, merchant and trader, philanthropist, especially benefactor of Andover Theological Seminary.

William Phillips – Boston merchant. Representative in the state legislature, later Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts. Philanthropist.

Henry Sewall – a skilled mason in Maine. Active in the Revolutionary War and referred to as “General” Sewell. Congregational Church.

William Jones – Rhode Island, Captain of marines in the Revolutionary War. Speaker of the House of Representatives, later Governor of Rhode Island.

Robert Ralston – a Philadelphia merchant who established the Philadelphia Bible Society. A Presbyterian and a philanthropist.

John Hooker – from Massachusetts. His father was Rev. John Hooker, the immediate successor to Jonathan Edwards. A Yale grad who practiced law in Springfield. He became the Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas and Judge of Probate. A Congregationalist.

Jeremiah Evarts- from Vermont. A Yale grad and lawyer who became the editor of “The Panoplist”, a monthly religious periodical for 10 years, at which time it was superseded by the *Missionary Herald* of the American Board. He was the treasurer of the Board in 1812, and the following year became a member of the Prudential Committee. In 1821 he succeeded Dr. Worcester as the Board’s Corresponding Secretary. His son, William Maxwell Evarts, became the Secretary of State under President Rutherford B. Hayes.

Following graduation from Andover, Mr. Judson traveled to London to see whether the London Missionary Society might like to join with a group in America for joint ministry, but the decision in London was that logistically it would be

too difficult to try to run a single organization from two countries so widely separated from each other. And so the Americans began mission operations on their own.

As it was a time of shipping embargo between the US. and Britain in Europe and on the Atlantic, and of Napoleonic wars on the continent, it was impossible to predict when Board missionaries could sail to Africa or the Middle East. However, a captain appeared whose ship would be sailing soon out of Salem to Calcutta, and the Board, meeting in Newburyport, after long and difficult deliberations determined that it was the will of God that two missionaries and their wives would travel on the *Caravan*. On February 6th, 1812, in a hastily improvised ceremony, the first two American Board missionaries were ordained at the Tabernacle Church in Salem.

The sight of young men, of highly respectable talents and attainments, and who might reasonably have promised themselves very eligible situations in our churches, forsaking parents, and friends, and country, and every alluring earthly prospect, and devoting themselves to the privations, hardships, and perils of a mission for life, to a people sitting in darkness and in the region and shadow of death, in a far-distant and unpropitious clime, could not fail deeply to affect every heart not utterly destitute of feeling.¹⁵

So it was that Ann and Adoniram Judson and Harriet and Samuel Newell set sail for India and Burma on February 19. In attendance at the ordination that bitterly cold February evening was William Goodell, then a young boy, who had walked the

15. Ibid., 45.

twenty miles to Salem from Philips Academy that day, walked about the city, attended the ordination, and walked back to Philips Academy that night. Exhausted and freezing, he had to be carried the last few miles by others who had attended the ordination. Goodell became an American Board missionary and opened the Constantinople mission in 1832.

From the experience of sending off the first two missionaries, Dr. Worcester later remarked in a letter that the American Board learned a “lesson of immense importance”: that they must follow where God leads and must trust in God to provide what is necessary for the support of their endeavors. “It is, I am persuaded, *the* vital principle of the missionary cause.”¹⁶

The next group to sail, based on advice and suggestions of Samuel Newell, were to the Tamils in Northern Ceylon and Southern India. At that time, Ceylon was governed by the British government, not the East India Company. The Governor expressed his interest in having missionaries come, so the American Board, accepting Newell’s suggestion of sending missionaries to the District of Jaffna, sent a second group, comprised of the Revs. Richards, Poor, Meigs and Warren, to South Asia in 1816.¹⁷

On October 23, 1819, the next group sailed for the Sandwich Islands on the brig *Thaddeus*. Almost immediately, in early November, the next two missionaries,

16. Ibid., 47.

17. Ibid., 229.

Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, set out for the Near East. Their goal was to reach the Jews of Palestine, in Jerusalem. Dr. Samuel Worcester of the American Board delivered the Instructions to Fisk and Parsons on the last day of October in the Old South Church, Boston. He directed them to gain information for the American Board around the following two questions: “What good can be done?” and “By what means?” He elaborated: “What can be done for the Jews? What for the Pagans? What for the Mohammedans? What for the Christians? What for the people in Palestine? What for those in Egypt? In Syria? In Persia? In Armenia? In other countries to which your inquiries may be extended?”¹⁸

A certain amount of native “American brashness and Yankee push” may have been involved in such an overwhelming assignment. The pioneer missionaries took upon themselves “a world-encompassing and world-changing role. They felt they had a gospel for the whole man, and the whole world.” Their programs were based on “doing good” and “raising people to a high level of Christian civilization.”¹⁹

The geographic spread of the missions was impressive. Fifty years after its establishment, besides the missions in the Levant, the American Board had overseas missions in Ceylon, India, Burma, Thailand, North China, Micronesia, and of course, a large group in Hawaii. And in this decade, the 1860s, the number of women missionaries surpassed the number of men. The largest group of American Board mis-

18. Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners* (Boston: Published by the Board, 1861), 231.

19. David M. Stowe. “God’s Left Hand and Right Hand,” Address delivered June 30, 1870. (Constantinople: Amerikan Bord Heyati, Near East Mission, 1870).

sionaries remained those in the missions to American Indians, which encompassed 428 workers, of whom 75 were ordained ministers.²⁰

Fifty years later: global missionary work

In 1800 there was a small group of missionaries gathered around Britain's William Carey in India, there were only one or two missionaries in Africa, a couple had gone to the South Sea Islands, and one or two to the West Indies. That was the extent of missionary work. In reviewing the results of their labors fifty years later, the missionaries cited sixteen hundred foreign missionaries from Europe and America, working in many countries and using many languages. In Africa, "where, at the beginning of this century, the Hottentot, the Fingoe, and Kaffir were shot down without mercy, there we find a people, one hundred thousand in number, saved from destruction and brought to Christ...whom their fathers never knew."²¹ In the West Indies, "thousands" of those who thirty years ago had been enslaved and "sold in open markets" have been saved from "slavery on earth and from the slavery of sin," "have proved the most liberal supporters of gospel schemes the modern Church has known, and were the first converts to maintain ministers of their own." Chinese ports had been opened to western missionaries only seventeen years earlier, yet by 1861 there were over 80 Protestant missionaries in the port cities who had gathered over fourteen hundred official communicants and thousands more attendees at services.

20. Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume*, 273.

21. This quote and all others in this paragraph are from Anderson, *Fifty Years*, 391.

From the beginning of the Board's work, to its Jubilee in 1861, the mission to the Armenians received the largest number of missionaries and Missionary assistants (wives) – at 138 - of any overseas mission with the exception of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) at 153. The Armenian mission had by far and away the most ordained ministers sent to it – 62 --, versus the next largest number, 46, sent to Hawaii. Of the overseas missions, West Asia, Greece and European Turkey received twice as many ordained missionaries (117) as the next largest group, that to Southern India and Ceylon with 56 ordained missionaries. The Armenian mission was the American Board's largest overseas program, with total workers, including missionaries, their wives, physicians not ordained and assistants, numbering 275 during those first fifty years.

The printing presses were an important part of the missionary work. Besides the presses in Smyrna and Beirut, a press was also established in Oormia in Persia to service the Nestorians. In its twelve years in Malta, the press printed Bibles and religious tracts, turning out an estimated 21 million pages.²² After its move to Smyrna and the Board's investment to develop movable type in Arabic, the press published in ten languages.

By midcentury the American Board was operating 15 printing establishments around the globe. Two were in the Turkey mission, using 10 different fonts. That mission accounted for nearly 200 million pages of the nearly 1.2 billion pages

22. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy in the Near East*, 20.

printed by the American Board globally.²³ The presses added a new line of publications to the religious tracts and Bibles: they began producing basic text books for elementary and middle school students, books that were used far beyond the American missionary schools. Toward the end of the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth century, the presses moved into scientific and medical literature for college students, reflecting need in the missionary-established colleges in the Ottoman Empire. It is estimated that during the nineteenth century, the presses produced four million Bibles and another four million books of a wide variety of literature, tracts and texts.²⁴

The missionaries' newspaper, the *Missionary Herald* was begun in 1818, an outgrowth of the earlier *Panoplist*, as a monthly pamphlet of 32 pages. The correspondence of missionaries: "accounts by some hundreds of educated men during about one hundred and forty years, of their travels, labors, and observations in many countries, from Eastern Canada to Oregon; in Northern, Western, Southern and Eastern Africa; from Paros and Malta to the Caspian Sea and Isfahan; in India, the Malayan Archipelago, China and the Islands of the Pacific; describing countries and climates, routes, means and modes of travel and transportation; tribes, races and nations; their characteristics, physical, mental and moral; their social condition and habits; their institutions of religion, education and government; their industrial pursuits, and the means of subsisting and preserving health among them. These and many

23. Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume*, 325.

24. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy in the Near East*, 21.

other like things must be observed and described, not fully, but so far as they afford facilities or oppose obstacles to the great work, or modify the manner of its prosecution.”²⁵

To the list of important publications of the American Board must be added the works on explorations undertaken by the missionaries. Rufus Anderson and Eli Smith traveled to Greece in 1829, just after independence. The Revs. Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight explored eastern Anatolia, Armenia and northern Persia in 1831 and published their “researches” in two volumes, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia*. Many more volumes of a similar nature were written and published by missionaries. Rev. Hiram Bingham’s *Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands: the civil, religious and political history of those Islands*” in 1204 pages became the definitive book about Hawaii. Rev. Justin Perkins’ *Residence of Eight Years in Persia: Among the Nestorians and Mohammadans*, published in the mid-1840s, became a standard work. Rev. W.M. Thompson, after 25 years in Syria and Palestine, published, in two volumes, 1171 pgs – *The Land and the Book; or Biblical Illustrations drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land*. Henry Van Lennep published his famous *Bible Lands: Their Modern Manners and Customs Illustrative of Scriptures*. Robinson’s *Biblical Researches*, the great modern authority on the geography of Palestine, would have been impossible without the preparations made by the mission at Beirut, and especially by the Rev. Eli Smith, who accompanied Dr. Robinson in his explora-

25. Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume*, 371.

tions. Equally valuable books were written by missionaries in Africa, India, Ceylon, Burma, Japan and China.

At the fifty-year mark, the American Board's total number of ordained missionaries in the world program was 415; the total number of global workers was 1258. Of these numbers, 691 were females and 567 were males – 124 more women than men. Most of the women were on missions to the U.S. Indians; this period was just seeing the beginning of single women being sent overseas.²⁶

At its 50th anniversary, the American Board could look back on a fragmented history of education. The highest number of pupils was in 1832, when there were about 60,000 students, with 53,000 in Hawaii and 5500 in Ceylon and South India. The smallest number, in 1837, was only 12,000. By 1846, the number of students was back to nearly 30,000. The whole number in schools from the beginning of American Board operations was estimated at 200,000. By 1860, after a decision to move education down in the missionaries' priorities (see next paragraph), globally, the ABCFM still supported more students in more schools (more than 10,000 students) than the next three largest missions – Presbyterian, Baptist and Episcopal – combined, in 1860, which supported only 8,000 students.²⁷

The explosive growth of missions brought to the fore a series of issues with which the missionaries, the Prudential Committee and the American Board had to grapple: what was the role of education in the Christianizing of the “heathens”; what

26. Ibid., 273.

27. Ibid., 326, 327.

was the goal in creating native churches; what was the place of the native pastors and their churches vis-à-vis the missionaries; how important (or not) was civilizing vs. converting; when was a missionary's work finished?

Finances of the Board

At the end of the first year of its existence (1810/11), the ABCFM had collected \$999.52. As the years passed, the ABCFM, the strongest of the missionary groups and which included the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians and the Dutch Reformed Churches as its sponsors until they split in 1857, continued to receive the greatest income of any of the missionary groups.

Income over the decades, although expanding and contracting in reflection of the American economy, generally expanded rapidly, growing about 50% in the 1820s, then tripling in the 1830s and stabilizing in the 1840s at about \$250,000 per year. By the end of that decade, income had grown to nearly \$300,000. Field comments that "in rate of growth, this expanding budget surpassed that of the expanding Navy, and indeed that of the federal government as a whole."²⁸ The American Board

28. Information on finances comes from: Merle Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad: A History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963), 144 and others; James A. Field, Jr., *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882*, 176.; William Ellsworth Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969), 314-316. Reprint of *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred*; American Board *Annual Reports* for selected years.

rapidly became the wealthiest of the missionary boards in America.²⁹ Receipts in 1860 were \$429,799.³⁰

Then began a series of major bequests to the American Board: in 1867 came a gift of \$100,000 from Anson G. Phelps, the largest legacy the Board had received to that date. It was followed in 1879 by a \$1,000,000 gift from Asa Otis of Connecticut, a devoted reader of the *Missionary Herald* for many decades. Beginning in these decades, too, were major gifts to educational institutions begun by American Board missionaries, such as Robert College in Constantinople, and the Syrian Protestant College (later the American University of Beirut). In later decades of the nineteenth century gifts were given for other schools in Turkey, Ceylon, Rangoon, Lahore, Shanghai, Canton, Kyoto, and in many other places.³¹

Women's Boards, started in the 1830s, which helped support women missionaries and girls' schools, contributed financially to the American Board's missionary efforts ("nickels and dimes earned through needlework and over washboards"); as they became stronger and wealthier they supported independent programs such as the development of schools for girls, for example, the Constantinople College for Women, which opened in 1871. Among its supporters were Pauline A. Durant, co-

29. Compare the income of the American Board in 1849 of \$292,000 with that of the same year for the American Missionary Association of \$22,000; The General Missionary Convention of the Baptist Denomination of \$88,900; the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church of \$84,405; the Board of Missions of the Episcopal Church of \$34,800. Curti, p.143.

30. ABCFM. *Annual Report 1861*.

31. *Ibid.*, 149.

founder of Wellesley College and Grace Dodge,³² who became the President of the Board of Trustees.

By its 75th anniversary, the American Board reported its highest amount of donations in a single year, \$628,396, and in subsequent years the donations continued to increase.

Gifts were sometimes the objects of contention: during the Civil War some who supported abolition did not want the American Board to accept gifts from slaveholding Southerners; when John D. Rockefeller gave handsomely to missionary groups, the American Board was urged powerfully by some supporters not to accept “tainted” money.³³

Student groups, by the end of the century, were joining in the financing of missionary efforts, and in some areas were spearheading new appeals for missions and missionaries. The Young People’s Society of the Christian Endeavor (1881) the powerful Student Volunteer Movement (1888) (“the evangelization of the world in our generation!”), the Young People’s Missionary Movement (1902), the Layman’s Missionary Movement (1906) rose around the turn of the century, as well as the Young Men’s Christian Association and its sister organization, the Young Women’s

32. Grace Dodge was also the benefactress of a beautiful “square” grand piano which she gave to Robert College. I found it in 1988 locked and neglected in a corner of Marble Hall, had it unlocked, reconditioned, and ready for use in a concert given in Marble Hall by William Balcolm, professor of music at the University of Michigan. He had just won the Pulitzer Prize for Music.

33. Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad*, 172.

Christian Association. This was a period of high student interest -- and participation – in missionary work.

Financial support and interest in missionary work grew rapidly towards the end of the century: between 1880 and 1890, the American Board took in 51 male missionaries, 223 female missionaries, donations reached nearly \$4 million, and legacies brought in another \$1.25 million.³⁴

By August, 1890, total expenditures by the American Board and all American constituents on all its missions were \$4,023,005. America's population had grown from the mid-century point of 23 million to 63 million by 1890, and national wealth had increased from \$7 billion to \$65 billion during those same 40 years.³⁵

Special mention must be made of the generosity of some individuals for the founding of educational institutions. In Turkey, the gifts of Christopher Robert made possible the establishment of the school which bears his name, Robert College, in Istanbul. His total gifts to the school, including the designated gift in his will, totaled at least \$600,000. In Beirut, a number of significant gifts allowed the founding of the Syrian Protestant College, which later became the American University of Beirut, including a special endowment for the medical school by Morris Ketchum Jesup, the railroad supply magnate and the Dodge family, New York merchants. Cyrus Hamlin

34. ABCFM, *Annual Reports, 1880-1890*.

35. Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad*, 170.

and Daniel Bliss, founders of the two schools, were indefatigable fund-raisers when in the U.S. and Britain.

The nineteenth century in America was a time of benevolence, disinterested or not. Building on the traditions found in Europe, and especially in Britain, of assisting the victims of disasters, or support for institutions such as schools, the Americans, during this century of building associations and volunteer movements, were extraordinarily generous. While they generally provided assistance for those at home, they did provide help for those in other parts of the world, responding primarily to the evangelical missionary movement which, by the end of the century, had become world-wide. Curti contends that this outpouring of humanitarian assistance showed that “Americans shared the same religious and humanitarian values that inspired the much greater flow from Europe. It also gave support to Tocqueville’s thesis that democracy, by weakening the barriers of class and privilege, fostered a feeling of compassion for all members of the human race.”³⁶

One hundred years after its establishment, the American Board could boast of 600 missionaries in the field, having added West Central Africa, Rhodesia, South China, Shansi, Japan, the Philippines, Mexico, Spain and Austria to its outreach. Of this number 176 were ordained men, 198 were single (not ordained) women and 188 were wives. Together they manned 102 stations and 1329 outstations, had 160,343 church adherents in nearly 1800 churches and meeting places. There were 4718 na-

36. Curti, *American Philanthropy Abroad*, 5.

tive laborers. The missionaries oversaw 14 theological seminaries, 15 colleges, nearly 1700 schools, and a total of 70,451 pupils. On the medical side, the American Board had established 31 hospitals and 51 clinics.³⁷

At that time, the four missions in Turkey (European, Western, Central and Eastern missions), with their 46 missionaries, accounted for over 300 of the outstations, 50,207 attending services in 142 churches and 334 meeting places, 46,134 students attending Sunday Schools. There were 1100 native laborers, 5 seminaries, 7 colleges, nearly 25,000 pupils under instruction, 10 hospitals and 10 clinics.³⁸

The American Board in the Ottoman Empire

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had, from its inception in 1810, been dawn to the lands of the Ottoman Empire, as these encompassed all the lands of the Bible, the Holy Lands, the birthplace of Christianity, the lands walked by Jesus and his disciples, the lands of the original Seven Churches of Christianity, the lands of the earliest martyrs and saints. The first American Board missionaries to the region, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, who arrived in Smyrna in January, 1820, crossed the region of the Seven Churches and Parsons explored more of the Levant on his way to Jerusalem. Missionaries Fisk and King, in 1823, traveled up the Nile as far as Thebes in Upper Egypt. Other Board missionaries, over the next seven years, traveled throughout the Levant, into Syria and Palestine and their cities; the Peloponnesian, Ionian and Aegean islands; into the interior of Anato-

37. William E. Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, Appendix I, 496,497.

38. Ibid., Appendix I, 496,497.

lia to Cappadocia; along the northern coast of Africa to Tripoli and Tunis (the Barbary Wars having finished).

The first missionary printing press for the Empire was installed in Malta in 1822, and began printing in Greek, Italian and Armeno-Turkish. Rev. Goodell was sent to open the missionary station in Beirut in 1823, so that the Board then had operations in three sites: Malta, Palestine and Syria. In 1826, missionary operations were ended in Jerusalem, but a station was opened in Smyrna, which had been recommended by Parsons and Fisk as by far the best situation in the Levant for a permanent missionary establishment. The Board decided, in 1827, to merge the three operations into one administrative unit: the *Mission to Western Asia*.

Although the American Board now had good information on the Greek, Coptic and Maronite Churches from the decade of missionary travel and reporting, they realized that there were a number of churches farther east about which they knew little: the “forgotten Christians”, the Nestorians, the Georgians, the Chaldeans, and the largest of the groups, the Armenians. When the first American Board mission to Palestine in 1819 of Fisk and Parsons was sent out, there was no discussion of an Armenian mission. In 1821, when Parsons was in Jerusalem, he met Armenian pilgrims and fell into conversation with them. Becoming quite interested in their situation, he suggested the possibility of an American mission sent to the Armenians. Fisk, who was in Smyrna but communicating with Parsons, wrote to the Board in Boston, conveying Parsons’ suggestion of an American mission to the Armenians. “It is a singular coincidence, that before anything had been heard on the subject from

either of these missionaries, some intelligent friends of the Board in Boston urged the same measure upon the Prudential Committee...From this time onward, neither the missionaries in the Levant, nor the Board at home, ever lost sight of the plan of having a mission among the Armenians.”³⁹ Indeed, one of the first things Goodell was assigned by the Board, before he left for the Levant, was to research and find information about the Armenians.

It did not take long for the Prudential Committee to act once it had gathered sufficient information: in 1829 the Committee, rejecting any thoughts of trying to proselytize the Muslims, resolved to establish a mission among the “forgotten Christians” of the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁰ A year later, the Revs. Eli Smith and H.G.O. Dwight were sent on a year-long tour of Armenian and Nestorian regions in eastern Turkey, the Caucasus and Persia, where most of these churches were to be found. The famous journey of Smith and Dwight, dressed in local travel garb, began in April, 1830. Dr. Jonas King, Williams College’s first missionary, began his mission to Greece that same year, a work he continued for the next forty years, generally working alone, in and out of prison.

39. Ibid., 23.

40. In addition, the Board decided to send missionaries across the Ottoman borders into Persia, to attend to the Nestorians. The Rev. Justin Perkins, an Amherst College and Andover Seminary graduate, was sent to Oomria in 1833.

Smith's and Dwight's 1831 initial reports to the Board⁴¹ were that the Armenian Church was in "a perishing state", but that they were a sincere although misguided people in their faith, and a reformation of the church was "practicable." They advised that "by laboring among Christians we gain an easy entrance into the heart of our enemy's territory,"⁴² allowing them to demonstrate true Christianity to the Moslems without actively proselytizing them.

Following these early reports, in 1831, Goodell was moved from Beirut to Constantinople and opened the mission station in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. He was joined the following year by H.G.O. Dwight. Daniel Temple (Goodell's former roommate at Andover and Dartmouth) brought the press from Malta to Smyrna in 1833 and Malta operations were closed. "There was no desire to form among the Armenians an evangelical or Protestant Church. There was no purpose to form any organizations among them, but simply to introduce the New Testament in the spoken tongue of the people and to assist them in working...."⁴³

Also in 1833, Justin Perkins arrived on his way to open the first mission in Persia. It is useful and insightful to learn of the instructions to Rev. Justin Perkins as he headed out to the first mission to the Nestorian in Oomriah, Persia:

41. Eli Smith and H.G. O. Dwight, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia, including a Journey through Asia Minor, & Into Georgia & Persia*, Vol. II. (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833).

42. Ibid., 335.

43. Barton, *Daybreak*, 36.

You will remember the antiquity of this branch of the church of Antioch, and how extensively its doctrines were once diffused, and with what zeal and success it once supported Christian missions, among the tribes and nations of Central and Eastern Asia... Your first duty among the Nestorians, will be to cultivate an intimate acquaintance with their religious opinions and sentiments. You are aware that, excepting the information collected by Messrs. Smith and Dwight, during the few days they were among the Nestorians, almost all we know, concerning that sect, in modern times, is derived from Papal writers... but the committee wish the information which you communicate, concerning the present state of the Nestorian church, to be the result of your own careful, personal investigations...

But your main object will be, *to enable the Nestorian church, through the grace of God, to exert a commanding influence in the spiritual regeneration of Asia.*" [Italics mine.] The idea of supplying the world fully with preachers of the gospel from lands now called Christian, is chimerical. It never will be done... [the world's] main stated supply of religious instructors must be indigenous, and not exotic – trained in the midst of the people whom they are to instruct, and belonging to the people. This is a fundamental principle in the operations of the Board under whose direction you are to labor... With the blessing of heaven, the church of Antioch will be reedified chiefly by means of her own sons... At the same time, the Scriptures, which happily exist entire in the Syriac language, should be freely circulated, and schools established for the education of the children."⁴⁴

By 1839, the American Board had five active missions in the Middle East: in Athens for Greece, in Constantinople for Anatolia, in Beirut for Syria and the Holy Land, in Oomria for Persia, and in Cyprus. The Cyprus mission lasted only until 1841, and then was closed. In one decade, American Protestant evangelism and American values had spread from Greece eastwards to Persia, from Constantinople in the north, southward to Syria and Palestine – a swath of over a thousand miles.

44. Rev. Justin Perkins, *Residence of Eight Years in Persia Among the Nestorian Christians* (Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1843), 28-32.

Some of the oldest civilizations in the world were being introduced to the principles and determination of the world's newest country.

Once underway, the number of missions grew quite rapidly. In 1843, the Rev. Stauffer's mission to the Jews was added and in Mosul, a Turkish branch of the mission to the Nestorians was begun. The mission to the Jews was never very successful, although at one time it did have stations in Salonica and Smyrna; in 1855, under an agreement, this work was given over to the Scottish and the British missionary societies. The mission to the Turkish Nestorians was later renamed the mission to the Assyrians with additional stations opened in Diyarbakir, Bitlis and Mardin. These later formed the nucleus of the Eastern Turkey mission.

In the early 1840s, and again in 1845 and 1846, the Armenian Patriarch anathematized Armenians who associated themselves with the missionaries. Some missionaries complained that they were "publicly and repeatedly denounced as heretics and infidels who are aiming to undermine the Christian faith."⁴⁵ As increasing numbers of Armenians were turning to Protestantism and thus were considered outside the established Armenian communities,⁴⁶ the missionaries helped them establish congregations. On July 1, 1846, the Evangelical Armenian Church of Constantinople was founded. The first Church was in Pera, then a suburb of Constantinople. Churches on this same ecclesiastical basis were soon formed in Nicomedia, Ada Ba-

45. Dwight, *Christianity Revived in the East*, 10,11.

46. This left them legally unprotected, as they no longer belonged to any *millet*.

zar, and Trebizond.⁴⁷ In 1847, the groups obtained an Ottoman charter. Three years later, in 1850, thanks largely to the intervention of the British Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and quietly in the background, Rev. Goodell, the Sultan issued a *firman* granting *millet* status to the Protestant Armenians. The American Board's foreign secretary, Rufus Anderson, ever the realist, said, "We owe all this, under God, to the providential fact that England had gained an empire in India, and must needs preserve an unencumbered way to it."⁴⁸ William Goodell, ever the man of the cloth, phrased it differently: "We love to consider your Lordship's influence as one of the important providential means by which God has been pleased to carry on His work."⁴⁹

By mid-century, the American Board decided to rename the mission to Turkey as the "Mission to the Armenians" as that was a more accurate reflection of the work that was being accomplished by the missionaries in the field. Growth was rapid: soon there were 30 Protestant congregations in Turkey. The organizational structure became unwieldy, so to streamline the administration, in 1856 the Board divided the region into the *Northern Armenian Mission* (with stations in Constanti-

47. By 1861 there were twenty-seven Protestant churches among the Armenians, with 1106 members, seven native pastors and thirty licensed native preachers. Anderson, *Memorial Volume*, 287.

48. Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches* (Boston: ABCFM. 1872), 6, quoted in David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) 131.

49. Edward D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire, or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876), 352, 353.

nople, Baghechejik, Smyrna, Tokat, Sivas, Casarea, Trebizond, Erzeroum, Arabkir and Harpout, and the *Southern Armenian Mission*, with stations at Aintab, Aleppo, Antioch, Marash and Ourfa. The next expansion was into Bulgaria, with the first mission station opened in 1858 in Adrianople, and two more stations opened quickly following that. Our frontispiece photo, taken in 1859, shows some of the men in the *Northern Armenian Mission*.

In 1856 came the stunning American Board decision not to fund educational institutions, to revert to preaching as the main activity of all the missions. This led to the removal of Bebek Seminary to Marsovan in the interior, and to Cyrus Hamlin's resignation, in 1860, when Christopher Robert approached him, suggesting that he begin a new school, a "Christian College" for young men. The institution became Robert College (1863), still among the premier secondary schools in Turkey. Daniel Bliss, another Board missionary, also had to resign from the American Board when he began the Syrian Protestant College (1866), the institution that became the American University of Beirut. A third school, the Constantinople Woman's College (1871), embodied the best features of America's first two women's colleges, Mount Holyoke College and Vassar College. These three schools, two in Constantinople and one in Beirut, established and supported with private philanthropic funding, became the models for American schools in the Empire, and all three institutions sprang up in the wake of the American Board's decision not to support schools.

During these years, the missionary presses in Ottoman lands kept up a steady stream of publications. Of new translations into languages already having alphabets and versions of the Scriptures, perhaps the most important was Arabic. As the Arabic is the language of the Koran, and therefore the sacred language of the whole Mohammedan world, it seemed a duty to furnish the missions where Arabic was used with the Scriptures in a form that would command their respect, for both its literary and its mechanical execution. In Beirut, a new type face was developed, acceptable to the critical taste of literary Arabs. The new type was not only used by the mission in Beirut, but was immediately adopted by the most respectable publishers in Europe.

For the Armenians, acceptable printing could be done at an Armeno-Catholic convent near Venice; but the convent kept the type for the exclusive use of its clergy. The missionaries in Constantinople developed a type equally good, from the foundry of the American Board at Smyrna, broke up that monopoly, and established publications that could be read by ordinary Armenians who were educated, especially those in the missionary schools and seminaries. These publications received wide distribution and eventually contributed to the rise of an educated class among the Armenians.⁵⁰

The early missionaries to Turkey were an extraordinary group of men, of whom the eleven on the frontispiece are representative. The next chapter will illu-

50. Anderson, *Memorial Volume*, 377.

strate in more detail the lives of these eleven men, named by the author informally as
“The Glorious Eleven.”

CHAPTER 3

“THE GLORIOUS ELEVEN”

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

--Earl of Shaftesbury, Addressing the Turkish Mission Aid Society,

London, 1860¹

I had, of course—for what official has not—a great deal of trouble with our Protestant missionaries....Now I do not mean to intimate that many missionaries were not good, and earnest men and their womankind, although generally painfully plain, most excellent; but one and all are utterly lacking in judgment or in ordinary sympathy for other people’s religious views. In my time I must have had to do with thousands of missionaries, male and female, and with the exception of a half-dozen, well, say a dozen, who were principally occupied in translating the Scriptures and writing dictionaries, they are, next to habitual criminals, the most troublesome people to deal with in the world...although I never made a bet in my life...I will back a Protestant missionary to do more harm in a limited space of time than any other human being. They have absolutely neither tact nor judg-

1. Quoted in E.D.G.Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire, or Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876). Henry Jessup, in his book, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co, 1910) attributes this to a speech in 1869. 47,48.

ment. The “end” in view sanctions every “means” good, bad, or indifferent. I look on them as irresponsible beings. To justify these statements, I know I ought to write a book devoted to my experiences of ‘Missionary Mischief,’ but I cannot really afford the time....

--Sir Edmund Hornby, Chief Justice for the British in Constantinople.²

Introduction

This chapter is the first of two that examines the missionaries—who they were, and what forces in their lives shaped their views of themselves, of the world at large, and of the foreign societies in which they found themselves. The next chapter will discuss the characteristics and values their religion, their education, and their politics—in short, their “Americanness”—had instilled in them that influenced their responses to the Ottoman Empire, its religions and their practices, to the Sultan and his government, to Turkish and Levantine cultures and customs.

This chapter presents the biographies of the eleven missionaries in the photograph, the “Northern Armenian Mission in Constantinople, 1859,” in an effort to find common themes in their lives and illustrate what their lives as missionaries were like.

The most important sources of information about individual missionaries and their lives come from the autobiographies they wrote or biographies that were written by colleagues, children, grandchildren, or admirers. The genre of missionary biographies became a staple of American literature beginning with the 1749 publication in Boston of *Life of Brainerd*, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. We shall see

2. Sir Edmund Hornby, *An Autobiography* (London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1929), 124.

how this book still carried its influence and power decades later. *Life of Brainerd* became the prototype of a new and ultimately very popular literary genre—the missionary’s life.

Missionary autobiographies began to appear with increasing frequency in the later nineteenth century, as missionaries who had lived abroad for many years returned to the U.S. and published their autobiographies, or their children published their fathers’ memoirs. Often entitled such things as *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, *Life Among the Turks*, *Travels in Asia Minor*, or *Eight Years in Residence Among the Nestorian Christians*, these volumes were part travelogue, part traditional biography, and part religious harangues about the “infidels.” Not many writings were particularly sympathetic or kind to their hosts, the Turks, as shall be shown in a later chapter, as the missionaries grappled with societies that were not based on the rule of law, did not share the values of freedom, individualism, or progress so ingrained in the missionaries themselves. As well-educated men, however, they were good observers and turned out uniformly very readable, clear, and in some cases, riveting prose.

Commonalities Among Missionary Lives³

Although each missionary had a unique story to tell, nonetheless a number of striking similarities appeared. All but two were raised in New England. They were all Protestants and were or became members of the Congregational Church and all

3. Much biographical information on all eleven missionaries comes from ABCFM 77.2 *Biographical Memoranda* and from the Richardson Autograph Album, ABCFM 76, *Richardson Papers*, with entries written by each man in his own hand, and ABCFM 77.6.3.

had had revival experiences that greatly increased their religious convictions. Early childhood poverty, determination for an education, and assistance from others in obtaining it were common themes. For many of the missionaries, early childhood was not easy; many lived in poverty, on farms, and worked to keep their families from penury and eviction. All of these men were determined to get an education somehow, and nearly all were helped with school expenses by various individuals or societies. Without exception, all of them worked as menial laborers or apprentices, or later on as teachers, to earn their way. All of the early missionaries attended college—many of them graduated from Amherst or another of the New England Congregational colleges—and then moved on to Andover Theological Seminary for another three years of education. An exception to this story was the most unusual childhood of William Schauffler (see below). As a group, they were among the best-educated young men in America.

All had exhibited skill with languages. All the young missionaries were able to read, write, and speak in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin. As soon as they reached their assigned mission stations, they embarked on intensive study of the “native” languages. Many of the missionaries became outstanding linguists and translators.

Every missionary encountered the horrors of disease and death in the Middle East: there were constant epidemics of the plague, smallpox, cholera, typhoid, and black measles. Nearly everyone was stricken at some point during the years abroad. A number of missionaries were forced to return to America because of incapacity; many died with health broken. It was a risk that every missionary took.

Over the years, husbands lost wives (van Lennep, Dwight, and Hamlin each had three wives because of deaths), couples lost children, wives were left widows and homeless, children became orphans. Death was a constant companion waiting in the next room.

In addition, many missionaries had to undergo long separations from children (sent home to school), from their own siblings and parents, from friends, and occasionally, from their spouses. Their overseas missionary work was considered a life-time commitment.

The lives of members of this group of eleven are typical and illustrative of lives of missionaries everywhere, although each one in this group was in Anatolia. As a group, however, they represent many of the problems, policies, strengths, and weaknesses of the missionary movement and the work of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Boston.

The First Two Missionaries to the Middle East: Jerusalem the Goal

After the first group of missionaries set sail from Salem in 1812, bound for India, Ceylon, and Burma, the American Board's attention next turned to the Middle East, the revered Holy Land of the Bible. In November, 1819, the Rev. Levi Parsons (1792-1822) and the Rev. Pliny Fisk (1792-1825), both from Massachusetts, both Middlebury and Andover Theological Seminary graduates, were instructed by the American Board to make their way to Jerusalem "as part of an extended and continually extending system of benevolent action for the recovery of the world to God,

to virtue, and to happiness.”⁴ They were to determine “what good could be done” and “by what means” for all the various religions in the Middle East—the Jews, the Muslims, the “forgotten” Christians—for peoples in various regions of the Ottoman Empire—the Palestinians, the Syrians, the Armenians, the Egyptians, the Persians, and others.

The mission of these two young men, sent by the American Board to the Middle East “as missionaries to Western Asia, with reference to a permanent station in Jerusalem” was short-lived. The Greek uprising at that time curtailed some of their activities. Parsons was the first to be struck down. A little more than two years after he set out, in February, 1822, Parsons died in Alexandria, tended by Fisk. Parsons kept copious journals; both biographers of Parsons, Rev. Daniel Morton and Rev. Henry Jessup, made full use of them.⁵

Fisk returned to Malta, under the British flag and safe from the violence breaking out across the Ottoman Empire, where he stayed with Rev. Daniel Temple. He was joined by Jonas King, the first missionary from Williams College, who had also attended Andover Theological Seminary, and was currently studying in Paris

4. Quoted in James A. Field, Jr., *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 93.

5. Morton, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, late Missionary to Palestine* (Poultney, Vermont: Smith & Shure, 1824). Morton quoted copiously from Levi Parson’s journals in his book; Jessup says in his book, *Fifty Three Years in Syria*, “I have before me Mr. Parson’s journal in his own hand...” 33.

and was professor-elect of Oriental Languages at Amherst College,⁶ and by Joseph Wolff.⁷ The three traveled to Jerusalem via Egypt. Pliny Fisk did not survive much longer; he died in Beirut in October, 1825, at the home of William Goodell (see below). But the great mission to the Holy Land had begun.

“The Glorious Eleven”

These gentlemen arrived in Constantinople during a period that stretched from 1831 to 1854. In 1859 they assembled at the mission’s annual meeting and posed for a picture (see frontispiece). They brought differing talents and weaknesses to the mission, and in some way each represented a facet of the work they did collectively.

Rev. William Goodell, D.D.—the Elder Statesman⁸

The first of the “Glorious Eleven” to be sent to the Middle East was William Goodell, whom we met in the previous chapter. A sickly, younger son of a Revolutionary War veteran, William was born on Valentine’s Day, 1792, in Templeton, Massachusetts. His mother died at the end of 1809, leaving behind eight children.

6. Jonas King immediately volunteered for a three-year stint with the American Board. He later became a celebrated missionary in Greece, to which he devoted the remainder of his life. The U.S. President at one point intervened with the Greek government to save him.

7. They were joined on this trip by Joseph Wolff—see biography of William Schauffler.

8. Information about William Goodell comes from a book by his son-in-law: Edward D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in Constantinople* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876); ABCFM, *Memorial Volume; Goodell Papers*, Library of Congress; Henry Jessup, *Fifty-three Years in Syria*, 46-51; ABCFM, Houghton Library, 77.1, Box 28.

It was a pious family, with the children walking three miles every Sunday to church regardless of the weather—they never missed a Sunday. William told in later years of early missionary influences on his life: people speaking of ‘prophecies’ and the ‘millennium’ and of “those devoted missionaries who had recently taken their lives in their hand, and gone to the desolate regions of Ohio to preach to those benighted people.”⁹ Believing his son to be too feeble for manual labor, William’s father thought William might be able to teach small children their ABCs, and encouraged him to think of teaching. We know about William’s quest for education and his efforts to enter Phillips Andover Academy, “without money, without credit and without any plan; and with no thoughts but the most confused.”¹⁰ As he walked to Philips Andover with his small trunk containing all his worldly goods strapped to his back, the lower edge of the trunk, he said later, pressed against the small of his back, a delicate spot for a feeble boy, and by the end of his journey had caused permanent damage to his frame which was to plague him for the rest of his life.¹¹

As an indigent student William earned his room and board working with a shoemaker in the town, and became an outstanding student. During his last years at the academy he did what so many of the impoverished young scholars did—he became a schoolmaster at an outlying school, teaching some months, and studying other months. This might well have been the genesis of his interest in Lancastrian

9. Prime, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 18.

10. Ibid., 24.

11. This famous trunk, which William kept with him for years, was lost in the fire in Constantinople in 1831, much to his sorrow.

schools, which used an English method in which the older students taught the younger ones.¹² In his last year at Andover, his great-uncle donated a yoke of oxen to cover William's tuition after checking to ascertain that the boy showed promise.

In this way, William earned his way through the academy and was given a scholarship to Dartmouth. His great academy chum, Daniel Temple, who was likewise a charity scholar, also went to Dartmouth and the two became missionaries to the Ottoman Empire upon completing Andover Theological Seminary. William was known for his quick wit and consistent cheerfulness. Two stories recounted by Henry Jessup¹³ give precious insights:

Before Goodell and Temple went abroad as missionaries, they were visiting together at the home of a hospitable lady in Salem, Mass., who said, after welcoming them, "Mr. Temple, take the rocking chair." "No, madam, if you please," said Mr. Temple, "I will take another. Missionaries must learn to do without the luxuries of life." "Well," said the lady, turning to Mr. Goodell, "you will take it." "Oh, certainly," he replied, "missionaries must learn to sit anywhere!"

"Dr. Hamlin says of Mr. Goodell that he had substantially Puritan theology, Puritan saintliness and Puritan patriotism, and this saintliness was adorned with the most sparkling cheerfulness. His wit and mirthfulness made perpetual sunshine. When his colleague, Brother Temple, reproved him, saying, 'Brother Goodell, do

12. It was his establishment of Lancastrian schools in Turkey that first brought William to the attention of the Sultan and his Grand Vizier in Constantinople.

13 . Henry Jessup, *Fifty-three Years in Syria*, 47.

you expect to enter heaven laughing?’ ‘I don’t expect to go there crying,’ was his quick reply.”

Two things made lasting impressions on William during his school days. While at Andover Academy he was allowed to attend, in Salem, the ordination service in 1812 of the first missionaries to go out on service under the auspices of the American Board.¹⁴ William recounts his walking forty miles to and from Salem in one day, in the bitter February cold, to attend that service, during which he said he was so “thoroughly inoculated with the missionary spirit that a re-inoculation has never been found necessary.”¹⁵ In 1815, a “mighty” revival swept Dartmouth’s campus. William expressed it thusly: “I have seen many precious revivals but I have never since witnessed a work so mighty as was that at Dartmouth College in 1815, embracing some of the finest scholars in every class in college, together with most of the distinguished families that lived in its vicinity, and extending its saving influence even to subsequent classes in following years.”¹⁶

Following his years at Dartmouth from which he graduated in 1817, and Andover Theological Seminary, from which he graduated in 1820, William became an agent of the American Board, visiting a variety of churches. Even before his graduation, William had written an extensive piece for the first edition of *The Missionary*,

14. These were Messrs. Judson, and Newell, along with their wives, who were on their way to India. Harriet Newell, aged 19, died on the way to India. Ann Judson survived her husband in Burma, later marrying Newell.

15. Prime, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 45.

16. *Ibid.*, 40.

dated May 21, 1819, entitled, “The History and Present State of Armenia as a Missionary Field,” examining the region and the religious condition of the people.¹⁷ He was ordained in September, 1822,¹⁸ and charged to begin a mission in Jerusalem, Palestine (which Parsons and Fisk had failed to do); on November 9, he was married to Abigail Davis, whom he had courted for four years,¹⁹ and who was to be his lifelong partner; together they set sail for the Middle East on December 9, 1822 along with the Rev. Isaac Bird and his bride.

They arrived in Malta on January 21, 1823, and were welcomed by Rev. Daniel Temple. A month later, William wrote, “Malta is altogether unlike any thing we ever before saw or thought of. There is nothing here that reminds one of America. Every thing looks more like romance than reality. The city is full of people,--Jews, Greeks, Italians, English, Maltese, etc. The Maltese are most numerous, and are invariably Roman Catholics. The Catholic priests pretend to forgive all sin except the unpardonable sin of reading the Scripture. Whoever is guilty of perusing the Sacred Volume must never expect forgiveness, unless he gives the priest a great deal of

17. His biography does not say from where he obtained his information – this was years before the 1831 year-long trip and subsequent report of H.G.O. Dwight and Eli Smith about the region. One would guess that all of Goodell’s information in his article would have been second- or third-hand.

18. He was ordained by Rev. Joel Hawes of Hartford, Conn., whose daughter would later become the second wife of Rev. Henry Van Lennep (see below).

19. Goodell said of Abigail, “Though our acquaintance ...increased for more than four years, yet I was unable to hear from her lips that short monosyllable, that long-desired word, *Yes*, till Nov. 19, 1822, when, in the presence of her good minister and of numerous other friends it rang out with such clearness as quite startled me, for I had nearly begun to fear that there might be some defect in her organs of speech in reference to this little word.” Prime, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 53.

money or performs some extraordinary penance.”²⁰ Of his future work in Jerusalem, William wrote in his diary, “The land to which we go is still the land of promise, and is yet to become the joy of the whole earth. The curse will be removed; the tears will be wiped away from the eyes of the daughter of Zion. Jerusalem shall be built; and the sweet influences of heaven, like the rain and the dew, shall descend copiously upon the mountains of Israel. The Lord hasten it in His time!”²¹

After a nine-month stay in Malta, the couple was sent on to Beirut, arriving Nov. 16, 1823. Due to very turbulent circumstances in Palestine, it was decided that William and Abigail should remain in Beirut, where William studied Italian, Turkish, and Armenian and Isaac concentrated on Arabic. They daily read scriptures in Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, Ancient Armenian, Modern Armenian, Turkish Armenian (or Armeno-Turkish), Arabic, Italian, and English, and frequently heard them read in Syriac, Hebrew, and French. At meals conversations at the table were carried on in Armenian, Greek, Arabic, Turkish, Italian, and English. The English Consul was the only English family in Beirut at that time. Beirut became the missionary headquarters. Jonas King was studying Arabic at a monastery in Mount Lebanon, and Pliny Fisk (who had traveled to Jerusalem with Rev. Bird in January, 1824, had been arrested and incarcerated there, returning six months later), was also there, and there, on Oct. 23, 1825, he died of fever at the Goodells’ house.

20. Ibid., 74.

21. Ibid., 75.

The placid environment in Beirut and the distribution of Bibles was soon shattered by two events: the Maronite Patriarch's banning and burning all Bibles distributed by the American missionaries, and the turbulence of the Greek War for Independence. In mid-March, 1826, a fleet of Greek vessels attacked Beirut with indiscriminate shelling, hitting, among other places, the Austrian, French, and English Consul's residences. The Goodells' house became a refuge to scores of Christians. Turkish troops of Albanians and Bedouins counterattacked three days later, and finding that the Greeks had left during the night, plundered all the houses in the area. When a group of the Bedouins tried to break down the front door to gain access to the Goodell's, William tried to reason with them from a second-story window, giving rise to a now-famous drawing by an unknown Greek artist of the event. When they broke down the door and tried to attack the very pregnant Mrs. Goodell, who was on the second floor, Turks from the city provided protection and guarded the Goodells. When the Turks left, the Goodells were taken in by the English Consul and his family. It was a harrowing experience. Three months later, William recorded in his diary, "May 15. It is impossible to describe the system of falsehood, injustice, oppressions, and robbery which has been in operation here for the last two months. Human beings, whose guilt is no greater than that of their proud oppressors, are condemned without a trial, their flesh trembling for fear, their religion blasphemed, their Saviour insulted, their comforts despoiled, their lives threatened, and their bodies filled with pain, and deeply marked with the blows inflicted by Turkish barbarity."²²

22. Ibid., 91.

He applied to the Turkish Pasha for indemnity, using the Greek's painting as proof that Bedouin troops in Turkish uniforms had broken into his house, and received about \$230 to cover the loss of all of his possessions.²³ William records in his diary that a deep plot had been concocted by the Maronite, Greek, and Armenian Patriarchs to drive the missionaries from Beirut by refusing them housing, but the attacks on the people in Syria, plus the rampages of the Janissaries in Constantinople, setting fires throughout the capital, but especially in the Armenian quarter, drew attention away from the missionaries.²⁴

Although by year's end there were 13 missionary schools teaching about 700 boys and—surprisingly—100 girls (the first in the Empire), this did not last long. William records in January, 1827, that “today an order was read in the church in Beyrout, which had been previously read on the mountain, that no one should speak to us, enter our houses, see us in any capacity, buy or sell, receive any of our books, receive our charity, etc....the same...was proclaimed in the Latin church and also in the Greek church. ‘No person shall buy or sell, except those who have the mark of the beast in the foreheads!’....The Greek priests...are threatening from house to house; but [our] work goes on. If we had a church and the people were left at liberty, we should have the largest congregation in the city.”²⁵ The persecutions worsened: William recorded that, “For months the missionaries did not dare to be seen upon

23. Prime notes that this painting now hangs in his study as a valued reminder of the incident.

24. The Janissaries were massacred and abolished by Sultan Mahmud II in mid-June, just three months after these events.

25. *Ibid.*, 95.

their house-tops or in the street, from fear of personal violence; and when they lay down at night they knew not what assault might be made upon them before the morning.”

In another intertwining of international events and the missionaries’ lives, in 1827, while the Greek War for Independence was still progressing, the European powers determined to support the Greeks against the Turks, and those in the Ottoman Empire who lived under English protection, including the American missionaries, were mightily concerned. Native Christians fled into the mountains and William sent his family there for safety as well. He could visit his own house in Beirut only by stealth; he was under surveillance constantly. He wrote to a friend in the U.S. on August 20, 1827: “An executioner in this country, who had become famous for taking off heads gracefully, is said to have boasted one day to his friend that he could take off a man’s head without his feeling. His word being disputed, he challenged his friend to stand forth and submit to an experiment. His friend immediately laid his neck bare and stood forth. The executioner made a flourish with his sword; the latter stood firm and said, ‘You did not touch me.’ The former replied, ‘Nod and see.’ He nodded—and his head dropped to the ground. I assure you, we almost nod now and then to see whether our heads are really on our shoulders or not in these critical, perilous times.”²⁶

It was in this year—1827—that on Nov. 20th, at the Battle of Narvarino, the combined European fleets totally destroyed the Ottoman fleet. Those Europeans left

26. Ibid., 100.

in Beirut fled. In January, 1828, the French Consul, with all the French community, left Beirut on a French man-of-war. It was determined at that time that the Goodells and the Birds should also leave, which they did in early May, sailing for Malta and the protection of the British government there.

In mid-October, 1828, William wrote to a friend that for the first time since leaving America in 1822 he and his family were living alone, not sharing with another missionary family, and relishing the months of quiet without any tension. In May, 1830, the Bird family returned to Beirut and in 1831, the first Armeno-Turkish translation of the New Testament, on which William had labored for one year, was published by the missionary press in Malta.

In April, 1831, William received a letter of instructions from the American Board in Boston, to go to Constantinople and begin a new mission there--a mission to the Armenians. He and his family sailed on May 21, reaching their new home on June 9. William declared the city “enchanted,” with its “hundreds of lofty minarets;” the view of Seraglio Point “most beautiful and sublime.” The entire harbor with its “numberless boats” gave the sense of the appearance of “life, activity, pleasure, and business.”²⁷ He set up housekeeping in the European section called Pera, and was told that his was the first American family ever to live there. He immediately made plans about establishing schools--this time, in the Greek community. But before he could get underway, another tragedy took its toll: a terrible fire swept

27. Ibid., 118.

through Pera, destroying most of the houses in it, including the Goodells'. They lost everything they owned--including the famous little trunk William had carried on his back to school in Andover--except the clothes they were wearing. He was at first bitter, writing, "In such times of calamity it is not in these countries as it is in America, where the sufferers meet everywhere with sympathy and assistance. Many persons here will, indeed, '*take you in*,' but it is generally in the wrong sense. Almost everyone with whom you have to do hopes and endeavors to profit by your losses.... Perhaps not a porter will lift a finger to save [your things] without an extravagant compensation.... And if for a moment you lose sight of him, he will perhaps take the road to his own house...and carry off your treasure."²⁸ Americans did come to his rescue, however, with American businessmen in Smyrna providing \$240, people in his hometown sending a box of articles, and most importantly, Commodore Porter, the American Minister in Constantinople, plucked him out of a temporary housing situation and insisted that the Goodells occupy the second floor in his residence. Thus began a very close association between the missionaries in Constantinople and the American diplomats resident there. The Goodells were especially grateful for Porter's five-month hospitality, as a fourth child, a son, was born to them there, the first American child born in Constantinople, named, appropriately, Constantine Washington. He lived only nine years.

William continued his translations of the Bible into Armeno-Turkish, and later into Turkish. The initial translation was completed in 1841, but he continued to

28. Ibid., 119.

refine his work, which was finally published in 1863. During his thirty-four years in Constantinople, he made one trip back to the U.S. From 1851-53, he traveled over 21,000 miles in America, speaking over 400 times on behalf of the American Board. While there, he also published *The Old and the New*, descriptions of life in Constantinople during his first twenty years there. Both Rutgers and Hamilton colleges conferred Doctor of Divinity degrees upon him.

Considered the elder statesmen of the mission in Constantinople, he worked closely with high officials of the Sublime Porte, with British, American, and European diplomats. During the dark days of the late 1830s and the early 1840s, the days of difficult and continuous persecution of Protestants by the Armenian Patriarchs, William worked actively with Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador, to seek official Ottoman government support to end the persecutions of the Protestant converts, the Evangelical Armenians, by their Gregorian brethren. He was, with Sir Stafford Canning, largely responsible for the official recognition of the Protestants by the Sultan, and for the Sultan's proclamation acknowledging equality of Christians with Muslims. He was highly respected for his cheerful outlook, infectious laughter, great piety, and his ability to bring groups of his colleagues and others to amicable agreement in tense situations.

He remained in Constantinople until ill health forced his retirement in mid-1865. The American Minister, the Hon. E. Joy Morris, said of him, "In my intercourse with men, I have never met with one who, in his actions, speech, and manner

of life, more truly represented the excellencies of the Christian character.”²⁹ He died quietly in his sleep in February, 1867. Abigail died four years later. Shortly before he died, William said, “When we left America the first time, it was to go to Jerusalem. That was our destination, but we have never been there. Now we set our faces towards the New Jerusalem, and I hope we shall not fail to arrive there.”³⁰

The year after the Goodells arrived in Constantinople, they were joined by the second missionary family assigned to Constantinople, the Dwights.

Rev. Harrison Grey Otis Dwight—The Explorer and Author³¹

When H. G. O. Dwight arrived in Malta on February 27, 1830, he brought with him not only his bride, Elizabeth Baker Dwight, whom he had married on January 4, two weeks before sailing from Boston, but also instructions from the Prudential Committee of the American Board dated January 19 of that year. Dwight and a fellow missionary, Eli Smith, who had a solid knowledge of both Arabic and Turkish, were to travel overland through the interior parts of Anatolia and the empire to explore those regions and report to the American Board in Boston on the state of the “forgotten” Christians of the empire: the Chaldeans, the Nestorians, and the largest group, the Armenians. Dwight said a fond farewell to his bride of less than three months, not knowing that she was newly pregnant, and on March 17 set sail with Eli

29. ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*, (pages unnumbered).

30. Quoted in his obituary in *The Congregationalist*, Boston, Friday, March 1, 1867. From ABCFM 76, file labeled *Personal Papers of William Goodell*.

31. Information on Dwight comes from ABCFM, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 77.1, Box 22; ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*.

to Smyrna. From there they made their way to Constantinople,³² and on May 21 began a journey that took them nearly 2,500 miles into Georgia, Azerbaijan, Persia, and the regions of considerable Armenian populations in eastern Anatolia—a journey that lasted eighteen months. Traveling light, they moved by horse or donkey, wearing native dress, and with specially-made saddle bags to hold what few worldly goods they took beside a carpet and blanket each for sleeping. They endured extraordinary hardships, near-death experiences, disease, vermin, fatigue, and hunger.

Their report to the American Board, later published,³³ stated that these religious groups were in a perishing state, that they believed that their “superstitious rites and ceremonies” would cancel out their sins, and that what was needed was a reformation of their wayward Christianity. Dwight and Eli suggested that by laboring among the Christians, they would be able to demonstrate to the “Mohammedans” Christian love in deeds, a vibrant, living faith, not the degenerate faith exhibited by the Armenians and the Nestorians in their ignorance. These arguments informed the basis of the decision of the American Board to begin missions to the Armenians in Anatolia and to the Nestorians in Oomriah. It was that decision that took William Goodell to Constantinople to open a mission to the Armenians.

32. While in Constantinople they were the guests of Mr. Charles Rhind, who was negotiating a treaty with the Sublime Porte on behalf of the U.S. government.

33. Eli Smith and H.G. O. Dwight, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia Including a Journey Through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia with a Visit to the Nestorians and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas*, I & II (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833).

On his return to Malta, Dwight learned that he was the father of a baby boy, and that he was being sent to Constantinople to work with Goodell among the Armenians. They arrived in early June, 1832. The next five years there were good years for the family: three more sons arrived to join their older brother; H.G.O. worked closely with William Goodell and William Stauffer (see below) in preaching, organizing schools, and teaching. But in the summer of 1837, the plague struck again in Constantinople, killing thousands every week. The missionaries moved their families out of town to San Stefano hoping to escape the wretched disease, but the Dwight family was struck twice—first the youngest son, John, died, and two weeks later, after suffering terribly, unable to talk or move except to raise a finger “yes” or “no” to Dwight’s questions of her, Elizabeth died. Dwight, inconsolable and frightened of passing the disease on to his surviving children, stayed at the back of the property for three weeks in a tent lent to him by Commodore Porter. Dwight assuaged his grief by writing tenderly of her passing and expressed to his readers his Christian philosophy about death, which his wife had shared.³⁴

Two years later Dwight returned to the U.S. and married another Massachusetts woman, Mary Lane of Sturbridge, the daughter of a pastor. She immediately sailed for Constantinople with H.G.O., arriving in August, 1839. They had five children, of whom the oldest died at age seven, and the youngest died at nineteen. Both H.G. O. and Mary found time to write books: he published *Christianity Revived*

34. The Rev. Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, *Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth B. Dwight, including an account of the plague of 1837, With a Sketch of the Life of Mrs. Judith S. Grant, Missionary to Persia* (New York: M.W. Dodd, 1840).

in the East, or a Narrative of the Work of God Among the Armenians of Turkey in New York in 1850,³⁵ a clear, insightful description of the Armenian Church as the missionaries first found it, the difficulties they and their converts suffered during years of persecution, and the changes slowly wrought in official attitudes toward the Protestants; she published two books in Armenian for children.

Mary died rather suddenly of cancer in mid-November, 1860, in Constantinople. H.G.O. later revisited many of the places he had first seen on that memorable trip in 1830-31, and then sailed for the U.S. for a short tour of speaking engagements late in 1861. He was the victim of an unfortunate railroad crash in New England, when his railroad car was blown off the tracks during a violent storm. The New York Times said that “his name is as familiar as a household word to everyone who has taken any interest in the work of missions for the last quarter of a century.”³⁶

H.G.O. Dwight was the first member of the Dwight family to serve as a missionary, but he was certainly not the last. Three generations of his descendants turned to missionary service as their life work, all but one in the Near East. His son, Henry Otis Dwight, after serving as an officer in the Union Army for nearly the entire Civil War, returned to Constantinople as a missionary, married a daughter of E.E. Bliss (see below) and was a missionary in Turkey for twenty-nine years. His daughter, Mrs. Sarah H. Dwight Riggs, served in Turkey for forty-seven years, and another daughter, Cornelia Dwight, served in Turkey for six years. Two of his

35. This was published in 1854 in London as *Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church* (London: James Nesbit and Company).

36. The *New York Times*, January 30, 1862.

grandchildren who served were Charles A.S. Dwight (1884-1893) and Adelaide Susan Dwight (1902-1950). In total, including husbands and wives, members of the four generations served a total of 630 years. The combined service of the Dwights and the Riggs, who intermarried, totaled more than 1,530 years.³⁷

William Goodell and H.G.O. Dwight were soon joined by the most unusual of “The Glorious Eleven,” William Schauffler, who was sent to begin a mission to the Jews.

Rev. William Gottlieb Schauffler, D.D., LL.D.—The Linguist and Translator³⁸

William was one of two foreign-born missionaries in this group, the other being Henry van Lennep (see below). William was born in Stuttgart, the capital of Wurtemberg, Germany, on August 22, 1798. For political and religious reasons, his father, the leader of a group of 389 emigres, fled to Odessa, taking nine months to reach what was then a small village in southern Russia (the Crimea) when William was six. The Duke of Richelieu was the governor at that time, later becoming the premier under Louis XVIII of France. William’s father was the mayor of the German community. The only schooling available to him was taught by his father’s clerk in the sheriff’s office part time. William was seven before he learned his alphabet, later adding a bit of Lutheran catechism, arithmetic, and reading. Germans in

37. Fred Field Goodsell, *They Lived Their Faith: An Almanac of Faith, Hope and Love* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), 170.

38. Information on Schauffler comes from ABCFM, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 77.1, Box 64; ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*; and William G. Schauffler, *Autobiography of William G. Schauffler, for Forty-nine Years a Missionary in the Orient* (New York: Anson D.F. Randolph & Co., 1887).

the city were “almost without exception either ignorant and uneducated or loose and unprincipled.”³⁹

Largely self-taught by reading histories and travel accounts, William nonetheless picked up the many languages of the streets of Odessa—Russian, German, Italian, and French. He was a natural linguist, and in his mature years could read 28 different languages and preach extemporaneously in six of them. The men in his family were makers of fine wooden stringed musical instruments, and even by his early years, William’s musical talent as a flute player was evident. By age fourteen, William had joined his father and brothers in woodworking. When William was twenty, his father died. His life drifted for a few years, with William sampling all the pleasures of Odessa—the theater, parties, dancing, aimless friends.

His life was suddenly and powerfully changed by three missionaries. The first was a Roman Catholic Priest, Father Lindl, who had gone from Bavaria to Moscow to preach to Czar Alexander I, then traveled down to Odessa. William went to hear him out of curiosity, but the effect was astonishing: “I remember neither text nor subject; I only remember that it swept away, in the first part, all worthiness and claim of the sinner, and in the second part it opened wide the door of free grace in Christ...now I saw before me eternal life, free and full.... I was influenced also by a Jewish missionary, not an Israelite, from Basle Missionary Institute, who spoke of Christ. And a Moravian, a ‘pietist’, Mr. Koch.... There was in the meetings such a

39. Schauffler, *Autobiography*, 6. Additional information from *Missionary Herald*, (March, 1883): 95-97.

spirit of peace, love, and comfort that from that evening I never missed one until I left Odessa for missionary ground in 1826.”⁴⁰

In 1825, a well-known Jewish missionary, Joseph Wolff,(who had traveled with Fisk), offered to take William to Palestine to go to the monastery of Kasobeen, on Mount Lebanon, where he could study Arabic and Persian. He would study the Mohammedan controversy written by Henry Martyn (see van Lennep biography below) and edited by Prof. Lee, and later William would accompany Wolff to Persia where William would work among the Mohammedans and Wolff among the Jews.⁴¹ William accepted with alacrity. On February 8, 1826, William and Wolff boarded an English ship at Odessa and set sail. While stopping at the port of Smyrna, William met an English missionary to the Greeks, John Hartley, who gave him a copy of Jonathan Edward’s *Brainerd’s Life*. The book changed his life. He separated from Wolff and turned to Jonas King, a graduate of Williams College and an American missionary from the Board in Boston. There was an American vessel in port bound for Boston, and King persuaded William to go to the U.S. to study. Armed with letters to Sec. Evarts of the American Board from King and Wolff, and with one dollar in his pocket, William set sail for America.

William had been in Smyrna during the tumultuous time in Constantinople of the slaughter of the Janissaries during the rebellion of July 15, and the Imperial *firman* of July 17th, announcing that the Janissaries had ceased to exist.

40 . Ibid., 14.

41. Ibid., 25.

Arriving in Boston on Nov. 7, William was immediately overwhelmed by “superior people.” He found America “abounding with revivals,” which continued during his five years in the United States, “sweeping the land like prairie fires.”

The American Board made arrangements for him to study English for one year at Andover, then enter Andover Theological Seminary for two years. His roommates at Andover Seminary were H.G.O. Dwight, with whom he would be associated for thirty years as a missionary in Turkey, and Elias Riggs, who would be a missionary in the Middle East for sixty-eight years. William and Elias would become the great translators of the Bible into many languages. In his first year at Andover, William studied Greek, Latin, and Hebrew. Besides those languages, he studied Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan, Rabbinic, Persian, Turkish, Spanish, and was conversant with Ethiopic and Coptic grammars. “Nothing could be plainer than that the Lord had led me in a way that I knew not, and that I was solemnly called upon to prepare for service such as He had laid out for me, not such as I had contemplated.”⁴²

William was ordained a minister of the church and a missionary to the Jews at Park Street Church, Boston on November 14, 1831. He spent a short time as head of the Hebrew Department at Andover Theological Seminary, then traveled to Paris to study Turkish, Persian, and Arabic with Silvestre de Sacy, the most eminent and

42. Ibid., 45.

influential Orientalist in Europe at that time.⁴³ A fellow student in Paris was Mr. Kasimirsky, who later translated the Koran into French. William read and studied the Koran while in Paris.

In 1832, William traveled from Paris to Stuttgart and on to Odessa. In Metzingen, he met a young man who had been “awakened and converted” by the letters of Pliny Fisk, a translation of which he had seen in a German missionary publication.⁴⁴

When William finally arrived in Constantinople on July 31, 1832, he found the Goodells were living in Buyukdere (about 12 miles north of the city) with Commodore Porter; the Dwights, who had arrived only two months before William, had found a large house in Ortakeuy, closer to Constantinople, just up the Bosphorus, and the three families—the Goodells, the Dwights, and William—all shared that house for about a year.

William spent frustrating months with no luck in converting the Jews to Christianity, a work he would continue, unsuccessfully, for twenty-three years. He was soon sent to Smyrna to assist the Rev. Daniel Temple and Mr. Homan Hallock, the printer, in establishing the press in Smyrna after its removal from Malta. While in Smyrna he met the Rev. Josiah Brewer and his wife, and their companion, Miss Mary Reynolds, formerly of the ABCFM but now employed by a small group in

43. For more information on de Sacy, see Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing: The Orientalists and their Enemies* (London: Penguin Books, 2007), 146.

44. Schauffler, *Autobiography*, 64.

New Haven to establish a girls' school among the Greeks of Smyrna. A strong friendship soon developed between William and Miss Reynolds, and they were married at Commodore Porter's home, as he insisted they be married "under the American flag." They eventually had a family of four boys.

In Constantinople, the Pasha, who had visited the Lancastrian schools established by Mr. Goodell, wanted the missionaries to establish a similar school in the barracks for the young soldiers who had had no schooling, none being available in the empire. William prepared materials for the schools and the first textbooks were printed in Smyrna with the missionaries' press. The schools were a great success and helped establish the missionaries' reputation with government officials.

William's missionary work with the Jews continued to bear no fruit. He turned his attention to translating the Old Testament of the Bible into Hebrew-Spanish, "Latindo," the language of the Sephardic Jews of Turkey, and his translation was published by the American Bible Society. In early 1839, when the Cyrus Hamlins arrived in Constantinople, they moved into the Schaufflers' home while the Schauffler family went to Germany for the printing of his translation of the entire Bible. William was able to secure a private audience with the Emperor in Vienna and presented a copy of the Bible to him.

As the Scots became more active in missionary work in the 1840s, it became clear to the American Board in Boston that they should abandon their missionary work to the Jews and pass that on to the Scots, which they did formally in 1855.

At the close of the Crimean War, the religious atmosphere in Constantinople took a liberal turn, and the American Board gave serious consideration to opening a mission to convert the Turks, work they had never undertaken. In 1857, William was sent to America to raise money to begin the new ministry. After successful fundraising in the U.S., Canada, and Britain, William returned to Constantinople and began his major life work— translating the Bible into literary Turkish,--Ottoman Turkish that was written in Arabic script. When the Turks reverted to their traditional ways of enforcing restrictions on changing one's faith, the American Board determined it best to give up any notion of trying to convert the Turks, and William, already launched into Bible translation, resigned from the American Board and was supported then by the American Bible Society and its sister group, the British and Foreign Bible Society.

William's extraordinary reputation as a linguist, and his superb translation of the Bible into literary Turkish, won him honors on two continents: the German Universities of Halle and Wittenberg conferred upon him the honorary degrees of D.D. and Ph.D., respectively; Princeton College awarded him a Doctor of Laws degree; the King of Prussia decorated him for his outstanding service to the German community in Constantinople, and when William retired and left Constantinople the Schauf-
flers were much feted by both the American and foreign communities.

When William and Mary left Constantinople in 1874, they stayed first with their son, the Rev. Henry Albert Schauf-
fler (graduate of Williams College, 1859), in Moravia for three years, then returned to the United States to be near their two

younger sons. William died in his sleep on January 26, 1883. Mary outlived him by twelve years, dying at age 93.

Rev. Cyrus Hamlin—the Educator and Entrepreneur ⁴⁵

The grandson of a Revolutionary War veteran who received land in Maine in return for his service, Cyrus was the youngest of six children, two of whom had died in infancy. His father died of the “quick” consumption when Cyrus was only seven months old. Education must have been an important part of their lives, for Cyrus told of his father, in earlier times, running spelling bees for the older children; he refers to his mother as being “of good Puritan stock and well educated for the times,”⁴⁶ and mentions a cousin at Harvard, their own small family library, and the larger library of his near-by uncle. The family read aloud every evening, and the Bible was always the final part of the reading.⁴⁷

Life on the farm was difficult, especially for a widow with four children, but with hard work by all, they managed to eke out a living and educate the older girls. Cyrus appeared too weakly to become a farmer, so it was decided that he would, at age 16, become apprenticed to his brother-in-law, a jeweler and silversmith, in Portland. It was here that he had his first major religious experiences, attended Sunday school and an evening school for apprentices. He quickly showed himself to be an

45. Information on the life of Hamlin comes from the following sources: Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* 2nd ed. (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, undated); Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks* (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1878); ABCFM, Houghton Library, 77.1, Box 31.

46. Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 14.

47. Ibid., 41.

excellent student. Members of the parish and his pastor were so impressed with him that they arranged for him to be educated to become a pastor, raising \$1,000 for that purpose.⁴⁸

He entered Bridgton Academy at age eighteen, working to earn his room and board, then moved on to Bowdoin College in September, 1830. It was while a student at Bowdoin that Cyrus was introduced to the steam engine, and by himself, without training or proper tools, but using his own ingenuity, he built the first steam engine in Maine.⁴⁹ It was also during this period that Cyrus decided to devote his life to foreign missions, likely in Africa. Accordingly, after graduating in 1834, Cyrus entered Bangor Theological Seminary. In his last year there, he applied to the American Board in Boston for missionary work, and was appointed in February, 1837, to go to Constantinople and work in education.⁵⁰

After a delay of nearly one and a half years, Cyrus heard from the American Board that a vessel was readying to sail to Smyrna. He was married on September 3, 1838 to Henrietta Jackson, whom he had courted for some time, ordained on October 3, and finally, after another delay, sailed from Boston in early December, arriving in Constantinople February 4, 1839, just as the violent persecutions against Protestants were reaching a crescendo. A few months later, with a new Sultan on the throne, prospects seemed brighter, and Cyrus was able to open a small seminary for young

48 . Ibid.,73.

49. Ibid., 117.

50. Ibid., 157.

men in Bebek in 1840, an educational endeavor with which he was connected for the next nineteen years. On Dec. 5, 1839, Henrietta Ann Loraine was born. She was later joined by sisters, Susan Elizabeth, Carrie, Abbie, and Clara, and brother Alfred.

In his work at the seminary, Cyrus not only taught, he also translated, or had translated, a number of textbooks into Armeno-Turkish. One of those, the book of mathematics, he presented to the Minister of Public Instruction, who liked it so well he had it translated into Turkish and had 10,000 copies distributed to the provinces. It was the same with other publications. Cyrus said, "I look back upon what I did through the press as of some permanent value in the intellectual and spiritual changes then taking place."⁵¹

Besides translating and writing text books, Cyrus determined that the young men should have some industrial education to help them in their future lives. Many of his students were so poor they were dressed in rags and could not afford anything else as they had no money. He set up a workshop in the school basement. The young men spent some two hours a day working there, and soon were producing kitchen utensils and household goods of tin and iron. The money they earned bought new, neat clothing; the boys studied harder and seemed to value their education more. This was an innovation in education, and as such, met with considerable opposition, including from Cyrus's colleagues at the mission, who feared that it would secularize the students' minds. The missionaries voted to have Cyrus close the in-

51. Ibid., 255.

dustrial part of the school, but he persuaded them to allow the boys to earn some of their own upkeep.

In 1850, Cyrus's wife Henrietta began to experience problems with her lungs. Cyrus took her to Rhodes in the hope that a change of air would be beneficial, but on Nov. 14 she died. She was buried in the Greek cemetery on Rhodes. Cyrus returned to Turkey to continue his work.

The power of guilds on employment was absolute, and some of the newly converted Protestant Armenian men were not able to find employment. Understanding that foreigner's enterprises could circumvent the guilds, Cyrus established several businesses for Armenian men, undertaking the same sorts of industrial work that he had introduced to his students, making stoves and stove pipes, household utensils, etc. Eventually some were persuaded to make rat traps according to a design drawn up by Cyrus. (Cyrus convinced them by saying, "If there are thirteen hundred thousand inhabitants in Constantinople, there are thirteen hundred millions of rats. Go to! Make rat traps, and live."⁵²) They were sold all over the city by Jewish boys hawking them as "Boston rat traps."

In addition to the metal goods, Cyrus, with a good deal of Yankee ingenuity in building machines, established a bakery, again employing Armenian men who could find no work. He tested flours, experimented with yeast (eventually using hops from a German-run brewery), and produced the best bread in town, known as

52. Ibid., 293.

bira bread. His management was quickly limited to Saturday afternoon each week, with the Armenian men running the business. His bakery was well established by the outbreak of the Crimean War, when the British began bringing their wounded to Constantinople, where they had organized a large hospital.⁵³ They ordered 6,000 pounds of bread a day from Cyrus's bakery, sold to them at half the price they had been paying for inferior bread. When the British opened an additional medical facility, the bread order increased. Later in the war, Cyrus "invented" washing machines using an English beer barrels, and employed 30 women to wash the vermin-riddled clothes of the wounded soldiers in the hospital. They were able to put through 3000 articles of clothing a day. "The women in the laundry, working by the piece, and aided by the washing machines, earned from thirty dollars to forty-five dollars per month, a sum never dreamed of as possible by them; and the comfort it diffused in their poor homes was one of the richest rewards of the work. There was not a house I had not visited in sickness, and they were as ready to acknowledge, as I to notice, the change."⁵⁴ The \$25,000 profit from all these various businesses was put into a church-building fund, and helped build thirteen churches, with school-houses or class rooms attached.

In 1852, Cyrus married Harriet Martha Lovell, who had been teaching in a girls' school in Constantinople. They were married for five and a half years and had

53. It was here that Hamlin met Florence Nightingale, "quiet, self-possessed, interesting, intelligent lady, evidently wholly absorbed in her work. She had the faculty of command.... Very soon Miss Nightingale transformed the hospital...the death rate was changed immediately...." Ibid.,334-5.

54 . Ibid.,363.

two children. She stayed in Constantinople while Cyrus took his two older girls to the U.S. (see below), and died suddenly, with no warning, in November, 1856.

In the late 1850s, Dr. Anderson and the American Board's Prudential Committee decided that all education in foreign languages (generally English) should cease, and instruction should be offered only in the students' vernacular language. In addition, Anderson opposed any education except one in theology, believing that the missionaries should not concern themselves with general education. Cyrus did not agree with this policy, but discussion was put in abeyance while, in 1856, Cyrus took his two older daughters to the U.S. for their education.⁵⁵ On the way over and back, he stopped in London and held a considerable number of meetings with the Earl of Shaftesbury⁵⁶ and others, resulting in the formation of the Turkish Mission Aid Society, a group that for many years raised money to support the work of the American missionaries in Turkey.

In November 1859, Cyrus remarried, choosing Mary Eliza Tenney, who had been stationed at Tokat working with women and primary school children. They eventually had three children: Mary, Emma, and Christopher. Much to Cyrus's displeasure, Dr. Anderson's philosophy about education prevailed, and the Bebek Seminary was removed to the interior, in Marsovan. Dr. Hamlin decided that he would accept an offer made by Mr. Christopher Robert of New York to found an American

55. He noted that on this trip there were Professor Tyler and some Amherst students on board. *Ibid.*, 373.

56. The Earl of Shaftesbury was the son-in-law of Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary.

college in Constantinople based on Christian principles, and in May 1860, he resigned from the American Board, although remaining a close friend of Dr. Anderson's and the missionaries in Constantinople.

This is not the place to go into details of Robert College.⁵⁷ It took seven years to obtain land and build the buildings on the superb site overlooking the Bosphorus, but Cyrus accomplished all this with his unflagging enthusiasm, and on May 15, 1871, the new school with its American charter was opened, with the official ceremony held on July 4, 1872, with President Cyrus Hamlin welcoming ex-Secretary of State Seward as the main speaker. In 1873, leaving the running of the school to his son-in-law, Rev. George Washburn (see below), Cyrus and his wife left Constantinople for the U.S. to raise an endowment for the school. He never returned to the Ottoman Empire. After fund-raising, which did not much suit him, he severed his official relationship with the school. In 1877 he began a three-year stint teaching theology at Bangor Seminary, then became the President of Middlebury College from 1880 to 1885, brilliantly rescuing the institution from near financial ruin. He retired from active work in 1885, but continued to speak and write on missionary and foreign affairs issues. He died in Portland, Maine in August, 1900. Mary lived on for seven years, dying in 1907. Both are buried in Lexington, Massachusetts under a monument erected by the Armenian community, similar to the one they provided for Rev. Henry van Lennep at his gravesite in Great Barrington, Massachusetts.

57. The role of Admiral Farragut will be dealt with in Chapter 5, as will that of Sec. of State Seward.

The husband of Cyrus's oldest daughter Henrietta, Rev. George Washburn, a graduate of Amherst College (1855) and Andover Theological Seminary (1858), came to Robert College as a Professor of Philosophy. When Cyrus left Constantinople in 1873, Washburn acted as Director, becoming the President in 1878. He served in that capacity for twenty-five years. During that time student enrollment grew from 20 to over 300. Amherst conferred a Doctor of Divinity degree upon him in 1874; later the University of Michigan, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania and Amherst all conferred the degree of LL.D. upon him. Besides being an excellent administrator, he was considered an outstanding statesman whose advice was constantly sought by the diplomatic representatives in Constantinople (especially the American Minister) and others in Europe and America, playing a critical role in the Bulgarian Crisis of 1876 and the Turko-Russian War of 1877-78. He was awarded the Orders of St. Alexander and of Civil Merit by the government of Bulgaria. After he retired to the U.S. in 1903, he published *Fifty Years in Constantinople*. Washburn died in February, 1915 in Boston. In a memorial service for him, it was related that the Hon. Oscar Straus, three times American Minister in Constantinople, had said that he owed all his diplomatic success to Dr. Washburn. Whenever a knotty question arose in the very mixed international relations centering in Constantinople, Mr. Straus always asked time to consider. Then he took advantage of the delay to consult Dr. Washburn, adopted the attitude Dr. Washburn advised, and invariably found that the advice was hailed with approbation by other members of the local diplomatic corps and was vindicated by the outcome of events.⁵⁸

58. From an obituary, *Missionary Guided Diplomat*, undated, untitled article in

Rev. Elias Riggs—the Translator⁵⁹

Born in New Providence, New Jersey on Nov. 19, 1810, Elias early showed promise of linguistic ability: he was reading by age four, studying Greek at nine and beginning Hebrew at thirteen. He graduated from Amherst College in 1829, delivering the Greek Oration at Commencement. He became the first Amherst graduate to serve in missionary work in southeastern Europe and in his sixty-eight years of service, compiled a record of continuous, outstanding literary performance considered unmatched by any individual among nineteenth-century missionary organizations. He earned the reputation of being the greatest linguist ever sent out by the American Board.

While at Andover Theological Seminary, he published a *Manual of the Chaldee Language*, which became the standard text used in American theological seminaries for half a century. He wrote *A Compendium of Arabic Grammar* in 1830, *The Elements of Persian Grammar* in 1839, and *Notes on the Bulgarian Language* in 1844. He was noted in later life for his scholarly mastery of twelve languages and a reading ability in eight other languages. The story is told of him that he once said he did not know Albanian, but he had looked at it sufficiently to be able to write a

General Biography, Washburn File, Amherst College Archives and Special Collections.

59. Information about Elias Riggs comes from the ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*.; ABCFM, Houghton Library, 77.1, Box 61.

grammar of the language, which became the first grammar of Albanian ever printed.⁶⁰

He graduated from Andover Theological Seminary in June, 1832, married Martha Dalzel on September 18, was ordained on September 20, and sailed from Boston on October 30. They went first to Athens, in January 1833, where he worked with Jonas King in translating Aramaic parts of the Bible into Greek, then moved to Argos in June, 1834, where he opened a school for girls, using the modern Greek he had learned from two Greek students at Amherst. Opposition from the Greek Orthodox Church leaders finally forced him to close the school, and the American Board transferred him to Smyrna in 1838 because of the large Greek population there. He was able to preach in Greek and publish some books in Greek. In the meantime, he began his studies of Turkish, Armenian, and Bulgarian, and in 1844 began his translation of the Bible into the modern alphabet of the spoken version of modern Armenian (not to be confused with Armeno-Turkish, which was Ottoman Turkish written in the Armenian script.)

His work was in great demand for publication, and in 1853, with the publication of his Bible translated into Armenian, and at the request of the Constantinople station, he was finally transferred there. He taught for three years in Bebek Seminary (Cyrus Hamlin's school), and, suffering from ill health, took the only furlough of his career in the U.S. from 1856 to 1858, teaching Hebrew at Union Seminary. They wished him to stay on, but he was set on continuing his missionary work in

60. This story comes from ABCFM, *Memorial Volume* (pages unnumbered.)

Turkey. Upon his return, he began his translation of the Bible into Bulgarian, a work that lasted for years, and took him on travels to Bulgaria. In 1871 he was able to present his completed translation to the station in Bulgaria. His next task was the translation of the Bible into Turkish, using Ottoman (Arabic) script, and this was published in 1878.

In a most unusual event in the missionary annals, the Golden Anniversary of the Riggs's wedding was celebrated in Constantinople in 1882. His wife's health began to fail soon after that, and three years later they went to Aintab in the south-east, seeking a different climate. Martha passed away there in 1887, and Elias, full of sadness at the loss of his life partner, returned to Constantinople, where he threw himself into more translating. This time he produced a Bible dictionary in Bulgarian, a commentary on the New Testament, and hymns—hundreds and hundreds of hymns that he either wrote or translated into Greek, Armenian, Turkish, or Bulgarian. He had worked closely at various times earlier in his Constantinople tenure with Drs. Schauffler and van Lennep, making a powerful triumvirate of translators of religious texts.

Because his youngest son, Charles, was blind, Elias took special interest in producing materials for the blind, adapting the “Moon alphabet” to the Armenian language, and publishing a number of works, including portions of the Bible, in this manner.

A quiet, modest man, Elias was awarded a Doctor of Divinity degree by Hanover College in 1853 and an LL.D. by Amherst College in 1871 for his extraordinary translation work and his ministry. He died in Constantinople on January 17, 1901, and is buried there.

An outstanding feature of the Riggs family was their devotion to missionary service. In four generations, thirty-three family members served in missions, equaling more than 900 years of service. Son Edward graduated from Princeton, and was one of the founders of Anatolia College at Marsovan; Edward's son Ernest graduated from Princeton in 1904, and became the President of Euphrates College until it was closed by the Turks in 1915. In 1933 he became the President of Anatolia College at Salonica, an institution established to take the place of the College at Marsovan. In May, 1948, a member of one part of the Riggs family married—Dr. and Mrs. Edward Clark Riggs represented the fourth generation on each side to serve as missionaries. They were first in China, but were forced to leave in 1950; they then went to south India where they worked in rural health.

Rev. Daniel Ladd—the Divider⁶¹

Although born in Unity, New Hampshire on January 22, 1804, Daniel was not able to enter the academy at Peacham, Vt. until he was eighteen years old as he had been needed to help full-time on his father's farm from age twelve to eighteen. At Peacham he felt the call for missionary work, entered Middlebury at age twenty-

61. All the material about Daniel and Charlotte Ladd came from ABCFM, Houghton Library, 77.1, Box 41; ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*, pages not numbered, entries by name in alphabetical order. I was unable to find anything about them in the Middlebury archives.

four and, with assistance from the American Education Society, graduated in 1832 at age 28. He attended Andover Seminary, graduating in 1835. He immediately applied to the American Board for overseas missionary work. Daniel married Charlotte Kitchel, a sister of the president of Middlebury College, on June 12, 1836, and they sailed from Boston just one month later, on July 16, 1836, bound for Cyprus.

The newlyweds arrived in Larnaca on October 28 that year and set to work learning Greek well and working among the Greek community on Cyprus. They found great conflicts between the Greeks and their Turkish rulers, and government policies and methods that caused a rapid loss of population on the island. They were not only disappointed in their missionary efforts; their firstborn son, Daniel Jr., died there at age two. In 1842, the American Board decided to close the mission in Cyprus, and the Ladds were transferred to Bursa, Turkey, to minister to the Greeks in that region. During their stop in Smyrna enroute, they lost their second son, one and a half year old Harvey.

The Ladds studied Armenian and Turkish during their nine years in Bursa, were encouraged by the results of missionary work there, and by the birth of healthy twin girls. They were able to leave their post in the charge of a native minister when they were sent on to Constantinople in 1851. Daniel spent the winter of 1852-53 in Aintab in Turkey's southeast. When he returned to Constantinople, they moved again, this time to Smyrna, where they stayed for fourteen years (Daniel refused to move again) before returning to the U.S. in 1867 and resigning in 1869 due to Daniel's increasing feebleness.

During Ladd's years in Smyrna, he became deeply embroiled in the political/religious affairs of the Armenian community, as various factions within the church jockeyed for position and power. Henry van Lennep, another of the missionaries there, took great exception to Ladd's activities in the political machinations of the Church, and his whole approach to the issue of native churches, native pastors, and relations between the missionaries and the native churches. The two exchanged some nasty barbs about this issue as the entire mission was brought in to referee and restore equilibrium in the Smyrna station.

Daniel, whose heart had weakened considerably during his years in Smyrna, was able to attend the American Board's annual meeting in New Haven, Connecticut in the fall of 1872, but the trip was too much for him; he died almost immediately upon returning to his home in Middlebury.

Daniel's wife was heartier, a woman "of rare energy and devotion." She remained active in Middlebury for another twenty years until her death in 1892. Cyrus Hamlin wrote of her that she "had some of the best traits of missionary character. One of them was an easy and natural sympathy with the natives, however different in manners, customs, dress, and modes of life. The native women and girls were attached to her, and she visited them in sickness, poverty, and trouble as a true and unselfish friend.... Although a lady of apparently frail and delicate constitution, she had great powers of endurance and great firmness of purpose. Once in a protracted illness, when her physician felt it his duty to tell her he could do nothing more for

her, she said, ‘I am not going to die now, Doctor; I have some things to live for yet, and I shall recover.’ She lived many years after this....”⁶²

Rev. Henry van Lennep, D.D. – Artist and Scholar⁶³

Henry was born in Smyrna, in the Ottoman Empire, on April 18, 1815, one of eight sons of Jacob van Lennep, a merchant and for many years the Consul-General of Holland in Smyrna.⁶⁴ Henry grew up in a Christian home and his father was a good friend of the early missionaries who came to Smyrna. Henry was sent in 1830 to America to continue his education. He studied at the Mt. Pleasant Institute, Amherst, Mass., and then at Hartford Grammar School. While there, he read the memoirs of Levi Parsons. He was so moved by that story that he decided to dedicate himself to missionary life. He entered Amherst College, graduating as valedictorian of the class of 1837. His Valedictory speech, “Intellectual Pursuits – Unlimited” was followed by a Philosophical Oration, “The Sources of Delight in Tragic Scenes,” given by his classmate Edwin E. Bliss. Following graduation from Andover Seminary where he studied theology with Dr. Hawes of Hartford, Henry was ordained at Amherst, and married his college sweetheart, Miss Emma L. Bliss, who had attended Mount Holyoke College, and was the sister of Edwin E. and Isaac G. Bliss, his classmates and mission colleagues (see above). The couple sailed from New York on Dec. 2, 1839, arriving in Smyrna on April 13, 1840.

62. ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*, pages not numbered.

63. ABCFM, Houghton Library, 77.1, Box 73.

64. Information about the life of Henry van Lennep comes from ABCFM, Houghton Library, 77.1, Box 73, and from Amherst College Archives and Special Collections.

Henry threw himself into his missionary work, beginning a boarding school in Smyrna for boys. But he was not lucky in love. Emma died of heart failure on September 12, 1840, a mere five months after arriving in Turkey. In 1843, Henry returned to the U.S. and married Miss Mary E. Hawes, the only daughter of the Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D., of Hartford, Conn.⁶⁵ Rev. Hawes traveled to Smyrna with the young couple when they sailed from Boston on October 11, 1843, as he was accompanying the American Board's Secretary, Dr. Rufus Anderson, on an assessment visit to the missions in Turkey, Greece, and Syria. Twenty-two-year-old Mary, a very devout girl, seemed to be sickly from the moment she arrived in Smyrna in November, 1843. Van Lennep was reassigned to Constantinople in 1844, and shortly after they moved there she contracted typhoid fever. She died on September 27, 1844, less than a year after her arrival in Turkey.

For the next five years, Henry busied himself with assignments in Aleppo and Aintab, and continued with his work as principal of the Bebek Seminary in Constantinople, begun by Cyrus Hamlin (see above). In 1849 he went back to the United States and married for a third time. This time was a winner. Emily Ann Bird, born in Beirut on January 7, 1825, the daughter of Rev. Issac Bird, missionary in Syria and sister of Rev. William Bird, also a missionary in Syria, married Henry on his thirty-

65. See Louisa Fisher Hawes, *Memoir of Mrs. Mary E. Van Lennep: only daughter of the Rev. Joel Hawes and wife of the Rev. Henry J. van Lennep, missionary in Turkey, by her Mother* (Hartford: Wm Jas. Hamersley, 1855).

fifth birthday, April 18, 1850. She produced six children⁶⁶ and remained with him until his death.

Settled at last, Henry continued his teaching at the Bebek Seminary and preached regularly in Pera and at Kum Kapi, in four languages besides English--French, Armenian, Turkish, and Greek. After four comfortable years in Constantinople, Henry and Emily were reassigned, sent to Tokat in 1854, in the interior with Dr. Fayette Jewett, to open a mission there for the small community of Evangelical Armenians. Henry stayed there for seven years, preaching, running the Tokat Theological Training College he established for the development of native preachers, building a chapel, and traveling widely in Turkey's interior areas.

While in Tokat, van Lennep rescued from a common grave the remains of Henry Martyn, first Christian missionary to the East, who had died in Tokat while on his way home to Britain from work in India as chaplain of the East India Company. Henry had an obelisk erected over the new grave on the missionary compound. On each of the four sides of the obelisk he had inscribed in Turkish, Armenian, Persian, and English, respectively:

BORN AT TRURO, ENGLAND, FEBRUARY
18, 1781. DIED AT TOCAT, OCTOBER 16,
1812. HE LABORED FOR MANY YEARS IN
THE EAST, STRIVING TO BENEFIT MAN-
KIND, BOTH IN THIS WORLD AND THAT
TO COME. HE TRANSLATED THE HOLY

66. The six were: Henry A., born Constantinople 1850, died in Tokat, 1856; William Bird, born Constantinople, 1853; Edward F., born Tokat 1856; Henry M.(artyn?), born Tokat, 1859; Mary L., born Hartford 1863, died Smyrna 1865; David C., born Smyrna 1866, died Smyrna, 1867.

SCRIPTURES INTO HINDOOSTANEE AND
PERSIAN AND PREACHED THE GOD AND
SAVIOR OF WHOM THEY TESTIFY. HE
WILL LONG BE REMEMBERED IN THE
EAST, WHERE HE WAS KNOWN AS A
MAN OF GOD.⁶⁷

Van Lennep, movingly, added in the booklet he wrote about Henry Martyn, “The only weeping willows I now knew in that region of country, are those whose delicate boughs droop over, and with every breath of heaven sweep athwart the monument of Henry Martyn and of another Henry, my own firstborn, who sleeps by his side.”⁶⁸

Life was very difficult in that remote, isolated area. At one point the American Board in Boston, concerned about van Lennep’s expenditure of funds, wanted to close Tokat Seminary, but the missionaries from all the stations in the Western Turkey Mission rose to his defense, pointing out that they all were benefiting from these graduates, and the American Board granted the school a reprieve.

The end of his time in Tokat was bitter. He labored for seven years in this interior town, achieving forty-seven converts and educating eighteen young men to labor among their own people, three of whom had already become pastors. But disaster, in the form of an Armenian Catholic fanatic, struck. This man, the chief of the village, seeking revenge for what he considered a personal slight, had the entire compound stealthily set on fire one night, destroying the church, the school, and the

67. Henry van Lennep, *The Grave of Henry Martyn: Description to Accompany the Picture* (New York: Anson D.F. Randolph, 1863), 12.

68. *Ibid.*, 13.

2,000-volume library. On his own deathbed, the chief repented and confessed his culpability. In van Lennep's own moving words:

It is painful to cast a shadow upon this cheering picture. Stand by Henry Martyn's grave, and look behind you. You see no longer the school of the prophets, nor the chapel where the Word was once preached, but blackened ruins instead. The torch of the incendiary has been there, and the wraith of the foe has burned down our "pleasant habitation." But this work consists not in stones and mortar. It has its foundations in living men, and these the burning flames cannot reach. The God who has already done such great things there, can do greater still. We will hope in Him ever.⁶⁹

Broken in health and losing his eyesight, van Lennep returned to America in 1861 with Emily and his remaining children, to restore his health. They stayed for two years. In recognition of his distinguished service and outstanding achievements, Amherst honored its son by conferring a Doctor of Divinity degree on Henry in 1862.

When Henry and his family returned to Turkey, they were stationed in Smyrna once again. And once again, Henry fell into trouble. He was deeply concerned that the missionary there, Daniel Ladd, was dividing the congregation over church administration. Van Lennep challenged other policy issues of the Board, especially questions of the disaffections of the native churches, with van Lennep proposing that an inquiry should be conducted into the issue, which was indeed carried out in the early 1880s (see chapter 5). In 1869, nearly blind and in failing health, Henry was asked by the American Board to resign and return to the U.S.

69. Ibid.,15.

The less stressful life in the U.S. restored Henry's eyesight and his health. He first became a Professor of Natural Science, Greek, and Modern Languages at Ingham University in Le Roy, New York. Three years later, he and Emily moved to Great Barrington, Massachusetts and taught at their son Edward's school, The Sedgwick School for Boys. Henry, a prolific writer, published in 1870 his two-volume *Travels in Little Known Parts of Asia Minor* and in 1875 the encyclopedic, 850-page survey, *Bible Lands: Their modern customs and manners illustrative of Scripture*. He was a superb artist and his books are liberally sprinkled with his own drawings. In 1862, on his first recuperative trip to the U.S., Henry published *The Oriental Album* of drawings illustrating life in Turkey.⁷⁰ Henry died of paralysis in Great Barrington on January 11, 1889.

Van Lennep is buried in the Mahauve Cemetery in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. In his obituary in the *Berkshire Courier* the writer said of him, "Truly, a many sided man, he was still strong on every side. His was a life of tireless activity and of constant labor. Before him one was compelled to recognize the presence of a strong, noble, earnest character, modest and simple in all its strength. Genial and witty, he was social and easily accessible; a favorite with the young, he readily adapted himself to any surrounding. One traveler, in writing of meeting him on mis-

70. Van Lennep's drawings of Turkish life are still available as prints from the New York Public Library for about \$150 each.

sionary ground, called him the gentle, genial, polished, and scholarly cosmopolitan, Van Lennep!”⁷¹

An Armenian group erected a monument over his grave, which reads,

“FOR 30 YEARS MISSIONARY IN TURKEY.
THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY HIS
ARMENIAN FRIENDS, IN GRATEFUL AP-
PRECIATION OF HIS HEROIC VIRTUES
AND ENDEARING SERVICES RENDERED
THEIR PEOPLE.”

“ THE BELOVED MISSIONARY.”

Emily survived her husband by nine years, continuing her teaching of French at the school and teaching large classes of women in the Congregational Church’s Sunday School. In 1897, she moved to Philadelphia to be with her son Dr. William Bird van Lennep, during her final illness. She died in 1898, and is buried in Great Barrington beside her husband.

Rev. Edwin E. Bliss—the Patriarch ⁷²

The oldest member of what became a distinguished, four-generation missionary family serving in Turkey and China, Edwin Elisha Bliss was born in Putney, Vermont on April 12, 1817, the older brother of Isaac (see below). His father was a

71. From *Obituary Record*, Amherst College, 1889.

72. Information about E.E. Bliss came from Amherst College Archives; from ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*, and from Houghton Library, Harvard University, Archives of the ABCFM, 77.1, Box 10, file on E.E. Bliss, “*The Life of the Rev. Edwin E. Bliss, D.D. of Constantinople: A Picture of the Early Days of the American Mission to the Armenians*,” largely derived from a journal kept by Bliss for many years. All following quotations come from that journal, pages unnumbered.

tanner who moved to Vermont from Springfield, Massachusetts. His mother, Abigail Grout, of Scottish descent, was described as a woman of unusual strength of character and earnest piety. She consecrated all her eight children to the work of the Lord, and lived to see the four oldest devote themselves to missionary work. Edwin was considered in delicate health as a baby, and his father tried to build up his stamina by dipping him, Achilles-like, in a stream that ran by their house.

Early in 1822, the family moved back to Springfield, where Edwin's early schooling began. He was not much of a scholar at first, but seemed to have been inspired by his classes with Mr. William Thomson, who later became the Professor of Hebrew at the Theological School in Hartford, Conn. His work must have picked up considerably, for at the age of eleven he entered Springfield High School. There he had as a teacher Mr. Story Hebard, who had been a missionary with the ABCFM, serving in Beirut and Palestine. It is likely that his first exposure to missionary work was with Mr. Hebard, but it might have occurred when he first became acquainted with Dr. Simeon Calhoun, who was for many years a missionary in Syria. It was during these high school years that Edwin joined the First Church in Springfield; he remained a member of that church for the rest of his life.

From Springfield High School, Edwin entered Amherst. He recorded in his journal that on the day of his entrance, he had to pick and husk corn from one of their fields before his father would take him to Amherst in the wagon. After that, all trips covering the 20 miles between Amherst and his home were made on foot. Edwin graduated in the class of 1837 along with Henry van Lennep, later his brother-in-law

who also became a missionary to Turkey. Both were members of “The Brethren,” pledging to devote their lives to missionary work. Another classmate was Horace Maynard, who later became the U.S. Minister to Constantinople, and was there during the years of the Bulgarian Crisis (see below, chapter 7). Other classmates were Henry Ward Beecher, who often said that when the class stood in a circle in order of rank, he stood to the left of the valedictorian, and R.S. Strovos, who later became the president of the American Board. Edwin received a small stipend from the American Education Society, but helped to support himself by sawing wood for professors’ families. At graduation, Henry van Lennep delivered the valedictory speech and Edwin the Philosophical Oration. Immediately after graduation, Edwin taught school for two years to earn money for seminary.

He entered Andover Seminary in the fall of 1839. Here he fell increasingly under the influence of those in the missionary field: Mr. Spaulding of the Sandwich Islands, his friend Henry van Lennep, Justin Perkins (also of Amherst), and Dr. Asa Grant, the latter two of whom were involved with the mission to the Nestorians in Persia.

Near the end of his seminary education, in the spring of 1842, Edwin was introduced to Miss Isabella (“Bella”) Holmes Porter of Portland, Maine,⁷³ who was at that time teaching at Hartford Female Seminary. Her father, Richard Porter, was a sea captain and from one of the old, mainline families of Portland. A courtship en-

73. She was a parishioner in the Payson Church where Cyrus Hamlin was, for a short time in 1837, the pastor. She was a member of the Young Ladies Missionary Society, the Armenian Circle.

sued, culminating in marriage on February 20, 1843, in Isabella's home town.

Events moved quickly for Edwin that month: twelve days earlier he had been ordained; nine days after the wedding the bride and groom set sail for Turkey.

Edwin, in his journal, recounts the surprises that awaited them on board: "It was the first day of March, 1843, that we embarked on a cold day from Long Wharf, Boston. Our fellow passengers were Rev. Justin Perkins, D.D., going out with his wife and daughter Judith for the second time to work among the Nestorians of Persia, the venerable Mr. Gohannan, Bishop of the Nestorian Church, returning home after a brief stay in America, Rev. David T. Stoddard and wife, Miss Fedelia Fiske and Miss Catherine Meyers who afterwards married Rev. Austin Wright, M.D. of Omriah, Persia. We were all missionaries except Mar Gohannan, and all, except myself and wife, expecting to labor among the Nestorians of the plains of Umriah. Our own destination was to the newly established mission among the Nestorians of the mountains between Turkey and Persia.... Reaching our ship to embark, we found her hold, and even her deck, crowded with barrels of New England rum. There was hardly standing place for our Missionary company.... In fact, after the religious services...were finished, word came from the (American Board) Secretaries that the barque was not to sail until some of the rum barrels had been removed.... At first the Northwest wind, with all its kind intentions, could not do much for us on account of the snow and ice which encased the vessel and its spars, and made it almost impossible to work the ropes. These bonds were not entirely loosed till some days later when we struck the warmer waters of the Gulf Stream.... It was only when, one

beautiful morning on the thirty-sixth day of our voyage, found us beating up the bay of Smyrna and we caught sight of a long train of camels winding their way along the shore that we first realized that we had indeed reached that Eastern world for which we had sailed.”

The were greeted in Smyrna by the group of missionaries there: Rev. Daniel Temple, former roommate of William Goodell (see above) at Andover Academy and Dartmouth College, Dr. Jonas King of Greece, Rev. Elisha Riggs (see above), Rev. Henry van Lennep (see below), his brother-in-law and Miss Danforth, who ran a missionary school. Edwin learned with sadness that Henry’s wife Emma (Edwin’s sister) had already died, lasting only a few months after her arrival in Turkey. Edwin recorded in his journal that “It was a strange world into which we were introduced on landing—narrow streets, overhanging houses, men in whiskers, in mustaches, in beards, in all sorts of dress apparel. I was in a perfect whirl of bewilderment. The men looked savage. I had a sort of fear even of our boatman. Then such a clattering, not a word could I understand.” After enjoying Henry’s hospitality for a couple of weeks, the Blisses boarded an Austrian steamer on April 15, and began their trip to their station. Other passengers on the vessel were “a motley group of Turks, Greeks, Armenians, and Persians, men, women, children, sheep, and bundles.”

Arrival at Constantinople the next day gave them a special experience. “Just before passing Seraglio Point the sun burst forth and poured its light over the city, gilding the domes and minarets with new splendor, forming an unrivalled picture.” Here they met many of the other early missionaries: Rev. H.G.O. Dwight (see

above), Rev. William Goodell (see above), Rev. William Gottlieb Schauffler (see above), Rev. Cyrus Hamlin (see above), Rev. Jonas King and others, “who impressed us from the start as broad spiritual men busily engaged in laying the foundations of a great enterprise.” Conditions in the countryside forced a change of plans for the young couple. The missionaries had applied for an *Imperial Firman* for protection of Mr. and Mrs. Bliss on their journey to the mountains of Kurdistan, standard procedure for foreigners traveling in that part of the empire, but it had been refused on the grounds that the region was in a disturbed condition and the government would not undertake responsibility for the safety of foreigners there. The missionaries learned from other sources that there was imminent danger of war breaking out between the Kurds and the Nestorians, making a residence in the mountains unsafe and unwise. It was determined that instead of going directly into the mountains, the Blissess should join Rev. and Mrs. Johnson in Trebizond, spend time there studying languages, assist the Johnsons and remain there until it was safe to proceed to the mountains. “The anticipated war did break out and continued so long that ...upon a visit from Dr. Anderson and Haskins in 1844, it was decided to relinquish the Mission to the Nestorians of the mountains and we were directed to remain at Trebizond and labor in connection with the Mission among the Armenians of Turkey.”

The difficulties Edwin and Bella had learning Turkish with its “mysterious” sounds, as expressed by Edwin in his journal, would delight anyone who has ever tried to learn another language, as they had no books, no grammars, a teacher who had never taught anything before and with whom they had not a single word of any

language in common. “We began as children,” he said, and by New Years Day of 1844 they were able to give family prayers in Turkish, but progress was slow and discouraging. It was only at the end of a year of study that they began to feel that they could converse with the townspeople in Turkish.

Edwin records that in the summer of 1844, his greatly-loved high school teacher and now fellow missionary, Rev. Simeon Calhoun, paid them a visit. The following summer Rev. Johnson and his wife had to leave, due to her poor health, and were replaced by Rev. and Mrs. Benjamin. They lasted a very short time, and were forced to leave because of Mrs. Benjamin’s health.

Once the Blisses had a modicum of vocabulary, visitors flocked to their house “impelled by curiosity,” showing great interest in their books, their tin pans, the clock on the wall, and their cook stove in the kitchen. The routine was that after ranging throughout the house, the visitors would be invited into the missionary’s study to take a cup of coffee. “The books in the missionary’s library were not numerous, but enough to attract wondering attention and to call out the questions ‘Have you read them?’ ‘Are there any of them by chance in our language?’ This gave opportunity to take down a copy of the Testament in Turkish and put it into the hands of some persons to be read aloud--a bit of narrative, a parable or a precept given, as it would be, in the modern tongue. This would often arrest the attention of all present. And as often, it would happen that while each one was listening attentively and getting, we hoped, some new idea, then would come the question, ‘Please sir, how is that oven (airtight stove) in the corner made and how do you use it?’ and we would

be made aware that the stove and not the parable had been mainly occupying the visitor's thought."

During their many years in Trebizond, the Blisses witnessed the things so many of the missionaries had to contend with: intense persecution by the Armenian community of any one of its members showing an interest in Protestantism; Patriarchal anathemas under which the Protestants were placed; stoning, looting, burning of possessions; terrible epidemics of typhoid, cholera and the plague, banditry, and tribal wars in the mountains.

The Blisses were transferred to Marzifon, in the interior, in October 1851, where they stayed for five years; then in 1856 they were sent to Constantinople when trips to America by Rev. Dwight and Rev. Riggs left too many vacancies at the mission headquarters. Other than three trips to the U.S., Edwin and Bella lived in Constantinople for the next forty years.

In 1857, as the missionaries were contemplating opening operations in Bulgaria, Cyrus Hamlin, accompanied by the Rev. Henry Jones of the Turkish Missions Aid Society (of London), make an exploratory trip in April. Edwin was chosen to make a tour of Bulgaria in October, to accompany two Methodist brethren, Messrs. Prettyman and Albert Long,⁷⁴ to help them determine the location of their new mission. They found a ready welcome from the Europeans operating the telegraph lines

74. Rev. Albert Long later served in Bulgaria for fifteen years, before going to Robert College in Constantinople as the Vice-President under Rev. George Washburn. Long and Washburn were instrumental in shaping public opinion in Britain against the Turks in the Bulgarian Crisis of 1876.

in the various towns and having the novelty of finding their coming telegraphed from point to point that a welcome might await them. The decisions of the group and their recommendations for missionary stations in Bulgaria⁷⁵ became extremely important later, in the Bulgarian Crisis of 1876, impacting directly on the diplomatic maneuverings in the Eastern Question; the Bulgarian Crisis was instrumental in the final weakening of the Ottoman Empire.

This began a series of travels for Edwin. In 1859, he was sent as a delegate to the mission's annual meeting at Antioch of the then-designated "Southern Mission" which enabled him to make a short visit to Jerusalem and Palestine. In 1869, he was sent from Constantinople to the mission's annual meeting at Harpoot when the "Eastern Turkey Mission" was officially separated from the "Western Turkey Mission." He recorded in his journal that this journey was "a continual feast" as he was able to see churches and the work developing in every quarter, not the least of which was his old station, Marsovan (old Merzifon).

The year 1861 was a significant one for Edwin. He made a short visit to Egypt, then later in the year sent his two eldest daughters to America to study, making the trip with Rev. Dwight and his daughters. Also in that year, Rev. Cyrus Hamlin resigned from the Mission to begin work on what became Robert College. Edwin was asked to take over Hamlin's work at the Bebek Seminary, training promising young men to become pastors and teachers. He was so successful in this work that

75. The American Board decided to field missionaries in the southern part of Bulgaria; the northern part was covered by missionaries from the Methodist Board.

when the decision was made the following year to relocate the seminary from Bebek to Marsovan, by special vote it was requested that Rev. Bliss continue as its head.

This was not to be, however. Fevers and recurring malaria over the years had weakened Edwin's health, and in 1862 he was forced to ask for a furlough in America to recover his health. He originally requested a one-year leave, but two years in America were required before he felt strong enough to return to Turkey. Interestingly, on his return voyage to Constantinople he and his family were accompanied by Rev. Daniel Bliss, a cousin and missionary to Syria, who had founded the Syrian Protestant College, later known as the American University of Beirut.

Back in Constantinople, Edwin took over the publications of the mission, preparing Christian texts for the entire empire, carrying on the work begun by his colleagues Dwight, Goodell, and Riggs. Under his guidance, large numbers of books and religious tracts were prepared for use in the churches and schools. In 1865, Constantinople was again visited by a severe epidemic of cholera. The total number of deaths, he recorded, was placed at 50,000, with an estimated 800 to 1,000 dying each day.

To avoid the congested areas of the city, Edwin and his family moved to Bebek in 1866. That same year, his oldest daughter, Mary A. Bliss, went to America where she later married Rev. Henry O. Dwight, the son of Rev. H.G. O. Dwight (see above). In 1874, Edwin and Bella returned once again to Constantinople, but this time moved across to the less-populated Scutari on the Asian side, to be near his

brother, Dr. I.G. Bliss, and the American College for Girls, which had been a special interest of Edwin's from its founding. Edwin's voice was an important one in deliberations about relations between the native churches and the missionaries.

Edwin Bliss died in Constantinople on December 20, 1892, three years after his brother Isaac. Bella lived with her daughter and family in Turkey until 1896, and returned finally to the U.S. very incapacitated, where she lived with her daughter, Mrs. Langdon Ward, in Amherst, Massachusetts. Bella died on March 30, 1897, at age seventy-eight.

Their children and grandchildren carried on in the missionary tradition. Daughter Mary A. Bliss, as we have seen, married the son of H.G. O. Dwight, the Rev. H.O. Dwight. They were stationed in Constantinople. Mary died in 1872 at age twenty-eight, leaving three young children, the youngest a son of only a few weeks who lived just a few short months. Dwight moved in with the Blisses, but the next summer Bliss returned to the U.S. for health reasons and to place his younger children in school in America. Edwin's second daughter, Laura, became the wife of Mr. Langdon S. Ward, who served for thirty years first as Treasurer, later as President of the ABCFM. Another daughter, Isabella, later married Dr. Dwight, but she lived only seven years after that, dying in 1894. One of Bella's sisters married Alexander Longfellow, brother of the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

The Ward grandchildren (Laura's children) became the third generation of missionaries. Mary became a missionary at Marsovan; Mark served at the Harpout

Stations and then was the Medical Secretary of the Board; Paul taught at Robert College; Laura became a missionary in China; Earl was a tutor at Harpout and later a Y.M.C.A. Secretary in India.

Rev. Isaac Grout Bliss—The Purveyor of Bibles ⁷⁶

One of a number of missionaries in this group who came from Massachusetts and were educated at Amherst College, Isaac (younger brother of Edwin) was born in West Springfield on July 5, 1822, and with assistance from the American Education Society, graduated from Amherst in 1844 and from Andover Seminary in 1847. That was a momentous year, for he was ordained, married on May 8 to Eunice Bliss Day (also of West Springfield), and sailed almost immediately from Boston (June 23, 1847). They arrived in Smyrna on August 24, set off for the remote interior of Turkey, and by October—just a few months after graduation and marriage—Isaac and his bride were settled in Erzroom.

The bitter cold winter climate and the 6,000 feet elevation both took a toll on the energetic Bliss, who traveled extensively throughout the region. Four years later his health was broken; return to the U.S. was necessary for rest and recuperation. Following his return to the U.S., Isaac resigned from his employment by the Board.

He tried pastoral work in the U.S. but his heart was in missionary work. When the American Bible Society offered him a position in Constantinople as their

76. The information about this Bliss family came from Amherst College Archives (questionnaires filled out by alumni) and from ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*, pages not numbered but entries by name in alphabetical order.

agent for the Levant, covering Turkey, Egypt, Persia, and Greece, he did not hesitate, and by the end of 1857 he was back in Constantinople, where he was to spend the next thirty years. During his first year the circulation of Bibles reached 2,500; twenty-five years later, under his guidance, the society distributed 56,000 Bibles per year. In total, he was responsible for the distribution of 875,850 Bibles in thirty languages.

Isaac was a not only an entrepreneur, he was a man of vision. He quickly realized that the missionaries and the Society needed suitable, long-term quarters in Constantinople. During a visit to the U.S. in 1866-67, shortly after the end of the Civil War, he was able to raise enough money to underwrite the building of “Bible House,” a large, handsome office building on Findjandjilar Yokoushou, [sic] near the Spice Market and Yeni Cami in the Eminonu section of Constantinople. The American Bible Society, the missionaries, the library, and the archives were housed in that building until the end of 2010.⁷⁷

Isaac concerned himself with books. Besides distribution of the Bible, he was responsible for the securing and publishing of a Turkish Bible version in Arabic, Armenian and Greek characters, with the translations being provided largely by the missionaries in Constantinople. He also supervised the growing publication program of the mission, setting it on a course for modern publishing. During his years in Constantinople, he worked in close cooperation with the missionaries. He was awarded a Doctor of Divinity degree by Amherst in 1871.

77. The archives have now been moved to the vaults of the Ottoman Bank in Istanbul, the library has been given to the American Research Institute in Turkey, and the building will be sold.

As his health weakened over the passing years, he began to seek better climates as refuge from the rigorous winter months in Constantinople. In the winter of 1888-89, he traveled to Egypt, and died there in Assiout on February 16, 1889. One of his colleagues said of his indomitable spirit, "In the church, in the Sunday School, in the Prayer meeting, in the homes of the people, in their shops, on the steamers, by the wayside, everywhere, he was the same earnest, faithful disciple, always about his Master's business, and always bearing with him the Master's spirit. He was a rare man."

Mrs. Bliss, left alone in Constantinople by her husband's sudden death in Egypt, returned to the U.S., where some of her children lived. Their oldest son, Rev. Edwin M. Bliss, graduated from Amherst in 1871 and served for several years as his father's assistant in Constantinople and later was the editor for both editions of the *Encyclopedia of Missions*. Another son, Dr. Charles Bliss, taught medicine for a number of years at the American University of Beirut (founded by his uncle, the Rev. Daniel Bliss); son William Goodell Bliss spent many years running the American Bible Society operations in Constantinople. Daughter Annie taught music for several years at the Home School for Girls in Turkey, then moved to Poughkeepsie. Mrs. Bliss lived with their son Sylvester in New York, who worked in management for the N.Y. Central Railway. She was in the U.S. for seventeen years following her husband's death, dying in mid-1916 at the age of ninety-three.

Rev. Justin Wright Parsons, D.D.—the Martyr⁷⁸

The next-to-the-last of the group to arrive in Constantinople, Rev. Justin Parsons' life illustrates the dangers to which the missionaries were often subjected, especially those who lived outside the capital city of Constantinople. Born in Westhampton, Massachusetts on April 26, 1824, Justin attended Hopkins Academy (Hadley), and just before entering college at age 16, he decided to become an ordained minister. He graduated from Williams College in 1845 (earning his way by manual labor, teaching, and assistance from an aunt) and from Union Seminary in 1848. During his years at seminary he determined to devote his life to missionary work. Justin married Catherine Jennings of Oberlin, Ohio (one of two women in Oberlin's class of 1844) on Dec. 11, 1849, and sailed from Boston just two days shy of his 26th birthday. On board the same ship was Dr. Elias E. Bliss, who was to become a lifelong friend and colleague.

Assigned to the missionary work to the Jews, he arrived in Salonica, with one of the largest populations of Jews in the world, on July 7, 1850. His work there was difficult; the Jewish rabbis were bitterly opposed to the missionaries and chastised anyone who attended their meetings. He traveled to adjacent areas, including Sofia to work with Bulgarian Jews. After three years of relatively fruitless work, the American Board decided to send the missionaries from Salonica to Smyrna to work among the Jewish population there, hoping for greater response. The missionaries

78. Information about Parsons comes from *Memorial Volume, Missionary Herald* dated August 2, 1880, written by Dr. E. E. Bliss; *Bible Society Record* dated August 2, 1880, written by Rev. Dr. I.G. Bliss, and Rev. E.B. Parsons (brother), *Memorial for Rev. Justin W. Parsons, D.D.* (Baldwinsville, N.Y. 1880), from Houghton Library, ABCFM 77.1, Box 76.

were able to open small schools—a day school for girls and a boarding school for boys. But the interest of the Jews in Protestantism was negligible, and in 1856, the Board withdrew its mission to the Jews and passed it on to other societies.

Justin was then assigned to the Armenian Mission in Constantinople, and was stationed in Baghtchedjik (or Bardizag in Armenian) near Nicomedia, in April, 1856, where he spent the remaining twenty-four years of his life, engaged in traditional missionary activities—preaching, teaching, and visiting the Armenian villages in the surrounding area. He wrote home, “What an overwhelming work! My field is larger than all Connecticut and I am the only missionary in it.” When a native companion “was terribly beaten and left for dead” Parsons decided to “go into the wolf’s den” and returned to that same village with his wife and small children. He said that some stones were thrown against their house the first night, but he gradually won over the villagers with his courage and openness. At the time of his death, the Sabbath congregation had grown to three to four hundred, there was a Sabbath school of three hundred, a girl’s school of over seventy, and a high school for young men of eighty pupils, of whom fifteen were candidates for the ministry. He was described by the American Board’s Foreign Secretary, the Rev. Dr. N.G. Clark, as an “indefatigable worker.” So devoted was Justin to his work that he returned to the U.S. only twice, briefly, in 1858 and 1874. Williams College conferred a Doctor of Divinity degree upon him early in 1880.

Described by his colleagues as “fearless,” “brave enough and cool enough to lead an army,” he “carried no weapon with him save the gospel of peace” in those

dangerous times and “with this he had successfully disarmed through a long series of years all the opposition he met.” Parsons met his untimely death when he was traveling in the regional villages. One night, in August, 1880, when he was sleeping in the open plain with an Armenian helper of many years, both were murdered by a gang of marauding nomadic Yuruks, who were intent on robbing them. Although murdered on a Wednesday evening, the bodies were not found until Saturday. At Justin’s funeral, the Armenian Patriarch, his friend for thirty years, traveled from Constantinople to deliver the eulogy. An editorial in the *Missionary Herald* said “in a region where a few years ago the missionaries were hooted and stoned, there was at the burial of Mr. Parsons an outpouring of the whole population, the immense crowd listening amid their tears to tender words of eulogy spoken by native Christians.”

Of his four surviving children, one daughter, widow of the Rev. Albert Whiting, who was martyred in China, herself returned to China as a missionary; another, Electra, was for many years a missionary in Turkey, joining her parents there in 1873, following her education in America. She first worked at the Home School in Constantinople, and then went to Bardizag to help in the Girls’ School there. She was there for nearly ten years, until the school was transferred to Adabazar. There she married the blind son of Dr. and Mrs. Elias Riggs, Mr. Charles W. Riggs, who was then a professor in Central Turkey College, Aintab. They remained in Aintab until 1894, when, following resignation, they and their three children moved to Oberlin, Ohio.

Rev. Augustus Walker—The Victim of Disease⁷⁹

The last of the group to arrive in Turkey, Rev. Walker's life illustrates the harsh realities of the lives of missionaries and the fact that many of them had short, brutish lives overseas. Augustus was born in Medway, Massachusetts on October 30, 1822. After graduation from Yale in 1849, he attended Bangor Theological Seminary for one year, then transferred to Andover Seminary, from which he graduated in 1852. He was ordained the same day (October 18, 1852) he married Eliza M. Harding, the daughter of a pastor in Waltham, Massachusetts, who had attended Mount Holyoke. Together they sailed from Boston on January 7, 1853.

After transiting Constantinople, they arrived in Aintab in the southeast of Anatolia in late April, 1853. Not knowing the conditions he would find in Diyarbakir, his duty station, Augustus left Eliza with other missionaries in Aintab and went on alone further, into what he feared might be dangerous conditions in the interior at Diyarbakir, the heart of Kurdish territory. He returned to Aintab for the summer of 1853 and again in 1854, to avoid the extreme heat of the Tigris Valley.

Eliza had joined Augustus in Diyarbakir in the winter of 1853, and on the return to Aintab in the summer of 1854 they were attacked by Kurdish robbers, the scourge of that region, who roughed them up considerably, nearly killed one of their party, and robbed them of about \$150 worth of goods. The following summer they spent entirely in Diyarbakir, having been joined by that time by Dr. Nutting as medi-

79. Information comes from ABCMF, *Memorial Volume*.

cal advisor. In the summer of 1856, the Walkers traveled to the station in the hills at Harpout to take advantage of the cooler climate.⁸⁰

Their work in Diyarbakir and surrounding villages followed the typical pattern of trying to establish a church congregation and a school, experiencing ups and downs, seeming “very encouraging and sadly retarded” but on the whole “favorable”. The Rev. H.G. O. Dwight from Constantinople visited them in 1861 and was “immensely impressed” by the progress that had been made over the years.

As so often happened, their health deteriorated, and in 1864 they were forced to seek a furlough in the United States to regain their strength. After a year recuperating in the U.S., the Walkers returned to their station in Diyarbakir in November, 1865, only to find cholera raging there. Nearly 1,500 people died of cholera in Diyarbakir that year, but “Mr. Walker fearlessly went about his duties.” He was not so lucky when cholera struck again the next year, when they were the only Americans in the city. Augustus succumbed to it on September 13, 1866.

Fellow missionaries who arrived shortly after his death reported that “Diyarbakir was filled with mourning. Not Protestants alone, but Moslems and Armenians, all were stricken. Such a funeral, as of one who was a father to all, was never witnessed there before. It was touching to witness the deep grief of this orphaned people, and to learn how heartfelt was the tie that bound them to a stranger from the

80. The author understands the heat of Diyarbakir. The hottest weather I ever experienced, including the tropics of Southeast Asia and West Africa, was in the Diyarbakir region in July when the temperatures reached 145 degrees Fahrenheit.

far-off West. Singing the hymns he had taught them, they carried his bier on their shoulders two and a half miles.”⁸¹

Eliza was left with four fatherless children. She returned to America, and lived with her parents at Auburndale, Massachusetts. But she soon took into their home two children of missionaries in Micronesia who had nowhere else to live. She and the American Board in Boston both realized that, increasingly, provision would have to be made for children of missionaries abroad who needed education in America, and those who were left orphaned.

In 1879, after both her parents had died, she converted their house into the “Walker Missionary Home,” a home to accommodate missionary children. During the next thirty-seven years she took in 281 children, and also provided a temporary home to 205 missionaries who returned to America, as she had in 1864, exhausted from the labors of overseas living and needing a place to recuperate. There were often, it was reported, twenty-five at her table. A woman of great energy, she recognized that there would need to be a special fund to support this kind of activity in the future, and with the help of others, she raised an endowment fund of over \$35,000. When she was no longer capable of running the home, others stepped in to take over. After thirty-eight years of this selfless work, Eliza died in Auburndale on January 15, 1906. The present day “Walker Conference Center” is active still.

81. ABCFM, *Memorial Volume*, pages unnumbered.

“The Glorious Eleven” Reprise

The men (and women) sketched above were extraordinary in many ways, and in other ways were perfectly ordinary folks—except for their devotion to their faith and the spread of this faith to others. There were, during the nineteenth century, hundreds of people like them all around the world, sent by the American Board into strange and remote areas to carry the gospel to the unknowing. In the case of “The Glorious Eleven” arriving in the Ottoman Empire over the space of 20 years, they were generally unprepared for what they found there. In later chapters we shall examine briefly the events that took place in those momentous years of reform, change and decline in the empire, 1830-1880, and the mystifying Oriental world that the missionaries entered when they arrived in the Ottoman ports.

CHAPTER 4

THE MISSIONARY: HIS PROTESTANT THEOLOGY AND AMERICAN VALUES

A. The Religious Context

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the influence of students at Williams College and the Society of Brethren in fomenting religious sentiment among the students for missionary work, which led ultimately to the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810. New England Congregationalist colleges and Andover Seminary provided hundreds of young men—and later women—as overseas missionaries during the 19th century. The majority of the early Protestant missionaries were Congregationalists, Calvinists with an overlay of nearly two hundred years of American history and religious tradition. What was the theological context from which they came? What beliefs, values, and ideals did these young Americans take with them as they scattered to China, Hawaii, the Middle East, India, Burma, Persia, and Ceylon? What role did the change in the doctrine of predestination play in allowing the first generation of American Protestant missionaries to believe that they could “Evangelize the World in Our Generation?”

This section will trace the changes in Calvinist doctrine during its first 200 years in America, the challenges to Calvinism from Arminianism. It will examine the shift from the doctrine of predestination and salvation for the elect only, to the doctrine of salvation for all—a doctrine closer to Arminianism. The theology of universal salvation liberated and inspired generations of young Americans to evangelize

the world in order to bring redemption to sinners in foreign lands, establish the Kingdom of God on earth, and hasten the Second Coming of Christ.

One of the issues debated by historians in modern literature¹ is whether this change in religious doctrine in America over two hundred years was simply an evolution of Calvinist doctrine from which political, economic, and social changes in America then flowed or whether the reverse was true—did the political push for independence, the economic implications of Adam Smith and the rise of capitalism, or a frontier mentality stressing individualism influence the doctrines of religion, which then hurried to catch up with a realistic assessment of society's new directions? Regardless of which came first, the two—religion and politics—were intertwined in ways that would have affected our missionaries' thinking in the early 19th century.

Traditional Calvinism and its Nemesis, Arminianism

Throughout the ages, men and women have sought to understand their proper relationship to God. The Reformation of Luther and Calvin taught that each person had a direct and personal relationship with God, and that salvation, union with God, was the ultimate goal in life, as through salvation came the promise of life everlasting. John Calvin (1509 - 1564), a Frenchman who began a theocracy in Geneva, promulgated a very specific new form of Christian thinking. Built on the Sovereignty of God, his basic doctrines were five:

1. Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

(1) *total depravity*: humans were totally depraved, Adam had failed God's trust in him, therefore everything humans attempted was tainted by sin and because of this, were not able to seek God on their own accord, were unable to choose God and what is pure;

(2) *unconditional election*: salvation was open to a few, elect people and was based solely on God's will; individuals were passive instruments to be used by God and took no part in whether they became one of the elect, the chosen, not because of anything which they themselves had or had not achieved. This doctrine of predestination led to a certain amount of passivity on the part of the people, although Calvin admonished his flock to continually strive for the moral good, whether elect or not.

(3) *limited atonement*: Christ died for the salvation of the elect only, not for the salvation of all;

(4) *irresistible grace*: only God can offer grace to man, and when man is called to grace by God, he will accept, he cannot do otherwise; the elect will receive an inner call to grace which they will recognize; God alone is the dispenser of grace, and grace is not contingent on good works. Man must develop faith, because without faith his works will not be acceptable to God; and

(5) *perseverance*: once called to grace by God in faith, the elect can never deny Christ or turn away from God. The elect are those who can practice genuine virtue because they are the redeemed sinners who have received God's grace and have been called into the church.²

Shortly after Calvin, the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius, (1560-1609) offered Reformed doctrines later known as Arminianism, which echoed Calvin's doctrines in some respects, but differed in several important points:

(1) *partial depravity*: man is tainted by sin but is only partially depraved, he is capable of placing faith in God of his own accord because he does have the capacity to choose good and to choose God;

(2) *conditional election*: God, in his infinite knowledge, knows who will accept Him but the decision to accept God comes of man's own free will;

(3) *unlimited atonement*: Christ died for the salvation of all mankind;

2. Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, eds., *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequence* (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967), xiii, xiv, footnotes.

(4) *resistible grace*: all men are called to grace but some resist or reject it of their own will;

(5) *conditional salvation*: man, of his own will, can become a backslider and turn away from God, he can choose to abandon the salvation given him and can fall from grace.³

Arminianism was rejected at the Synod of Dort in 1619, but some portions of these doctrines became integrated into various Reformed religions, notably Anglicanism.

The historical tension between these two doctrines, Calvinism and Arminianism, framed the basic arguments and conflicts over doctrine in Protestant churches during the first two centuries of American history, from the establishment of the first Puritan colonies and their doctrinaire Calvinist Congregational Churches until the Second Great Awakening (1790–1830).

Calvinism in America – the First 100 Years (1620-1720)

The New England religion practiced by the Puritans was a form of Calvinism; however, already in their time, it had been subject to changes, extenuating explanations, and differences of interpretation.⁴ The first generation of Puritans, who came to America to found a colony reflecting their religious and political beliefs, was conscious that this experiment and its outcome could be a model for other groups. As John Winthrop famously said to the group on the ship *Arbella*, “For wee

3. Ibid., xviii, footnote.

4. Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 50.

must Consider that wee shall be as a Citty upon a Hill, the eies of all people are upon us.”⁵

The Puritans brought with them notions that have become embedded in our “core” culture, the most basic of which was the belief of being a “chosen” people, in covenant with God.⁶ The idea of a covenant with God goes back to the story of Adam in the Bible. There is an understanding of mutual obligations in these covenants; both parties make a commitment to each other and must be faithful to their sacred promises. God was offering Abraham a covenant of grace, and what was expected of him was belief, faith in God. In return for belief, Abraham was given salvation.

The concept of a covenant between God and man became the foundation of Puritan theology; it was the means to salvation. The covenant of grace given to Abraham defined the terms by which Heaven and everlasting life could be attained. As a part of the Covenant is salvation, “If ever thou are in covenant with God, and hast this seale in thy soule, that there is a change wrought in thee by the covenant, then thy election is sure.”⁷

5. Ibid., 11.

6. William G. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1978), 24-44.

7. Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 71.

As children of Abraham, the Puritans were part of this covenant.⁸ If faithful to the Covenant, the Puritans would be protected by God, and would prosper in the New World. The language and doctrines of the Covenant shaped the community, which expressed its social cohesion in terms of the Covenant.⁹ However, along with faith, knowledge was necessary; the two went hand in hand. Miller suggests¹⁰ that this is not “rationalism” as was known in the 19th century, but what he refers to as the “entering wedge,” a kind of “reasonableness” that put a high value on education and intellect. Every person should be able to read and interpret the Bible for himself – grace must be accompanied by knowledge. Here, then, is an early change in the idea that an individual is a totally passive actor in salvation. The Covenant, by its very nature, links the need for a person to gain knowledge as well as have faith: knowledge as a means to gain understanding and truth thus becomes a theological necessity.

The early Americans came from British and Continental sects in which the Holy Spirit, bringing God’s word to his people, was a personal, powerful and vibrant force in their lives. The Puritans, and the evangelicals who evolved from them, believed God worked directly in their lives. They believed that the ordinary person could reach God, and they looked forward to the moment when they found union with God. “This conviction of the mystical ability of the individual soul to expe-

8 . Ibid., 60 – 65.

9. Noll, *America’s God*, 39.

10. Ibid., 70.

rience God stood at the center of Puritans' and evangelicals' spiritual strength.”¹¹

Salvation was longed-for; the road to salvation involved an intense, intimate personal relationship with God speaking and working through the power of the Holy Spirit in their lives. The possibility of receiving salvation was open to both men and women; all believers could experience it, although only the elect would receive God's grace. They fervently believed that with conversion, the Holy Spirit arrived to free the soul from sin and lead it to salvation.

The goal of the Puritans was to create God's kingdom on earth. “From its first settlements, not only in Pilgrim Plymouth but in almost every colony, America has been a utopian experiment in achieving the Kingdom of God on earth...Our history has been essentially the history of one long millenarian movement. Americans, in their cultural mythology, are God's chosen, leading the world to perfection.”¹²

The Biblical Book of Revelations – the Revelation of St. John – with its difficult text and graphic imagery, provided an important doctrine to the Puritans. This book can be considered as “one of the most influential books in the whole of western history...in recent centuries its fires became a beacon of hope for mankind, and this change has been one of the most momentous events in the intellectual history of the West since the Reformation.”¹³ Revelations posits that at some point in history, the

11. Ibid., 6.

12. Ibid., 19.

13. Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 2.

enemies of God's chosen people will be defeated, and the Kingdom of God will be established everywhere on earth. The notion of progress is embedded here; that is, slowly, good will overcome evil. History is thus a series of actions (the pouring out of the seven vials in Revelations) to overcome Satan and all the forces of evil. When good triumphs, the millennium will be ushered in, the last stage of history when all will live in peace and happiness.

The question of when the millennium would come has been of critical interest since the time of the early church fathers in the second and third centuries, who thought the second coming and the millennium were close at hand. As the centuries passed, however, there were fewer thoughts about its immediacy. In the 17th century, English-speaking Protestants revived these ideas adding their own interpretation – God would redeem both individuals *and* society at the same time, and “in the next century, a new nation in a recently discovered part of the world seemed suddenly to be illuminated by a ray of heavenly light, to be at the western end of the rainbow that arched over the civilized world.”¹⁴ “By the end of the seventeenth century the novel idea that history is moving toward a millennial regeneration of mankind became not only respectable but almost canonical.”¹⁵

The Puritans, of course, saw themselves as the Chosen People, replacing the chosen people of Israel who had somehow failed their God. The Puritans believed that their material betterment was a clear sign that God had favored them, and was

14. Ibid., 12.

15. Ibid., 17.

signaling His approval of the Covenant. Their increasing prosperity was seen as an outward sign of the community's inner grace. They believed that with continuing progress and improvement of their own spirituality, and by leading others to accept the salvation offered by God, they could bring about the millennium. In short, they believed that America could be the redeemer nation, showing the world how to build the Kingdom of God on earth. A consistently important theme throughout American history, the notion that America is the redeemer nation, the "shower of the way," is with us still, whether it be in religion, freedom, economic development, social equality, or governance.¹⁶

The young men at Andover Seminary, the contemporaries of Samuel Mills, understood the significance of America as the nation chosen by God to lead the rest of the world to His grace and salvation. They believed they were God's instruments in bringing the millennium on earth and hastening the Second Coming. Jonathan Edwards preached extensively on this subject, and his followers, the New Divinity school, continued that tradition. Joseph Bellemey, Samuel Hopkins, Timothy Dwight and Lyman Beecher, through the generations, pressed this theme. Hopkins, the leading theologian after Edwards, wrote *A Treatise on the Millennium* in which he described the Millennium as the "age of benevolence", the essence of all virtue. "Holiness and righteousness consist in "piety to God: and disinterested benevolence to-

16. This raises the question of whether our difficulty in coming to terms with Islam today is because to do so means that we will have to give up our long-standing belief of America as the redeemer nation, as the model for all nations.

wards man, including ourselves.”¹⁷ Knowledge, he insisted, will be necessary to help bring mankind to the millennium. The Golden Age, the Millennium, the time of peace on earth and harmony among all nations – the constantly stated goals of today’s America – one of the underlying motivations of the 19th century missionaries, clearly has its roots in 17th century Protestant theology.

Puritan Society in Early America

The societies the Puritans founded were church-centered, traditional, patriarchal and hierarchical. The early Puritan societies were theocracies, with clergy as leaders and only the elect—that is male church members in good standing—were given suffrage to vote in the town councils. In these patriarchal societies, women had an inferior status.¹⁸ These were strict, inflexible societies; anyone who challenged the social hierarchical order by suggesting a different status for women, or who challenged the worship or doctrines of the established churches, could not be tolerated. Individuals such as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were driven out of the early Puritan colonies because of their doctrinal dissent. When the Quakers first arrived in the New England colonies in the 1600s with their notions of equality of men and women in worship, they were expelled from certain of the colonies. When they insisted on returning, they were whipped, maimed, and eventually some were hanged. The New England colonies, led by the clergy, were kept free from heresy,

17. From Samuel Hopkins, *A Treatise on the Millennium* (Boston, 1793), 40, quoted in Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation*, 60.

18. Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America, 1600 – 1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

including witchcraft, with the intolerant leaders “erecting, protecting and preserving its polity.”¹⁹

A community-based society, the Puritans believed that freedom and responsibility would perfect the individual and the community, the nation, and, ultimately, the world. Hard work and education would bring opportunity for the individual to realize his potential and take his place in the community.²⁰

The First Great Awakening (1740-1760)

By the 1720s, some clergy were calling for a revival of the spirit of their forefathers. In Northampton, Massachusetts, the Rev. Solomon Stoddard, known as the “pope” of Connecticut Valley, preached a series of particularly moving sermons, raising the religious fervor of his flock and resulting in a series of “harvests” of converted or regenerated souls. His grandson, the brilliant Jonathan Edwards, educated at Yale, became his assistant a short time before Stoddard’s death in 1729, and succeeded to his grandfather’s pulpit. In 1734-35, Edwards’ sermons aroused his parish in a new revival and in 1736, Edwards published an account of the revivals at Northampton as a great outpouring of the Holy Spirit in his parish.

The revival phenomenon was not limited to New England, but was being felt in many of the colonies. Edwards invited an itinerant English preacher, George Whitefield, to preach in Northampton during one of his circuits in New England, follow-

19. Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 3,4.

20. Ibid., 7.

ing his enormously successful revivals in the southern and middle colonies. Whitefield and other itinerant preachers, often attracting thousands of listeners, were becoming known for the emotional and religious outpourings during their revivals, discretely referred to as “enthusiasms” by the more staid Congregationalists who generally did not approve of the wailing and gnashing of teeth, arm waving, fainting and other emotional outbursts associated with the revivals. Whitefield, a charismatic preacher, on his part, characterized the lack of religious interest he found in New England during his 1740 visit thusly: “... the Reason why Congregations have been so dead, is because dead Men preach to them.”²¹

Whitefield preached the necessity of New Birth, the individual conversion experience, which would bind a person to God, bring forgiveness of sins, redemption, and through the grace of God, bring His people to salvation. The Americans had developed in New England, perhaps as an outgrowth of rationalism, the idea of “preparation”, which had at its heart that man must and could do something to prepare himself for the eventuality of receiving God’s grace by praying, preparing his mind and soul to be receptive to the Holy Spirit. He was not simply a passive vessel. Calvinism was being challenged by a quiet but persistent Arminianism.²² Calvinist doctrine of pre-destination was slowly being eroded in America, especially in light of the rise of American individualism, noted elsewhere in this paper. Waiting passively

21. Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, Second Edition, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 284.

22. Heimert and Miller, *The Great Awakening*, xxi.

for anything seemed contrary to the American national character, already developing a reputation for overcoming barriers to improve one's lot in life.

The revivals created an extraordinary spiritualism that swept the colonies, and brought many ordinary folk to conversion. John Wesley, who came from England to preach in America, insisted that conversion could be *immediate*, that anyone who truly believed and wished salvation could find it. The lengthy preparation required by the Calvinists for those who sought salvation and church membership was not necessary; moreover, one could seek salvation through good works which would find favor in the eyes of God. Salvation, he preached, was not a passive event over which the supplicant had no control – indeed, one could take an active part in developing one's own faith. Salvation was not limited to the few, the elect. Salvation was available for all who truly sought it. Arminianism squarely took on Calvinism, and triumphed in Methodism, the denomination that rapidly became the most popular in America.²³ As revivals gained momentum across the colonies, denominations other than the “established” churches gained adherents and grew rapidly, evangelism took hold, and religious pluralism in America began its development.

Edwards, considered the outstanding American theologian of the 18th century, began to exhibit evolutionary changes in his sermons and writings. Edwards offered a new perspective on Calvinism, one that reflected the Enlightenment of the age, idealism and the notions of Lockean philosophy. He saw the coming division

23. According to Mark Noll, *America's God*, 162, 166, Methodism grew from no churches in 1740 to 65 churches in 1776, to 19,883 churches in 1860, becoming by far the single largest denomination in America.

between the “old-Style Calvinism” and the growing rationalism of the age. A note of “incipient rationalism” crept into his sermons. He supported experiential religion²⁴. He became one of the most important interpreters of religious experience and experiential religion in post-Reformation history.

Edwards lived at a time when the society was in flux. The old Puritan ideal of a Holy Commonwealth based on a national covenant was yielding to a new era based on individualism and individual morality rather than communal morality. It may well have been these rapidly-changing mores that made the early revivals so vital in the lives of so many. His sermons and publications dealt with some of the central issues in the Awakening, and he became the chief New England spokesman for a somewhat restrained type of revival. He said of the revivals, “What is now seen in America, and especially in New England, may prove the dawn of that glorious day”²⁵ when the Kingdom of God on earth would be established. Edwards was reflecting Americans’ concern with the millennium, which had become such a powerful part of American definition of the nature, purpose and destiny of the nation.

24. In this he was a forerunner of Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) and others of the next century who stressed that religion was essentially *feeling*. Discarding the idea that religion is composed of doctrines that must be accepted on faith, Schleiermacher offered a new perspective on Christianity: man must *experience* religion for himself; that religion begins with man’s feeling of absolute dependence and that man has immediate self-consciousness of it. “God is given to us in feeling in an original way...there is given to man also the immediate self-consciousness of it, which becomes a consciousness of God”. *Qui expertus non fuerit, non intelligit*: No one will understand unless he has experienced. His theology of experience paved the way for imagination, for freedom and individualism, and pointed to the spontaneity and mystery of life, especially to those dimensions of life of the *spirit*, for which Rationalism had no room.

26. Noll, *America’s God*, 311.

“Powerfully in the Great Awakening and repeatedly in later revivals, this old Puritan conception of the Redeemer Nation would be enlivened.”²⁶

Although Edwards was a strong proponent of revivals, there were widely contentious issues over revivals and their place in religion. Many clergy did not agree with Edwards on the beneficial aspects of revivals. Ezra Stiles, after 1778 the president of Yale, said in 1761, when looking back on the “late enthusiasm” as a time when “multitudes were seriously, soberly, and solemnly out of their wits.”²⁷

Stiles was reflecting the viewpoint of the Old Calvinists. Opposing them, as the direct disciples of Edwards, were the New Divinity Men, largely Yale men who acknowledged Edwards as their hero. Four distinguished leaders and students of Edwards – Joseph Bellemey (1719–90), Samuel Hopkins (1721-1803), Jonathan Edwards, Jr. (1745-1801), and Nathaniel Emmons (1745-1840) – developed his doctrines and built a bridge between the Puritanism (modified) of Edwards and 19th century American Protestantism. Among other things, they kept alive a tradition of theological concern in the laity, responding to the growing voices of the laymen. They held pulpits mostly in Connecticut and the Connecticut River Valley. They defended revivals and were constantly embroiled in doctrinal bickering with the more orthodox clergy that eventually drove away some of their members. It may be that the departure of so many church members inadvertently strengthened the propo-

26. Ibid., 311.

27. Ibid., 404.

nents of Arminianism, as many of the disaffected members sought religious refuge in the growing denominations that supported Arminian doctrines.

Disinterested Benevolence

One of Edward's best-known and most enduring doctrines is that of "disinterested benevolence", defined by Edwards as true holiness. Edwards wrote and published a book entitled *Life of Brainerd*, based on the journals of David Brainerd, expelled from Yale, later ordained, an early missionary who conducted missions to American Indians during the years 1742-1747. Brainerd, after a series of frustrating and largely fruitless missions, died at an early age from tuberculosis and his exertions during his missions. Edwards fashioned from Brainerd's journals a best-seller of its day, a rather fanciful, embellished version of Brainerd's persistence in the face of extreme hardship, buttressed solely by his great faith in God. This has been, over the ages, Edward's most popular work. It transformed the life of this relatively undistinguished, unsuccessful missionary into one of selfless heroism and became a model for disinterested benevolence of the highest order. "The canonization of Brainerd and the transformation of the *Life of Brainerd* into an American religious classic were yet additional aspects of the cultural work of the Second Great Awakening that included the revitalization of Edwards as a religious authority and the invention of the "great" colonial awakening."²⁸

28. Ibid., 69.

Brainerd became, then, the model of evangelism during the Second Awakening when missionary fervor was beginning to sweep the country, when millennialism and revivals were in vogue. His story, as presented by Edwards, set high standards of piety to which Christians should aspire, and illustrated the point that conversion was only the beginning of a long process in the lifetime pursuit of true holiness. The major benevolent societies formed in the early- to mid-1800s used the various publications of *Life of Brainerd* as an example of selfless giving to rally the increasingly-fragmented denominations to work together in missions to evangelize the world, to “assert the superiority of white Anglo-Saxon evangelical culture.”²⁹ In addition, this book became the prototype of a new and ultimately very popular literary genre – the missionary’s life.

By the late 1790s, the Rev. Samuel Mills (the father), preaching in the small but typical Connecticut town of Torrington, could influence his flock, including his son, the young Samuel Mills, with the doctrine of “disinterested goodness.” In one of his sermons he said:

...it may be observed, that Christ preached the doctrine of *disinterested goodness*.³⁰ It was, evidently, his idea, that this is the love which the law requires. In his sermon on the mount, stating the nature of that love enjoined by the law, he urged, that it was essentially different from the love, which sinners naturally have one for another – that it was of a nature, *pure and impartial. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you.* All this is urged, as an

29. Ibid., 70.

30. We may think of this as the traditional Christian *agape*.

imitation of the divine character. – *That ye may be the children of your Father, who is in heaven:* clearly intimating, that, aside from this, they could not be God’s children. This is a most striking method, not only to teach us what holiness is; but also, to urge upon the necessity of it. This was the love, which Christ himself exercised. *For even Christ pleased not himself.* This, and no other, was the love that he ever inculcated, both by precept and example. *This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you.*³¹

The doctrine of disinterested benevolence was strongly passed to the next generations. Disinterested benevolence was the ideal for which Mary Lyon strove in her founding of Mount Holyoke as an educational institution for women in 1837. There was a direct linkage of Mount Holyoke to Edwardsean ideals. “The New Divinity concern for self-sacrificial benevolence as the quintessential element of Christian virtue became the guiding principle of her life, and [Nathaniel] Emerson’s interest in education as a means of facilitating women’s role in the process of global redemption became her cause.”³² Nearly four hundred Mount Holyoke graduates became wives of missionaries, or missionaries in their own right, during the six decades following its establishment, spreading the gospel of Christ and Mary Lyon’s educational systems around the world, living out their commitment to disinterested benevolence.

31. The Rev. Samuel J. Mills, “The Religious Sentiments of CHRIST.” In *Sermons on Important Subjects; Collected from A Number of Ministers, in Some of the Northern States of America* (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1797), 6,7. Sermon is undated. Italics are in the original text.

32. Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Equally, the Andover Seminary, founded in 1808 by the New Divinity men and colleagues when Harvard turned to Unitarianism, stressed the doctrine of disinterested benevolence. The doctrine that young Samuel Mills heard expounded by his father in the late 1790s, before he went on to Williams College, he and his colleagues heard again from the faculty at Andover, which they attended after Williams. Andover, like Mount Holyoke, trained a great proportion of missionaries in the tradition of disinterested benevolence.

Many scholars see the period of the First Great Awakening as one of rejection of the control of the established churches' clergy over society as well as a spurning of the intellectual elites of the religious class, a popular anti-intellectual movement. Others note that by this time, with the expansion of American frontiers, the strict Calvin family discipline was breaking down as sons moved farther west to seek their own land.³³ The old Calvinistic ideal of the centrality of the community was being eroded; individualism was on the rise. Ministers preached warnings that materialism, prosperity and self-interest were turning their congregations away from piety and thoughts of salvation. The Great Awakenings, as defined by one historian,³⁴ represent times when institutions, values and beliefs are questioned, when authority patterns and leaders are reassessed, and from the ferment and turmoil of social change a revitalized society and culture emerges. It is a dynamic process bringing

33. McLoughlin, *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform*, 56.

34. *Ibid.*, 1-23.

positive and creative change. Certainly it saw the beginnings of a call for separation of church and state, of disestablishment in colonies that had established churches.

There seems to be little agreement on what America was “awakening” to. Some see it as a resurgence of Calvinism which earlier, because of the influence of science and Rationalism, seemed likely to be swept away. “The Great revival of the 1740s would appear not an awakening at all, but the dying shudder of a Puritanism that refused to see itself as an anachronism.”³⁵ Noll refers to it as “the collapse of the Puritan canopy.”³⁶ In the view of Heimert and Miller, the Awakening began a “new era, not only of American Protestantism, but in the evolution of the American mind... a watershed of American development...[it] marked America’s final break with the Middle Ages and her entry into a new intellectual age in the church and in society.”³⁷

Edward’s weakening of the notion of covenant, however, came at a time when the colonies were caught up in imperial wars that ushered in new political thinking and a new political vocabulary. “Vice” and “virtue” replaced “sin” and “redemption”; Deists and Unitarians came to the fore in political leadership, Newtonian science and the Enlightenment in Europe brought new thoughts and a new vocabulary to match. For the next decades the colonies were bound up in the struggle for their own political independence, using the phrases of rationalist, deistic origin –

35. Heimert and Perry, *The Great Awakening*, xiii, xiv.

36. Noll, *America’s God*, 31-50.

37. *Ibid.*, xiv, xv.

“nature and nature’s God”, “inalienable rights”, “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Following the Revolutionary War and the difficult writing and acceptance of a new form of government under the Constitution, the new Republic struggled to understand the meaning of freedom, and the implementation of democracy. Again there was a period of turbulence as the society moved in fits and starts from hierarchy to equality.

By the end of the 1700s, however, the New Divinity men, carrying on the traditions of Edwards, were “rewarded” by the Second Great Awakening, its sweeping influence in generating personal conversions and social reforms, establishing benevolent societies and inspiring the missionary, temperance, and anti-slavery movements. Ahlstrom declared, “Building on the older Puritan divinity as it had been enlivened in the Awakening and set on a new course by Edwards, they maintained and extended the New England Theology. They thus contributed creatively to the single most brilliant and most continuous indigenous theological tradition that America has produced.”³⁸ Edwards’ leadership in the Great Awakening, and his legacy in Congregational and Presbyterian theology, continued to influence America’s cultural traditions for over a century. Edward’s reputation “as America’s greatest theologian”³⁹ is widely acknowledged.

38. Ibid., 405.

39 This quote and all others in this paragraph are taken from Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 414.

Second Great Awakening (1790 – 1830)

The Second Great Awakening (circa 1790 – 1830) brought about a tremendous religious and social change in New England. The period following the American Revolution was a time of social ferment, as people tried to understand the meaning of freedom. As more religious denominations strengthened the spread of egalitarianism and preachers came from the ranks of the common man, “upstarts blurred the distinction between pulpit and pew”.⁴⁰ Close control of society by the Calvinist churches was weakening, and increasingly there was “dissociation between the purposes of the society and the real beliefs of individuals.”⁴¹ Contrary to other earlier historical analysis, Birdsall suggests that it was not the strong influence of certain well-known clergy of the times, but rather the shift from orthodox doctrine to one seeking the hearts of individuals that drove the broad change in religion and social order. The people responded to a new emphasis on individual belief, rejecting the older, Puritan concern with a strong community.

It was this very breaking down of the old order that demanded response by leaders, as they lost their absolute power in the community. Struggling to understand what was happening to society in these post-revolutionary decades, Timothy Dwight (Edward’s grandson), a leading New England clergyman, posited that the breakdown

40. Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 226.

41. Richard Birdsall, “The Second Great Awakening and the New England Social Order” *Church History* 39, no. 3, (Sept, 1970): 345.

of social order, the rise of “excessive tolerance that bordered on disorder”⁴² was caused by a pushing of the frontier farther west into wilderness where settlers developed a mentality of those in isolation, and, in the urban areas, the rising “cultural frontier” as Puritan values of community based on Christian love were giving way to the new capitalist values of individual achievement and rational self-interest. Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” in markets was starting to take hold in the economic life of the colonies, bringing social tension to tradition-based communities. It was a clash between private interests and public good.

Other clergy were deeply concerned that as traditional social strictures loosened the new republican spirit arising in the former colonies might run amok, imitating the course of the great French social upheavals following their revolution. The American intellectuals were anxiously watching the total unraveling of order in France as the commoners seized control, and flaunting their new power, destroyed the elite class. New England clergy feared that the loss of their status might signal the beginnings of a similar meltdown of American society, and were further alarmed by Shay’s Rebellion.

Reactions to the perceived changes in society and religion ranged from the very orthodox and conservatives, who began to dwell on form, detail, and ceremony (who shall stand where) to the liberals, who were concerned with substance. Conservatives pushed for the *status quo* in the social order. Liberals, on the other hand, began to push for a separation of church and state, seeking an unfettered society as a

42. Ibid., 346.

means to achieve a more just society. They stressed individual welfare. “The great task of the age was to free the individual from a too restrictive social and moral order.”⁴³ Birdsall suggests that neither the New Divinity nor the old Calvinist doctrine of communal social responsibility nor the humanitarianism of the Enlightenment was able to meet the deep religious needs of the people in the rapidly changing society. But a synthesis coming from elements of all three emerged in a transformed Congregationalism by the 1820s in a new approach to religion, with young people taking the lead.

In the midst of this profound change and its great inner turbulence, revivals once again took hold in New England, springing up in 1797, and were in full swing by the early 1800s. The working out of the newly developing sets of relationships between individuals and groups within the society brought about an intense religious fervor, a surprising need for townspeople to communicate with each other. The revivals can “best be seen as a kind of revolt of individuals against a social system that made demands on them far beyond any personal commitment they felt to it and against a religion grown too institutionalized and secure.”⁴⁴ Men and women began to see themselves as individuals, not just as interchangeable and anonymous parts of a society over which they had no control. And they began to understand that salvation was available to anyone who strove to attain it.

43. Ibid., 351.

44. Ibid., 355.

Youth played an especially important role in the Second Great Awakening and the revivals. The Rev. Charles Backus of Comers, Connecticut, wrote: “In the latter part of February, 1797, a serious attention to religion began in this town...The awakening began with the youth...More than half of [the awakened] were under thirty-five years of age....”⁴⁵ The Rev. Samuel Mills, father of the young Mills who became a missionary, reported, in “August, 1798 unusual religious appearances commenced in this place especially among the young people. They met weekly by themselves...an event so extraordinary, excited a spirit of general inquiry throughout the society....”⁴⁶ The young people affected by the Second Great Awakening were typically between the ages of 18-25. “[college professors] also carefully introduced the revival into the college halls, and they encouraged their young converts to form those religious debating societies and Societies of Inquiry on Missions which established organized piety as a regular feature of college life.”⁴⁷

One young missionary, Cyrus Hamlin, described his undergraduate experience at Bowdoin College in Maine by discussing the Theological Society, the Praying Circle, and the Society of Inquiry all of which were active and important parts of the school. He mentioned revivals in his sophomore, junior and senior years. “Each year there were seasons of special earnestness in our religious work, and there was no year without some conversions... Who can measure the good done by the fifty or

45. Ibid., 352.

46. Ibid.

47. Lois W. Banner, “Religion and Reform in the Early Republic: The Role of Youth,” *American Quarterly* 23, no. 5, (Dec., 1971): 682.

more who in these three revivals devoted themselves to the Saviour?”⁴⁸ Revivals also became an important part of college life at Williams and at Amherst.

Again, it is instructive to turn to the Rev. Samuel Mills (the father) preaching in the late 1790s on salvation, and note that salvation has now become possible for anyone, not just the elect:

Furthermore, Christ considered the *atonement*, which was made by his *death*, in which the highest testimony was borne against sin, as *abundantly sufficient for the whole world*. The parable of the marriage supper, and various things in the gospel testify to this. In conformity to this idea, Christ offered eternal life, indiscriminately, to all: he invited and urged all to a compliance with the gospel. He gave public notice, that none who came, should be cast out. *Him that cometh unto me, I will, in no side, cast out. Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me – and ye shall find rest to your souls*. In the last day, that great day of the feast, Jesus stood and cried, saying, *If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that cometh to me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on me, shall never thirst.*⁴⁹

Faced with the outpouring of religious emotions from revivals, the clergy responded by trying – and succeeding – to prevent social mass hysteria, and channeled the released energy into constructive means: church membership was encouraged, simple creeds were developed, and, the need to improve local society and the greater world were stressed. Social reform was needed at home, the world needed to hear the Christian message.

48. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* Second Edition (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society) undated, 111, 112.

49. Mills, *Sermons on Important Subjects*, 8. Italics are in the original text.

Both clergy and laymen joined to promote and establish the means to accomplish that, bringing into existence organizations called benevolent societies, which became the hallmark of this era. Major societies, associations and benevolent organizations were created in the early 1800s to do everything from distributing bibles and educating clergy, to temperance movements, to renewing morals in cities, and sending missionaries abroad to convert the heathens. This was the beginning of what has been termed “the benevolent empire” and signaled a major shift in American social institutions.

These organizations often stressed the values that had become traditional in New England: hard work, education, thrift, respect, belief in self and in salvation. Additionally, these new institutions responded to and were representative of new trends sweeping New England and the United States as the new republic began to shape its nationalism, democracy, capitalism. “The Second Great Awakening remains the moment of institutional and ideological flux out of which grew the characteristic liberal-protestant-bourgeois synthesis of nineteenth-century America.”⁵⁰ The stresses in society that brought on the Second Great Awakening lessened through the revival of religion; stability returned. The new form of Calvinism that emerged provided an anchor to the society; New Englanders once again regained their confidence in themselves and their leadership.

Many historians of this era point to the Second Great Awakening as the most important decades in the forming of the new republic. The gradual evolution from

50. Birdsall, *Church History*, 363.

strict Puritan 17th century values about community as the centerpiece of societies and the individual's need to subsume himself to the needs of the community – albeit a community built on God's love – to late 18th century emphasis on individuals was a change of tidal wave proportions. There were two dominant points of view vying to shape the future of America: the liberals who wanted America to reflect the enlightened, rationalistic type of society and those who were building an American society which reflected the revivalistic, post-Calvinistic world view. It was the latter point of view that dominated the future of American religion.

The evolution of Calvinism in America at the time of the Second Great Awakening had come to the point that the New Divinity school was able to recast the relationship of man to God, with a benevolent God still sovereign over man, but with “man's abilities, responsibilities, and freedom”⁵¹ more stressed. They recognized that religion “never was designed to make our pleasures less”⁵², that religion could allow men to enjoy life, and that man did have capabilities regarding his own destiny, including his good works which reflected his praise of God. The Rev. Timothy Dwight, President of Congregationalist-based Yale University, could preach that there was no satisfactory reason to believe that people who make earnest and zealous efforts for salvation should fail; preaching about the doctrine of election had generally disappeared and become a “forgotten doctrine”; and the Rev. Nathaniel W. Taylor, a member of the Yale Divinity School faculty and a student of Dwight's, could dec-

51. Charles R. Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 225.

52. Line taken from an early American hymn, “Come Ye that Love the Lord”.

lare that moral depravity was “man’s own act, consisting in the free choice of some object other than God, as his chief good” that “man was guilty of sin and man alone,” making “man more a free agent than had ever been admitted in orthodox circles.”⁵³ This was an evolution of immense proportions in American Calvinism.

The first generation of Andover graduates -Mills and his contemporaries- were the sons of the Revolutionary generation of Christian and liberal reformers who believed in the American Republic, looked forward to the millennium, and had come to believe in the notion of salvation for all. The Andoverian energies were largely responsible for the great missionary movements that dominated American religion for the next century and a half, for the foundation of a wide range of benevolent societies that sprang up after the Second Great Awakening, beginning of the tradition of American humanitarianism that is so manifest in our own day with organizations such as the Peace Corps and a host of non-governmental organizations.

By the time these missionaries were on their way to various regions of the world, Protestantism had been deeply imbued with the notion of “progress”, of man’s ability to move in a linear manner toward the goal of perfection; man must keep tirelessly striving toward improvement.⁵⁴ Troeltsch, one of the most important philosophers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries in Europe, contended that Protestantism had moved from a “church society” to a “modern society”, one which had a rationalistic, scientific character, and an emphasis on individualism. The state, and

53. Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut*, 226-229.

55. Ernest Troeltsch, *Protestantism and progress: A Historical Study of the relation of Protestantism to the Modern World* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958). This is a reprint of a 1912 publication.

not the church, is now the organ of civilization, working for the spiritual and material advancement of its citizens in the interests of development of the Christian commonwealth. As such, Protestantism not only had a strong sense of progress, it had also developed a number of traits of modern society which flowed from its political ideals for an individual: democracy, representational government, the idea of a state-subject contract -- a covenant or constitution – and the idea of the rights of man and freedom of conscience, evolved from a foundation of individual freedom. The goal was to be free of the religious, political and economic shackles of earlier centuries, and for man to have the ability of full expression of his individual potentialities. Economic liberalism, political democracy, religious autonomy and individualism were sought in the newly-shaped Protestant society of the New World.

Many of today's historians, awash not in a sea of faith⁵⁵ but in a sea of secularism, fail to give proper weight to the intensity, the pervasiveness, the seriousness of religion in the lives of that first generation of Andover graduates. Relieved of the burden of predestination, they could joyfully set out to bring salvation to the *whole world*. What would have been the point of spreading the gospel around the globe if only a few listeners would have been the beneficiaries (the elect) of that “errand to the world” in traditional Calvinism? But liberated from predestination, with the understanding that salvation was available to all, the incentive must have been great for those gospellers to take the Word to all nations, to bring the hope of salvation to all, to prepare for the millennium and await, then, the Second Coming.

⁵⁵ With apologies to Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

B. The Educational Context

The values discussed in the section above on religion, including those of political and economic natures, were deeply imbedded in the education the first generation of missionaries received, and formed the values they took with them as they embarked on their “errand to the world.” This section will examine the kind of education these young men received in the early decades of the 1800s at academies and provincial colleges, with Williams College and Amherst College as examples of the New England schools that educated scores of missionaries during the 19th century.

Inspired by the Enlightenment, noble ideas of liberty and equality were shaking the foundations of centuries-old traditional European monarchical societies in the early 1800s. New World radical notions of individual value, of sovereignty residing in the people, of being able to determine one’s own destiny, of governance by the rule of law rather than by personalities -- in short, a revolutionary set of values was replacing earlier, feudal foundations on which Western societies had been built. Nowhere was this more evident than in America.

Education in Early America

The form of education in America’s early decades was based directly on the Puritans’ inheritance of the medieval system of education in the late 16th century and early 17th century England. Education in the New England colonies was designed to

serve the needs of these homogeneous, rural, traditional societies, and reflected the Calvinist ideals of that culture.⁵⁶

Families were the center of society -- patriarchal, extended families in a single household. Sons of the family often remained in their fathers' homes well into maturity, assisting with the farm duties. In the hierarchical family, all authority rested with the father; all others were subordinate to him. Women were dependent upon him for their well-being and care.⁵⁷ Economic difficulties of survival and deep traditional cultural values combined to insure the orderly functioning of a household with all members under the control of the father.

In this setting, the greatest burdens of education fell to the family units. Children were nurtured at home where they were imbued with traditional cultural and social norms. Rudimentary lessons in reading and writing, if the parents were literate, took place in the home. Families shaped the attitudes, the behavior, manners and morals of a child. The hierarchical authority in the family reinforced that in the world about them. Young men seeking a trade were apprenticed to a master, lived in his home and learned his craft. Traditionally, an apprenticeship was an extension of the family experience, with the apprentice being dependent upon the master and his family.

Communities provided stability to the family order, with the church at its center. Some communities had public schools; formal education took place in the

56. Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960) 15-21. See also Marilyn J. Westercamp, *Women and Religion in Early America 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999).

57. Westercamp, *Women and Religion in Early America*, 10.

community setting, and the community was the link to government and the state. In communities, the young people were able to see the transition from personal to impersonal authority.

The Church also provided an explicit educational function. It taught spiritual welfare and morals to the children. Children were expected to memorize and recite their catechism. Great emphasis was placed on literacy, on being able to read the Bible, for therein lay the road to salvation. Above all, the church gave the community cohesion, cultural values, and societal goals. "It provided the highest sanctions for the accepted forms of behavior, and brought the child into close relationship with the intangible loyalties, the ethos and highest principles of the society in which he lived. In this educational role, organized religion had a powerfully unifying influence... it served as a mechanism of social integration."⁵⁸ It was the link binding the families, the community, and the state. The clergy of these Congregational churches in New England became the intellectual, cultural, and educational leaders of the region.

Surprisingly, in the Massachusetts Bay Colony there were a large number, proportionately, of educated men. In 1638, there were, in the four or five settlements of Massachusetts and Connecticut, fifty or sixty graduates of Cambridge and Oxford; roughly one in every two hundred and fifty of the inhabitants was university bred; a proportion three times as large as in 1900.⁵⁹ These educated men were an impetus

58. Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society*, 18.

59. Edwin Grant Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906), 223.

for more formal education in the towns and villages. In keeping with the English university traditions, they took great interest in the literary classics. Their grammar schools and colleges centered their curricula on the Greek and Roman classics: Cicero, Virgil, Terence and Ovid; Homer, Hesiod and Theocritus were read by schoolboys.⁶⁰ It seems surprising that in the barren coasts and the wilderness lands the Puritans were able to keep alive the greatness of classical literature. “The classics flourished in New England under Puritanism, and began to decay when Puritanism withered.”⁶¹ The classical tradition did continue, however, in New England colleges.

The Puritans were concerned that future generations would not be able to govern themselves, and would not have the understanding of liberty that was so prized by the founders. They were great supporters of public education, but responsibility for education still rested largely with parents. Nonetheless, there was every expectation in these New England families that their traditions of an integrated, unified culture would be continued, that nothing would disturb the peaceful passage of generations.

60. Joseph J. Ellis, *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001) 42. In a speech of Hamilton, he speaks of Burr as “the Catiline of America”. “This mention of Catiline is worth a momentary pause, in part because the reference is so unfamiliar to modern ears as to seem meaningless, and also because it was so familiar to the leaders of the revolutionary generation as to require no further explanation. By accusing Burr of being Catiline, Hamilton was making the ultimate accusation, for Catiline was the treacherous and degenerate character whose scheming nearly destroyed the Roman Republic and whose licentious ways inspired, by their very profligacy, Cicero’s eloquent oration on virtue, which was subsequently memorized by generations of American schoolboys. No one in the political leadership of the early American republic needed to be reminded who Catiline was.” 42.

61. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1936), 15, 16.

By the Revolutionary War, forces for change were working in the society. The rhetoric was of “inalienable rights” and “life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.” Following the Revolutionary War and the difficult writing and acceptance of a new form of government under the Constitution, the new Republic struggled to understand the meaning of freedom and the implementation of democracy. There was a period of turbulence as the society moved in fits and starts from hierarchy to equality. The change in values was reflected in a major change in the educational system—the rise of academies.

Academies

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a new institution developed to fill the gaps in the fledgling public school system, especially at the secondary school level. The academy was the successor of the grammar school and the forerunner of the modern high school. The academies, which were generally private schools but sometimes received public funds, sprang up rapidly after the American Revolution, and continued to flourish until the middle of the nineteenth century, when their position as undisputed leader in secondary education began to give way to a strengthened system of public high schools. Academies are still with us, but are now considered the choice of the wealthy and privileged student.

There were generally two types of academies: more prevalent were the *local academies*, usually sited in the “village” or center section of a town, near the public buildings. They were often founded by a few members of the town who sought a better education for their children, and were generally run by college graduates.

There were also *regional academies*, sometimes in more rural settings, which attracted students from a broader area, and these schools were on a more permanent footing, as they often had considerable endowments to help underwrite the costs for poorer students.⁶²

The first to become incorporated was in Philadelphia in 1753, through efforts of Benjamin Franklin. This was followed by the establishment of the Dummer Academy in Byfield, Massachusetts. Although not established until 1782, Dummer was considered the “mother” of all New England academies because of its famous Master, Mr. Samuel Moody, a Harvard graduate of 1746. One of Master Moody’s pupils was Mr. Sam Phillips, Jr. who founded Phillips Andover Academy in Massachusetts and Phillips Exeter in Maine, both established about 1778. The Academy system reached its zenith in 1850; after that time, as the public school system took hold, the number of academies declined.

The Academies became educational centers in their communities, but at their inception they were not without opposition by some more traditional town members. They did provide education in areas where there was none, and were usually led by zealous young college graduates, men who influenced their pupils to lead a virtuous life. The students were either prepared for college and for future positions in the church or the state, or, for those who were never likely to attend college, they were given a well-rounded education to prepare them to lead improved lives. And therein lay a problem with their families and their societies.

62. Dexter, *A History of Education in the United States*, 90.

The Academies, based as they were on the curricula and practices of the colleges, which in turn emulated those of Cambridge and Oxford in England, stressed individual achievement. Students were encouraged to excel as scholars, and at the end of the term the school would hold an “exhibition” in which the leading students gave orations, declamations, plays, recitations and other vehicles as a means of rewarding superior work and accomplishment during the term. In these years--the late 1700s and the early 1800s--American society was transforming rapidly from the family- and community-based societies of the Puritans and the early Calvinists to the capitalist society of Adam Smith and the invisible hand of the market place, all based on individual achievement. For many traditional, New England Congregational farm families, this was unacceptable, as it threatened the whole basis of the patriarchal family, on which the society had been built.⁶³

Having been schooled for several years in an environment of competition and rewards for personal accomplishment, could these Academy students return to the farms and neighborhoods of their parents, accept their traditional place in the family and set aside the notions of individualism that ran against a fundamental tenant of Calvinism? After all, the Academy system with its “emulation” was based on individual achievement, which led to pride in oneself – so contrary to the Calvinist idea of stomping out the sin of pride. The Academies became an instrument of massive social, economic, and cultural change in post-Revolutionary War America – the profound shift from a strict Puritan/Calvinist tradition to the social values of the Enligh-

63. J. M. Opal, “Exciting Emulation: Academies and the Transformation of the Rural North, 1780s –1820s,” *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 2 (Sept. 2004): 40.

tenment and the rise of capitalism. The public school system would provide this same function in the later 1800s and 1900s.

Many of the New England academies had provision for assisting impoverished boys – some of whom began at the academies as early as nine years of age. Charity came from individual donors and from those families that “took in” the young scholars and provided room and board in return for certain chores or other work. Nearly all of the missionaries in this study went to colleges via the academy system, nearly all of them were indigent and were assisted in obtaining an education at an academy, all worked in return for his room and board.

William Goodell was one such recipient. Many years later, Goodell wrote to his Phillips Academy preceptor, Mr. John Adams, about the importance of his Academy experience. “The impressions I received at Phillips Academy were more vivid and more deep and lasting than those I received at college or at the Theological Seminary. And I feel that I have more of your character impressed on my own than of any other teacher. Perhaps one reason was that I had just come out of the woods, and everything was new to me. I was living in a new world.”⁶⁴ Cyrus Hamlin, another great early missionary to Turkey, had a similar experience, as did many of the early missionaries.

64. Prime, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, Letter dated Nov. 19, 1841, from Constantinople, 272.

The National Debate on Education

During the last quarter of the 18th century, there was a spirited debate in America about the issues of education: education for whom, what type of education, for what purposes, and what curricula should be used. These first patriots were united by a belief in the centrality of religion to education, in an optimistic outlook on the world, the inevitability of progress, and a deep conviction that in education lay the route to fulfill the promise of the Declaration of Independence and the recently-won American Revolution. They understood that they were forming a new nation, one based on individual happiness and individual responsibility. By the Revolution, American society saw the human condition not as one of depravity but one of hope and freedom. Americans were freeing themselves from the political, economic, and religious institutions of the Mother Country that had suppressed them; the future – their own -- held prospects for developing a good and just society. Noah Webster summoned his fellow citizens to “unshackle your minds and act like independent beings...you have an empire to raise and support by your exertions and a national character to establish and extend by your wisdom and virtues.”⁶⁵

Although they did not agree on what type of education should be offered, those who expressed themselves publicly on the questions of education did so with creativity and a profound sense of what might be set in motion in the newly-united colonies; how a national education system would be the foundation of the nation they

65. Noah Webster, “On the Education of Youth” (Boston, 1790) in Frederick Rudolph, ed. *Essays on Education in the early Republic* (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965), 77.

hoped to build. At the heart of this was a sense of egalitarianism, the democratic ideal that they wrote into the founding documents, the heady possibility of constructing a nation with limitless opportunities and possibilities for all citizens. Education would be designed to prepare children to assume the responsibilities of liberty, by offering “instruction suitable to the offspring of free and independent citizens.”⁶⁶ No longer were children expected to follow blindly in their forebears’ traditions; they were free to fashion their own futures.

Simeon Doggett (1765-1852), a New England Unitarian minister, a graduate of Brown University (1788) and the principal of Bristol Academy, Massachusetts, stated that:

The mode of government in any nation will always be molded by the state of education. The throne of tyranny is founded on ignorance. Literature and liberty go hand in hand...the increase of knowledge has gradually given ...nations better notions of the equal rights of men, tyranny has been proportionally declining. . .Let general information and a just knowledge of the rights of man be diffused through the great bulk of the people in any nation, and it will not be in the power of all the combined despots on earth to enslave them...That we may transmit to posterity our happy government pure and uncorrupted, let the glories of education ever be our theme.⁶⁷

Others saw equality to access of education as the necessary step to ensuring equality to access of property. If men were truly to be free, to be able to govern themselves, to be responsible voters, if egalitarian democracy were to flourish, then no institution in the country would be more vital to the civil society than schools and

66. Ibid., xii.

67. Simeon Doggett, “A Discourse on Education,” Delivered at the Dedication and Opening of Bristol Academy, the 18th Day of July, A.D. 1796 (New Bedford, 1797) quoted in Ibid., 156.

education. In this respect, that education is primarily for the good of society, these late eighteenth century thinkers still exhibited a lingering sense of the Calvinist notion of society as the cohesive unit, not the individual.

The issue of what should be taught stirred a considerable debate. Two contemporaries, Benjamin Rush and Noah Webster, are representative of the two main sides of the education arguments. Benjamin Rush⁶⁸ (1745 – 1813), a signer of the Declaration of Independence, in proposing to the Pennsylvania legislature a plan for a state-wide system of education, argued that an education in America for children is preferable to a foreign one, as patriotism in one's own country needs to be reinforced. Religion, he stated, should be the foundation of education, for "without this, there can be no virtue, and without virtue there can be no liberty, and liberty is the object and life of all republican government...all [Christian] doctrines and precepts are calculated to promote the happiness of society and the safety and well-being of civil government. A Christian cannot fail of being a republican."⁶⁹ Doggett agreed about the centrality of the Christian faith in education, "Not only then are we to educate our youth in arts and sciences, but also, as saith the Apostle, *in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.*"⁷⁰

68. Benjamin Rush, "Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools" in *Thoughts upon the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic* (Philadelphia, 1786). Rush was a well-known Philadelphia doctor and educator. He was a graduate of Princeton (1760), studied in Edinburgh, taught college in Philadelphia and was a founder of Dickinson College.

69. Frederick Rudolph, ed. *Essays on Education in the Early Republic* (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965), 10, 11.

70. Doggett, "A Discourse on Education" 13.

Rush strongly advocated the use of the Bible as a schoolbook, recommending Bible reading and the study of religion as the basis for all life. “How great is the difference between making young people acquainted with the interesting and entertaining truths contained in the Bible, and the fables...or doubtful histories of antiquity!”⁷¹ While training the student in a number of virtues, he must be taught to “watch for the state as if its liberties depended upon his vigilance alone” and he must be taught “that there can be no durable liberty but in a republic and that government, like all other sciences, is of a progressive nature.”⁷² In the matter of curricula, Rush says that he does not wish the *learned* or *dead languages* to be reduced below their present just rank in the universities of Europe, as “I consider an acquaintance with them as the best foundation for a correct and extensive knowledge of the language of our country.”⁷³ These languages, along with English, should be taught to all young men, including those going into commerce.

Noah Webster⁷⁴ (1758-1843) had quite contrary ideas, although in the basic thoughts of education for liberty, he echoed Rush: “Our constitutions of civil government are not yet firmly established; our national character is not yet formed; and it is an object of vast magnitude that systems of education should be adopted and

71. Rush, *Thoughts Upon the Mode of Education*, 151.

72. Ibid., 15.

73. Ibid., 18.

74. Webster was a great lexicographer and the author of dictionaries and spellers for schools. A graduate of Yale (1778) he was deeply involved in issues of education.

pursued which may not only diffuse a knowledge of the sciences but may implant in the minds of the American youth the principles of virtue and of liberty and inspire them with just and liberal ideas of government and with an inviolable attachment to their own country.”⁷⁵

Webster disputed Rush in the question of languages. He did not believe that Latin and Greek should receive the emphasis that they did. Webster berated “a too general attention to the dead languages, with a neglect of our own....The English language, perhaps, at this moment, is the repository of as much learning as one half the languages of Europe.”⁷⁶ He asked of what use is Latin to the farmer, or Greek to the merchant? English is a noble and useful language and needs to be stressed in American education. He decried the neglect of teaching English with its elegant construction in prose and verse. Only after English has been mastered, those who desire to enter the mercantile class should study modern languages such as French, Italian or Spanish, which would be useful to their careers.

Unlike Rush, Webster did not see religion as the center of study, nor did he subscribe to the idea that the Bible should be a text book. He did not wish to see the Bible excluded from schools, but he did not think it should be used in schools to teach religion and morality. That should be taught at home and in the churches.

Both Rush and Webster favored educating boys and girls in a republic, as both need to be instructed in the principles of liberty and government, and the obliga-

75. Rudolph, *Essays on Education in the Early Republic*, 45.

76. Ibid.

tions of patriotism should be inculcated in them. As a man ahead of his time, Rush stressed that education for women is necessary as they may become the “stewards and guardians” of their husbands’ property, therefore they need to be taught how to discharge those duties with “success and reputation”. To that end, they should study bookkeeping and figures and whatever is necessary to safeguard themselves and their families as the executrix of a will. As “Republican mothers” raising the next generation, they need to be able to teach their children about liberty and government. Girls should be given lessons in English, in grammar and writing. They should read histories, travels, moral essays and poetry, but not English novels. Whether women should be taught French, dancing, singing and other arts had no agreement – some questions seem to be with us forever! ⁷⁷

Webster offered a different opinion of the content of women’s education: they should be taught what is useful, but not anything that raises a woman above the duties of her station. Women should be taught to “speak and write their own language with purity and elegance...the French language is not necessary for ladies.” Arithmetic, geography and *belles-lettres* are suitable, as is poetry and fine handwriting. Reading is, of course, vital, but not novels; as Webster said, “some of them are

77. Rush, *Thoughts on the Mode of Education*, 39. Rush added “I know that the elevation of the female mind, by means of moral, physical, and religious truth, is considered by some men as unfriendly to the domestic character of a woman. But this is the prejudice of little minds and springs from the same spirit which opposes the general diffusion of knowledge among the citizens of our republic. If men believe that ignorance is favorable to the government of the female sex, they are certainly deceived, for a weak and ignorant woman will always be governed with the greatest difficulty.”

useful, many of them pernicious, and most of them trifling. A hundred volumes of modern novels may be read without acquiring a new idea.”⁷⁸

Revivals, Edwards, and the New Divinity Movement

Scholars have long recognized the First Great Awakening as an important moment in the history of American higher education. As increasing numbers of young men experienced conversion and entered the ministry, leaders seized the opportunity to establish educational institutions that furthered the aims of the revival. Within a generation after the Awakening, pro-revivalist groups founded four new colleges: The College of New Jersey (later Princeton) by Presbyterians in 1746; Rhode Island College (renamed Brown University) by Baptists in 1764; Queen’s College (renamed Rutgers) by Dutch Reformed in 1766; and Dartmouth College by the Congregationalist Eleazar Wheelock in 1769. These colleges joined Harvard, Yale, and Virginia’s William and Mary College, which had been established considerably earlier.

Another outgrowth of the First Great Awakening was the formation of a group of preachers within the Congregational Church who were disciples of Jonathan Edwards (see section on religion, above). These “New Divinity” men were Calvinists, and considered themselves the heirs of the Puritans. Criticized for their innovations, they responded that they were “recontextualizing their Puritan heritage to

78. Webster in Rudolph, *Essays on Education in the Early Republic*, 70.

meet the intellectual challenges of the day.”⁷⁹ They believed in the need to evangelize the world, to establish the kingdom of God on earth to hasten the Second Coming.

The “New Divinity” men were in opposition to the “Old Lights,” the more traditional clergy who supported Yale, and were horrified by the Unitarian beliefs that became prominent at Harvard. By the 1790s, New Divinity pastors in Berkshire County and other counties in western Massachusetts dominated the Congregational establishment.⁸⁰ They eventually formed the majority of clergy in Massachusetts and Connecticut and continued to exert considerable influence in New England Congregationalism for nearly a century.

In order to train clergy for their pulpits, and unwilling to send students to Yale or Harvard for divinity studies, the New Divinity preachers began a series of “household seminaries” or “schools of the prophets” in which aspiring preachers, finished with college studies, lived and studied theology with outstanding preachers in their homes. Candidates did not study with fathers or favorite uncles or cousins, nor neighborhood pastors, but consciously sought out those with the finest reputations for evangelical piety and proven New Divinity credentials. Besides scholarly lessons and practical training, the mentors passed along to their students, without words, a philosophy of living: how a minister lived with his wife and children, how

79. David W. Kling, “New Divinity Schools of the Prophets, 1750-1825: A Case Study in Ministerial Education,” *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 2, Special Issue on Education in Early America (Summer 1997): 185-206. Quote from 200.

80. David W. Kling, “The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793-1836,” *Religion and American Culture* 6, no. 2 (Summer 1996): 195-223.

he related to those he pastored, a whole host of attitudes and values that his students carefully carried with them during their careers.

“The influence of New Divinity schools of the prophets on the religious and social life of New England – even the world, if one considers their impact on the modern missionary movement – has been vastly understated.”⁸¹ The numbers speak for themselves: between 1750 and 1825, over five hundred clerical aspirants studied in New Divinity schools of the prophets. They were imbued with Edwardsean theology, and thus collectively established the most powerful theological movement in New England. Long-term influences are even more impressive: these schools conveyed the piety, theology and legacy of the Great Awakening through several generations, and thus profoundly contributed to the “Second Great Awakening” of 1790-1835 which led so many young men into the missionary movement.

Although Yale College is often credited with producing many of the provincial college presidents of New England, the “schools of the prophets” played an important auxiliary role by stamping these Yale graduates with the peculiar New Divinity imprimatur.⁸² In addition, they trained hundreds of clergy for domestic and foreign missionary service. Some of the earliest missionary organizations in America (the Connecticut Missionary Society, the Massachusetts Missionary Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) owe their origins largely

81. Ibid., 187.

82. Ibid. Yale Alumni who became college presidents and received theological instruction in the schools of the prophets: Azel Backus (Hamilton), Henry Davis (Middlebury, Hamilton), Edward Door Griffin (Williams), Heman Humphrey (Amherst). Other New Divinity trained ministers who became college presidents included Jonathan Edwards, Jr. (Union), Zephaniah Swift Moore (Williams, Amherst), and Stephen Chapin (Columbia).

to the inspiration of the New Divinity men and their schools. With the establishment by the Congregationalists of Andover Theological Seminary in 1808, the influence of the schools of the prophets begin to diminish. New Divinity mentoring continued well into the 1820s, however, providing nearly three-quarters of a century of New Divinity teaching, preaching and mentoring. “The New Divinity theology – the first and perhaps the most enduring of indigenous theologies in America – owed its sustaining power to these schools.”⁸³

New England Colleges

The New Divinity men next turned their attention to the question of broadening college opportunities for young men in New England. From 1790 to 1830, a number of small liberal arts colleges sprang up in rural areas of New England, schools generally affiliated with the Congregational Church:

THE PROVINCIAL COLLEGES

<u>College</u>	<u>Year of First Degree</u>
College of Rhode Island (Brown)	1769
Dartmouth College	1771
Williams College	1795
Middlebury College	1802
University of Vermont	1804
Bowdoin College	1806
Waterville College (Colby)	1822
Amherst College	1822

83. Ibid.

These new colleges catered to the young men of the region, often “paupers,” i.e. poor farmer boys, often products of the preparatory academy system, which they had attended on scholarships or work programs, and often the younger sons of their families who would not inherit the family lands. They hoped their college educations would lift them from the poverty of their fathers and grandfathers; many looked forward to becoming schoolmasters or preachers of the gospel. Nathaniel Hawthorne (Bowdoin, 1825) described them, on a visit to Williams College, thusly: “These were a rough-hewn, heavy set of fellows, from the hills and woods in this neighborhood, - great unpolished bumpkins, who had grown up farmer-boys, and had little of the literary man, save green spectacles and black broadcloth (which all of them had not), talking with a broad accent, and laughing clown-like, while sheepishness overspread all, together with a vanity at being students.”⁸⁴

The increase in college attendance was explosive: In the decade 1751-60, New England produced 544 college graduates, all from Harvard and Yale. A century later, in the corresponding decade (1851-1860), all 10 New England colleges produced nearly five thousand graduates, with Harvard and Yale supplying about one-third of those graduates and the new colleges providing two-thirds. At the same time, a variety of small associations began to form and to assume the charitable functions for educational support once assumed by the churches. This became a major movement and the associations were instrumental in allowing the great increase in

84. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Passages from the American Note-books of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1883), 162-224. Quoted in David F. Allmendinger, *Paupers and Scholars: the Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth Century New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 11.

numbers of college men. The best-known of these was the American Educational Society: a number of the 11 missionaries we are examining were supported in one way or another by this Association.

A vital component in the continued influence of schools of the prophets was the New England provincial college. Earlier, Yale had served as the primary feeder to schools of the prophets throughout the eighteenth century. Rural New England colleges emerged as the primary feeders during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Presidents and professors at Dartmouth, Williams, Hamilton, and others channeled graduates to established New Divinity teachers.

All save one of the “Glorious Eleven” were graduates of these colleges. Of the group of eleven, four were Amherst graduates, and there was one each from Williams, Middlebury, Yale, Bowdoin, Hamilton, and Dartmouth. All were graduates of Andover Theological Seminary. Over the first fifty years of the American Board, Amherst and Williams provided nearly one-third of all missionaries globally.

Williams College, established in 1795, had been a special place for the missionary movement since the 1806 “Haystack Incident.” The missionary spirit became a driving force on the Williams College campus. At the ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the Haystack Incident, Williams College President, Mark Hopkins, delivered an address in which he said:

May we not hope that here the purpose
shall be formed by many to take up the sickle
and reap in that harvest whose field is the
world? May there not be many who shall kneel
on yonder spot, and pray as Mills and his asso-

ciates prayed, and devote themselves to the cause of God and men as they devoted themselves? The cause of Christ is the great general issue in this world. For that I wish this college to stand.⁸⁵

Of the 128 graduates in the period 1838-42, fifty-four graduates either became ministers of the Gospel or became candidates for the ministry.⁸⁶ The curriculum at Williams was that of a classical, traditional education. The main emphases were on reading the classics, being thoroughly conversant in Latin and Greek, studying antiquities, and deepening the knowledge and experience of religion. Surprisingly for a school that was so involved in missionary preparation, there were no courses to acquaint students with other peoples and cultures.

Amherst College, established in 1822, was, from the start, envisioned as a Liberal Arts college with an emphasis on preparation for the ministry. It was the product of a deeply religious spirit. Many of the leading proponents were clergymen, and there was an intimate connection between the First Congregational Church in the town and the college. In his address at the laying of the cornerstone on August 9, 1820, Noah Webster said, "This institution will grow and flourish, and become auxiliary to a thousand associations which Christian philanthropy has formed, to reclaim and evangelize the miserable children of Adam." He referred to the founders as

85. Williams College, *Proceedings of the Missionary Jubilee*, 1856, 52.

86. "The Williams Record," (Friday, October 31, 1941), 3.

“people whose moral, religious, and literary habits dispose them to cherish the cultivation of the mind, and the propagation of evangelical truths.”⁸⁷

The founders were “New Divinity” men. Above all, they were liberals. The first board was composed two-thirds of clergymen graduates of prominent colleges: of the 10 clerical members, there were two each from Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth and Williams; one from Princeton and one from Brown. The college was controlled by clerical influences from the very beginning.

The Board members were deeply concerned with evangelization. In the constitution of the school, they wrote “that the education of pious young men of the finest talents in the community is the most sure method of relieving our brethren by civilizing and evangelizing the world.”⁸⁸ This is a clear call for the ministry and for missionaries. The founders were not to be disappointed: dubbed a “priest factory”, hundreds of Amherst graduates over the decades were ordained into the ministry, and Amherst led all the colleges in the number of missionaries they supplied to the thoroughly Congregational institution, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the main vehicle for sending missionaries abroad.

The missionaries-to-be and their classmates were thoroughly grounded in the classics (Latin, Greek and Hebrew), in mathematics, and in religion. By the middle of the century Amherst’s curriculum had expanded, and included more modern offerings of foreign languages (German, French, Italian and Spanish) as well as a broader

87. Claude Moore Fuess, *Amherst: The Story of a New England College*, (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1935), 30.

88. *Ibid.*, 31.

range of mathematics and both biological and physical sciences. By the 1870s, the college offered a Bachelor of Science degree.

Revivals played an important part of the education at Amherst during the first half-century of its existence. Officials estimate that during those years three hundred and fifty students underwent conversion and began their religious life at the school. Of this number, more than one hundred became ministers of the Gospel, over one hundred and ten dedicated themselves as missionaries, and thirty moved on to become officers of colleges and theological seminaries. No class passed through the college at that time without experiencing a revival.⁸⁹ Royal Cole, Amherst class of 1866, wrote that “23 out of our class of fifty-five prepared for the Gospel ministry” and recalled the “sweeping revival of religion that interested every member of our class save four.”⁹⁰

College officials estimated that up to 1860, one of every two Amherst graduates entered the ministry—including missionaries--through ordination, the highest percentage of all the Northern Colleges.⁹¹

Right down to 1880, Amherst and Williams Colleges continued to supply the greatest share (40%) of the missionaries in the Turkish missions, and Andover Semi-

89. *Reminiscences of Amherst College*, 162,163.

90. Biographical Form “*Octogentennial Record of Student life at Amherst*” (1821-1901), Dec. 1, 1902, Amherst Archives and Special Collections, Frost Library.

91. *Ibid.*, 190.

nary was by far and away the greatest trainer of these young men for the ministry.⁹²

Another off-shoot of the New Divinity movement was the first New England college established for women, founded by Mary Lyon. Lyon had studied in an academy with Joseph Emerson, a leading member of the New Divinity School, and had become imbued with the New Divinity doctrine of disinterested benevolence.

Following the lead of Amherst, **Mount Holyoke College**, established in 1837, was designed to be a free college for women, with support coming from a significant network across the region. Mary Lyon established a traditional rigorous curriculum, setting very high standards for her female scholars and placing them into a strongly religious community driven by missionary spirit. By 1860, the American Board had assigned 691 women in various parts of the world.⁹³ Many of these were Mt. Holyoke women: in little more than 60 years, Mt. Holyoke trained and sent nearly 400 well-educated women into missionary service around the world. In far outposts around the world, Holyoke alumnae established miniature “Mt. Holyokes” to educate girls and young women. The missionaries were realistic in their belief that

92. Rev. Edmund K. Alden, D.D., Home Secretary, “How Shall the Call for Missionary Laborers be Met?” ABCFM, *Annual Report 1880*, xviii-xxx. All statistics are from xxi.

93. Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). See also Joseph Conforti, “Mary Lyon, the Founding of Mount Holyoke College, and the Cultural Revival of Jonathan Edwards.” *Religion and American Culture* 3, no. 1 (Winter, 1993):69-89; and Joseph Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition & American Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995), Chapter 4.

the women and children of “heathen” cultures must be reached in order for religious and cultural transformations to occur. “Because of their access to foreign women and children, American missionary women contributed significantly to changes in female education and gender role differentiation that underlay religious and cultural transformation....”⁹⁴ These Mt. Holyoke missionaries were a shining example to the world of the value of female education.

C. The Political Context

The missionaries carried with them not only the message of salvation, they carried implicit messages of American life and values. They had been raised not only on the Bible, but on the Declaration of Independence, on the Constitution and its philosophy, and most strongly on the cherished ideal of freedom. As they undertook their duties abroad, their daily lives illustrated these values: the foundation of nation as a society based on law; individual achievement through hard work and the dignity of manual labor; the necessity of education which allowed literate people to read the Bible; respect for women and the desirability of education for women; personal integrity through honesty, virtue, and righteous living; inventiveness and harnessing technology for improvements in economic conditions and welfare; and above all, the intense Protestant 19th century idea of linear progress, of advancement towards per-

94. Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*, 22.

fection whether for an individual or a society, of the value of change to bring improvements to peoples' lives. The idea of progress took on increasing importance during the course of the 19th century, as will be illustrated later in this paper by a speech of George Washburn as he compares Christianity and "Mohammadanism."

In the traditional societies found in the Ottoman Empire when the missionaries arrived, these were radical ideas that were not easily accepted. Whether the missionaries articulated these values, their actions every day demonstrated the strength of these ingrained American values. At the core of all these values, however, was the rock-solid certainty of the necessity of freedom—freedom of conscience, freedom of person, freedom of individual action within the law.

They were the children and grandchildren of the American Revolution and the establishment of a daring new form of government in which sovereignty lay with the people, in which the society governed itself through the absolute foundation of the rule of law. They had been imbued with the worth of the individual, the expectation of hard work, and praise for individual accomplishment. Equality of all people, the fierce love of liberty and country, individual freedom and freedom of conscience, the necessity of education for men and women, and a profound sense of the rightness and glory of western -- particularly American -- progress characterized these young men and women. New England society and education implanted all these values in these fervent young people.

They carried these values with them as they gave themselves to service around the world. For those who went to the Middle East, to the Ottoman Empire, these values ran head-long into the traditional societies they found there. Those differences will be explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

MISSIONARY WORK, ARMENIAN OPPOSITION, AND THE “TERRIBLE TURK”

The Eastern Question has by degrees assumed such large proportions that no one can be surprised at the space it occupies in all public discussions whether of the tongue or of the pen.

-- Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to *The Times* (London), Sept. 9, 1876

When William Goodell arrived in Constantinople in 1831, the Ottoman Empire was already well into the tumultuous century of territorial loss, foreign domination and internal struggle for power between the sultan and his central government and the notables, the *ayanlar* who enjoyed considerable autonomous power in the provinces. The Empire was already weakened by a disastrous defeat and peace settlement imposed by Russia in 1774 and by Napoleon's invasion of Egypt near the end of that century. Greece had broken away from the empire in the 1820s, with great support from the European powers and with the sympathy of the American people. Britain and Russia had commenced the “Great Game” for position and power in Central Asia with India always as the prize. The Russians, needing warm water ports, coveted the strategic position of Constantinople with its Black Sea approaches, and the wealth of the Balkans. Earlier in the century, Napoleon had proposed marching across Anatolia on his way to taking India, and French designs on parts of the Ottoman Empire were still very much alive. Intrigue reigned supreme at the Sublime Porte as the various European powers jockeyed for positions of influence at the sultan's court. The “Eastern Question,” how and when the declining and ailing Ottoman Empire should be carved up and divided, and who would succeed to power in

the eastern Mediterranean, was on the minds of all European rulers. At the heart of all these issues lay the questions of economic and military might – those twin pillars of state power – which had faded in the Ottoman state, leaving it weak and vulnerable to European incursions and to demands for independence from its components.

Various internal Ottoman factions differed on how the Empire might best regain its former strengths, with those advocating modernization to Western standards opposing those who advocated a return to more traditional Islamic values and practices. Vested interests, such as the Janissaries, had earlier opposed any attempt at modernizing the military, and only the extreme action by the sultan of massacring the Janissaries in 1826 opened the way to changes in the military.

The *millet* system of organizing society by religion, with members of each faith under the authority of that faith's leader, who was responsible for individual justice under the regulations of his faith, was still strong, but Western concepts of equality before the law and universal impartial laws were beginning to be heard, although quietly, in the land. By the end of the 19th century the political system had witnessed the writing of a short-lived but popular Constitution calling for a Parliament and the partial curtailment of the sultan's absolute power. The sultan was successful in setting aside the constitution, but strong convictions were growing among the Young Ottomans that there ought to be freedom of the press and rule of law under a constitutional monarchy; others by the end of the century were developing theories of nationalism and modernization. And, partially influenced by the success-

ful models of the missionary schools, education was beginning to be more widespread by the late 1800s.

Into this maelstrom of a difficult, tense century of societal change and the swinging pendulum of power, the missionaries, with their strong and assured sense of Protestant religion and values, quietly thrust their way into the lands of the Sultans., establishing the first station in Smyrna in 1826, then Constantinople in 1831, Broosa in 1834, Scio in 1834, and Trebizond in 1835. They had come from a country ruled by laws, where there was freedom of conscience and religious liberty, where governments ruled by the consent of the governed, where education was encouraged and respected, and where citizen contribution to one's community was expected and practiced. They found themselves in an empire of authoritarian rule and government by arbitrary whim of the ruler, where there was no equality before the law, where individual initiative and expression were negated, where few were educated and tradition was the basis of thought.

The missionaries, of course, were relatively ignorant of the complexities of the internal threads of power struggles in the capital, but they rapidly learned of the linkages between the Armenian bankers and the Sublime Porte, and that their most implacable foes would be the Armenian Patriarchs themselves.

Although acknowledging that their most important function was to preach, and to be able to preach in the language of the region and peoples, the missionaries were convinced that each person needed to be able to read and understand the Bible.

Education, therefore, became very important. William Goodell, the first missionary to arrive in Constantinople, began a series of Lancastrian schools, which caught the attention of the Russian ambassador and, soon after that, the Grand Vizier. Goodell was asked by the Sublime Porte to open schools for the military, so they would have literate army officers. Two schools were opened the first year, and they were so successful that within a short time, seven schools were being run by the missionaries for the Turkish military, with the missionaries providing all the text books from their own presses. The missionaries also began to open schools for Armenian children, and this provided the introduction for them to the power structure in the Armenian community.

The Armenian Clergy, the Armenian Bankers, and the Sublime Porte

The American missionaries, in their desire to reform the Armenian church, had a number of disputes with the Armenian clergy over doctrine and practices. The Americans believed that the Bible, not the Church, was the infallible religious teacher; they had no veneration of Mary and other saints as mediators, Christ was the only mediator between man and God; they did not believe in the practice of venerating icons or statues; their primary emphasis was on preaching the Scriptures; and finally, they believed in faith, not works, that justification came by the grace of God, by faith alone, and that one should live his faith. These beliefs immediately put them at odds with the Armenian clergy who lived by liturgy, not Scripture; to whom the Church as an institution needed to be free from criticism as a protection for themselves; who traditionally venerated Mary and other saints. Like other religious institutions, the

Catholic and the Orthodox Armenian clergy did not consider educating their congregations as a priority – most of the communicants were kept in ignorance of the Scriptures and could not read. Those who strayed from the rigid catechisms were denounced and excommunicated.

The Armenian Catholic Patriarch (who resided in Jerusalem) headed a relatively small community of 30,000 to 40,000 souls; the Orthodox community was far larger. The missionaries generally believed that the Armenian churches perpetuated a “system of spiritual repression and tyranny, based upon popular ignorance and superstition.”¹ The clergy were very threatened by the missionary desire to instill the practice of inquiry and discussion among the congregations, along with their practice of emphasis on preaching and teaching the Scriptures. As a first line of defense, the clergy wanted to stop the inroads being made by the missionaries.

In their conservative approach, the Armenian clergy were supported by the Armenian banking community, which walked a very delicate line in Ottoman society. As the principal bankers, they were a very necessary, but often despised, ethnic minority group. Some had become very wealthy and were influential in government circles because they provided capital to government officials, pashas and governors, and to the Sublime Porte. When the missionaries first arrived in Constantinople, the

1. Rev. H.G.O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church* (London: James Nisbit & Co., 1854), 63. Dwight has given a detailed “insider” account of the first few years of missionary work in Constantinople and Anatolia.

Armenian bankers were paying 12% interest on deposits and charging 20-30% interest on loans.² Government officials were not paid a salary, but derived their income from the taxes they levied on their subordinates under the system of tax farming, or from taxes paid on production in the provinces. The system was rife with corruption and extortion. As revenues came in set cycles, between the times of “intake,” the government officials were often short of cash, which the Armenian bankers provided to them, being repaid with interest when revenues flowed into official coffers.

This system gave great power to the Armenian bankers, who were then able to use it to influence appointments. Although the Armenian bankers were, by definition, Christians and therefore without official power of any sort, nonetheless their ability to finance government or to provide personal loans for officials gave them enormous influence in upper government circles.

Within their own community, under the *millet* system, they carried the greatest power. Patriarchs depended on their support to be placed in office; they elected and deposed patriarchs, and through them, others in position of authority in the Church hierarchy. “It generally happened that some three or four or five of the richest and most powerful of these men in truth, if not in form, decided every question of any importance to the civil or ecclesiastical affairs of the Armenian nation.”³ The inner circle of the Armenian bankers, beyond influencing their community affairs,

2. Dr. James De Kay, *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*, 304. De Kay called them “the Yankees of the East.”

3. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 66.

carried great influence also in imperial politics, although they remained in the background. It was the old Gold Standard in operation: he who has the gold sets the standards.⁴

Church politics were tough and were a factor in the inertia that kept office-holders within the Church hierarchy – including the Patriarch -- from taking any action which might be displeasing to the bankers. Rivals for office could easily displace the incumbent with whispers to garner support from a banker or two. Church politics spilled into national politics. Although the Patriarch was selected by the community, his appointment was made by imperial *firman* by the Sultan. He sat in the great councils of the empire, ranking with pashas and the close advisors to the Sultan. In 1828, the Armenian Orthodox Patriarch in Constantinople tried to unseat the Armenian Catholic Patriarch in Jerusalem by stripping 10,000 communicants of their property, driving them from their homes and into perpetual banishment because of their adherence to the Church of Rome. The schism between eastern and western Christianity lived on.⁵

The patriarch also had great powers within the community: he supervised his own justice system, he ran his own prison system, he had the power to banish communicants. His was the absolute voice in his community. However, in an interesting and unofficial system of checks and balances, he dared not put himself in opposition to the bankers, who not only had private power in the community, but who also had

4. For more information, see Hagop Levon Barsoumian, *The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul* (Yerevan: American University of Armenia) 2007.

5. Ibid., 90.

the ear of the Sultan and his top advisors as the source of their capital. Given the history and tradition of palace intrigues, of jockeying for power within the Sublime Porte and between the Sultan and the provincial powers, and the intra-communal rivalries within the millets, this system precluded anyone getting and keeping power for long. It did not, however, preclude the cruel and intemperate use of power by those in authority.

Therefore, when the Armenian clergy began to feel threatened in 1837 by missionary activities, the Patriarch who had been cordial to them was removed, and one implacably opposed to their activities was installed in his place. Missionary schools were closed, the purchasing and reading of literature disseminated by the missionaries, including Bibles, were banned, and at its height, the campaign against the missionaries carried immediate excommunication of any member of the Armenian community speaking with a missionary, renting property to him, selling him any merchandise, including food. Any member of the community who had any interaction with the missionaries was dismissed from his employment, turned out of his house, forbidden to enter any shops to purchase anything, was anathematized by the clergy and turned out of his village. As an ex-communicant, he lost all legal rights and protections. He became, in short, a non-entity, homeless, penniless, bereft of family and community.

As the anti-missionary sentiment crescendoed, the number of factions working towards the expulsion of the missionaries increased, accusing the missionaries of fomenting rebellions against traditional Church hierarchy and, the Sultan was told,

against himself as well. They were accused of trying to start an “English Party” to overthrow the government. By early 1839, persecutions of suspected converts to Protestantism began in earnest, with people arrested, tortured, and sent into exile. In April that year, the Patriarch issued a new bull threatening dire consequences to anyone who engaged in conversation with the missionaries, or who read their books, or who neglected to report anyone else who did. Suspects were rounded up and subjected to terrible tortures. In Bursa, books were collected and burned, the missionary’s assistant was forced to leave, the owner of the house he rented was excommunicated and anathematized. Mr. Powers, the American missionary in Bursa, was threatened with forcible removal, but the American Consul obtained consent from the Governor to allow Powers to stay.⁶

A twist of fate put a stop to all this. From Egypt came Mohammad Ali, fighting against Ottoman troops for control of territory. In late June, 1839, an Ottoman army of 80,000 was annihilated on the plains of Syria. The Sultan needed more troops, and issued an unprecedented demand to the Patriarchs: each Patriarch should furnish him with several thousand recruits to draft into his army to try to repulse Mohammad Ali in Syria. And on July 1, Sultan Mamut II died. This unexpected blow added to the difficulties of the empire and it seemed as if nothing more terrible could happen, but it did – the *Capudan Pasha* of the Ottoman fleet led the entire fleet to Egypt and surrendered it all into the hands of Mohammed Ali. It was in this turbu-

6. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 100.

lent situation that Mamut II's son and successor, Abdul Mecid, was girded with the belt of the Sultan. Rev. Hamlin gave this eye-witness account of the ceremony:

The most interesting and imposing part of the spectacle was the long train of the priesthood. Their graceful turbans and flowing silk robes, the entire absence of ornament, their proud and scornful bearing, and the severe gracefulness of their whole appearance were in striking contrast with the lavish splendor which preceded and followed them. One could not resist the impression that they were the depositaries of an immense influence; nor could he wonder that Mahmoud [sic] found it so difficult to push forward his reforms against their combined and determined opposition. As they passed his tomb, hardly one of them lowered his head or uttered a prayer, as did all the civil and military officers, but all passed in silent scorn, or malicious exultation. Two or three only, near the person of the young sultan, showed signs of grief, and one broke from the ranks and prostrated himself upon the tomb.⁷

Rev. Goodell, in commenting later on the death of Sultan Mamut [sic] said, "The changes that have taken place here seem like a miracle. The army is annihilated, the treasury is exhausted; the whole fleet has fled away; the whole country is convulsed; and its parts, the moment European policy will permit, are ready to be separated forever. The persecution too has stopped; the patriarchs are afraid; their rage has received a check."⁸

Would the Moslems rise and slaughter the Christians? Would the Russian Navy appear in the Bosphorus as it did in 1831? Would Ibrahim Pasha march quickly to Constantinople and put his father on the throne? These were the international questions Hamlin says worried all of them.

6. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1840*, 88.

7. ABCFM, *Ibid.*, 87.

The *Hatt-i Humayun* of Nov. 1839

“Soon after young Sultan came to the throne, a charter of rights was granted to the people, without their asking for it, providing for some fundamental changes in the internal administration of the government. In the presence of all foreign ambassadors, the sovereign solemnly pledged himself to guard, as far as in him lay, the liberty, prosperity, and honor of every individual subject, without reference to his religious creed.”⁹

Known as the Imperial Rescript of Gulhane, the *Hatt-i Humayun* ushered in a new era in Ottoman history now known as the *Tanzimat* Period, a time of attempted reform. The decree emphasized the duty of the state to protect its subjects, their property, and their rights, providing security for all. It offered a new system of taxation in order to abolish the corruption and unfair burdens of the earlier system of tax farming. As a continued means of modernizing the armed forces, the decree established a new method of recruiting and sustaining the military. Lastly, and most importantly for the missionaries, the decree provided for equal justice for all subjects, regardless of religion. It was this that gave the missionaries hope that a new day was dawning in the empire, that non-Moslems would at last be treated equally with Moslems.

9. Ibid., 105.

Dwight, ever the optimist, saw the new proclamation in the eyes of one who believed in the rule of law. He must have thought that a Sultan's proclamation would have the same effect as the passing of legislation in his own country. "Under this very charter, changes the 'most momentous,' particularly for the Christian and Jewish populations, have already taken place in Turkey; according to the honest intentions and policy of the present government, there is ultimately to be a complete carrying out of its provisions in every part of the empire."¹⁰

Another important provision in the *Hatt-i Humayun* was the new system whereby governors and ruling pashas throughout the empire would receive a salary from the government, rather than depending on tax collections for their well-being. Professionals in the government would now collect taxes.

Because of this change, the Armenian bankers were instructed early in 1840 to settle their accounts as they would no longer be needed by government officials in their former capacity. The Armenian bankers, with this change in Porte policy, lost

10. Ibid.,106. Dwight was naively assuming the rule of law here. Moving forward 170 years, we see the Prime Minister of Turkey issuing a decree, Official Gazette of 13 May 2010, Circular 2010/13, that non-Muslim minorities in Turkey should be treated equally with Muslim citizens. "Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan has issued a decree, ordering state officials and civil servants to avoid raising any difficulties in their formal dealing with citizens from minority backgrounds. Underlining the Constitutional principle of equality before laws and the citizenship notion, Erdogan said in his decree that despite efforts to solve minority-related issues in Turkey through further democratization and expansion of rights and freedoms over the last years, problems couldn't be entirely settled due to setbacks in the implementation process." This issue is still alive in Turkey.

<http://www.byegm.gov.tr/yayinceri.aspx>

nearly all their influence with the government. “Thus did God put another obstacle out of the way which hitherto seriously obstructed the progress of His Kingdom.”¹¹

The missionaries were too early in their praise for these reforms. They were not universally received in the empire. As English historian Marriott has pointed out:

The leader of the reforms was Reshit Pasha [sic], who had been the Turkish ambassador at the Court of St. James’s, and had imbibed, during his residence in London, many ideas as to the nature of political progress in the West. His efforts to apply to his own country the lessons learnt in England were warmly encouraged by Sultan Mahmud and by his successor Abdul Mejid.... After the *Hatt-i-Humayun* was announced, the *ulemas* denounced Reshit as a *giaour* [an infidel]; that it was a ‘blasphemous violation of the Koran’ ...and contrary to the fundamental law of the Ottoman Empire, and that the attempt to put Moslem and Christian on an equality, so far from allaying discontent, would promote unrest among the subject populations and encourage perpetual agitation. Christians turned to external protectors: the Orthodox to Russia, the Catholics to France, the Protestants to England.¹²

The first missionary Seminary was opened by Rev. Cyrus Hamlin in Bebek in 1840. Missionary schools for both boys and girls - - the missionaries had stressed equality of education - - had flourished during these early years, and it was time, they believed, to begin training native pastors.

Regardless of their success in opening schools during the early 1840s, the situation of the missionaries steadily worsened, and converts to Protestantism were left

11. Ibid., 107.

12. Sir John A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy*, 4th Ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 248-251. First printed in 1917.

with no *millet* to give them legal or civil protection: they were anathematized by their former churches, turned out by their families and friends, and were outside any portion of society. The general situation for the missionaries did not improve. An entry from the *Missionary Herald* in early 1840 will help give an indication of the realities under which the missionaries worked. Here is an example from the Rev. Mr. Jackson, who was being sent to Erzeroom:

Of the opposition to missionary labor, which seems to have broken out simultaneously in almost all parts of the Turkish Empire, Mr. Jackson writes, "The storm of persecution which has been raging in Constantinople, has put the air in motion as far off as Trebizond and Erzeroom. On the Sabbath before I left Erzeroom, a letter was read in the Armenian church there, from the patriarchate, warning the people against the Americans, and forbidding them to patronize any schools we might open, or to purchase any of our books, and ordering them to burn them wherever found. Here in Trebizond I have not heard of precisely such orders, but the people have from the first been greatly afraid, especially those who were before somewhat friendly to us. And now we have less intercourse with them than before...."¹³

By 1845, the Western Asia Mission to the Armenians had five stations, in Constantinople, Smyrna, Broosa, Trebizond and Erzeroom; there were eighteen missionaries (one a physician), sixteen female assistant missionaries (all wives of missionaries) and twelve native helpers, making a total of forty-six involved in the missionary work. The persecutions, led by Armenian clergy and Jesuits, continued across the country, with physical torture applied to anyone found reading the Protestant scriptures. Undeterred, the missionaries continued the expansion of schools, including thirty-four students in the seminary in Bebek, and their spread of publica-

13 . *Missionary Herald*, April 1840, 55-56.

tions, with the presses in Smyrna turning out nearly two million pages in Armenian, over two million pages in Armeno-Turkish, and over four million pages in Bulgarian that year. The total from the beginning of the press in languages of the country had reached a little over seventy-three million pages.¹⁴

The same report commented on the mission of Rev. Schaufler to the Jews, noting that there were an estimated 45,000 Jews in Salonica, as well as large numbers of Askenazim (German) Jews, Sefardim (Spanish) Jews and Italian Jews in Constantinople. Nearly all Hebrew-Spanish Old Testaments printed in Vienna had been distributed, and the American Bible Society would underwrite the cost of a new edition to be printed in Smyrna. (In 1856, the American Board relinquished the mission to the Jews and the responsibility was assumed by the British and Scottish missionaries.)

Finally in 1847, after ten years of persecution, matters came to a head when the Armenian Church attempted to coerce any Protestant convert to come back into the fold or face total anathema. In the words of Rev. Henry van Lennep, the American missionary of Dutch descent raised in Smyrna:

Finally in February of 1847 a general persecution erupted in all the principle cities of the Empire. A confession of faith containing the Doctrines of Rome, to which the Armenian Church itself had never given its full agreement, was presented by the Patriarch, counseled by the Jesuits, to each individual who was suspected of Protestantism, and it was required of him to place his signature there. The weak yielded, but the greatest number refused. So the anathema was launched against the recalcitrants; their names were

13. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1845*, 85-86.

pronounced in all the churches; and the order was given to have nothing to do with them. This order was punctually accomplished by the means of promises and threats. Women abandoned their husbands, and children threw their sick and infirm parents out the door. Others were beaten, mistreated, thrown in prison by means of false accusations and false witnesses; and they were mixed with murderers and thieves. Still others were chased from their own houses, and found themselves suddenly without shelter, almost all lost the means of earning their living; and their abandonment was such that the water carriers refused for some time to furnish them with drink, and the bakers refused to sell them bread.¹⁵

By 1846, the first Church, the Armenian Evangelical Church, was established in Pera, rapidly followed by three other churches. In 1847, the Protestant missionaries, with the assistance of the British ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning, succeeded in obtaining initial protection for their converts, and in 1850, with an official *firman* issued by the Sultan, they obtained *millet* status for all Protestants, giving them, at last, a form of official status and protection. That did not mean that harassments ended, but at least they could wrap themselves in an official cloak.

During the Crimean War of 1853-1856, which pitted Britain, France, and Turkey against Turkey's long-time adversary, Russia, Rev. Cyrus Hamlin began a series of entrepreneurial enterprises of which the majority of his fellow missionaries did not approve. As was discussed in Chapter 3, with the help of American Minister George P. Marsh, he managed to get an Imperial *firman* to open a wheat mill and bread works for the manufacture of bread and later opened laundry works. One of the intangible benefits of the bread baking and laundering was the demonstration of

15 . Rev. Henry van Lennep in a letter to the Dutch Ambassador, July 1853. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 53, file #04322. For the full text, see Appendix II.

the value and dignity of labor, the rewards of hard work, diligence, and honesty, all good New England values.

Following the Crimean War and the Treaty of Paris (1856), in which Turkey was formally recognized as one of the family of European states, and her integrity was guaranteed by the treaty and its European signatories, the Sultan promulgated the *Hatt-i Humayun* of 1856, further guaranteeing equality of all citizens, regardless of religion. The American Board's *Annual Report* made this comment, "The most interesting part of the report [from the mission in Constantinople] is that which gives us official evidence, through our Minister at Constantinople, that the Turkish government has granted complete toleration to all its subjects, Mohammedan, as well as Christian. This even is not merely a religious change, but a political revolution. It is one of the wonders of the age; and we have reason to exclaim in view of it, 'What hath God wrought!'"¹⁶ The *Report*, in a nearly exuberant outburst, added, "The Armenian mission embraces a wide and most promising field of labor, ripe or fast ripening for the harvest... and was never, on the whole, in a better working condition than at present; and never had brighter prospects of success in extending the knowledge of a pure gospel among the Armenian people."¹⁷

Missionary schools continued to flourish, but in 1856 the American Board at its annual meeting reversed its policy on supporting missionary schools, deciding to continue support only to seminaries for training native pastors, resolving that the on-

16. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1856*, 21.

17. *Ibid.*, 22.

ly work of the missionaries should be preaching. Wrestling again with the issue of Christianizing vs. civilizing, the Board came down fully on the side of Christ rather than civilization. “We do not find, and the fact is to be noted, that Christ or his Apostles made any inventions or discoveries in the arts and sciences or sought directly to promote literature. We believe that the preaching of ‘Christ and him crucified,’ and that only, is sufficient to lead to ‘the wisdom of God and the power of God unto salvation’”¹⁸

Within a short time, the Bebek Seminary was closed, and the seminary moved into the interior to Marsovan. Hamlin and others were dismayed, believing this new policy to be a terrible mistake. When Christopher Robert, a wealthy New York businessman, was persuaded that there should be a Christian college in Constantinople, he turned to Hamlin to undertake what was necessary to begin the school. Hamlin had to resign from his position with the American Board to take on this new challenge. It took a number of years, the intervention of Secretary of State Seward, and an official visit from Admiral Farragut¹⁹ to obtain the required *firman* for the school, but in 1863 Robert College, incorporated in New York state, opened in Bebek, and in 1867 was established in its present choice spot overlooking the Bosphorus. Although a Christian school, it was open to young men of all faiths.

18. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1856*, 64.

19. Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 371- 414; *Among the Turks*, 275-287.

At much the same time, the Rev. Daniel Bliss established the American Protestant Seminary in Beirut, again incorporated in New York, and like Hamlin, Bliss had to resign from the American Board to devote his attention to the school. Later renamed the American University of Beirut, this school had a remarkable influence in the region.²⁰ One of the significant lessons it demonstrated was found in its statement:

This College is for all conditions and classes of men without regard to colour, nationality, race or religion. A man white, black or yellow; Christian, Jew, Mohammedan or heathen, may enter and enjoy all the advantages of this institution for three, four or eight years; and go out believing in one God, or in many Gods, or in no God. But it will be impossible for any one to continue with us long without knowing what we believe to be the truth and our reasons for that belief.²¹

A clear lesson each institution showed the society in which it operated was one of American democracy's fundamental principles: "equality of all" means that education is open to every person who desires it.

Following the "Laws of Growth" set out by the American Board in its early years – collecting hearers, reducing languages to writing, translating the Scriptures, forming Christian schools for education, training native ministers, encouraging the

20 . "At the founding convocation of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945, an enterprising journalist researched the educational backgrounds of all the official delegates. The institution that had the largest number of graduates among that distinguished group was not Harvard, Yale, or Princeton, not Oxford or Cambridge or the Sorbonne, but the American University of Beirut – with a total of nineteen alumni!" Carleton S. Coon, Jr. (ed.), *Daniel Bliss and the Founding of the American University of Beirut* (Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1989), viii.

21. Ibid., Frontispiece.

congregation to make the church self-supporting, and “whatever else goes to improve and elevate the domestic, social, civil, and religious life of the people”²² -- the missions in Turkey were moving rapidly along that path. By the American Board’s Jubilee in 1860, the missionaries were pleased to report that the first place the missionaries lived, Pera, “Now has a self-supporting church, composed of evangelical Armenians, with a native pastor – the whole independent of the missionaries, who reside elsewhere. The pastor of this church, Mr. Eutujian, attended the Jubilee Meetings [in the U.S. in 1860] and made an address in the Armenian language, which was interpreted by Dr. Hamlin. Difficulties have indeed arisen in this church, perhaps as a consequence of this very independence, just as they arose in the churches at Corinth and Galatia [references to St. Paul’s epistles]; and such are, of course, to be expected.”²³ This was the first public mention of a vexatious issue that would come to dominate the missions: what should be the proper relations between the missionaries and the native churches.²⁴

There were, at that time, ten stations (including Constantinople, Smyrna, Caesarea, Yozgat, Tocat, Sivas, Arabkir, Kharput, Baghchejuk, and Adrianople) and thirty out-stations connected to the Constantinople “Northern Armenian Mission,”

22. ABCFM, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners*, 244.

23. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1861*, 262. All figures in the following paragraphs are from the same source.

24. By the early 1880s, this had become such an important issue in Turkey that the American Board appointed a commission to review the situation. After visiting Turkey, the Special Committee on the Turkish Missions presented a 28-page report (set in #10 font!), followed by a five page (equally small type) comment from Cyrus Hamlin. The issues were complex and emotional. “When is a missionary’s work finished?” was the basic question, “When are churches truly autonomous?”

now boasting, besides the missionaries, four native pastors, twenty-one native preachers and eighty-six other native helpers. There were twenty-four churches under their jurisdiction. Free schools numbered forty. Five students who had graduated from the Bebek Seminary were now employed in the mission; the female boarding school in Hass-keuy had thirty-four pupils, and graduates of other mission schools were now opening new schools in villages and towns. At the annual mission meeting in Constantinople, the missionaries reported that “though much remains to be accomplished, the cause of civil and religious liberty has made great progress in Turkey, and is still gaining ground.”

In the “Southern Armenian Mission” in Ainteb, where a station had begun only in 1848, there were four other stations (Marash, Oorfa, Aleppo, and Antioch) and fourteen out-stations, extending from the “birthplace of Saul to the Euphrates,” with nine missionaries and three ordained native pastors; there was already a self-supporting church of nearly 300 members with a native pastor, a Sunday congregation of 900, and school of 600 children almost 400 adults, and a Sunday School with 1,600 attendees. In Bursa, which had had two missionaries, both were able to leave in 1852, with a native pastor in charge of the church there. The same situation prevailed in Trebizond, where the missionaries had been able, in 1857, to leave the church and schools there in the hands of a native pastor. And in Marash, where the station had begun only in 1854, there was a church of 227 members, a Sunday congregation of nearly 1,000, several Sunday Schools, and a native preacher.

The mission to Bulgaria had been established in Adrianople, with the help of funds from the Turkish Missions Aid Society of Britain. (Rev. Dwight had been sent to England and Ireland in 1858, had given many speeches there, and had raised interest in the mission work in Turkey. The results were immediate: \$10,500 came directly to the missions from the Society in 1860.) When the first missionary, on his way from Constantinople, arrived at the border, all his books were taken from him, as the Porte had given instructions not to allow any Turkish or Persian books on religious subjects to pass. They also detained 2,000 copies of the Turkish New Testament, sent by the British and Foreign Bible Society to their agents. On application to the Porte by the American and British Consular agents in Constantinople, the books were returned.²⁵ The press was printing Bibles and other literature in ten languages.

By the 1860s and 1870s, the missionaries in Constantinople had a wide circle of Turkish friends, as well as European. During these decades, a movement now known to history as the Young Ottomans arose, largely in Constantinople. Composed largely of journalists and intellectuals, they sought freedom of the press, a limitation to the Sultan's powers, and, in some instances, a parliamentary government. Rev. Washburn told of the missionaries' influence on this group: "...a few young Turks first woke up to a sense of their ignorance and the need of education. They founded a society and started a periodical to promote the progress of knowledge among their people. They used to come to the American missionaries for aid and counsel. It was

25. Samuel C. Bartlett, *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board* (Boston: Published by the Board, 1876), 27.

a new thing for the Turks, and the feeble beginning of the movement which has revolutionized the government.”²⁶

Rev. Henry Van Lennep, who was stationed in Tokat at the time, also understood the importance of the Young Ottoman movement, and wrote:

There is a party, chiefly composed of young men educated in Europe, who may be denominated “Young Turkey,” whose object and endeavour is to introduce a general and radical reform into all the branches of the administration, and into the very spirit and principles of the Government. They claim that the civil code of the Koran is no longer adapted to the wants of mankind; and that the latter should be thoroughly removed and reconstructed upon an European model, with an entirely new code of laws and new methods of administering justice.²⁷

Their broad acquaintanceships kept them in touch with many different movements, such as the Young Ottoman noted above, and with leaders across the government and society. “I do not think that the Turkish authorities ever thought of the College in those troublous times, although Mahomet Ruchdi Pasha, [sic] the Grand Vizier was our near neighbor, and Midhat Pasha was often at his house. Dr. Long had known the latter very well when he was in Bulgaria, and Midhat was himself a Bulgarian by race and birth, but a *Pomak*, or Mohammedan Bulgarian. Sir Henry Elliott’s faith in him was absolute, and it is true that he had been remarkably successful as a provincial governor in Bulgaria and in Bagdad. I once spent two days with him on an Austrian steamer, and we discussed Turkey most of the

26. George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), xvii, xviii.

27. From the diary of Rev. Henry Van Lennep, May 2, 1864, quoted in Henry J. Van Lennep, *Travels in Little-Known Parts of Asia Minor: with Illustrations of Biblical Literature and Researches in Archaeology*, 1, (Elibron Classics, 2000), 32. Reprint of the original edition, published by John Murray, London, 1870.

time...his head was full of schemes of reform. I am free to confess that he captivated me; but Dr. Long did not believe in his capacity to reform the empire. He certainly failed, and, at the time of his greatest power, he failed to organize any party to support him and failed to get the confidence of the Sultan whom he had put on the throne. He was finally exiled to Arabia and assassinated.”²⁸

By 1880, Protestantism was spreading rapidly. The Western Turkey Mission boasted seven stations, ninety-four out-stations, twenty-one native pastors and twenty-four native preachers, 110 schools including eight girls’ boarding schools and twenty-nine churches. The press had produced, from the beginning of the mission, 347 million pages. The Central Turkey Mission had two stations, forty out-stations, sixty schools including two girls’ schools and Central Turkey College, and thirty-two churches. The Eastern Turkey Mission reported four stations, 122 out-stations, twenty-three native pastors and thirty-two native preachers, 155 schools including six girls’ school, and thirty-three churches. The European Turkey Mission (largely Bulgaria) had four stations, fifteen out-stations, three native pastors and seven native preachers, fifteen schools including two girls’ schools, and three churches.²⁹

The American Board once again entered into the debate about whether it and its missionaries should be involved in a “civilizing” mission. In a very revealing

28. Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, 111. The events of the 1870s and the “Bulgarian Crisis,” in which the missionaries in Constantinople were intimately involved, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

29. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1881*, 28-51.

statement in one of the American Board's most influential publications, it was expressed thusly:

The Christian religion has been identified, in the popular conception of it, with a general diffusion of education, industry, civil liberty, family government, and social order, and with the means of a respectable livelihood and a well-ordered community. Hence our idea of piety in native converts has generally involved the acquisition and possession, to a great extent, of these blessings; and our idea of the propagation of the gospel by means of missions is, to an equal extent, the creation among heathen tribes and nations of a state of society such as we enjoy. And for this vast intellectual, moral, social transformation we allow but a short time. We have expected the first generation of converts, even among savages, to come pretty fully into our fundamental ideas of morals, manners, political economy, social organizations, justice, equity – although many of these are ideas which old Christian communities have been ages in acquiring. If we discover that converts...are slow to adopt our ideas of the rights of man, we at once doubt the genuineness of their conversion, and the faithfulness of their missionary instructors.³⁰

This seems to be a fairly clear statement of “civilizing” although it was written at a time when the American Board had just rejected the whole idea of a “civilizing” mission, had closed its educational institutions, and had instructed its missionaries to return to a sole emphasis on preaching.

This debate of “Christ vs. civilization” continued right to the end of the century, and over the decades late in the nineteenth century carried an increasingly imperialistic ring to it. It was perhaps the greatest intellectual dilemma of the missionary nineteenth century. By the beginning of the 20th century many of the missionaries were followers of the Social Gospel: economic development, societal develop-

30. ABCFM, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners*, 250, 251.

ment, social justice and education all became part of the “white man’s burden” with scores of socially-minded young idealists joining with the ranks of the missionaries to improve the lives of people all over the world. These were the decades of the YMCA and the YWCA, of student evangelical movements, of Christianizing seen as cultural propaganda, of the original Christian missions being supplanted by social services. In the U.S. today, there continue to be debates about the efficacy of a secular, government-sponsored “Peace Corps” vs. the stream of missionaries still being sent out by their churches.

The missionaries we are examining in this paper, those of the Northern Armenian Mission of 1859, would have had no such debate; they saw their work as spreading the word of the Bible, and teaching people to read the Bible. They may or may not have seen, in their work, the fact that they were spreading American values (as did the writer of the last quotation above), but their clear intention was simply to be faithful followers of Christ. They were, however, caught up in a society of which they did not approve, a society that was contrary to all their basic values as well-educated American Congregationalists of the nineteenth century, and it became important to them to demonstrate the values of equality of all citizens, of education, of individual rights. Whether preaching to adults or educating the child provides the more effective route to salvation, whether saving souls through conversion or lives through medicine is more important, or whether each is a separate path to the same goal of salvation may never be resolved, but these issues were the core of the debates in the nineteenth century missionary movement.

Because they were caught up in a society so very different from their own, a society that operated on absolutely different premises that they did not understand, and of which they did not approve, one that did not recognize the rule of law or recognize the rights of the individual, the missionaries from the earliest days in Turkey developed a strong dislike for the group they dubbed “the Terrible Turk.”

The “Terrible Turk” and his Character

In his most recent book, Justin McCarthy pinpoints the missionaries as the greatest source of negative 19th century Turkish images in America. “The American missionaries were the primary source of the negative image that has persisted long after the missions had closed and the churches that sent the missionaries had evolved into advocates of an unprejudiced acceptance of other cultures....The missionaries...widened and deepened the prejudice of Americans.”³¹

The missionaries knew little about the Turks before they arrived in Ottoman lands. As commerce was slight, about the only direct images to come to America were those from the Barbary Wars and the sailors who had been enslaved and mistreated.³² Most of the literature about the Turks came from Europe, where memories, passed down through the generations, were largely negative. “The fall of Con-

31. Justin McCarthy, *The Turk in America: Creation of an Enduring Prejudice* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2010). (Author’s note: His book was published after I had written most of this section, but I felt compelled to acknowledge his work in this thesis, although I did not find, in his work, specific quotes from missionaries of the times covered in this thesis.)

32. Robert J. Allison, *The Crescent Obscured: The United States and the Muslim World, 1776-1815* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995).

stantinople in 1453, and the ensuing fear that the Turks would attack the West and destroy Christianity, was the most powerful stimulus conditioning the formation of the Western image about Turks...even in the modern age, Europe's image of the Turks and the Ottoman state continued to be nurtured by the same medieval concepts which were used to legitimize the crusades and eventually proved handy in the age of economic and cultural imperialism."³³

The missionaries were virtually the only Americans in the Ottoman Empire. There was little or no official American representation in most of the empire, but the missionaries were scattered across the empire. They wrote letters home to their families, their friends, to editors, to professors and presidents of colleges. When they came home on furlough, they traveled widely, speaking in churches, on campuses; they dined with editors, lunched with congressmen and secretaries of state, and, on occasion, dined with the President of the United States. They were often well connected politically (for example, Cyrus Hamlin's first cousin was the Vice-President of the United States under Lincoln; Secretary of State Evarts' father was the American Board's corresponding secretary for years). These were the voices heard in the United States, and they carried great weight.

From the earliest letters home, from letters to the American Board and later in American Board publications, unfavorable impressions of the Turks were standard fare. Jonas King, the first Williams College graduate missionary, wrote in 1823,

³³ . Kemal H. Karpat, ed., *The Ottoman State and its Place in World History* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), 3.

“How long the Turkish nation will be permitted to exist I cannot tell; but it would seem as if their measure of iniquity was almost full, and that a just God would sweep them from the earth.”³⁴

William Goodell in an Oct. 17th, 1832 letter to Sidney E. Morse, Esq, a fellow student at Andover and the senior editor of the *New York Observer*, wrote:

...There is but little in this part of the Old World that looks like the industry, virtue, thrift, enterprise, rising greatness, and moral dignity of your part of the New. A striking trait in the character of the Turks, as you probably know, is indolence. They seem, in general to have almost a mortal antipathy to labor and to the exertion of muscular strength, and even to masculine exercises, except such as they take on horseback and in the use of arms. Hence they neglect agriculture; and large tracts of most fertile and beautiful country are left comparatively a desert. Their manufactures, too, are generally in a languishing state; and all the instruments, utensils, and machines they ever use in doing any thing are for the most part as few, as simple, and as rude as can well be imagined....But the Turkish character is not altogether a compound of ignorance, grossness, barbarism, and ferocity, as it has been sometimes represented, for they have certainly some redeeming qualities.³⁵

Typical of missionary comments found in the *Missionary Herald* are such as these: From Trebizond: “I was astonished to see how profoundly ignorant the people are of the art of healing. They are in this respect far below the tribes of the American wilderness.” “Our intercourse with the people is still but little, as we have often before observed. It has not diminished, and I know not that it has much increased. The prejudice that still lies deep in the minds of the people, and their deep aversion to spiritual

34. Letter of Jonas King, Williams College graduate, Class of 1816, missionary to Lebanon, written from Bairoot, Nov. 5, 1823. From Williams College Archives, Misc. Mss. Box 10, Vol. 17, 20-29.

35. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire*, 154.

things, now show themselves not so much in open opposition, as in cold indifference; though I perceive that many are not backward in the use of opprobrious epithets when speaking with one another of us and our labors.”³⁶ From Erzerum: “When we compare them with people of enlightened Christian lands, they appear to share in the same ignorance, superstition, stupidity, and perverseness of heart that characterize generally the Christian sects of this dark land.”³⁷

The *Missionary Herald* is sprinkled with anecdotes of cruel behavior of the Turks, such as this one, described as “An incident which represents the unhappy condition of the Christian subjects of this empire:”

...in their [soldiers’] midst was an old but respectable Armenian, covered with blood and dust, beaten and bruised in a most inhuman and revolting manner. The Turkish soldiers stationed near to preserve the peace, had thus abused him for no other crime than his eagerness in drinking at a public fountain where they also wished to drink. Such a degree of decorum, among such a motley multitude, is a singular instance of the power of that indefinite fear which people are under in a country and under a government like this. They know not but a slight offence will be visited with some terrible punishment, without warning or any opportunity for defence or escape.³⁸

Some of the letters from the missionaries carry what today would sound like a superior tone; some seem to speak with despair. “It is true that if called to go from Erzerum we shall not leave it with many regrets. Though moral darkness has seemed deepening over this hardened and ungrateful people during our stay among them, yet

36 . *Missionary Herald*, April 1840, 54.

37 . *Ibid.*, 55.

38 . *Missionary Herald*, May 1840, 174

we have not been without hope that God would visit them in mercy, and make them bow to the truth.”³⁹

The *Annual Report* of 1845 speaks of Armenian communities “so superstitious and morally debased as are oriental sects.”⁴⁰

The Rev. George Washburn (son-in-law of Cyrus Hamlin), who first went to Turkey in the 1850s, had this to say about the Turks:

The Turk himself was unchanged. The Sultan was an irresponsible autocrat, as his ancestors had always been. The Turks, generally, were as ignorant and uncivilized as when they came from Central Asia in the thirteenth century. There were schools of theology, but otherwise education was unknown. The highest officials were often unable to read or write their own language. Still, there were great men among them, and one could not meet the humblest Turk without realizing that he belonged to the ruling race.⁴¹

Even in requesting additional ordained missionaries for Constantinople from the American Board in Boston, the missionaries could not seem to resist poking fun at the Turks: “The Turkish mind is no longer in the same dormant state as in days and ages past. These times believers, as they style themselves, no longer trust to the

39. Letter to Rev. H.G.O. Dwight from Rev. Sanford Richardson, Erzroom, dated April 1, 1856. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 037, file #02953,

40. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1845*, 95.

41. George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909), xvi.

sword of Mohammad to answer every infidel objection by a single stroke, which shall make him a head shorter....”⁴²

Another illustrative assessment of the Turkish character comes from a London organization, quoting the Rev. H.O. Dwight (son of Rev. H.G.O. Dwight): “Under the varnish of European civilization you discover much that is offensive – filthy and uneven streets, beggary and deceit. *Laissez faire* is the order of the day; in the official mind *how not to do it* is the triumph of skill; and the general indifference of the people indicates stagnation and moral deadness.” [Italics from the Report].⁴³

Rev. Ussher provided another of the cleverly-written anecdotes about the greed of Turkish customs officials:

My first custom-house experience was an example of “the spoiling of [their] goods” which Americans in Turkey had to “take joyfully.” The American Board had given me for my professional equipment one hundred dollars which I had had to supplement with all of my personal funds. The custom-house officials appropriated one hundred and forty dollars worth of the contents of my boxes. They confiscated my new Standard Dictionary because it contained the “pernicious” words “liberty” and “revolution”; cut the maps out of my Bible because on several of them “Armenia” was to be found; appraised my microscope at twenty times its real cost and made me pay duty on this valuation. The box containing my mattress was sent on to Harput empty; the sanitary inspector at Constantinople informed me that the only way in which I could regain possession of its contents was to obtain an affidavit from the Turkish Consul in Boston to the effect that there had been no horse disease in America when that mattress was made! As the inspector used the article in question

42. Letter from Oliver Crane, William Goodell and W.W. Meriam to ABCFM, dated 1862. Bible House Archives, Box 001, file # 000131.

43. Turkish Missions’ Aid Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Missions in Bible Lands, *Thirtieth Annual Report, May 1886* (London: Office of the Society, 1886), 9.

throughout the period covered by our correspondence concerning it, it became too populous for my purpose.⁴⁴

Some of the missionary writing contained both splendid and dark images in the same story. One of those is a recollection of Cyrus Hamlin's from the late 1840s, after the establishment of the first Protestant church in Pera, about the first burial from the Armenian Evangelical Church, which took place in Istanbul:

Our resident minister, Mr. Carr, sent a dragoman to the chief of police and governor of that side of the Bosphorus, (Pera) to inform him of the threats of the mob to seize the body and drag it through the streets. He listened with Musselman [sic] gravity and simply replied: '*Inshallah bouyile bir shay etmei jeckler*' (If it please God, they will do no such thing.) He sent sixteen *cavasses* to guard the procession. Our minister and his aides were out on horseback with considerable display. The procession moved silently through the Grand Rue of Pera, attracting great attention. The brethren bore the casket, the pastor walked in front carrying a large Bible, the missionaries were with the rear of the column...we passed the Taxim into the open, but there was no mob there....

As we approached the grave, we saw a multitude surrounding it, but there were three or four bodies of the Turkish troops going through with their daily drill. They were on every side of the grave.

A prayer was offered, the casket placed in the grave...the pastor...pronounced the benediction, and instantly the military music burst forth on every side. It was as profoundly impressive as though the angel of the Lord had come down on guard. Were the troops accidentally there? Or was it planned as to *seem* accidental and yet most effectively overawe the mob? 'If it please God, they will do no such thing.'

We formed the procession again, and were returning to the city full of gratitude and admiration, when suddenly there burst up from that gorge, as from the bottomless pit, a

44. Clarence D. Ussher and Grace H. Knapp, *An American Physician in Turkey: A Narrative of Adventures in Peace and in War* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), 4,5.

howling mob of roughs to the number of many hundreds – some considered them a thousand, -- hurling stones and brickbats with such insane fury ... The sixteen *cavasses* formed in a line, with naked scimitars, and prevented the mob from rushing on us...the stones fell thick among us...four or five of us were hit, but no one was seriously injured...we reached Taksim...our sixteen *cavasses* formed in our rear and stopped the mob.⁴⁵

Missionary autobiographies and histories are laced with examples of the cruel or arbitrary nature of the Turkish bureaucracies. The lack of rule of law seemed to be one of the most difficult things the missionaries had to deal with. Example after example is provided: Hamlin noted a court case that was retried nine times in which he lost each time, but after the ninth attempt the judge sent an envoy to say that if Hamlin would pay him \$60, he would reverse his sentence, “and gladly, because all the world knew that justice was on [your] side!”⁴⁶ Hamlin was a prolific writer and an articulate speaker. Following his return to the United States, he wrote scores of articles for a wide variety of publications, especially newspapers, and letters to editors, and was in great demand as a speaker.

Washburn, in describing his early impressions of Constantinople, said, “The civil administration degenerated in the same way, the courts were corrupt, taxation degenerated into plunder and everything fell into confusion. There were Turks who

45. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times* (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, undated), 287-290.

46. Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1878), 253.

saw the evil of all these things and would gladly have remedied them, but they were powerless.”⁴⁷

Washburn was also a prolific writer and speaker. In one article, which clearly expresses a common impression among missionaries, and betrays his Protestant philosophy of the importance of progress, he began by saying,

Christianity recognizes the freedom of man...Mohammedanism [sic] minimizes the freedom of man...Christianity is essentially progressive, while Mohammedanism is unprogressive and stationary.... After nineteen hundred years Christianity numbers 400,000,000 and Islam, after thirteen hundred years, 200,000,000; but Mohammedanism has been practically confined to Asia and Africa, while Christianity has been the religion of Europe and the New World, and politically it rules now over all the world except China and Turkey...Christianity has led the way in the progress of modern civilization...Each claims to rest upon a divine revelation, which is in its nature final and unchangeable; yet the one is stationary and the other progressive. The one is based upon what it believes to be Divine commands, and the other upon Divine principles....I think that Moslems generally take pride in the feeling that their faith is complete in itself, and as unchangeable as Mount Ararat. The Christian, on the other hand, believes in a living Christ, who was indeed crucified at Jerusalem, but who rose from the dead, and is now present everywhere, leading his people on to ever broader and higher conceptions of truth, and even new applications of it to the life of humanity; and the Christian Church...recognized the fact that the perfection of its faith consists not in its immobility, but in its adaptability to every stage of human enlightenment. *If progress is to continue to be the watchword of civilization, the faith which is to dominate this civilization must also be progressive.*⁴⁸ [italics mine].

These are only a few of the thousands of examples of missionary writing which condemns “the Terrible Turk” to infamy. That image has still not been overcome in America.

47. Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, 11.

48. George Washburn, “Contemporary Review for November,” *Public Opinion* (Dec. 7, 1893). Amherst Archives and Special Collections, George Washburn file.

CHAPTER 6

INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In the development of America's relations with the Middle East the early missionaries played a unique role...in terms of American awareness and knowledge of the area, the prime source of information has been – until quite recently – the missionaries who lived and traveled there and who learned the languages out of professional necessity.¹

-- David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East*

The flag follows the missionaries....The fact that the missionaries have in so many cases been long-term residents of some countries before any representative of their government appeared is sufficient evidence to show the superior knowledge of those countries and peoples which they must possess...it is well known, by a few in the inner missionary circle, that ministers to foreign ports have frequently been instructed in Washington not to take any important step or act in any emergency without first consulting with some well-known local missionary.²

-- James L. Barton, *The Missionary and His Critics*

Introduction

From the time of the arrival of America's first representative to the Sublime Porte³ -- Commodore David Porter in 1831--and continuing throughout the nineteenth century, the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire were a source of great influence on American officials in the empire and in Washington, on the policies recommended to Washington, or requested by Washington to be carried out. They be-

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

2. James L. Barton, *The Missionary and His Critics* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906).

3. For a list of U.S. Ministers to Constantinople, please see Appendix I.

came trusted, although unofficial, advisors to the American Minister resident in Constantinople, and to American consuls when they were established throughout the empire.⁴

The missionaries demanded, and were given, protection of American citizens and their property abroad, at times backed up by American war vessels and fire power. These demands, at first ignored by Commodore Porter, went all the way to the Secretary of State who invoked the name of the President in assuring protection. They sought official American representation in collecting indemnities for damaged or destroyed property. They obtained official intervention in seeking justice from the Ottoman governments when, as happened several times, one of their number was murdered by a Turkish subject.

The missionaries, from their earliest days in Constantinople, constantly urged religious freedom for the Sultan's subjects. They successfully obtained, with the help of both American and British diplomats, *millet* status for Protestant subjects of the Sultan and guarantees of his official protection. They were successful in obtaining, through a Washington directive, a major demarche on freedom of conscience by the American

4. The best-known of the missionary advisors was George Washburn, son-in-law of Cyrus Hamlin and second president of Robert College, who first came to Constantinople in 1856. At his death the following article appeared, headlined "Missionary Guided Diplomat:" "In memorial services for the late Dr. George Washburn, long time president of Robert College, the great missionary institution at Constantinople, it was related that the Hon. Oscar Straus, three times Minister in the Turkish capital, had said that he owed all his diplomatic success to Dr. Washburn. Whenever a knotty question arose in the very mixed international relations centering in Constantinople, Mr. Straus always asked time to consider. Then he took advantage of the delay to consult Dr. Washburn, adopted the attitude Dr. Washburn advised, and invariably found that the advice was hailed with approbation by the other members of the local diplomatic corps and was vindicated by the outcome of events." Undated, untitled article in Washburn General Biography File in Amherst College Archives, Robert Frost Library.

Minister in the mid-1850s. They pressed for individual freedom throughout the empire and equality of status for members of all religious faiths. They enlisted official American support for the establishment of Christian education and educational institutions for both boys and girls in the empire.

In addition to the influence they exerted over their own government, missionary advice was sought by other Protestants--by the King of Holland and by parts of the British political establishment, both those in power and those in opposition.

Pre-Missionary History of Protection of Citizens

During the Barbary Wars, especially the early years, the American government was unable to protect its citizen-sailors who, as American vessels were captured, were sent into slavery. Relatives and others repeatedly begged the new American government to ransom the captives and allow them to return home. Their petitions, as well as the petitions received from the captives themselves, were invariably answered with the argument that there was no national money for ransom. Before the constitution of 1787 giving the national government the ability to raise revenues through taxes, this was largely true. American sailors in captivity in the Barbary nations became part of the debate over whether there should be a national navy to protect American shipping, the great dispute between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, and the Congressional decision of 1794 to build frigates and begin an American Navy. It was only in 1815

that American captured sailors were liberated and repatriated to the U.S. by the newly formed American Navy and the Marines.⁵

The Webster-Porter Exchange of 1842

From the earliest days of the missionaries' work in the Ottoman Empire, protection of American citizens abroad had been a major concern of theirs. Before there was any official American presence in the Ottoman Empire, the missionaries often turned to the British Consuls for assistance when it was needed. After the arrival of Commodore Porter (who was steeped in naval tradition) as the first American Charge d'Affaires at the Sublime Porte, the missionaries, who had very close personal relations with Porter, believed they would be well protected. Finnie asserts, however, that Porter was "much less inclined than some of his European colleagues to take energetic action and more likely to think up reasons why nothing could be done" if asked to intervene with the Porte.⁶

Difficulties arose in the Lebanon in 1841, when the Maronite Patriarch, concerned that some of his church followers were being wooed away by the Protestant missionaries, tried to expel the missionaries from his region. When the missionaries

5. *Naval Documents Related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers*, I: Naval Operations including Diplomatic Background from 1785 through 1801. (Washington: GPO., 1939). This volume contains the Message of Pres. George Washington to the Congress of the U.S., "Prisoners at Algiers" (Dec. 30, 1790): 18-22.

6. David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 127.

refused to leave, the Patriarch wrote to the Sultan, who had his Foreign Minister write to Porter, requesting him to remove the Americans from Mount Lebanon.⁷

In his reply, which incensed the missionaries, Porter said he did not have the authority to remove the missionaries, and added, “The Constitution of the United States allows to all its citizens the right of free exercise of their religious opinions, but no article of the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between the United States and Turkey gives them authority to interfere in any way with the rites and religion of any person living under the authority of Turkey; therefore after this correspondence has been made known to the American citizens residing in the vicinity of Mount Lebanon, any attempt to excite the minds of the inhabitants to change their rites and religion must be done at their own risk, and on their responsibility.”⁸ He was clearly declining to protect them. In modern parlance he was saying that this was not in his job description.

Porter’s reply to the dispatch from the Sublime Porte was “that the government could no longer be answerable for the safety of the American missionaries, and they must at once retire from the country.” The *astounding* reply of the commodore was that “he had no official duties in regard to missionaries, but he would inform the gen-

7 . Various accounts of this narrative appear throughout missionary literature. The most authoritative are by Rufus Anderson, Board Secretary during these events, in his *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches* (Boston, 1872), 254, 303-304 and in his *Foreign Missions*, 195-6.

8. Finnie, *Pioneers East*, 127.

tlements concerned, who would act for themselves.”⁹ Goodell and Schauffler immediately took to horse to San Stefano to remonstrate. “The Commodore was a warm friend to all the missionaries, especially to Goodell and Schauffler, but all the change he would make was that he must communicate with his government, and he would expect the usual protection until he should hear from Washington.” He was sure that our government would decide that, having only a commercial treaty with the Porte, it could not claim any protection for the missionaries. “We immediately prepared our appeal to our government on the basis of the most favored national clause in the treaty and claimed the same rights which the Roman Catholic missionaries enjoyed.”¹⁰

The Patriarch was delighted with Porter’s position, and declared that the missionaries had been denounced by their own government and would not be protected. The missionaries were furious, protesting to Porter that the Patriarch had trumped up these false charges; they were not trying to steal his sect members or convert them to another religion. In addition, they reminded Porter that not only protection of U.S. citizens, but of their property as well, was a deep concern. “This property, should it be illegally sacrificed, would not fail to be inquired after by those whom it concerns.”¹¹ Porter’s response was, “I cannot see that I can do anything further in the matter.”

9. Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, 196.

10. *Ibid.*, 197.

11. David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East*, 128.

When Porter communicated all this to the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, Porter said he hoped, “The steps which I have taken on the subject may not give offense to the religious zeal of the persons implicated, and that they may not trouble the Department with the complaints.”¹² He clearly did not understand the influence of the missionary Board in Washington. In a later correspondence with Webster, Porter again tried to defend his position: “Although it has been hinted to me that complaints will be made to the Government unless I take some measure in violation of the Treaty to ameliorate the condition of missionaries in Turkey, that may place me in the condition of the Consul of the Sandwich Islands, of whom the complaints of the missionaries was [sic] the cause of his removal from office, still I shall adhere strictly to the Treaty unless I am instructed to act in variance with it.”¹³

At the ABCFM Board meeting in January, 1842, the issue was thoroughly debated.¹⁴ It was determined that there was no reason why an American missionary should be denied the right of protection. The cleric is a member of a distinct and important part of any American community, it was argued, and as such is entitled to protection of his government, just as any member of any other profession is entitled to the same. His duties and assignments may take him overseas, particularly as an important part of Christianity (as found in Scriptures as the “Great Commission”) calls upon clergy to spread the Good News to all people, including the heathen and the infidel, the unevangelized segments of the world. As an American clergyman undertaking Christian benevolence by

12. Ibid., 127.

13. David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East*, 128.

14. Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of Fifty Years*, 197-205.

spreading the gospel to other nations, he is acting as an agent for all those members and institutions in the United States who are supporting his work directly or indirectly. Their rights and his rights are intertwined; they are partners in this enterprise.

The Act of Incorporation that founded the Board in Massachusetts in 1810 recognized that missionaries spreading the Gospel to unevangelized countries would be engaging in lawful and proper work for American clergy. The American government issues passports to American missionaries, just as they do for all American citizens. These passports entitle all American citizens to equal protection by their government; the passports declare them to be American citizens who should be respected by foreign governments.

In addition, as the American Board members marshaled their arguments, they included the fact that the missionaries received all their support from their homeland; that the country in which they are laboring recognizes them only as American citizens; their missions are not permanent and they never become citizens of the countries in which they reside; they send their children, whom they regard as Americans, back to America for the bulk of their education; and they return to their homeland when they have finished their labors.

The Board took the unusual step of writing directly to the Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, outlining their reasons for expecting protection of themselves and their property.

Their letter is as follows:

Washington, Jan. 31, 1842

To the Honorable Daniel Webster, Secretary of State

Sir:

As a member of the Prudential Committee of the American Boards of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, I have to ask your immediate attention to the situation of the missionaries of this Board in the Ottoman Empire. Commodore Porter has uniformly construed the Treaty, existing between the United States and that empire, as strictly commercial, and does not extend the customary patronage and protection, which he feels willing to bestow on commercial men, to our missionaries; whereby they are in fact denationalized in the view of foreigners, and have to rely for the protection, which may be needful to them, on the British flag, and have repeatedly expressed their fears, lest they should be compelled to cast reproach upon their country, in seeking safety under the folds of a foreign ensign.

I beg not to be understood as reproaching Commodore Porter any farther than well substantiated facts, tending to prove all I have stated, will promote such an end. I have supposed that a letter from the Department requiring him to afford to missionaries, the same aid that is afforded by him to Merchants, and the same which British authorities afford to their missionaries will answer every purpose.

While on this subject permit me to say that, the unexpected and unexplained abolition of the Consular Officers in the Ottoman empire is deemed by all whose opinions are acquainted with, as uncalled for, unwise and tending to degrade our nation in the eyes of foreigners, and is very embarrassing to those who are in the employment of our Board; and I cannot but hope it may be deemed proper to restore those offices without delay.

Very respectfully your fellow citizen,

Sam T. Armstrong¹⁵

¹⁵ . Armstrong had been the Governor of Massachusetts and was a strong political figure nationally.

Webster's reply, which was conveyed to Commodore Porter and the Board, "is believed to have been the first formal declaration of our government on this important subject"¹⁶ and has served since that time as the basis of American diplomatic missions' actions in support of American citizens overseas.

Department of State, Washington,
2d February, 1842

David Porter, Esq.
Minister Resident, Constantinople

Sir:

It has been represented to this Department, that the American missionaries and other citizens of the United States, not engaged in commercial pursuits, residing and traveling in the Ottoman dominions, do not receive from your legation that aid and protection, to which, as citizens of the United States, they feel themselves entitled; *and I have been directed by the President, who is profoundly interested in the matter*, [italics mine] to call your immediate attention to the subject, and to instruct you to omit no occasion where your interference in behalf of such persons may become necessary or useful, to extend to them all proper succor and attentions, of which they may stand in need, in the same manner that you would to other citizens of the United States, who, as merchants, visit or dwell in Turkey.

Enclosed is a letter addressed to me this day, by Ex-Governor Armstrong, of Massachusetts,¹⁷ a gentleman of high character, which will explain to you the nature of the representations that have been made upon this subject, and which it appeared due to you, as well as to those interested in the cause it is the object of the representation, to shield and to promote, frankly to communicate; and the Department believes, that it will only be necessary to invoke your attention to its contents, to insure from you, in future, to the individuals described, what this government expects from its representative abroad, in all cases where citizens of the United States are concerned. It is my opinion that the American Consulates in Syria, which were recently suppressed, might, at this time, be made useful; an opinion confirmed by circumstances which have occurred since their suppression, and by

16. Ibid., 201.

17. He was, at that time, President of the ABCFM.

what Gov. Armstrong has stated – and I have to request that you will communicate your own views upon the subject, and designate the proper posts in Syria, where in your judgment, Consulates might be established as well as the persons whom it would be most expedient to invest with such offices, should the President resolve to reestablish them.

I am, Sir, respectfully Your obt. Servant

(signed) Daniel Webster¹⁸

This was a sharp rebuke to Commodore Porter, not just a polite slap on the wrist, particularly as it invoked the name of the President of the United States. No diplomat would fail to understand the gravity with which Washington viewed this issue. It was raised by the missionaries repeatedly over the decades. Mr. Edward Everett and Mr. Lewis Cass, when they were Secretaries of State, likewise recognized the claims of the missionaries for protection as American citizens. When Dr. Jonas King was detained and imprisoned in Athens in the 1850s, Mr. Marcy, then Secretary of State, rescued him from the unjust and harsh actions of the Greek government.

After Porter's death in 1843, his successor, Dabney Carr, had clearly taken this lesson to heart. He wrote to the American consul in Beirut, "The missionaries themselves know that I will protect them to the full extent of my power, not only through you but, if need be, by calling the whole of the American squadron in the Mediterranean to Beyrout."¹⁹

18. ABCFM, *Letters of Early Secretaries 1803-1864* 1.5: 2, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1-6.

19. U.S. National Archives, Carr to S/S, March 5, 1845 (with enclosures), DSD. S/S to Carr, Dec. 7, 1848.

The Missionaries: Who is entitled to Protection?

Following the Webster directive to Porter, questions naturally arose among the missionaries: How far should U.S. protection extend? Who should be protected? Can missionary helpers or their converts be protected as well as the missionaries themselves? These questions were formally raised by the Rev. Messrs. Jackson and Peabody, the missionaries in the Erzroom station, and forwarded to Constantinople in May, 1843. They asked whether it would be expedient to call “for the interference of our Ambassador [sic] to protect our native brethren from the oppressive acts of the Turks.” Rev. William Goodell, the longest-serving of the missionaries and a fine diplomat himself, responded carefully for the mission in Constantinople.²⁰

He noted that “We ourselves are personally entitled to the same protection that any other American citizen can claim...”

But their helpers might be expected to be entitled to the same protection as those employed by merchants or traders, but those are generally limited to two helpers who have very specific duties, and the missionaries have scores of helpers with unspecified duties. He instanced a case of a helper being sent into exile when they elected not to seek official interference, but let the case drift from sight. The helper was later able to return, and with increased influence. “They avoided a quarrel with the nation and permitted the storm to rage among themselves,” wisely refraining from pressing their case.

20. This exchange is found in Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 036, file #02807. Goodell’s response is dated June 30, 1843.

As to their work, Goodell said, it could not be compared to a merchant's work in regard to protection. "and even if it could, we should still not always think it the part of wisdom to avail ourselves of it. For not by might nor by power but by my Spirit saith the Lord." Sometimes it is more expedient not to ask for their Minister's interference, Goodell counseled.

Concerning their native brethren generally, Goodell said "those to whom we have preached the Gospel or to whom we have sold the Scriptures, or with whom we have communed at the table of the Lord, may be thrown into dungeons, or otherwise harassed, and we may be unable to obtain any official interference in their behalf." Often, he suggested, the only thing an official representative can do is to try to exert his own influence and ask for a favor for something that is not covered by the treaty.

Goodell was quite clear that more than that should not be expected from their diplomats, nor should the missionaries request more as it put the American representatives in a difficult situation. His judicious and wise analysis, separating the person of the missionary from his work, his native helpers, and his converts in terms of legal and diplomatic representation, led the mission in Constantinople to seek assistance from the legation only when necessary, and not to ask their representatives to take on tasks that did not fit the treaty provisions.

Other diplomatic missions must have had concerns about the protection of their citizens, and their inability to supply it. Rev. Henry van Lennep, an American missionary of Dutch descent, wrote to his colleague, the Rev. Benjamin, on March 31,

1854, that he hesitated to take his family on a new assignment into the interior (at Tokat) as “I cannot have any immediate hold upon the people which may serve as a means of protestation in the absence of Consular Authority. . . . But having called upon my Ambassador [the Dutch Ambassador] the other day, he asked me whether I had not given up my plan to going this year . . . when I answered that I had not, he said that he would not furnish me with a passport for myself and family, but I might go alone if I chose. Otherwise, he would not be responsible for the consequences.”²¹

In Athens

In early 1851, Jonas King was arrested and later tried on what the missionaries believed were trumped up charges of blasphemy. King had been in and out of trouble with the Greek authorities, including the hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox Church for years, and had been exiled and then allowed to return. Part of the problems involved a parcel of land owned by the American Board, which the Greek officials had seized, refused to return and refused to pay indemnity for their seizure. With the newest difficulties, King had been sentenced to a short prison incarceration, followed by exile once again. The American Board was incensed and contacted Webster.

There was no official American representation in Athens, which made matters very difficult. However, in May, 1852, Secretary of State Daniel Webster wrote to the Minister in Constantinople, George P. Marsh, that in the capacity of “special agent” he should “proceed to Athens with a U.S. ship of war.” A month’s negotiation with the

21. *Letter from Henry van Lennep to Rev. N. Benjamin, March 31, 1854.* Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 036, file #0845.

government of Greece produced no positive results, only concerns of Marsh about the arbitrary nature of the Greek government and “on its slavish submission to an ignorant, bigoted, and corrupt priesthood.”²² Marsh was later ordered to return to Athens. He was instructed to communicate to the Greeks that “the President of the United States did not believe that King had been given a fair trial.” This time he arrived bringing with him the *USS Cumberland*, the *USS Levant*, and the *USS St. Louis*, the greatest U.S. show of force seen in the Mediterranean in years. The Greeks were unimpressed. In 1854 there was some resolution of the problems: King was allowed to remain in Greece and a small indemnity was paid for the property in dispute. However, as Field points out, three American envoys and two naval shows of force “added significantly to the precedents available for consultation when difficulties next arose.”²³

The Missionaries Try Again: 1858

The problems, however, did not go away. In January, 1858, some American colonizers and farmers near Jaffa were the victims of an Arab raid. Walter Dickson was wounded, his wife and daughter were raped and a son-in-law was killed. Perhaps because of this, in July, 1858, the men of the Northern Armenian Mission in Constantinople sent an Address to Rufus Anderson, Secretary of the ABCFM, and through him to the Prudential Committee, on the subject of “the Civil Protection of Missiona-

22. James A. Field, Jr., *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882*, 291.

23. *Ibid.*, 292.

ries in the interior of Turkey.”²⁴ In the letter to Anderson, the missionaries raised the issue of their protection in the interior of the country by the Ottoman government.

But it seems to us that the repeated outrages committed upon [us] in different parts of the country, the utter lack of redress for these outrages and the want of any adequate security against their recurrence even in worse forms demonstrate the necessity of something more than is at present being done for their protection. We need only refer you to the insults and injuries heaped upon Mr. Dunsmore in years past at Diarbikir—to the Keul Vank village affair—to the recent attack upon Messrs. Dunmore and Allen at Hoshmat—to the attempt upon the life of Mr. Farnsworth and servant at Cese-rea—and the attempt to reenact the Jaffa tragedy at Aintab in broad daylight upon the persons of Mr. and Mrs. Coffing.... They were not done in a corner. The perpetrators of the outrages were not men unknown to the authorities and yet in not a single instance were the guilty parties brought to justice. The inevitable result of such remissness is increased boldness on the part of those disposed to violence, and a very painful feeling of insecurity on the part of the missionaries and their families.

They quickly absolved the American representatives from any blame in these matters. “We have found them prompt and faithful in calling the attention of the Turkish government to every case of outrage upon the rights of missionaries.” The Turkish government has seemed to have taken steps to address these outrages, but as a matter of fact not a single person has been charged with any crime. The “palpable defect” in Ottoman government actions is that orders issued are “feebly uttered” and are expressed in such a way that “the Pasha or other subordinate to whom their execution is entrusted, understands at once that very little interest is felt in the affair by his superior.” Therefore, the subordinate does nothing.

24. *Letter to Anderson, dated July 6, 1858*, Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 0039, File #03098. All quotations in the next paragraphs are from this document.

Another “deficiency” noted by the missionaries is that in the interior there is no official American representative to ensure that required actions are taken by the Ottoman government and that American missionaries and their families are thereby protected. Everything is “left to the local authorities who are operatives inimical to the missionary, or at best have but little zeal in his behalf and whose chief anxiety is to hush up the affair in the easiest manner possible without regard to the claims or truth or justice.”

The missionaries requested that a statement listing the recent and continuing “outrages” be prepared and sent to the Department of State at Washington, directing Washington’s attention to these and requesting “more vigorous measures” for protecting American citizens in Turkey, especially in the interior provinces. The missionaries suggested a dispatch be sent from Washington to the Minister resident in Constantinople, “expressing in energetic terms the wishes and expectations of the U.S. Government in regard to the protection of its citizens residing in Turkey.” They expressed confidence that such a dispatch would be “welcomed” by the Embassy [sic] as it could be passed on to the Sublime Porte and show Washington’s direct interest in these cases.

Additionally, the missionaries requested the appointment of an American Consul at Erzroom and at Harput. They argued that the English, French, and Russian governments all had consuls in Erzroom, yet the Americans had no representation there. A representative in Erzroom could cover the entire provinces of the east, and “could do much to secure protection to the missionary families residing in all the eastern

provinces of Turkey...and exert a very powerful influence for them through the whole region.” Despite the missionaries’ pleas, no U.S. Consul was appointed to the interior of Turkey until 1886, when Mr. Jewett, the son of missionaries, was sent to Sivas -- not to Erzroom and not to Harput. No consular officer was sent to Harput until shortly before the outbreak of the First World War. The Cross had certainly preceded the Flag in this case.

The Dickson affair brought a sharp protest from the State Department to the Ottoman authorities, but no action was forthcoming from the Ottoman side. Edwin de Leon, the American Consul in Alexandria, under instructions from the State Department, continued to pressure the authorities for some resolution, as he wrote to Washington, that unless there were immediate actions taken by the Ottoman government, “American life and property will never...be safe in Syria, nor the American name respected.”²⁵

De Leon recommended a show of force on America’s part, and in October, 1859, two things happened: the Navy sent the *USS Macedonian* to the Syrian coast, and the Resident Minister in Constantinople, James Williams, was ordered by the State Department, in essence, to show the flag. He reported to the Secretary of State, Lewis Cass, on Dec. 28, 1859, from Jerusalem, on his trip “to visit personally those

25. U.S. National Archives, RG 59, de Leon to Bell Jan. 27, 1858; De Leon to Cass Feb. 22, 1858. Both also cited in Michael Oren, *Power, Faith and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present* (New York: Norton & Co., 2007), 167.

parts of the Turkish Empire where the rights of American Citizens had been violated.”²⁶

Williams undertook a two-month trip, going first to Smyrna where he met with the Pasha, and then went on to Tripoli, for a meeting with the Governor. He moved on to Syria, where the missionary family Benton had been assaulted, run out of Zahlak town and their possessions burned, and Palestine, site of the Dickson farm affair. In Beirut, he met with American citizens and then with the Governor, and “during the visit of several hours we discussed freely the various cases of outrage against the rights of American Citizens which had induced the necessity of my visit to Syria.”²⁷

Williams reported that in discussing the Jaffa outrage, the Governor assured Williams that he had “done all in his power to secure the arrest and punishment of the offenders.” Regarding the forcible expulsion of Mr. Benton and his family from the town of Zahlak, and the destruction of his property, the Governor, “represented that the perpetrators of this outrage, as well as the entire population of Zahlak were Christians,” and that the population had been caught in a power dispute between the European Powers (who demanded a Christian governor for the region) and the Turkish authorities who contended that the inhabitants wished to be under their control. Consequently, the region had been in rebellion for several years. Williams said he understood the difficulties within the region, but “stated that the Government of the United States could only look to the Turkish Government [sic] to redress the wrongs of

26. U. S. National Archives, 012, RG 84, *Records of Foreign Service Posts*, #57.

27. *Ibid.*, 4.

American Citizens occurring within the Turkish Empire.”²⁸ Williams reported that the Governor reiterated his determination to do all within his power to bring about a satisfactory conclusion, “but he gave me but little reason to suppose that his efforts would be successful.”²⁹

Williams then pushed on to Damascus, and finally went to Zahlak in the hope that an official visit by the American President’s personal representative might accomplish what diplomatic correspondence had been unable to do. They were greeted with pomp, ceremonies, parades, women singing and waving palm branches, and great feasts—but never an apology, only one comment of regret. However, Williams concludes his report by saying, “I am happy to be able to state that I have been successful beyond my sanguine expectations, and now after a tour of sixty days, I am enabled to report that every question involving a principle or a point of national honor, has been adjusted in a manner entirely satisfactory, not only to myself, but also to those American Citizens who had suffered the wrongs complained of.”³⁰

Williams also, in this report, and in true diplomatic form, referred to one of his own statements thusly, “I stated that all American Citizens of whatever sect or religion were equally entitled to the protection of the American Government. Whether Catholic, Greek, or Protestant was alike a matter of indifference. Their right to that protection grew out of their right of citizenship. That religious liberty was accorded to all

28. Ibid., 4.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

our citizens and that while granting this liberty to others, we could not look on with indifference when the personal rights of an American were violated in a foreign land on account of his religious opinions.” He stressed, he said, “That this religious liberty had been accorded to American Citizens in the Turkish Empire [sic] by treaty stipulations, and that the Government of the United States would not submit to the invasion of this liberty.”³¹

After assuring Washington that he had assured the American citizens of the “watchful guardianship of the American Government over their rights—and interests”³² he went on to tell Washington that the Greek Bishop had remarked to him that the American missionaries “have done more for the diffusion of useful knowledge and the literary advancement of Syria than has been accomplished by all others during half a century.” Williams added, “the approbation of such men is to be prized and any country might be proud to claim them as citizens.”³³

In 1860, information supplied by the missionaries brought the dismissal of the American Consul in Jerusalem, Mr. Gorham. Led by Rev. H.G.O. Dwight and Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, the complaints against Mr. Gorham were that he was often away from his post for extended periods of time, neglecting his duties and leaving his work to the Prussian Consul, and, said the official dispatch to Washington, “habits of intemperance which unfit him for the discharge of his duties.” Dwight and Hamlin were not so

31. Ibid., 7.

32. Ibid., 9.

33. Ibid., # 73, from Constantinople, dated June 1, 1860, 41.

polite in their report to Constantinople, when they said, in essence, that he was often falling down drunk. He was dismissed from his post.³⁴

Later in his tenure, Williams wrote to the Department of State, “During my official residence in the Turkish Empire [sic], my opportunities for acquiring correct information upon this subject [state of the Ottoman Empire] have probably been equal to or greater than that of any other Representative of a Foreign Government at the Turkish capital. American Protestant clergymen are established in every portion of the Turkish empire” and he acknowledged “... the knowledge I have [is] derived from frequent official communication with them....”³⁵

Two Missionary Murders: The Resident Minister Hesitates to Act-1862

In April 1862, the Rev. Jackson Coffing was foully ambushed and murdered outside of Alexandretta. Rumor had it that angered traditional Armenians were responsible. Pressure was brought on the Turkish government and within a month perpetrators were found and rapidly decapitated. Whether there was a trial is not clear, and whether those arrested were actually guilty is not clear, but the lesson here was the speed of Turkish Government response to American pressure.

In a report in June, 1862, William Goodell, ever the devout, optimistic Christian, addressed the issue in his own way. In reporting on his recent trip to a meeting in Aleppo, when he had to pass through some of the same territory where Coffing had

34. Ibid., #60, from Constantinople, dated February 10, 1860, 15.

35. Ibid. #73, from Constantinople, dated June 1, 1860, 42.

been murdered, he said, “Brother Morgan of Antioch had previously offered his service for the purpose of escorting [me] to Aleppo and back, but the Providence of God employed him in another way; and away from home and from the annual Gathering, he was called to labor earnestly in the endeavoring to bring to justice the murderers of Brother Coffing. For all the dwellers on those wild mountain cliffs and in those deep dark glens, where men ‘lurk in secret places to murder the innocent,’ many and fervent prayers have of late been offered that their savage hearts may be softened by their dark minds, and enlightened by the glorious gospel.”³⁶

Less than a week later, on July 3, 1862, the missionaries in Constantinople were shocked by the cold-blooded murder of Rev. William W. Meriam of the Bulgarian branch, while returning to his home in Philippopolis from the annual mission meeting in Constantinople, accompanied by his very pregnant wife and five-year-old son. As reported in the ABCFM Annual Report of 1862,³⁷ although the group was accompanied by government guards and in the protection of a band of wagons traveling together, they were attacked by robbers. The guards fled, leaving Rev. Meriam, unarmed, exposed to the robbers, who shot him while he was trying to protect his family. Mrs. Meriam finally got a message through to Rev. Clarke of their Philippopolis station informing him of what had befallen them “after a harrowing day and night of guarding the body of her husband” and trying at the same time to console and protect their young son. “The Austrian, Greek and French consuls were very kind, and the

36. “*Report of the Delegate to the Central Mission*,” dated 5/30/1862, Bible House Archives, Istanbul. Box 001, file #00011.

37. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1862*, 70-73. All quotations are taken from that source.

Bulgarian church was offered for the funeral services....” There were no American consuls in Bulgaria. Once again, the Cross had preceded the Flag.

Mrs. Meriam was reportedly a very strong woman, but the trauma of that terrible incident was too much for her. She went into premature labor, developed a fever, and died on July 25, just about three weeks after her husband’s death, leaving her young son an orphan, a situation which happened far too often in those decades.

The missionaries in Constantinople were distraught. The *Annual Report* that year tried in the most polite way to absolve the American Minister in Constantinople of any blame: “The members of the American mission have done what they could.” But the next sentence of the *Report* betrays their concern, “Mr. Morris, the American Minister, doubted as to the extent of his powers to act in such a case; and the embarrassment and delay thence arising were regretted, seeing how indispensable external influences always are to secure efficient action from Turkish authorities. The Prudential Committee have supposed, after the very satisfactory dispatch of Mr. Webster in the year 1842, when Secretary of State, to the then Minister at the Porte, that there could be no grounds for hesitancy in cases like this; and it would seem, from a letter of Mr. Seward, in a recent correspondence, that there is not.”³⁸

The missionaries enlisted the assistance of the English Vice-Consul in Adrianople (with the permission of the American Minister in Constantinople) and sent another missionary from Constantinople as a special agent.

38. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1862*, 35.

The Prudential Committee did not wait to act. It sent a letter on August 12³⁹
to the Secretary of State:

Mr. Rufus Anderson to Mr. Seward
Missionary House, Boston
August 12, 1862

Sir:

The intervention of the Government is needed to protect the lives of our American missionaries in Turkey. Two Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign missions have lately been murdered—one in Asiatic Turkey, the other in European Turkey—by Turkish subjects while peacefully travelling from one place to another.

The Rev. Jackson G. Coffing, on the 25th of March, when near Alexandretta, on his way from Adana, was fired upon by two men, and mortally wounded, so that he died the next morning. Two natives of the country who were with him were also wounded.

On the 3rd of July, the Rev. William W. Meriam, returning with his wife and child from Constantinople to Philippopolis, the place of his residence among the Bulgarians of European Turkey, about midway between Andrianople and Philippopolis, was attacked by five mounted brigands. The company consisted of fifteen men, two of whom were mounted and well armed Government guards. The guards fled on the first appearance of the robbers. One of the robbers, dismounting, seized the horses of Mr. Meriam's wagon, the other brigands being near. Upon a show of resistance, the robbers commenced firing upon the wagon, and soon brought one of the horses to the ground. As Mr. Meriam was descending from the vehicle, two balls entered his right side, producing instant death. Some others of the company were wounded, and the robbers took whatever articles they pleased.

The Representatives of the American and English Governments in Syria have done what they could to secure the apprehension of Mr. Coffing's murders [sic] and it is understood that the Turkish authorities have succeeded in arresting at least one of the murderers.

There has scarcely been time, as yet, to know what measures our Minister at the Porte will adopt in the case of Mr. Meriam. We have heard, however, that the British Ambassador, at his request, had sent a telegram to J.E. Blunt, Esq., H.B.M's Vice Consul at Adria-

39. ABCFM, *Letters of Early Secretaries 1803-1864*, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 1.5: 2, 7-11.

nople, requiring him to “spare no effort to affect the apprehension of assassins of Rev. William Meriam, American Missionary, near Phillopolis.”

It is believed, that far more effect will be given to the efforts of our American Representatives, both at the Metropolis and in Syria, should they be enabled to say that they have Instructions from their Government to secure, not only the apprehension, but the exemplary punishment of the murderers.

In behalf of the American Board, and of the very numerous patrons and friends of American missionaries in Turkey, we respectfully ask, that the Government will be pleased to forward such Instructions at its earliest convenience.

I am, Sir, with great respect, your obedient Servant.

R. Anderson,
For. Sec’y of the A.B.C.F. Missions

Hon. Wm H. Seward
Secretary of State.

Seward replied almost immediately to this letter, in a response three days later.⁴⁰

Department of State
Washington, August 15, 1862

Sir:

Your letter of the 12th instant relating to the assassination of two American missionaries, namely the Reverend Jackson G. Coffing, who was slain near Alexandretta, in Syria, and the Reverend William W. Meriam, who was murdered in Bulgaria, has been received.

Information of these events was in each case promptly given to this Department by our Minister at Constantinople and by our Consuls at the ports nearest to the points where the painful transactions occurred. Ample and decisive instructions were in each case given by me to our minister at Constantinople.

It is due to our representations, however, to state that without waiting for those instructions the Minister appealed to the Sultan and demanded the adoption of the most energetic measures for the arrest, application, and it has undoubtedly proceeded in the cases with diligence, and good faith. The assassins in both cases were common rob-

40. ABCFM, *Letters of Early Secretaries*, 11-14.

bers, and there is every reason to expect that they will be brought to the death punishment as speedily as similar offenders receive the reward of their crimes in our own country. I cannot speak too highly of the diligence and vigor which has been exhibited by our Consuls on these occasions, nor of the dispatch practiced by the Sultan's Government and the friendly cooperation we have received from the Representatives of the British Government at Constantinople.

It being now reasonably certain that the majesty of the laws of Turkey will be vindicated in these cases, I venture to indulge the hope that hereafter American travelers and sojourners in that country will be safer than they have heretofore been.

I am, Sir

Your obedient Servant

William H. Seward

It appears that the Prudential Committee, or Rufus Anderson himself, decided to be unusually frank with the Secretary of State about the performance of the Resident Minister, Mr. Morris. In a letter dated August 21, 1862,⁴¹ sent from Missionary House in Boston, Rufus Anderson said:

"The response of the Government to our request for protection in Turkey is all that could be desired. And if our Minister at Constantinople freely communicated to you his doubts and embarrassments as to his own duty in the case of our Mr. Meriam, it would seem that he will need nothing more from your Department.

Authentic information received since your reply, together with the importance to our national honor and to the safety of our missionaries of having the claims of justice in this case properly attended to, induces us to send you an additional statement.

Mr. Johnson, our excellent Consul at Beirut, gave immediate personal attention to the case of Mr. Coffing, going to Alexandretta and Adana for the purpose; and it is believed that without his active official cooperation with our missionary, Mr. Morgan, very little would have been accomplished.

41. Ibid., 14-18.

The distance from Constantinople to Adrianople, is about two days' journey; and we have at the Metropolis, besides the Resident Minister, a Secretary of Legation, a Consul General, a Vice Consul, and a Marshall. Our fellow citizens in that part of Turkey, knowing well the oriental habit in such cases, were urgent that the Minister should send some one to Adrianople to represent our national Government. We regret to say, that Mr. Morris declined doing this, and on the ground that he was not authorized to pledge his Government for the expense. The Mission then offered to take the entire responsibility of the expense. The Minister finally consented, *but not until three weeks after the murder*, [italics are mine] to send Mr. Dodd, one of our missionaries; but regarding himself as having no authority to send him, he declined all responsibility for his conduct, or for his expenses.

We state these facts with reluctance, and only from a sense of duty. Our brethren inform us, that the English Embassy has been exerting itself to secure the apprehension of the murderers; and they are especially mortified, in this crisis of our national affairs, not to lean upon the strong arm of their own beloved nation. We should be ungrateful, indeed, not to acknowledge our obligations to the English Embassy for its many kind offices in the past thirty years; but since the days of Mr. Webster, we have relied mainly on the protection of our own Government, and your letter reassures our confidence.

There are two points, on which I am instructed respectfully to ask for information:

1. Whether the United States Government will decline to pay the expenses incurred in such cases as those now under consideration. And,
2. Whether the Government can encourage us to expect a more prompt and vigorous action on the part of its Representatives hereafter, so as to save us from the necessity of applying to the English Embassy.

It has been our experience in Turkey, in matters of this kind, that the local authorities, whatever may have been the promises and preliminary measures, need to be vigorously followed up, or nothing effectual is accomplished.

I am, Sir, with great respect

Your very obedient servant,
Rufus Anderson

To Hon. William H. Seward
Secretary of State

This letter provoked a quick, angry response from Seward, who immediately moved to protect his personnel from complaint, as any good supervisor would do. In this letter, dated August 25th, one can see the sharp difference in tone in this letter, especially his reference to the President, which seems a thinly veiled threat to the missionaries to walk carefully in this exchange.⁴² It can scarcely be believed that this issue actually went to the President, who was in the middle of the Civil War, and at that time things were going badly for the Union forces. Seward said:

August 25, 1862

Your letter of the 21st of August has been received. It presents what is in effect a complaint of the conduct of Mr. Morris, our Minister at Constantinople, and upon the statement therein contained is grounds [sic] requests for information as to the course which this Government will pursue in the case that there shall be renewed violences committed by assassins upon American Missionaries in the Turkish Empire.

The President thinks it due to Mr. Morris, as well as discreet in itself, that answers to these inquiries be reserved until Mr. Morris shall have been informed of the complaint and been heard upon the subject.

It would have been more satisfactory to the President if you had given the sources of the information which you describe as authentic.

I remark upon this point the more decidedly, because it is left to the government to infer that information may have been derived from the American Consul at Beirut himself, in that case, while I am not now disposed to question the propriety of his writing to you upon the subject, I do not see how he could justify withholding his complaints against the Minister from the Department while making your Board a depository of his confidence.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant
William H. Seward

42. Ibid., 19,20.

To the Rev. Rufus Anderson, etc.

The response from Anderson at Missionary House was immediate.⁴³ His letter is a bit of groveling, of backpedalling from his earlier letters, of trying to sooth the clearly ruffled feathers in Washington. He certainly wanted to defend the good name of the Consul in Beirut and make certain that no harm would come to his career. There are two notable things about this communication: Anderson's careful use of the past tense in the second paragraph, "...we *believed* [italics mine] them to be correctly stated," which could be interpreted to mean we believed it then but do not any longer believe it, or it could mean we believed it then and we still do. That is a clever bit of diplomatic slight-of-the-pen, but offers the possibility, never clearly defined, of two different interpretations. Also in this letter of August 28th, Anderson was careful to try to restore the honor of the Resident Minister and so restated the issue as one of the Minister's not believing that he was *authorized* to act in this instance, not, as was inferred in earlier communications, that he was *unwilling* to act. This was a very polite -and politically wise-face-saving gesture.

Missionary House
August 28th, 1862

Sir:

Yours of the 25th, inst., in reply to mine of the 21st, has just been received, and I hasten to exonerate the American Consul at Beirut from all responsibility whatever concerning the information contained in my letter. I know not that we ever received a line from him; nor have I any evidence that he, or our missionaries in Syria, have felt the want of co-operation from Mr. Morris, and there is the strongest presumptive evi-

43. Ibid., 21.

dence, that our informant at Constantinople was not influenced to write as he did from that quarter.

Our informant was one of our missionaries resident at Constantinople; and having no motive to misapprehend the facts, we believed them to be correctly stated.

You will have observed that the motive attributed to Mr. Morris was no unfriendliness; nor a lack of disposition to do more; but a belief that he was not authorized to accede to the requests of his fellow citizens in that part of Turkey, whose personal safety had been compromised by the murder of two of their countrymen. We did not, therefore, take so grave a view of the case, and certainly did not mean to impugn the motives or the official character of our respected Minister at the Porte. But, with more than a hundred Missionaries, male and female, looking to us, and most loyally to their beloved Government in Washington, it was due to them that we should make known to you an embarrassment, which oppressed their feelings, and must have given pain to the Minister, and which none but the Government could remove.

I beg you will receive our grateful acknowledgements for your very kind attention to our communications; and believe me to be, with great respect, your obedient servant.

Rufus Anderson, etc.

Hon. Wm H. Seward,
Secretary of State

It is interesting to note that his questions of his earlier letter were never answered. The official response to his letter of August 28th was crisp, minimal and formal.⁴⁴

44. Ibid.,21-23.

Department of State
Washington, September 1, 1862

Sir:

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 28th ultimo, and to inform you that a transcript of it has been communicated to Mr. Morris, our Minister at Constantinople.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,
(signature indistinct)
Acting Secretary

Before that was received in Boston, Anderson had an additional thought he wanted to convey to Secretary Seward, and accordingly wrote to him again on August 29th.⁴⁵

Missionary House
Boston, August 29, 1862

Sir:

I replied yesterday to yours of the 25th inst.

Knowing the value of precedents, it has since occurred to me, that it will be proper for me to refer to one in the Department of State, when Daniel Webster was Secretary, and Commodore Porter was Minister at the Porte. The Commodore was on the most friendly terms with the American Missionaries, but so construed the Treaty between the United States and Turkey, as to exclude missionaries from the protection he felt at liberty to extend to Commercial men; thus obliging the Missionaries to look to the British Embassy. Ex-Governor Armstrong, then Chairman of our Prudential Committee, made a statement of the case to Mr. Webster. Mr. Webster's dispatch to the Minister, of which he favored us with a copy, is dated Feb. 2, 1842, and is of course easily accessible. I may say, however, that it is quoted at pg. 201 of the

45. Ibid., 23.

“Memorial Volume” of the Board, a copy of which was sent to you a few months since. It is in the Chapter treating of our Relations to Government.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient Servant,
R. Anderson, etc.

Hon. Wm. H. Seward
Secretary of State

In the above letter, Anderson never actually said the key point: that this issue had been settled by Daniel Webster and that the Ministers were instructed to provide all assistance possible to the missionaries. His letter could have been interpreted by Seward as a rather supercilious “look it up” message, rather than a straight-forward “this has been the policy clearly annunciated by Webster twenty years ago” message inquiring whether anything about that policy had changed.

There were no more exchanges with Washington on this issue in the files at Houghton Library, but there was one more letter which perhaps is the key to “one of our missionaries resident in Constantinople” referred to by Anderson in his letter of August 28th. This letter was written by Rev. Cyrus Hamlin to his fellow missionary in Constantinople, Rev. Edwin Bliss, and dated September 2, 1862.⁴⁶

46. ABCFM, *Letters of Early Secretaries*: Folder entitled *Public Correspondence on the Protection of Missionaries in Turkey, 1842-62*, 1.5: 2, Houghton Library, Harvard University, 27-34.

Bebek, Sept. 2, 1862

Dear Bro. Bliss,

As you may possibly visit Washington I will hastily enlighten you into a knowledge of our relations with Mr. Morris.

He first so far as I know began to show positive ill temper towards us all in regard to the measures for apprehending the murderers of Mr. and Mrs. Meriam. He yielded very ungraciously to the pressure of the united and reiterated requests and opinions of the missionaries and yet all those things which he protested against and seemed so determined he would not do have proven the only efficient means in the case. Mr. Blunt addressed notes and telegrams in great number and for three weeks or more he seemed determined to ignore Mr. B's existence neither answering nor acknowledging anything but this course he has been forced to abandon. He has humiliated and exasperated himself by this strange course which no theory can explain except it be that he will at all events please Aali Pasha.

I went last week to see Mr. Morris on some business which Mr. Ladd and Mr. Consul Bing entrusted to me. Mr. M. replied at once that he would not attend to it. It did not constitute any part of his duties. I was surprised and began to reason the case. He could not reply to my reasoning but became sharp, sarcastic and as it seemed to me very insolent and ungentlemanly. I replied American citizens know their rights and will maintain them. After a strong and most ridiculous explosion of self adulation as to the ability and credit with which he had always performed his official duties and enjoyed the highest approbation of the government, he then attacked the course of the missionaries in regard to the Meriam affairs and our dictation and pressure about the commissioner an absurd demand which he had no power to comply with. But, I said, Mr. Morris, you appointed him. 'I took no responsibility, I did it under protest, he goes at his own expense, etc. etc.' with great energy and in evident anger. He then added 'I appointed Mr. Blunt and that was quite sufficient. I did everything the case demanded and got precious few thanks for it.' I replied, 'Did you appoint Mr. Blunt before or at the request of the missionaries.' 'I don't know and I don't care.' He replied, 'I don't act at their dictation. They threaten to attack me in the newspapers. Let them do it. They'll find there are two sides to a question. I am not afraid of them.' I replied every public man is liable to have his official course criticized. The missionaries are dissatisfied with your official course, Mr. Morris and it gives them more pain than they have ever expressed. They think you sacrificed American interests instead of maintaining them, and they will doubtless

make known that conviction. They will not use the vituperative language which you have so freely indulged in and which I do not think becomes your office but they know how to maintain their rights and their character and will not shrink from the duty. He grew more furious to the wonder of all persons by as we were on the great promenade of Buyukdere, said we were the most illiberal and unchristian set of men he ever knew, he was not afraid of us, etc. etc. I said I did not wish to continue so unpleasant an interview and would bid him good morning with the assurance that I should not trouble him farther with American interests. 'I care nothing for your sarcasms sir,' he replied throwing out his hand in a most insulting manner and wheeled upon his heel with a sublime elevation of his head as though he hardly knew whether he was in the body or out of the body!! I left him in profound astonishment and perplexity. What had there been to cause all this excitement? From the very first he seemed full of suppressed rage. I at length came to the conclusion what I have stated at the beginning. He felt humiliated and exasperated by his own foolish course.

His known hostility to the missionaries as a body is working great evils. Aali Pasha evidently hopes in connection with him to have them all sent out of the country. It is only since Mr. Morris came here that threats, assassination, refusals of the usual protection in travel and endeavors to banish the missionaries have come into vogue. Now they are attempting to drive away the missionaries from Sivas, they refused a *cavass* to Mr. Wheeler from Sivas to Arabkir and we have begun to receive threatening anonymous letters. In 1839 there was a somewhat similar state of things which was quelled at once by Daniel Webster's letter to Com Porter. If we are to enjoy anything like decent protection Mr. Seward must require it of Mr. Morris or we must appeal to the English Ambassador.

I presume a slanderous letter of Aali Pasha and the missionaries' reply will be forwarded next week.

I send this open to Dr. Anderson that he may be aware of the state of things.

"Why do the heathen rage and the people imagine a vain thing?"

Yours affl'y,

Cyrus Hamlin

The American Board heard at the end of August that the band of brigands had been captured. The Prudential Committee said:

The importance of such measures and of their success, to the future safety of our brethren, and indeed the safety of all foreigners in Turkey, cannot be over-estimated. If vigorously followed up by an exemplary punishment, it may do much toward preventing future massacres, by fanatical Mohammedans, of native Christians, as well as of Christian missionaries. But if not, the flood-gates may one day open, with events shocking to the sensibilities of the Christian world. . . . And the future historians of the re-formations in the Armenian and Bulgarian churches will not fail to erect affectionate memorials to our murdered missionaries, Messrs. Coffing and Meriam; nor will Mrs. Meriam be then forgotten.⁴⁷

The Board's *Annual Report* of 1863 was pleased to report that five men were arrested for the murder of Rev. Meriam. Three were convicted and executed, one was assassinated and one killed during another robbery. The Board said that "The Turkish authorities deserve much credit for the energy and impartiality displayed in the pursuit and punishment of the assassins."⁴⁸ And in a polite political gesture, the Board added its thanks to "Mr. Morris, the American Minister, whose energetic and persistent representations at the Porte, in the progress of the case, contributed very much to its successful issue." The Board also acknowledged the "very zealous and effective efforts" of the English Vice-Consul at Adrianople, "who from the beginning did everything in his power to stimulate and direct the measures of the local authorities."

Relations between the missionaries and Morris did not go smoothly. We have seen that, in the Meriam case, Morris's hesitation about action soured relations between the two. The Board took very seriously the precarious position of the missiona-

47. Author's note: This seems prescient in terms of the massacres of 1895, of 1915, and of events in our times of assassinations of Christians that have gone unpunished in the past few years.

48. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1863*, 54, 55. All quotations are from this source.

ries in Turkey, and applied pressure in Washington that was passed on to the legation in Constantinople. As we will see in the next section, the missionaries' later communications with Morris bordered on the disrespectful. It may be that they were well aware that Morris was, in 1862, renegotiating a new treaty with Turkey on commercial matters. "In notable contrast to the American treaties with China, it contained no special provisions in support of missionary interests."⁴⁹

In 1880, the Rev. Justin W. Parsons was slain by a Turkish subject in Nicomedia and his death was noted in the 1880 *Annual Report* in an article which praised the cooperation of American officials.⁵⁰

When Justin Parsons was murdered, the American Minister Horace Maynard pushed strongly for the arrest and trial of the murderers. He was pleased to report later, "The Turkish officers arrested the three men who confessed what they had done. They were young men, Ali the chief one only eighteen. They talked freely and indifferently about the murder as though it were no crime to kill a Christian. It is the way they have been taught. The trial was had in Constantinople Oct. 9, before five Judges who form the Criminal Court. They found Ali guilty of murder and sentenced him to be hung [sic]. For aiding and abetting the act they sentenced the other two to imprisonment for fifteen years. To this extent justice prevailed through the pressure of our Government, but other things have absorbed the Eastern mind since then and on one pretext and another punishment upon the chief offender has been delayed, and it is now announced that he has died in prison." Our Government has acted zealously.

At Rev. Parsons' funeral service in the United States, his brother, in his eulogy, reinforced the American Board's praise for the actions of U.S. officials, "As the

49. James A. Field, Jr., *America and the Mediterranean World, 1776-1882*, 297.

50. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1880*, 37, 38.

Republican well says:--‘Consul General Heap has shown praiseworthy diligence in securing the sentence of Dr. Parsons’ murderers. It looks easy enough at this distance to secure the sentence of murderers whose guilt was admitted, but in a country where justice has never been properly administered the task which Mr. Heap has accomplished is one of great difficulty.’ The President referred to the case in his message. Secretary Evarts urged the matter with the significant object lesson of a war ship ordered to cruise in Turkish waters and instruction to the Consul to persist in the punishment of the murderers. The fact of a Mohammedan being even *condemned* to death for killing a Christian is so rare a fact that it shows how faithfully the Government has pressed the case.”⁵¹

In writing about Rev. Justin Parsons, Rev. H.O. Dwight (son of H.G.O. Dwight) said, “He found them [the Armenians] dead to all progress and sunk in ignorance and filth. He left them awakened to the importance of education, eager to maintain schools and to make progress in every direction. He found them without ideas of cleanly moral living.... He went to those people as a stranger, feared and even hated....”⁵²

As conditions worsened, the Western Turkey Mission noted in the 1883 *Annual Report*: “the multiplying evidences that the Turkish government is becoming

51. Rev. E.B. Parsons, *Memorial of Rev. Justin W. Parsons, D.D.* (Privately published, undated, but likely Sept., 1880), 5,6. ABCFM collection, Houghton Library, 77.1, Box 76.

52. *Ibid.*, 6.

more hostile. Let there be a firm determination to press for our rights. Let our government be importuned to secure our full treaty privileges....”⁵³

Protection of Property

By the end of the decade of the 1860s, a new issue on the protection of U.S. citizens and their property had emerged in Constantinople. The U.S. officials, used to making representations to the Sublime Porte about missionaries’ houses, school buildings, and personal property, were confronted with an entirely new problem stemming from the controversies between the missionaries and the native churches about property, authority, and autonomy. On April 14, 1869, Minister Morris may well have been astonished to receive a letter from the missionaries in Constantinople requesting his assistance in wresting property they claimed as theirs from one of the native churches.⁵⁴

The letter opened by explaining, “We regret to be compelled to say to you that the action of the head of the Protestant Community on the one hand and the non-action of the Police on the other have been such that there is left to us no alternative, if we are to establish our right and control over property which we hold as trustees for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, but to ask you to demand of the Turkish Government that we be put in possession of our right, criminally violated, as we claim, by certain persons on Tuesday, 4th instant. But if, in order to [accomplish this] a legal investigation of the matter by the Government is necessary,

53. ABCFM. *Annual Report 1883*, xix, para 4.

54. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 026, file #02036.

then we demand that, pending such an investigation, the entire premises be closed and taken possession of by the [Turkish] Gov't till the matter is finally decided.”

The facts seemed to be as follows: the property under dispute was a house, owned by the missionaries and sometimes used as a residence, but when not used in that manner, it was always open as a worship and meeting place for the local Protestant community. A faction of the community, dissatisfied with that arrangement, decided to take over the property for their own use exclusively, broke into the premises and then “closed the doors” against the missionaries. The missionaries contended that their title to the property was “as perfect as Turkish law allowed our own Legation to make it” when it was purchased.

The missionaries demanded that the property be unconditionally restored to themselves, and if an investigation be necessary, then the property be vacated and held by the Turkish government “until our right is established as it certainly will be by our own Government if in the last resort our Principals, the American Board, are obliged to present the matter which concerns their entire property and right in Turkey to the notice of the Government in Washington.”

The missionaries closed their letter with what can be seen as a scarcely-veiled threat: “In the hope and confidence that prompt and strong measures taken on your part now will prevent the necessity of the matter going at all to America.” Perhaps they were thinking of Morris’s delay in taking action in the Meriam murder, perhaps

there were other issues, but this is very strong language on the part of the missionaries.

Over a month later, on May 18th,⁵⁵ a note was sent from John P. Brown, Esq. of the legation, to the missionaries, saying that the report had not yet been sent to Ali Pasha, but should go to him in the next few days, adding that the opposing parties contend that the building is a church. Appended to the bottom of Brown's note in the missionary files was a hand-written query by the missionaries as to why Brown had gone and not Mr. Morris himself? Likely that was because Mr. Brown, Commodore Porter's nephew, was the legation's *dragoman* (interpreter) and spoke Turkish, whereas Minister Morris did not. Nonetheless, the missionaries' question was valid considering images of authority.

As the issue percolated its way through the government, the missionaries received a letter from Brown on May 29,⁵⁶ saying that he saw Ali Pasha, who "told me that he has given orders to the Beylikji Bey [sic] to inform the Armenian Protestant community, that in case it cannot harmonize with the American missionaries, it must give up the house and the property must be restored to the missionaries."

Does this seem that the missionaries had won their suit? Not at all, if one knows the ways of Ottoman legal systems. However, Minister Morris rejoiced prema-

55. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 026, file #02053, dated May 18, 1869.

56. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 026, file #02054, dated May 29, 1869.

turely in a letter he sent to the Revs. Riggs, Herrick, and Schauffler on May 30.⁵⁷

Mr. Morris informed them of the decision they had already heard from Brown – that Ali Pasha told the Armenians representing the Community that they had no proof of title, and he instructed them to surrender the property. Morris added, “Under the circumstances, I think it is well that this case has thus been formally brought before the Turkish Government. The decision now made will have an important bearing for the protection of similar property for the future.” And then, perhaps from naiveté, or perhaps from optimism, he added, “Without unusual effort, this case, owing to the many formalities incident to all such matters, to the procrastinating habits of Turkish officials, would not have been terminated for some time to come.”

The exchanges go on and on during the subsequent days, ending abruptly on June 26,⁵⁸ with a note from the missionaries to Mr. Morris, saying, quite frankly, that nothing had happened, that perhaps Mr. Brown had left him uninformed, and kindly requesting that he respond to this note. There were perhaps other notes (see explanation in footnotes) but this researcher did not have access to them. What this exchange of notes highlights, however, is that the issues of protection of life and property covered a wide range of problems that arose over the decades. Some were straightforward and clear, such as the Coffing and Meriam murders or reparations for missionary buildings that had been destroyed or burnt down; others, such as this one, were convoluted and delicate, pitting the missionaries against their own converts, who are

57. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 026, file #02055, dated May 30, 1869.

58. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 026, file #02060, dated June 26, 1869. There may well have been more notes exchanged, but no other boxes were available to this researcher.

all subjects of the Sultan, yet asking the Ottoman government to take action in favor of the missionaries and against their own subjects.

That these issues were still ongoing at the end of the century can be seen from a letter from Consular Agent in Aleppo, Frederick Roche, received in Constantinople on July 1, 1897. Roche had served in that capacity for 24 years. His territory covered much of southeastern Turkey. His letter to the Assistant Secretary of State in Washington states, “To this service [sic], sir, consists in the constant aid and protection that claim the American missions and the native or naturalized Americans disseminated with the raies [sic] of this consular jurisdiction at Aintab, Marache, Orfa, Kessab, Louedich, Beyland Biridjik and Mardin for putting an end to the discriminations of which they are the victims and facilitating the unfolding of their institutions.”⁵⁹ Among his accomplishments, he listed, “...after having supported obstinate wrestling during long months, obtained, in spite of the Gregorian Armenian and Musulman opponents, the assent of Provincial Governors empowering the foundation of the “Central Turkey College” of Aintab and of the “Theological Seminary and Academy Boarding” of Marashe.” Additionally, he mentioned the “arduous task of erecting a girls’ school in Aintab.”

The first American consul to serve in the interior of Anatolia was appointed in 1886 to Sivas. Consul H.M. Jewett, a relatively young man, was the son of an American Board missionary who was stationed in Sivas from 1856-58 and later in Tokat,

⁵⁹, Letter to William R. Day, Ass’t Secretary of State, received July 1, 1897, in Constantinople. From Consular Agent in Aleppo, Frederick Roche, who had served as Consular Agent since July 24, 1873. All of the quotations in this paragraph are from the same letter.

where Consul Jewett was born. He arrived in Constantinople Oct. 8, 1886, and reached Sivas in November. His consular district was necessarily large: it included Mardin, Harput, Cesarea, and Marsovan, all of which had American missionary stations or outstations.

In a letter to the Hon. James D. Porter, Assistant Secretary of State, dated March 20, 1887, Jewett reported that there were twenty-five or more American citizens in his consular district, "holding in their own right or in trust for American religious associations, property to the value of some \$100,000 mainly devoted to educational purposes. The establishment of a consulate in Asia Minor gave them great satisfaction as an additional evidence of the government's intention to fully protect the interests of its citizens in Turkey and as likely to procure for them consideration and better treatment at the hands of the local authorities."⁶⁰

One year later, in March, 1888, Jewett offered a rather rosy report on the treatment of American missionaries and the state of Christians in his consular district. He commented first that there was no discrimination against American missionaries and their schools, they were treated the same as other foreigners, that is, with indifference; that they were not persecuted because of religion, and that there had been no material change in the attitude of the "General Government" toward American missionaries and their schools "(the opposite statement has of late widely circulated in

60. Edwin W. Martin, *The Hubbards of Sivas: A Chronicle of Love and Faith* (Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1991), 152.

American newspapers),”⁶¹ and suggests that it is perhaps less troublesome for missions in the interior than those nearer to the seat of the central government.

Jewett noted that “there has been a marvelous change in the treatment of Armenian and other Christian peoples by the Turks in the last 30-40 years.”⁶² He illustrated the change “in religious and political equality with Moslems” by quoting from the old burial and marriage licenses: “Although it is not to be endured that this infidel dog should be buried with respect, yet as his carcass would pollute the air if unburied, it is hereby permitted his vile associates to cast it into a ditch and cover it with earth, that it breed not a pestilence.” The marriage licenses, he said “were even more offensive. They recited, in effect, that although the parties married were unworthy of being allowed to contract honorable marriage, being unbelieving dogs, yet as they were full of lust and liable to offend the community with lascivious crimes, if not allowed to marry, marriage was permitted them.”⁶³

This remarkable change, in which the Armenians were granted, under law, respect and equality with Moslems, did not come about because of any new affection by officials for Armenians or any new enlightenment on their part, Jewett analyzed, but because of fear—of other nations.

The Turk is no doubt as fanatical at heart as he ever was. The fear of other nations only, prevents him from putting his fanaticism into practice...*But since the Crimean and especially since the last Russian*

61. Ibid., 156.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

*war he has learned that other nations will not allow overt oppression of Christian subjects and that he can only exercise his natural intolerance at his supremest peril. For what foreign missionaries may teach he cares little. For what European consuls may report, he cares much. He is therefore tolerant of faiths which he hates not because he believes in freedom of conscience, but because he remembers seeing the Russians at San Stefano. He does not hate 'the infidel dogs' less than he did, but he fears their friends more...he has learned that discretion is the better part of bigotry as well as valor.*⁶⁴ [Italics mine].

Refuting recent claims in the American press that the Sublime Porte's new laws regarding the regulation of foreign schools were aimed at the American missionaries' teaching of Christianity in their schools and the fear of Moslems converting to Christianity, Jewett argued that this was a *political* issue, not really a religious issue, as there were virtually no conversions of Moslems to Christianity. "The Turks fear the influence of European and American *political ideas*."⁶⁵ [Italics mine.] In the light of the massacres of Armenian Christians which began in the empire a mere five years later, Jewett's analysis seems spot on—that there was no change of heart, but that it was fear of the consequences from the Powers that had brought about the superficial change in the treatment of Christians in the empire.

Freedom of Conscience and Religious Liberty

The American missionaries to Turkey were imbued with the political and religious values of early 19th century America. They took with them the American belief that freedom of conscience and religious liberty were among the "inalienable rights"

64. Ibid., 157.

65. Ibid.

of man, spoken of in the Declaration of Independence and later guaranteed in America by the U.S. Constitution. By the time the first missionaries departed for the Ottoman Empire, the early Puritan ethic of religious freedom, the right to practice religion as they saw fit, had been at the center of American ethics and morals for two hundred years.

How this was interpreted had been in conflict at the start of the colonies in America, as can be seen from the expulsion of Roger Williams and Ann Hutchinson from the Massachusetts colony as early as 1635, but William Penn, in his famous publication, *The Case of Liberty and Conscience* (1670-71),⁶⁶ and in the formation of Pennsylvania in 1681 spelled out a new ethic of toleration and religious freedom. It was this broadly tolerant philosophy that spread as the colonialists moved westward. As principles around religious freedom and freedom of conscience evolved in New England, John Witherspoon (1723-1794), the president of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) sought to combine Scottish Enlightenment and a new, more moderate Scottish Calvinism with traditional New England Puritan freedom of

66. See William Penn, *Liberty of Conscience* in G.W. Stroh and H.G. Callaway (eds.), *American Ethics: A Source Book from Edwards to Dewey* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America). Excerpted from *The Works of William Penn*, 2 Volumes, London, 1726. Penn defined liberty of conscience as “not only a mere liberty of the mind, in believing or disbelieving this or that principle or doctrine, but the exercise of ourselves in a visible way of worship...meeting to worship God, as not to contrive or abet any contrivance destructive of the government and laws of the land....” 12.

conscience.⁶⁷ In this matter, James Madison was his most important student, studying at Princeton from 1769-1772.

The Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States, enshrining the principle of freedom of conscience, owed its antecedents on religious freedom to the great thinkers in Virginia. In June, 1776, the Virginia legislature passed a bill designed to prevent, in the words of the bill's sponsor, James Madison, "the ambitious hope of making laws for the human mind."⁶⁸ Not merely "tolerating" different religious faiths, as George Mason had drafted for Article XVI of the Virginia Bill of Rights, Madison redrafted the article, offering the language eventually accepted, "That religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence; and therefore all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, and that it is the mutual duty of all to practice Christian forbearance, love and charity, towards each other."⁶⁹ Thomas Jefferson declared that the bill guaranteed religious freedom to "the Jew and the Gentile, the Christian and the Mahometan, the Hindoo, and infidel of every denomination." Jefferson would later regard this statute granting religious freedom as one of his greatest achievements.⁷⁰

67. Princeton offered "free and equal liberty and advantage of education to any person of any religious denomination whatsoever." See Jon Meacham, *American Gospel: God, The Founding Fathers, and the Making of a Nation* (New York: Random House, 2007), 68.

68. Robert J. Allison, *The Crescent Observed*, 6. James Madison to Thomas Jefferson, Richmond, Jan. 22, 1786. *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 9: 196.

69. Jon Meacham, *American Gospel*, 69.

70. Robert Allison, *The Crescent Observed*, 7.

Religious freedom was one of the earliest issues with which the missionaries had to grapple in Constantinople. William Goodell, in his journal, records that on January 14, 1832, he called on the Armenian patriarch in his palace. The Patriarch asked whether Goodell and his religion followed Calvin or Luther, having been told that all Protestants followed one or the other. “I replied that in America there was the most perfect freedom in regard to religious sentiments and worship, and that there were various denominations of Christians...[they] were remarkably free from all shackles...and inquired simply what God had said in His holy word...[they] received the pure unadulterated word of God as the sufficient and only rule of faith and practice.”⁷¹

As conversions, particularly of Armenians from Catholic or Orthodox sects, swelled over the next two decades, with fourteen churches established and Christians residing in many communities, the missionaries grew increasingly concerned over the lack of *millet* status for the new Protestants, and with the help especially from Sir Stratford Canning (later Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), managed to obtain a Sultan’s *firman* bestowing *millet* status to the Protestants thereby guaranteeing them protection from arbitrary persecution from the Armenian Patriarch and others. This was a remarkable achievement, and when Sir Stratford Canning was finally recalled to London, the missionaries acknowledged his outstanding service in ensuring religious liberty. They sent the following Address to him on May 24, 1852:

71. Edward D.G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876), 132-133.

To the Right Honorable Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Her Britannic Majesty, at the Sublime Porte:

My Lord!

Having been informed that the departure of Your Lordship from this country is approaching, we feel constrained to give utterance to our deep and sincere regret in view of this to us most painful event. In this feeling we are doubtless joined by all the friends of religious liberty... But most of all have the Protestant Christians of this country and their friends reason [to remember] your invaluable efforts providentially crowned with such eminent success, in behalf of those who were cruelly persecuted for conscience's sake....It is natural for us to speak first of the sphere of our own calling, and we would once more acknowledge there the very important services of Your Lordship so nobly rendered to the cause of liberty of conscience and consequently to evangelical truth....Twenty years ago, there existed not one Protestant subject in this whole Empire....Now a Protestant denomination is acknowledged, and its members possess the Imperial Charter of their civil rights, and the Mohammedan population of Turkey, from the Sovereign to the peasant, are beginning to see Christianity in its purest character....⁷²

Sir Stratford replied quickly, saying, in part:

Your testimony to the exertions by which I have constantly endeavoured, to obtain protection or redress for those who have been called to suffer for consciences' sake in this empire, is the more valuable as it proceeds from you, who, with equal zeal and discretion have long applied your abilities to the same object, laying deep the foundations of no ordinary structure...

Gentlemen! You have been sent from God on a great and good errand. I am delighted to see in this progress of your work, a bright reflection of that noble example which the country of our common origin has given from early times, and which, illustrated and extended by yours, and by those who sent you from the western continent, bids fain to assist in spreading the purest kind of *civilization* [italics mine] throughout those interesting regions, and ultimately, to

72. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 52, File #04215. The file also contains the first draft of the missionaries' letter complete with corrections, written in the hand of William Goodell.

prove an additional bond of sympathy between our respective nations. Reverend Gentlemen! I thank you and wish you well.⁷³

This issue was not just of interest overseas. In the U.S. Senate, The Honorable Lewis Cass, senator from Michigan (and later the Secretary of State) delivered a lengthy speech on May 15, 1854, on the issue of a report prepared by the Committee on Foreign Relations “on the subject of the religious rights of American citizens residing or traveling abroad....” He began by saying, “The descendent of the Patriarchs, and the believer in Jesus Christ are entitled to the same protection. Jew or Gentile, all are equal in this land of law and liberty.... We do not undertake to say to any other Government that American citizens ought to enjoy the rights of religious worship within your jurisdiction because your subjects enjoy them in our country, but we say these are rights which belong to man everywhere....”⁷⁴ Cass went on to say:

The rights of conscience, the liberty of conscience, the freedom of conscience, are, in fact, but synonyms, all expressing the same general sentiment, that every man has the right to follow the dictates of that moral guide, so far as he is not prohibited by law, either Divine or human, and that it is the duty of every Government to abstain from all interference with this right....The enjoyment of this freedom, in this sense, has been one of the great objects of wise men in all ages, and is especially so in this, wherever the first notions of liberty have penetrated.⁷⁵

A year later, the missionaries were still deeply concerned with the lack of religious freedom in the Ottoman Empire, with the fact that any Muslim who converted to

73. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 52, File # 04216. It is interesting to note that he speaks of the spread of “civilization” and not of “religion.”

74. U.S. Congressional Record, 33rd Congress, 1st Session of the Senate, 681-691.

75. Ibid., 688.

Christianity faced certain death, with the fact that even Christians such as Gregorian Armenians who chose to accept Protestantism were subjected to anathema from the Armenian Patriarch. The missionaries appealed to the Board in Boston, and they, after full debate, appealed to the President of the United States.

The Board's Annual Report for 1856 reports it thusly: "In accordance with a resolution adopted at the last annual meeting of the Board, a Memorial was prepared, duly signed, and forwarded to the President of the United States, requesting him, through the United States Minister at Constantinople, to use such influence as he consistently could with the Turkish Government [sic] in favor of granting entire religious liberty to all the subjects of the empire without distinction. In the month of March last, the following letter was received from the Hon. Carroll Spence, our esteemed Minister resident at Constantinople.

United States Legation
Constantinople, Feb. 23, 1856

Sir:

A copy of a letter addressed by the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the President of the United States, relative to the abrogation of the Turkish law punishing apostasy from Islamism with death, was transmitted to me upon the 12th of December, by the Hon. William L. March, Secretary of State.

The request of the Board, in reference to my interference, had been anticipated by a letter addressed by me to the Porte, upon the 6th of November, relative to the abrogation of said law.

You will doubtless be gratified to learn, from a perusal of the copy of a Hatti-Scheriff [sic] of the Sultan (which I herewith forward you,) that perfect freedom of conscience has been accorded to the subjects of this Empire.

Be so kind as to communicate this fact to the Board of Commissioners, and believe me,

Your obedient servant,

Carroll Spence”⁷⁶

The missionaries in Constantinople wrote the following response to the Rev. S.L. Pomroy, the Corresponding Secretary of the Board:

“The able letter of Mr. Spence, addressed to the Porte, was extensively published in this country. Under a wise and gracious Providence, the grand result has been reached, entire religious liberty, at least so far as the statute is concerned; a result which will probably affect more widely and penetrate more deeply the future history of that empire, than any other result of the late Russo-Turkish [Crimean] war.”⁷⁷

In his demarche letter of Nov. 6, 1855, to Fuad Pasha, the Minister of Foreign Affairs,⁷⁸ Minister Spence said that he was writing “In unison with some of my Colleagues, near the Sublime Porte,” about a subject “in which my government feels a

76. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1856*, 77. Although Board members did not know him, Carroll Spence, the ninth U.S. Minister in Constantinople, had a long association with the Ottomans through his father and grandfather. Carroll Spence was born, raised, and educated in Maryland. His grandfather, Keith Spence, was from New Hampshire, and had served as the purser on the *U.S.S. Philadelphia* when it was captured off the coast of Tripoli by the Barbary pirates on October 31, 1803. He was still a captive of the Tripolitans when the U.S. attacked on August 7, 1804, and was rescued by his son, (Carroll Spence’s father), Robert Spence, when the entire crew was liberated by American forces. Spence served for four years in Constantinople, was close to the Board mission, and with the Rev. William Goodell established the Protestant Bible Society there in 1855. He retired in 1858, died in Baltimore in August, 1896. Information from *Special Collections*, www.library.Georgetown.edu/dept/speccoll/cl149.htm. Accessed 3/26/2010.

77. *Ibid.*, 78.

78. All quotations from Spence’s representation come from Carroll Spence Papers, Box 1, Folder 15, Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Research Center. The italics are those of Spence’s own manuscript. For the complete text, see Appendix III.

deep interest, I allude to the abrogation of the Mohamedan law, making it a capital offense, for a Mussulman to renounce Islamism.”

“As the representative...of a republic, the Constitution of which, disclaims all right on the part of its national Legislature to make ‘*Any law for the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof*’ – the territories of which are open to the believers in all faiths – the laws of which operate alike, on the followers of all prophets.” He suggested “the abrogation of a law, which forces man to purchase the most estimable of all rights, freedom of conscience, at the expense of his life.” “That bigotry which in former times chained the human body when it could not fetter the mind, which opened the arteries of life, when it could not open the door of religious conviction...have all within the last century disappeared, and the laws dictated by them have ceased to disgrace the Statute books of an enlightened age.” He made clear he was asking the Sultan, “drawing from the past concession made by him to his Christian subjects...*that he will accord similar privileges to the Mussulman population of his empire.*” (Italics are mine.) He added that “the spirit of civilization...is demanding from Turkey *the abrogation of a law repugnant alike to reason and humanity,*” saying that when “Turkey took her stand among the civilized nations of the earth and claimed to be regarded by them as one of their number, she was called upon to make good her claim to be so considered by the abrogation of such laws, as were repugnant to the rubric of civilization established by the Christian world.”⁷⁹

79. Author’s note: This is an extraordinary statement reflecting the certainty of the times that Western civilization was far superior to the Ottoman, and could and should set the

After reviewing the progress that has been made in the empire on a variety of issues of religious and political freedoms, Spence ends by remarking, “The crowning stone, however, bearing the Inscription of *freedom of conscience to all*, remains still to be laid to culminate the Mohamedan monument to civilization.” For the full text, see Appendix III.

By this mid-century mark, the mission to the Armenians had achieved considerable success in terms of numbers: there were seventeen stations, twenty-six outstations, five native pastors and ten licensed preachers. Nonetheless, the mission was not euphoric about the *Hatt-i-Sherif*. Reading the evaluation of the mission on the *Hatt-i Sherif*, which appeared in later pages in the *Annual Report*, one finds a cautious attitude:

...Now that the [Crimean] war has ceased, one of its consequences is likely to be a great enlargement of the rights and privileges of the Christian inhabitants of Turkey. The Sultan has made concessions, which must prove in the end unspeakably valuable. We are not to expect these concessions to be everywhere carried into effect as fully and speedily as in more enlightened lands. The action of the Government is in advance of the feelings of the people. “Freedom of conscience and of religious profession, and the equality of all nationalities, have been proclaimed;” but for a time the apparent effects may be evil. Moslem fanaticism will burn afresh, and efforts to give a practical operation to such great principles may lead to serious results. Yet a foundation has been laid for progressive changes of the highest moment, both in things temporal and things spiritual.⁸⁰

From the beginning of the disastrous war, still pending between the great Western Powers and Turkey on one side, and Russia on the other, we have looked upon each passing event with painful and prayerful interest. We have prayed for the maintenance and triumph of right, and for the speedy re-

standards. When one considers Turkey’s bid to enter the EU, one has to ask whether anything has changed in the 150 years since this was written.

80. ABCFM, *Annual Report 1856*, 88.

turn of peace – a peace re-establishing justice among neighboring nations, and promoting truth and righteousness, and the temporal and spiritual prosperity of the various classes of society, and the different nationalities resident in the Turkish Empire. We have always believed that such would be the result; and this has been our comfort amid the scenes of horror which surrounded us.

Nor has our hope been disappointed. The imperial *hatti-scheriff* [sic], lately published, has convinced us that our fond expectations are likely to be realized. Turkey, snatched from the border of immanent destruction, will see a better day. The light will shine upon those who have long sat in darkness; and, blest by social prosperity and religious freedom, the millions of Turkey will, we trust, be seen ere long sitting peacefully under their own vine and fig-tree.

The object for which the Board instructed the Prudential Committee to memorialize the President of the United States has been attained in theory. The death penalty for apostasy from the Mohammedan faith has been abolished. Now the missionaries say: 'With perhaps the exception of Erzroom, which has suffered greatly from the war, there has been progress the past year in all parts of our field, and in some portions this progress has been very marked.'⁸¹

The Imperial *firman*, in its entirety, was published in the *Missionary Herald* in June 1856, ensuring that it was read by over 30,000 subscribers around the United States and elsewhere.

The missionaries of the Armenian mission in Constantinople knew full well where the credit should lie for the accomplishment of this new law of the Empire: not with the American legation, although it was important to acknowledge its active contribution, but with the British ambassador who had worked tirelessly for years to achieve freedom of religion in the empire, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. An address, signed by eleven Board missionaries in Constantinople, and by other missionaries and clergymen in Turkey, and sent on to him in London, praised his work.

81. Ibid., 89.

The concern about freedom of conscience did not end in the 19th century. It has been a pillar of American foreign policy since that time. Today in the Department of State, at the direction of Congress, there is a Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, which every year produces the *International Religious Freedom Report* for Congress, evaluating individual countries' situations *vis-a-vis* religious freedom. The Report for 2010 stated, in the section on Turkey:

There were reports of societal abuses and discrimination based on religious affiliation, beliefs, or practice. Threats against non-Muslims created an atmosphere of pressure and diminished freedom for some non-Muslim communities. Many Christians, Baha'is, and heterodox Muslims faced societal suspicion and mistrust, and some elements of society continued to express anti-Semitic sentiments. Additionally, persons wishing to convert from Islam sometimes experienced social harassment and violence from relatives and neighbors.⁸²

Contemporary Ambassadors: Protection of Americans Abroad and Freedom of Conscience

Today's Ambassadors still see the protection of American citizens abroad as their highest priority. Ambassador Ross Wilson (ret.), former ambassador to Azerbaijan and to Turkey, said, "Especially in the wake of the attacks on 9/11, ambassadors understand that if there is one thing you must do, it is to protect the American citizens living in the country to which you are the American Ambassador. If you don't get

82. U.S. Department of State. *International Religious Freedom Report 2010*, released November 17, 2010. Para 3. See: <http://www.state.gov/g/dri/ris/irf/2010/index.htm> for the full report. Accessed 11/24/2010. Author's note: *Plus ca change, plus ca meme chose*. The report estimated that although Turkey's population is about 98% Muslim, there are today in Turkey 60,000 Armenian Orthodox Christians, 23,000 Jews, 20,000 Syrian Orthodox Christians, 3,500 Protestants of various sects, and up to 2,500 Greek Orthodox Christians. In addition, there are small, undetermined numbers of Bulgarian, Nestorian, Georgian, Roman Catholic, Syriac Catholic and Maronite Christians, and about 3,000 Iraqi Chaldean Christians. Section I, para. 3.

that right, you have failed to do your job.”⁸³ Amb. Wilson stressed that no matter what else one may have accomplished as the ambassador from the United States, if you don’t succeed in protecting the American citizens resident in your country, nothing else you may have done will matter. The first priority of any American Ambassador must be to ensure the safety of all American citizens. “Nothing is more important,” said Wilson. This has been the policy of the U.S. government for decades, since the 1800s. “Beyond *our* citizens,” he said, “many other ex-patriots, whose governments lack the capacity to protect them, look to the Americans to provide leadership in crisis situations when protection is required.”

Ambassador Alan Lukens (ret.), former ambassador to Senegal, stressed that protection of Americans abroad is “a very high priority for Congress and for the Department of State.” Although this has been “the most important part of any ambassador’s job,” the bombings of the embassies in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salem “taught us the value of crisis management exercises.” Every embassy is now checked each two years by a team from the Department of State to go over their processes for contacting Americans in their country, for evacuation plans and disaster response plans.⁸⁴

Ambassador James Holmes (ret.), former ambassador to Latvia, concurred that protection of Americans abroad is among the highest priorities of any American ambassador but cautioned that the ability to protect American citizens overseas varies

83. Amb. Ross Wilson (ret.) interviewed by the author, Washington, D.C., February 8, 2011.

84. Ambassador Alan W. Lukens (ret.) interviewed by the author, Washington, D.C. February 14, 2011.

from country to country. He pointed out that every Consular Officer's first duty is the identification of all Americans within his district (as did Consular Officer Jewett in Sivas in the 1890s, see above), and setting up an effective method of notifying them in an emergency. He pointed out that the embassy in Cairo recently had the responsibility of notifying all American tourists as well as residents that they should leave in the face of civil unrest in the country, and then assisting them and providing protection during the evacuation process. Notification of citizens for other reasons—pestilence (avian flu, for example) or other epidemics, impending war conditions, local citizen rampages, to name a few— is also expected in today's world of diplomacy. Included in the definition of "protection" of course, would be visits to citizens in prisons and in hospitals in one's consular district. "From our earliest training," said Amb. Holmes, "we are imbued with the notion that we must take care of American citizens overseas."⁸⁵

Ambassadors Wilson, Lukens, and Holmes each expressed the importance in U.S. foreign policy of freedom of conscience. It was described as "a cornerstone of American policy," and all pointed out the office in the Department of State, established by Congress in the 1990s, to oversee the progress globally and country-by-country in religious liberty, and to issue an annual report on the subject. This has required considerable time and resources. Amb. Holmes posited that the issues are different in different countries. In Latvia, he said, there was no difficulty in respecting various religions today, but Latvia needed to recognize portions of its past, especially

85. Ambassador James Holmes (ret.) interviewed by the author in Washington, D.C. Feb. 15, 2011.

its anti-Semitic actions during World War II, whereas in other countries, such as Turkey, the treatment of non-Muslim minorities continues to be an issue. In the Balkans, religious issues are an important part of the broader political context; it is necessary to solve both political and religious issues at the same time.

We have seen demonstrated, in recent days, the protection of American citizens in Egypt and Libya during the times of turbulence, with our embassies in both instances working around the clock to ensure the safe evacuation of Americans.

CHAPTER 7

INFLUENCE ON DUTCH AND BRITISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Perhaps no foreigner in the Empire was so well-informed about the political condition of South-eastern Europe as President Washburn. So highly was his opinion valued by the British government that he rarely passed through England without being asked by the Premier or the Foreign Secretary for an interview.

-- University of Michigan President and former American Resident Minister in Constantinople (1897-98) James B. Angell, 1911¹

Dutch Concerns, an American Answer

During these mid-19th century decades under discussion, the Americans were not the only people interested in religious freedom. The Protestant nation of Holland was also keenly interested in the protection of the Protestant converts. In 1853, the Foreign Minister of Holland wrote to his Ambassador at the Sublime Court with a list of eight questions on the religious freedom situation in Turkey, the conversions to Protestantism, and whether the new Protestants were adequately protected. The Ambassador, Baron N.W. Mollerus, turned to the American missionary, Rev. Henry van Lennep, for answers to these questions. Van Lennep answered fully with a “rapid survey,” offering first a history of Protestantism in Turkey, then turning to the questions posed by Holland.² He outlined the situation since 1847, when the Protestants felt the need for official protection of their converts, the establishment of the first Armenian Evangelical Church, the initial *firman* from the Sultan, and the later

1. Quoted in J.A. R. Marriott, *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy* Fourth Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), iii.

2. Bible House Archives, Istanbul, Box 53, file #04322. For the complete texts of the exchange, translated into English from the original French, please see Appendix II.

establishment of the Protestant *millet* in 1850. Van Lennep explained the numbers of converts (about 3,500), their churches and locations in the Empire, the fact that there were forty-five missionaries in Turkey from five different nations “who all work in the most perfect harmony, in the most cordial understanding.” He ended with the reality of the situation: “...although no treaty gives Holland a protectorate of Protestant subjects of the Sublime Porte, however it is a custom which has so to speak taken the force of a treaty that the representatives of European nations intervene by way of counsel to obtain that justice be done to those of the subjects of the Porte who profess the same religion.”³

Bulgaria: The Great Game and Missionary Intervention

Introduction

On June 23, 1876, an article was published in London’s leading Liberal paper, the *Daily Mail*, that became the catalyst for a political debate profoundly changing Europe’s—particularly Britain’s—approach to the Eastern Question. Ottoman atrocities against the Bulgarian Christians, so vividly portrayed in the *Daily Mail*, were based on information supplied by American missionaries in Constantinople—Dr. George Washburn, the President of Robert College, and his assistant, Dr. Albert Long⁴--with close ties to Bulgaria. British public opinion was aroused as never be-

3. It is unfortunate that in the archives there is no indication of how the Holland crown used this information.

4. Washburn’s able assistant and Vice-President at Robert College was Dr. Albert Long, an American missionary with 15 years of experience in Bulgaria. Long, of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America and a fine linguist, had been the Director of Mission in Bulgaria. In 1864, Dr. Long began a monthly paper, *Zornitsa (Morning Star)*. His periodical continued to be published until 1871. During his years in Bulgaria, he was instrumental in sending Bulgarian students to Robert College, and these graduates later played an important role in the founding of a new Bulgarian state in Europe. Long first came to Constantinople to help Dr. Elias Riggs in the translation of the Bible into Bulgarian and later was hired by Robert College.

fore. This news so inflamed the British electorate that what had been strong public support for the Ottoman Empire following the Crimean War in 1854 changed to violently anti-Turk sentiment. The Bulgarian “horrors” as they became known, linked “The Eastern Question” of British policy towards the failing Ottoman Empire with “The Great Game” of Russian and British competition for primacy in Central Asia and India.

The Bulgarian Crisis of 1876, which began as a minor three-week insurgency in the Balkans, led to a major “agitation” in Britain, sparking a fierce debate on whether foreign policy should be based on moral considerations or solely on national self-interests, a debate which continues to this day in many countries, including our own. For the British, it sharply focused attention on the influence of remote happenings in Eastern Europe, upon British party government, and the essential interaction of domestic and foreign policy. It ultimately led to the downfall of Tory Prime Minister Disraeli and the re-emergence of Liberal William Gladstone as the pre-eminent leader in British politics.

Public outcry strongly refuted British policy of support for the Ottoman Empire and non-intervention in its domestic affairs, a policy that had protected the weakened Ottomans from direct attack by the Russians and had, at the same time, used the Ottoman Empire as a buffer protecting British interests in the Great Game rivalry with Russia over possessions in Central Asia and India. The way was now open for

Russian military intervention in the Balkans in 1877 in support of Balkan Christian minorities. Russia's successful invasion of the Balkans, taking the northeastern provinces of Anatolia while at the same time bringing their armies to the gates of Constantinople, upset the delicate balance among the European Powers and led, eventually, to the Congress of Berlin. Upon returning from the Congress, Lord Salisbury said that no question within the memory of man "so deeply excited the English people, moved their passions so thoroughly and produced such profound divisions and such rancorous animosity" as did the Bulgarian Horrors.⁵

The Eastern Question: Power, Territory, and Religion

Arguments over control of the Ottoman Sultan's Christian subjects, a fig leaf for deeper issues of power and territory, became an important issue with the victory of the Russian military over the Sultan's armies and the following Kucuk Kaynarca Treaty (1774). The Treaty, among other provisions, gave to Russia the right to intervene over the protection of Orthodox Christian subjects.

In Constantinople, reflecting their governments' differing approaches to the role of "the sick man of Europe", Russian ambassador General N. P. Ignatiev and British ambassador Sir Henry Elliot played a high-stakes game for influence over the Sultan and the Sublime Porte. Ignatiev was young, headstrong, dedicated to Pan-Slavism and thought that the Ottoman Empire might soon collapse, especially if helped on the way by a Balkan Serb revolt. Elliot, a seasoned diplomat, carried out

5. R.W. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics* (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1962), 2.

his government's policy of trying to outweigh Russian influence in Constantinople. By the early 1870s, the Eastern Question had reached a critical period when some form of European intervention seemed probable, but which form it would take could not be foreseen.

Britain's domestic political situation carried important implications for the Bulgarian Crisis of 1876. During the early 1800's Britain began the slow transition from a Royal government to a party government. Ideas of party government and the empowerment of classes other than the aristocracy had evolved sufficiently by the 1830s that Parliament passed the Reform Bill of 1832, which had as its objective the enfranchisement of the "middle class", a growing stratum in British society that could no longer be excluded from political power. New times called for new names: the old Conservative party became the Tories; the Whigs slowly became the Liberals.

Building a cohesive political party was challenging, especially for the newly-won political voice of the middle class. William Gladstone, a popular leader and fine orator, understood that to strengthen the Liberal Party he would need to support causes which were likely to appeal to a majority of the voters.⁶ He realized that policies that appealed to the widest groups of the Liberal party base, movements which achieved the most effective unity of purpose were those that invoked religious sanctions, those which were seen to be endorsed by Christianity and which could draw on

6. Kitson G. Clark, in Introduction in R.T.Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation 1876* (London: Harvester Press, 1973), xiv.

the support of the Protestant churches. In politics moral arguments were used, and the cause was always conceived as a religious one. The election of 1868, which gave the Liberals a majority for the first time and brought Gladstone to the Prime Ministry, was the first major result of a broadened electorate. Gladstone, a profoundly religious man, was in close touch with the Oxford Movement and its emphasis on moral considerations in public policies.

The Eastern Question gained greater and greater priority as a portion of the whole strategic Imperial policy.⁷ In the 1830s, before the Reform Bill, Lord Palmerston formulated Britain's Eastern Question policy that postulated an independent, vigorous Ottoman Empire as a barrier against Russian and French ambitions in the Middle East.⁸ The Turks were to be bolstered to protect the liberties of Europe from Russia, and to secure the British position in India. The British recalled clearly Napoleon's grand 1807 scheme of a joint Russian-French conquest of Constantinople, of marching 50,000 troops across Anatolia and joining forces with the Russians in Central Asia to take over India.⁹ Russian expansion was a constant source of concern for the British: during the past twenty-five years, Russia had pushed her bor-

7. By the time of the Bulgarian crisis, the "Eastern Question" had the prominent place--the two or three left-hand columns of the foreign affairs page--of the daily London *Times*.

8. M.S. Anderson, *The Eastern Question 1774-1923* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966), 21.

9. Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia* (New York: Kodansha International, 1992), 34.

ders 900 miles to the east and 700 miles to the south.¹⁰ At some points no more than 20 miles separated Russian territory from British-controlled lands in South Asia.¹¹ Thus the Eastern Question meant to British statesmen at all times the prevention of Russian conquest of Turkish territories.

With the Treaty of Paris following the Crimean War, Turkey's independence and territorial integrity were guaranteed; Turkey was to be protected henceforth from Russian pressure and penetration, becoming a full member in the family of European states and a guardian of its civilized values, as symbolized in the Imperial Rescript (*Hatt-i Humayun*) of 1856, an imposing program of enlightened reforms.¹² As a result of the Crimean War, the whole British community was "philo-Turk".

The influence of the great revolutionary changes going on in Europe during the 19th century, combined with continuing Russian encouragement and the success of the Greek war for independence, stirred the subject races of European Turkey to revolt against Turkish rule. Crete, Serbia, Wallachia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Moldavia all flexed their fledgling nationalism against their Turkish masters. The British public knew little of the Serbs, and less of the Bulgarians, but with the rise of the Liberal Party and its moralistic approach to issues, foreign policy took on a newly-developed English popular enthusiasm for the oppressed.

10. "Russian Advances in Central Asia," *Quarterly Review* (April 1874): 431, quoted in Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question*, 4.

11. Hopkirk, *The Great Game*, 36.

12. Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation*, 15.

American Missionaries, Robert College, and Politics

American religious fascination with the Ottoman Empire rested largely on the close association of the Old and New Testaments with the lands now ruled by the Sultan. The Foreign Secretary of the American Board explained as follows:

These countries directly and indirectly governed by the Turkish empire command the interest of the Biblical, classical and historical student beyond any other part of the earth. ...It is the battlefield where for more than 35 centuries, contending civilizations and hostile religions, under ambitious leadership, have met in bloody conflict... Probably all Old Testament history ...belongs to the geography of Turkey. [Our Lord's] entire life was passed on what is now Turkish territory. With few exceptions the apostles lived and labored and wrote and died in regions now ruled over by the Sultan of Turkey. The great foreign missionary, Paul, spent but little time outside this country, while the sites of the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse are in Turkish territory. The most of our Christian Scriptures were written in the same country, passing from there to the west.¹³

Chapter V discussed the establishment of Robert College. By 1876, the time of the Bulgarian Crisis, the majority of students and boarders attending Robert College were Bulgarian. (It was not until 1881 that the number of Armenian students surpassed the Bulgarian students.) Washburn was not acquainted with Bulgaria until he made his first visit at Easter in 1875. He was startled by what he saw:

I had never before had any conception of the suffering of the Christians under Turkish rule, but I saw things there which filled me with horror, which were not so much direct acts of the government as the results of a general policy—the tyranny of the armed Turkish minority over the unarmed and helpless Christian majority. It was not so bad in the towns where the well-to-do Bulgarians kept the

13. James L. Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1908), 18, 19.

Turkish officials in their pay, but the peasants were practically serfs with no rights.¹⁴

He believed, “the chief battle ground of European diplomacy was over the Eastern Question.... Abd-ul-Medjid [sic] owed his throne to the intervention of the European Powers, and they used their influence, under the inspiration of direction of Lord Stratford, the English Ambassador, to Europeanize the government still further”.¹⁵

Washburn considered the Crimean War a major turning point in the relations of the Ottoman Empire with the European Powers. The importance of the Treaty of Paris (1856) following the Crimean War, he believed, was that it focused attention of the Christian world on Constantinople. His views of distrust of Russia and Austria, and the importance of the role of Britain, were common among the American missionaries in Istanbul.¹⁶ “Destruction, not reform, of the [Ottoman] Empire has been the basis of Russia’s and Austria’s policies for more than a century.”

Near the top of the Washburn/Long list of friends and acquaintances of Robert College was Edwin (later Sir Edwin) Pears, who arrived in Constantinople in March, 1873, and rapidly became the leading English lawyer in the city. Prior to coming to the Ottoman capital, he had been the General Secretary of the Social

14. Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople*, 89,90.

15. Ibid., xv.

16. Washburn said that Hamlin was so violently anti-Russian in his sympathies that he was the principal advocate for Turkey in the U.S. and was officially thanked for this by the Turkish government.

Science Association in London. Through this work and as the editor of and contributor to the *Law Magazine*, he had come to know other contributors such as Mr. Gladstone, Lord Derby, and many others of note. Also among his acquaintances were Mr. E. Forster in the House of Commons and the Duke of Argyle in the Lords, both of whom later “took a great interest in the facts I brought to light regarding Moslem atrocities in Bulgaria.”¹⁷

The well-connected Pears was Long’s next-door neighbor while living near Robert College, and, importantly, the correspondent of the *Daily News*, the leading Liberal newspaper in London. The friendship among Washburn, Long, and Pears was strong and close. In his memoirs, Pears says of Long that “it was from him and from his writings that I first learned of the existence of the Bulgarian people.”¹⁸

The Balkans: Clash of East and West

Pan-Slavism, whether based on race, language, political interests or Orthodox religion, developed throughout the nineteenth century in the Balkans, generally with links to Russia.¹⁹ The movement, which began slowly, had considerably strengthened by the time of the Slav Congresses in Moscow (1868) and in Prague (1869)²⁰ and by the 1870s was a new and potentially important element in the Eastern Question. In Bulgaria, the Revolutionary Central Committee was established, with agree-

17. Ibid., 45.

18. Pears, *Forty Years in Constantinople*, 46.

19. Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 169.

20. Ibid., 170.

ment that revolution and violence, rather than negotiation, was the path to independence.²¹

As disquiet and restlessness increased in the Balkans and secret societies began plotting an insurrection against the Turks, neighboring empires became alarmed. The example could spread to other countries, with oppressed classes rising up against their masters. Anticipating just such a situation, Czar Alexander II, William I of Germany, and Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary had met in Berlin in 1873. Termed the *Dreikaiserbund* (League of Three Emperors), it was a “demonstration of unity of the conservative powers in Europe against the apparently threatening forces of revolution”²² and also reflected broader anxieties about a possible disintegration of the Ottoman Empire.

Unfortunately, the reality was not the same as the public display of unity. Hostility and distrust between Russia and Austria marred the agreement from its outset,²³ especially on Balkan policy. The Austrians believed Russia wanted a series of strong Slavic autonomous states under Christian rulers rather like Serbia and Romania. Austria feared pan-Slavism and any further weakening of the Ottoman Empire, which would not serve Austria’s interests in stability in the Balkans. The Austrians wanted to preserve the Ottoman Empire as it was, with the exception of some wish-

21. Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 162.

22. Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 178.

23. Ibid., 179.

ing to add Bosnia and Herzegovina to the Hapsburg's possessions, but others (specifically the Hungarians) opposing this. If these provinces rose in rebellion against the Ottomans, it could be used as a pretext for the Hapsburgs to take them over.²⁴ Hapsburg Prime Minister Andrassy and his Hungarian colleagues in the dual monarchy preferred to see Serbia under Russian control, rather than joined to the Hapsburgs, increasing the Slavic population in Austria which might thwart Hungarian ambitions.

By summer, 1875, Bosnian Christian peasants, possibly with the connivance of Pan-Slav elements and the Russians,²⁵ were in open rebellion against their Turkish landlords, seeking relief from the heavy tax burden following the famines of 1873 and 1874. The Bosnians were joined by the Christians in Herzegovina. Ignatiev encouraged the Christians to revolt not only against the Ottomans, but also against Austria.²⁶ In this he was quietly supported by Hapsburg Foreign Minister Julius Andrassy, who represented the Hungarian part of the dual monarchy which did not wish greater Slav populations.

In an attempt to solve the underlying problems of the rebellion, in December, 1875, Andrassy, and the Russian Ambassador to Vienna, jointly drew up the Andrassy Note, circulated to all the Powers and accepted by them (December 30, 1875), which demanded that the Ottomans revise or abolish the practice of tax farming in

24. Ibid., 180-181.

25. Shaw and Shaw speak of "continued foreign agitation" and "Ignatiev's agents" as do many other authors. Whether there actually was Russian involvement in these movements is actively debated in the literature. Ambassador Elliot was certain the Russians were implicated.

26. Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 158.

Bosnia and Herzegovina, ensure religious freedom to the Christian subjects, allow the Christian peasants to buy land from the Turkish landlords, establish mixed Christian and Muslim administrative councils in the provinces to carry out the reforms, and supervision of the process by foreign consuls in the provinces. Britain agreed reluctantly to these conditions, as did the Sublime Porte (February, 1876), but lacking funds, and probably the will, little was done in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The rebels carried on their fighting; Andrassy's attempt to settle the problem without Russian intervention had failed. The Porte finally sent in troops to put down the rebellion, creating a flood of refugees into Serbia, Montenegro, and Austria and by early spring threatening the possibility of a wider European war.

Tensions increased. By early 1876, fears were heightened that an open clash of Russia and the Hapsburgs might be inevitable. Ignatiev continued to lead the pressure to support the rebels, opening the door to Russian intervention in the Balkans.²⁷ Alarmed by the serious potential consequences of the Balkan uprising, the Czar suggested that the three Foreign Ministers meet and work out a common policy and a joint declaration, the "Berlin Memorandum," to be signed by all the European Powers warning the Sublime Porte that it had not carried out the promised reforms.

Meanwhile, on May 6, an unfortunate incident occurred in Salonica, creating great alarm for the safety of foreign residents. A young Christian Bulgarian girl, purportedly wishing to convert to Islam, had run away from home and had taken the train to Salonica. Her mother tried to stop her. There was a melee at the train sta-

27. Ibid., 183.

tion. In the confusion that followed, the French and German consuls tried to ascertain the truth by going to the station. They were seized, taken to a near-by mosque and hacked to death by a Moslem mob. The foreign community feared wider reprisals. The Great Powers rushed ships to Salonica to protect their citizens in that port.

On May 24, after Sir Henry Elliot had addressed an appeal to the Foreign Office, the cabinet ordered the British Mediterranean fleet to the mouth of the Dardanelles. Queen Victoria was deeply concerned about the timing of Britain's rejection of the Berlin Memorandum and sending the fleet to the Dardanelles. She was afraid of the danger of "letting the Porte believe that we advised" rejection for fear that the fleet might be seen by the Turks as proof that Britain was on their side.²⁸ Disraeli responded: "Your Majesty's fleet has not been sent to the Mediterranean to protect Christians or Turks, but to uphold Your Majesty's Empire. Had Your Majesty sanctioned the Berlin Memorandum, Constantinople would at this moment have been garrisoned by Russia, and the Turkish fleet placed under Russian protection."²⁹

The American Minister, Mr. Maynard, reporting to Washington said, "There is evidently a very bad spirit abroad. Especially is this manifest ever since England has seemed to be at variance with the other European Powers. While what are known as the Guaranteeing Powers were agreed in their Eastern policy, a very different tone of feeling prevailed throughout the empire. Whatever may have been the

28. Victoria *Letters* ii, 455, 27 May, quoted in Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Eastern Question*, 36.

29. *Ibid.*, 455-6, 29 May, quoted in Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Eastern Question*, 35.

intent in sending into these waters the enormous British fleet now at Beriksa Bay, it is undoubtedly a great moral support to the sentiment at this moment prevailing in Turkey.”³⁰

The increasing tempo of foreign pressure on the Sultan came at a time of sharp deterioration of his government’s situation in Istanbul. By May 10, there were riots in Istanbul by the theology students, the *softas*, demanding the resignation of the Grand Vizier. The London *Times* reported:

A general panic exists in Constantinople. *Softas* and low-class Musselmans are purchasing revolvers and daggers with money supplied by designing persons, plotting the overthrow of the Sultan and the Government, and the massacre and plunder of the Christians. The *softas* are insulting and threatening Greeks and Armenians, bidding them prepare for imminent death. Travelers are leaving en masse, resident Europeans are sending away their families...(sent by Special Correspondent in Turkey, sent from Athens as all newspapers and dispatches in Turkey are now subject to censorship.)³¹

On May 30, Sultan Abdul Aziz was forced to abdicate and Sultan Murat V was installed in his place. Abdul Aziz allegedly committed suicide a few days later. On June 14, as the new government was meeting, a fanatic broke into the meeting and assassinated the Minister of War, Hussein Avni Pasha, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Rashid Pasha. Within a month it was clear that Murat was mentally incapable of ruling, and was soon replaced by Sultan Abdulhamit II.

30. Department of State. *Records of Foreign Service Posts: Turkey* 014, Dispatch no. 86, 160, dated Constantinople, July 20, 1876.

31. *Times* (London), May 13, 1876, 7.

On May 13, the Berlin Memorandum was presented to the three Western Powers, having been worked out by Andrassy, Bismark, and Russia's Gorchakov, who, contrary to Ignatiev, was eighty, conservative, and opposed to Ignatiev's radical and independent approach to the Eastern Question. The Berlin Memorandum proposed an armistice of two months with both sides retaining their arms and a series of other measures. The memorandum warned, however, that if the armistice should expire before an agreement as to the necessary reforms, it would be necessary for the Powers to take "efficacious measures in the interests of peace."

The proposal was accepted at once by France and Italy, but the proposal had a very hostile reception in London. Prime Minister Disraeli was furious that Britain had not been consulted before the document was drawn up. Disraeli's first public reaction was shown by a brusque encounter with Count Shuvalov, Russia's Ambassador to the Court of St. James, at a levee of the Prince of Wales: "They are beginning to treat England as if we were Montenegro or Bosnia." ³²

The *Times* of London told their readers on May 20 that England had refused to sanction the results of the Berlin Conference.³³ Britain's Foreign Minister, Lord Derby, later stated detailed objections to the Russian Ambassador, including his opinion that the final clause was "equivalent to advice to the insurgents not to lay down their arms." Derby suggested separating the armistice clause from the other clauses,

32. Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question*, 33.

33. *Times* (London) May 20, 1876, 5.

but even this the Cabinet rejected. British refusal to cooperate, and their failure to put forward any concrete alternative, made joint European action impossible.

Insurrection in the Balkans

The revolutionaries apparently were planning for a Balkan-wide uprising, but on May 2, without waiting for others, the Bulgarian peasants began attacking Turkish government offices, Turkish villages, government garrisons and the *zaptiahs*, the gendarme. Rev. Clarke, an American missionary in Bulgaria, later reported that the Bulgarian peasant uprising was meant to comprise all of the Balkans, that for some reason the Bulgarian uprising was premature, beginning before the wider insurrection. He estimated that there were 1,000 to 2,000 insurgents who took part in the initial rebellion, which lasted only two weeks or so with the surviving rebels retreating into the mountains.³⁴ Reports from the region that appeared in European and London newspapers were conflicting, inaccurate, and premature in stating that the rebellion had ended.

American Minister Maynard, reporting to Washington much later, portrayed the image of the rebellion in its early stages in very understated terms. He said that “disquiet” appeared in Herzegovina, that it seemed to be just a “few score of uneasy spirits” who could easily be controlled by the police. The *Vali*’s attention was on budgetary matters and he did not pay enough attention to the early attacks. Meanwhile, the revolt spread to other “disaffected peasants” and their operations began to

34. Rev. Clarke, *Report*, September, 1876.

assume the character of war. “I am inclined to think that it was set on foot by a few restless and daring spirits who soon rallied an overburdened and discontented population.” Although not raising any urgency of the problem, the Minister called this “an issue affecting the human family.”³⁵

Ambassador Elliot saw things differently.³⁶ He recalled that his embassy first heard of the insurrection on May 4, receiving information that excesses were being committed by armed bands of Christian Bulgarians. The Austrian Ambassador reported to him that insurgents had burned five villages. General Ignatiev declared that it was “a mere disturbance among the workmen on the railway” and that the diplomats should try to persuade the Sublime Porte not to raise its importance by sending troops to subdue it. Elliot cynically added that “General Ignatiev...was with us at the time, and ... if he had chosen, could have told us a good deal more about it, as his own Consular Agent was a prime instigator of the movement.”

Slowly, confusing “eye-witness” reports trickled into the embassy with blame and actions described in various ways. Just who was doing what to whom was not clear. Elliot cautioned that outrages committed on peaceful village Turks might provoke fanaticism and revenge, and that he was urging the Government to take preventive measures.

35. Department of State. *Records of Foreign Service Posts: Turkey*. 014, 162. Dispatch no. 89, from Constantinople, dated August 10, 1876.

36. Sir H.G. Elliot, *Some Revolutions and other Diplomatic Experiences* (London: John Murray, 1922), 258-260.

The killings did not stop. A few days later, Elliot received word that the insurgents burned a small town, hacked the Zaptiyes to death with “horrible cruelties” and that a party of well-equipped insurgents had entered the town “led by priests, declaring, with crucifixes in hand, that that was the way to exterminate Islam.”³⁷

In the middle of June a dispatch arrived at the British embassy from the Vice-Consul in Adrianople, which Elliot, in his memoirs, declares “was improperly withheld from me, and given to the correspondent of the *Daily News*.”³⁸ It was for this reason, he asserted, that the *public* was given news of slaughter of men, women, and children, and other outrages of all kinds, that had taken place on a scale of which the *Embassy* had no knowledge. And it was for this reason that Lord Derby did not know of this when the press hit the street. Elliot (perhaps disingenuously) protested that he knew nothing of this dispatch until two years later, by which time the officer who had committed this serious breach was dead. Elliot maintained that he continuously urged the Sublime Porte to take action to prevent a wholesale slaughter exacted as revenge.

The conflagration spread. On July 2, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey. The position of the British Government was made clear by Lord Derby, who on July 14, said, “We undertook, twenty years ago, to guarantee the Sick Man against murder; but we never undertook to guarantee him against suicide or sudden death. Now, that is, in a few words, our policy as regards this war now going

37. *Ibid.*, 259.

38. *Ibid.*, 260.

on. We shall not intervene; but we shall do our utmost, if necessary, to discourage others from intervening.”³⁹

The June 23rd Article: Moslem Atrocities are Continuing

The American missionaries at Robert College, Dr. Washburn and Dr. Long, (described in a report to Washington as “gentlemen of popular manners and active sympathies” by the American Minister who added, “the unfortunate are naturally attracted to them.”)⁴⁰ soon began receiving disturbing and detailed information from friends in Bulgaria. Although they had no connection with the insurgents nor previous knowledge of their activities, Washburn and Long realized that no others had this information, the letters and verbal communications unfolding the chapter of horrors which later “shocked the whole civilized world.”⁴¹

They first took this information to Sir Henry Elliot, who was “a warm personal friend” and who represented a government that was at that time the chief supporter of Turkey in Europe. They did so, Washburn says, “in the hope that he could make the Turks see that they were making a terrible mistake.”⁴² When Elliot took no perceived action, and returned their information to them, they sought out Sir Phillip Francis, the British Consul General and a judge, who suggested an appeal through

39. *Times* (London) July 15, 1876, 5.

40. Department of State, Dispatch no. 106, Constantinople, dated Nov. 21, 1876.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Washburn, *Fifty Years*, 104.

the press to the people of England.⁴³ Washburn and Long then sent the information to “powerful friends” in England.⁴⁴ Lastly, they passed the information to Edwin Pears, correspondent of the *Daily News*.⁴⁵ It was the letter to the newspaper from Pears that appeared in the *Daily News* on June 23, 1876.

Entitled “Moslem Atrocities in Bulgaria”, Pears’ article began by saying that “Dark rumours have been whispered about Constantinople during the last month of horrible atrocities committed in Bulgaria ... and cruelties are being revealed which place those committed in Herzegovina and Bosnia altogether in the background.”⁴⁶ He acknowledged that there had been an insurrection against the Turks, which he described as fully justified, but he never described what cruelties the Bulgarian insurgents inflicted upon the Turks, their villages, and police. In a clever bit of journalism designed to bait the British reader, Pears said, “While the attention of the European Powers has been occupied with Herzegovina, the Berlin Memorandum, and the deposition of Abdul Aziz, not merely have they allowed a great crime to be committed, but a great political blunder. It is a blunder, because Bulgaria has always been the province most under Russian influence....and the cruelties there committed cannot fail, when they become known—as they probably are by this time in the domi-

43. Department of State, Dispatch no. 106, Constantinople, dated Nov. 21, 1876.

44. Recall the friends in high places who began the Turkish Missions Aid Society.

45. Washburn, *Fifty Years*, 104.

46. All quotations are from *Moslem Atrocities in Bulgaria* column, *Daily News* (London) (June 23, 1876), 6.

nions of the Czar—to arouse the indignation of the people to an extent which even the Emperor may have difficulty in controlling.”

Pears reported that the cruelties were continuing, and cautioned that anyone who wanted to comprehend the Eastern Question must take into account the effect that these cruelties would have on Bulgaria’s “neighbors” when they realize that people “whose only fault is that they are Christians, are being indiscriminately slaughtered.” The massacres of perhaps 18,000 to 30,000 Christians had been perpetrated not by regular troops, but by *bashi-bazouks*, irregular troops composed of “the dregs of Turkish and Circassian populations, with gypsies and gaolbirds let out for the purpose, and under no responsible command” to put down the Bulgarian insurrection by whatever means they chose. He estimated that one hundred Bulgarian villages had been completely destroyed. Pears wrote of unspeakable horrors, too terrible to print. He detailed many of the alleged atrocities, including violations of women and children, burning innocent civilians in barns, massacres of children in schools.

Completing his analysis of the Bulgarian insurrection and its consequences in an international context, he urgently recommended that what needed to be done was to stop the killing without delay. He said that the duty of England was “either non-intervention in its fullest sense, not giving support to Turkey as England was now doing,” or if national self interest demanded the giving of some support, the English government should demand that Christians be treated on an equality with the Turks. “England cannot afford to allow Russia to take credit for being the single friend of

the Christian populations in this country, and our own interest, no less than the duty of an oppressed people and to humanity, require that no time should be lost before it becomes known to the Turks and the various Christian communities that the Western nations will not tolerate any more of these barbarities.”

Parliament did not take long to react. Both the Duke of Argyll (in the House of Lords) and Mr. E. Forster (in the House of Commons) questioned the government about these allegations on June 27. Argyll, recounting in detail the information contained in the *Daily News* article of June 23, asked the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Lord Derby, if he could substantiate this information. In a direct shot across the bow, Argyll said, “I have no wish to break through what has been called the patriotic reserve which we have all maintained with regard to the Eastern Question and the general policy of Her Majesty’s Government in respect to it. I simply wish to know whether my noble friend has received from our Minister at Constantinople any kind of allusion to those alleged horrible massacres in Bulgaria, and, if he has not, whether he has addressed or will address any inquiries to him on this subject.”⁴⁷ Derby responded that he, too, had read the article in the *Daily News*, and “...I can state that the reports which I have received certainly do not bear out in any degree the statements which the noble duke has quoted...I have not received official information of anything that will come up to the atrocity of the acts referred to...” Derby promised to look into the matter and report to the House.

47. *Times* (London) June 27, 1876, 6, reports the entire exchange.

Lord Derby's response to the statements that Christians had been tortured and killed was considered a too lighthanded manner. "I doubt whether torture" said Lord Derby, provoking laughter in the House of Commons, "has been practiced on a great scale among an historical people, who seldom have, I believe, resorted to torture, but generally terminate their connection with culprits in a more expeditious manner."⁴⁸ Lord Beaconsfield referred to the whole report as simply "coffee house babble." Washburn and Long were quietly furious, believing their honor had been besmirched.

No newspaper, at the early stages of the rebellion, reported details of the uprisings. The *Times* consistently referred to the "insurgents" or the "Bulgarians". It was only after the revelations in the *Daily News* that the public terms of the rebellion changed: the "insurgents" became "Christians" and the "Turks" are referred to as "musselman", or "Moslem Infidels."

Although a July 8 article by Pears⁴⁹ lowered the estimated number of Bulgarian deaths to 12,000, the issue of the discrepancy between government reports and newspapers about the atrocities called for further investigation. Pears's article aroused such doubts among the British public about the government's policy towards Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire, it was felt that fuller and more detailed assessment of the situation was needed.

48. *Times* (London) July 15, quoted in Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors*, 24; Pears, 16.

49. *Daily News* (London) July 8, 1876, 5-6.

Three different observers were sent to Bulgaria to make direct reports. Bowing to public outrage, the British Foreign Ministry requested Ambassador Elliot to send someone from the embassy to Bulgaria. Elliot sent Mr. Walter Baring, the youngest consul, accompanied by a Levantine interpreter who did not speak Bulgarian, to talk with Turkish officials for two or three days and then return to Constantinople. According to Washburn, this indicated to him that there was to be no real, official investigation, but that what was wanted was information to confirm PM Disraeli's statements that nothing serious had happened in Bulgaria and that Baring had been "checkmated" before he left town.⁵⁰ Elliot was pleased to send him to get information to counteract the "exaggerations" reported in the English press.

The second observer was from the American Legation in Constantinople, at the behest of Washburn, who desired to "defend our honor and our veracity." Minister of Legation, Mr. Maynard, agreed to send Mr. Eugene Schuyler, newly come to the Legation as Consul-General, an acknowledged Russian expert and linguist coming from the American mission in St. Petersburg, who had studied a bit of Bulgarian. He was sent to make an impartial and independent assessment of the situation, and, courtesy of Robert College, was accompanied by interpreters in Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish. It was felt that his report would be well received by European Powers as a representative of a country that did not have a stake in the issue.

50. Washburn, *Fifty Years*, 109.

The editorial board of the *Daily News*, at Pears's request, sent a special correspondent to make a full investigation.⁵¹ The *Daily News* chose Mr. MacGahan, an American from Ohio who had studied in Europe and read law at Brussels University. MacGahan visited Bulgaria during July and August, 1876, at the same time that Baring and Schuyler were there. The three often traveled together.⁵² In addition to these three reports, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions in Boston asked a missionary resident in Bulgaria, The Rev. J. Clarke, to report what he found.

Baring reported that there had, indeed, been awful and wholesale massacres and brutality on a scale no one had imagined, that public anger was justified, that perhaps 15,000 had been slain (Elliot said later that the actual number was probably half that).⁵³ He did not cast any blame for these killings on the Bulgarians, but rather left the general impression that the peaceful, innocent Bulgarians had been the victims of wanton, Moslem wickedness. He stated that he was certain that a large-scale conspiracy for insurrection had been planned with Russian complicity. Something provoked a premature uprising; a few Bulgarians did attack Turks. The Musselman

51. Ibid., 18.

52. MacGahan was uniquely suited to report from Bulgaria. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, he had covered battlefields as a correspondent for the *New York Herald*. In 1871, he was the only correspondent at the Commune of Paris. In 1873, he covered the Russian Army in Turkestan and sent dispatches to the *New York Herald* on Russian military operations in Asia. He was refused a post on the *London Times* in 1876, but welcomed the assignment of the Liberal *Daily News* to go to Bulgaria. A year later, he joined the Russian army and took part in all major battles for the liberation of Bulgaria. He died near Istanbul at age 34 in 1878, of typhoid fever.

53. Elliot, *Some Revolutions*, 266.

population armed, and a savage retaliation by *bashi-bazouks* followed. Baring showed that the insurrection had been planned and fomented by Russian agents, and that it was the Russian Ambassador to the Porte who persuaded the Turks to delay sending regular troops to put down the fighting, thus allowing the irregulars to wreak havoc.⁵⁴ In a tribute to the capabilities of the American missionaries and as a defense for his own inability to speak Bulgarian, Baring wrote, “Except for American missionaries, I know no foreigners who speak Bulgarian.”⁵⁵

Schuyler’s report, in which he estimated at least 12,000 dead, had as its central theme the urgent need for humanitarian assistance. He was deeply concerned about the plight of those who were left homeless, and those who no longer had any economic means of providing for themselves. He urged the government to provide as much assistance as possible, as rapidly as possible.

The notes of Schuyler’s trip, Maynard said, he (Maynard) forwarded to Elliot as a courtesy; Elliot, not understanding their preliminary nature, sent them on to Lord Derby and they eventually made their way into the British press. Learning first from the British press about Schuyler’s trip and report, the State Department was not amused. Schuyler’s final report was delayed for months, as he was caught up in the offers for assistance and the process of getting aid to the Bulgarians.⁵⁶

54. Elliot, *Some Revolutions*, 267.

55. Foreign Office, 78/2463, no. 965, 5 September 1876, quoted in Seton-Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone, and the Eastern Question*, 53.

56. Department of State, *Dispatches*, 217, dated Feb. 23, 1877.

MacGahan was able to write more openly about what he saw and his reactions to the “horrors” that he witnessed. He expressed “astonishment” that the English government should know less of what is passing in Turkey than other governments and far less than well-informed newspapers. He chided the English for not having a Consul in Philippopolis, the center of that part of Bulgaria, noting that the Austrian, Greek, Russian, and French governments all had consuls in Philippopolis. MacGahan concluded that 60 to 70 villages were burned, and an estimated 15,000 slaughtered. But his poignant and graphic *Letters* described “dead bodies eaten by dogs,” “piles of skulls and bones,” “half-dry half-putrid flesh clinging to bones;” “villages where not a whole wall was left standing, not a roof left, a mass of ruins;” “women and children’s skeletons, a hundred heads separated from the rest of the bones” in “a ghastly heap.” He described babies that had been flung from bayonets, women stripped, violated, and brutally murdered; a churchyard heaped with layers of bodies; a catatonic mother sitting holding three little skulls with hair still attached. He quoted a Turk officer saying, “They are Christians. Let the dogs eat them.”⁵⁷

When he visited Tatar Bazardjik on Aug. 2, he wrote, “Since my letter of yesterday, I have supped full of horrors. Nothing has yet been said of the Turks that I do not now believe; nothing could be said of them that I should not think probable and likely. There is, it would seem, a point in atrocity beyond which discrimination is impossible, when mere comparison, calculation, measurement, are out of the ques-

57. J.A. MacGahan, *The Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria: Letters from Bulgaria, 1876* (Geneva: nfi, 1965), 26.

tion and this point the Turks have already passed. You can follow them no further. The way is blocked up by mountains of hideous facts, beyond which you cannot see and do not care to go....You feel that it is time to turn back; that you have seen enough.”⁵⁸

After many more days of village visits, MacGahan spoke directly about his thoughts on British foreign policy in one of his letters: “If I tell what I have seen and heard it is because I want the people of England to understand what these Turks are and if we are to go on bolstering up this tottering despotism; if we are to go on carrying these loathsome vice-stricken lepers about on our shoulders, let us do it with open eyes and a knowledge of the facts, let us see the hideous thing we are carrying.”⁵⁹

At the end of his *Letters* he urged British interference in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire: “Unless Europe takes the matter in hand, nothing will be done for these poor people. Unless the Christian Powers that hypocritically took these people under their protection, in order to turn them over bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of these barbarian Turks, now come forward and do something, these wretched [widowed] women and children must die of disease, cold and famine.”⁶⁰

58. Ibid., 38.

59. Ibid., 96.

60. Ibid., 182.

The fourth independent assessment was done by the Rev. J. F. Clarke,⁶¹ who was an American missionary of several years' service in that part of Bulgaria, was fluent in the language and knew intimately all the towns and their occupants who had been attacked in the general uprising. His circuit ride of the areas around Philipopolis was taken August 23 to September 4, 1876. He was appalled by the extent of devastation he found, both by the loss of life and by the total destruction of the economy. Nevertheless, Rev. Clarke declared Mr. Baring's estimate to be "far above the mark." His account contained not only estimates of numbers of people killed (2,864), but also numbers of destroyed heads of oxen (11,000), cows (17,000), and sheep (200,000). His figures show an estimated 10,500 homes burned and destroyed, and all means of livelihood totally obliterated. The economy had been utterly destroyed. In setting out his figures, he said that in the press and elsewhere there had been "a certain exaggeration of facts—for example the numbers of persons killed has been stated to have been 60,000 to 100,000." He noted that two monasteries in the mountains had been attacked and demolished.

By August, as more reports reached the British public of the atrocities, the debate about moral considerations in foreign policy had already begun. Responding in the House of Commons, PM Disraeli said on August 14, "Those who suppose that England ever would uphold, or at this moment is upholding Turkey, from blind su-

61. Rev. J. F. Clarke, *Report, Sept. 1876*, ABCFM papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Clark's unpublished manuscript, 26 pages of thin paper, written in ink on both sides in a careful hand, has faded significantly, making it very difficult to read. The report contains a very detailed chart showing his estimates of people and animals slaughtered and houses burned, village by village, based on his first-hand knowledge of each village in the region.

perstitution, and from a want of sympathy with the highest aspirations of humanity, are deceived. What our duty is at this critical moment is to maintain the empire of England; nor will we ever consent to any step, although it may obtain comparative quiet and a false prosperity, which could hazard the existence of this empire.”

Gladstone’s Response

On July 31, Gladstone gave the first public criticism of Disraeli’s government’s reaction, but of course the whole complexion of the issue had changed by then as Serbia and Montenegro had declared war on Turkey, enlarging the insurrections of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Bulgaria. Gladstone’s views were fully shared by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Turkey had broken her pledges to Europe and the British had the clearest moral obligations towards the victims.

In September, Gladstone published “*Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*,” his public response to the events that had been swirling around London and all of England during the summer. Dedicated to Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe and a “bestseller” of its day, it sold over 200,000 copies within a month and “did more than any other publication of the century to destroy pro-Turkish feeling in Britain.”⁶²

Gladstone fumed that the Foreign Office had withheld information that would have shown that “... we have been involved, in some amount, at least, of moral complicity with the basest and blackest outrages upon record within the present cen-

62. Anderson, *The Eastern Question*, 184.

tury, if not within the memory of man.”⁶³ He railed that “through the aid ...of newspaper correspondence ...but not through our own ...Administration, or establishments abroad, we now know in detail”⁶⁴ the atrocities perpetrated by a Government to which Britain had given full moral and material support, “crimes and outrages, so vast in scale as to exceed all modern example, and so unutterably vile as well as fierce in character, that it passes the power of heart to conceive them, and of tongue and pen adequately to describe them. These are the Bulgarian horrors...”⁶⁵

A consummate politician and one never enamored of the Turks, Gladstone reached the crescendo of his inflammatory rhetoric by denigrating the character and culture of the Turks. “It is not a question of Mahometanism [sic] simply, but of Mahometanism compounded with peculiar character of a race. They are not the mild Mahometans of India, nor the chivalrous Saladins of Syria, nor the cultured Moors of Spain. They were, upon the whole, from the black day when they first entered Europe, the one great anti-human specimen of humanity. Wherever they went, a broad line of blood marked the track behind them; and as far as their dominion reached, civilization disappeared from view. They represented everywhere government by force, as opposed to government by law. For the guide of this life they had a relentless fatalism: for its reward hereafter, a sensual paradise.”

63. W.E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East* (London: John Murray, 1876), 9. It is interesting to note that in the entire publication Gladstone always refers to “the Turks” and to “Turkey”, never to the Ottoman Empire.

64. Ibid.,11. Later in the book he recognized the *Daily News* and the June 23rd article by Mr. Pears of Constantinople as the source of information, citing him as a man of “courage, intelligence and conscientious care”.

65. Ibid.,12.

Moving to calmer verbiage, Gladstone addressed the policy questions that he found most disturbing. He recalled Britain's sacrifice of life and treasure in the Crimean War; the British and French experiment to remodel the government apparatus in Turkey; their defense of Turkey's independence and integrity; their efforts to assist in reforms embodied in the Hatt-i-humayun. All these, he claimed, had given Turkey twenty years of peace "not disturbed either by herself or any foreign Power."

But now, he charged, a close examination of the insurrections in the Balkans since 1875, culminating in the recent horrors in Bulgaria, showed clearly that the Porte had totally failed to carry out the reforms promised in the Treaty of Paris (1856), especially their duties relating to the rights of their Christian subjects. He chided Disraeli's government for turning a blind eye to the lack of reforms by the Sultan and for Britain's taking actions—such as rejecting the Berlin Memorandum and the movement of the Mediterranean fleet to the Dardanelles—which implied to the world British support for the Turkish Government.

Gladstone dismissed any notion that the Bulgarian insurgents were the aggressors as Lord Derby had suggested. Gladstone preferred describing the tortures and atrocities in passionate language: "...the wholesale massacres...the elaborate and refined cruelty—the only refinement of which Turkey boasts!—the utter disregard of sex and age—the abominable and bestial lust—and the entire and violent lawlessness which still stalks over the land."⁶⁶

66. Ibid., 33.

In terms of policy prescriptions, Gladstone demanded that the government recognize the primacy of moral considerations, not narrow, national self-interests. “For of all the objects of policy, in my conviction, humanity, rationally understood, and in due relation to justice, is the first and highest.”⁶⁷ “Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner, namely by carrying off themselves.”

A Tory Member of Parliament, Henry A. Munro Butler-Johnstone, immediately published a rebuttal to Gladstone’s call for foreign policy based on moral considerations, not national self-interests. After chastising Gladstone for blaming the government for mismanagement of foreign affairs and pointing out that for the years under Gladstone’s government nothing had been done to enforce the Treaty of Paris, Munro turned to the heart of his broadside. “English interests” he said, “which are essentially maritime, cannot allow the important bays and seas which communicate with the Mediterranean to fall into the hands of a new and possibly aggressive Power, and events which tend in that direction, in a greater or less degree, cannot possibly be matters of indifference to this country.”⁶⁸ He continued with a straight political blast: “A ministry, therefore, that has promoted “narrow selfish British interests,” and restored the “prestige” of the country, must be peculiarly odious to a

67. Ibid.,51.

68. H.A. Munro Butler-Johnstone. *“Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East: A Letter Addressed to The Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone, M.P.* (London: W. Ridgeway, 1876), 25.

party that for ten years never lost an opportunity of sacrificing the one and lowering the other.”⁶⁹

Typical of the outpouring of anger at the Turks among followers of Gladstone was an article by Edward A. Freeman, a highly respected historian at Oxford. “He came in as an alien and barbarian, encamped on the soil of Europe: at the end of five hundred years, he remains an alien and barbarian....His rule during all that time has been the rule of strangers over enslaved nationals in their own land: it has been the rule of cruelty, faithlessness, and brutal lust: it has not been government, but organized brigandage. His rule cannot be reformed...there is only one remedy, ...demand that the rule of the Turk in Europe should be got rid of; and the time for getting rid of it has now come.”⁷⁰

Interest in the Eastern Question and the events in the Balkans even spread to the United States. However, by the time of the Russian invasion of the Balkans in 1877, the debate had been cast in terms of Christian superiority over Islam. An American author wrote: “Notwithstanding their close proximity to, and constant intercourse with, the democratic commercial communities of Modern Europe, they are yet the devout followers of Mohammed: Notwithstanding that they everywhere admit that the star of the crescent is waning before that of the cross, they still adhere in all their institutions to the precepts of the Koran. They rely with implicit faith on the

69. Ibid., 26.

70. Quoted in James M. Bugbee, *The Eastern Question, Historically Considered* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1877), 37, likely from the *Saturday Review* (London) for whom Freeman wrote a series of political articles about this time.

aid of the Prophet, although they are well aware that the followers of Christ are ultimately to expel them from Europe....”⁷¹

The “Bulgarian Agitation”

These reports had unprecedented circulation and influence, stirring public opinion across Europe. The effect in Britain was electric. Public opinion was aroused as never before. The Opposition Liberal party seized the opportunity to chastise the Tories. MacGahan’s emotional attack on the policies of Prime Minister Disraeli (by then Lord Beaconsfield) and Foreign Minister Lord Derby opened a floodgate of moral outrage, and the British public, especially the recently-enfranchised Liberal middle classes, began holding meetings all over the country. Elliot in his memoirs said ruefully, “Nothing occurring in a foreign country within my recollections ever caused in England a sensation at all to be compared with that produced by the Turkish excesses in Bulgaria in the spring of 1876; but horrible as they were, the excitement about them, as about anything not directly affecting our own country, would have passed away if the leaders of the Opposition had not found in them an opportunity to make political capital against Lord Beaconsfield’s Government.”⁷²

The Liberals, led by Gladstone, had indeed made political capital of events that touched peoples’ deepest sensitivities. Emotional reactions kindled a powerful

71. Ibid., 9. (Author’s note: it was interesting to see that all the major documents, and debates in Parliament, quoted in this short book published in 1877 in the U.S., were accurately quoted verbatim, indicating a close correspondence between European, especially British, press and the U.S.)

72. Elliot, *Some Revolutions*, 255.

movement called the Bulgarian Agitation, “the most profoundly democratic display in the secular annals of European history. The Queen, Parliament, the government, political parties, churches, intellectuals, the working classes surged together in protest.”⁷³ This agitation differed from earlier ones—supporting emancipation of slaves, political reform, and abolition of Corn Laws—in that it had no central organization, no executive, no system of committees or circuits. It was “spontaneous” and swept across the country from September, 1876, until the end of the year when it sputtered out as quickly as it had arisen.

Spontaneous protest meetings broke out everywhere in Britain. Organizations sent messages to Lord Derby at the Foreign Office. Four hundred fifty-five memorials and petitions addressed to Lord Derby were received between September 1 and December 26, 1876, from reputable sources expressing indignation at the atrocities committed by the Turks and protesting the pro-Turkish Eastern policy of the government. They came from all over the country, from all kinds of organizations—city, town, or village meetings, from workmen’s organizations, some from religious organizations, some from social organizations.⁷⁴ The *Daily News*, controlled by a group headed by the Nonconformist philanthropist Samuel Morley, remained consistently behind the agitation that its reporting had done so much to bring into being.

The Bulgarian atrocities agitation was one of the great semi-religious, semi-political agitations that aimed in nineteenth-century Britain at bringing the force of

73. Theodore Delchev Dimitrov, in the Introduction to MacGahan, *The Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria*, iv.

74. P.R.O., F.O. 78, 2551-6; *Turkey, General Correspondence Respecting Atrocities in Bulgaria*, quoted in Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Horrors*, 148.

organized moral indignation to bear on the conduct of public affairs. It arose at the same time as purely religious revivals were thriving, and likely came from the same spiritual and emotional source. It revealed a great deal about the nature of public opinion in a large section of society and the stimuli to which it responded. It quickly came to a boiling point and heavily influenced public opinion. Because of when it came, it probably affected the history of the Liberal Party decisively; it provided the setting for Gladstone to become the Prime Minister for a second time, bringing him out of retirement after the failure of his first Prime Ministry. It committed him to the influence of heightened spiritual and emotional tensions that lasted throughout his time in office.

Foreign Policy: Struggle between Self-interest and Moral Considerations

Early debates flowing from the Bulgarian news centered on the character of the Turks, from the description given by Gladstone to a stout defender of the Turks who declared that with his many fine qualities, the Turk was the Englishman of the East. Quickly, however, the heated discussions could easily have been transported into our times: what is the proper foundation for foreign policy? To those who reacted to news of Ottoman atrocities in Bulgaria with protest against the British policy of supporting the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern Question provided a perfect example of the need to base foreign policy on moral “right” and not on narrow self-interest. They saw this revelation of Britain’s policies as the degradation of policy divorced from morality. They earnestly adhered to two principles: (1) that states are bound by the same moral laws as individuals; and (2) that it is not merely desirable

but essential that decisions of policy should conform strictly and directly to absolute definitions of righteousness. In this Victorian era, “righteousness” was easily understood and rarely questioned.

To this movement of protest the practitioners of the orthodox policy of self-interest returned an unyielding answer. The classic statement of their attitude was the dispatch of Sir Henry Elliot to Lord Derby of 4 September 1876. In this grave and indignant rebuke to those “shallow politicians or persons who have allowed their feelings of revolted humanity to make them forget the capital interests involved in the question.” Elliot conceded the justice of revulsion at the “needless and monstrous severity” used by the Turks in suppressing the insurrection, but insisted that the “necessity” which existed to “prevent changes from occurring” in the Turkish Empire which “could be most detrimental” to British interests was “not affected by the question of whether it was 10,000 or 20,000 persons who perished in the suppression.”⁷⁵ More than any other single statement it made the debate on the Eastern Question from 1876 to 1880 the most clearly-defined public conflict in English history on the fundamental problem of the moral nature of the state.⁷⁶

The Agitation and its consequences were profoundly significant for foreign policy. Critics of the agitation accused it of causing the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 by encouraging the Russians to advance under the impression that public opinion

75. *Turkey XC (1877) no. 221*, quoted in Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Horrors*, 23.

76. *Ibid.*, 23.

would never let Disraeli intervene. That, indeed, was the case. Derby, in a letter to Lord Salisbury, remarked on the “unpleasantly weakened” position of Britain vis-à-vis Russia caused by the Agitation.⁷⁷

On April 24, 1877, the Russians declared war on the Ottoman Empire and by early 1888, with the Russians practically at the gates of Istanbul, the Sultan was forced to sue for peace. He had lost effective control of the Balkans and of northeastern provinces of Anatolia. The Treaty of San Stefano (March 3, 1878) left the balance of power tilted towards the Russians, a situation which left the British alarmed. The Russians now controlled territory much closer to the Gulf, to India, and to the Mediterranean, and Bulgaria was made a very large country. The Congress of Berlin was called by the Powers to review the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano, and succeeded in redrawing the frontiers of Bulgaria. The Russians were allowed to retain the territory it claimed in northeastern Anatolia, and the Ottomans agreed once again to introduce reforms leading to equality of Christian and Moslem subjects. The Empire lost two-fifths of its territory and about one-fifth of its population. Its viability was severely weakened; Russia’s position was strengthened.

The Bulgarian Crisis of 1876 set in motion major forces that dramatically changed the Eastern Question. Information provided by the American missionaries in Constantinople, written up by an English journalist and published in the Liberal press in London had a series of unintended consequences. It alerted Europe to atrocities

77. Derby to Salisbury, 24 September 1876, *Salisbury Papers*, quoted in Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Horrors*, 266.

against innocent Christian populations but not against innocent Turkish populations; it aroused British public opinion against current foreign policies; it restricted the range of available action for Britain, thereby opening the way for Russian aggression against the Ottomans, leading to a significant weakening of the Ottoman Empire and a consequent shift in regional dynamics and power. It also let loose a vicious, poisonous outpouring of anger against the Moslems in general and the Turks specifically. These attitudes were picked up and reflected in scores of newspaper articles across the U.S.⁷⁸ They continue to this day.

78. Justin McCarthy, *The Turk in America*. See chapter 6, “*The Bulgarian Horrors*,” 93-105.

CONCLUSION

Over one hundred years later, we are still seeing the working out of the Eastern Question. The Bulgarian Crisis of 1875-78 was not an ephemeral event: on the contrary, the Balkan conflicts in the 1990s have their roots in that era. Likewise, Turkey's application for membership in the EU has stirred up prejudices honed during the emotional time of the Bulgarian crisis. Great Power rivalries and suspicions of the nineteenth century continue to this day. Many of our foreign policy issues in that region today can be traced to the unresolved complexities of the nineteenth century.

The American missionaries in Turkey intervened in many ways to influence foreign policy both of the United States and of the European Powers, particularly in Britain. They were resident in Turkey, they spoke many languages, they had significant sources of information because of activities across the region and their own missionary communication networks. They were well-educated, articulate, and active writers. When home on leave they were sent to universities, to newspaper editors, to churches for speeches, to Washington for talks with politicians.

The American Board, although based in Boston, had a country-wide network of thousands of members that was amazing in its breadth and depth, with skillful public relations departments and members who were both fervent in their cause and active in spreading their beliefs of what was "right." They did not hesitate to communicate with politicians and those whom we today would call opinion-makers. The

many parts of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—the missionaries overseas, the office staff in Boston, its publications, its funds, and the national Protestant sentiment of the majority of Americans during the 19th century—together made up a powerful voice in foreign affairs.

The early missionaries in Turkey, with their programs and correspondence during the half-century from 1830 through 1880, ultimately set the stage for America's outraged reaction to the Armenian massacres in the mid-1890s, to the enforced, inhumane expulsion of the Armenians from Turkey early in World War I, and for the outpouring of the multi-million dollar relief programs that followed. The attitudes that developed among the extraordinarily wide circle of influence of the missionary establishment during those 50 years were eventually responsible for President Wilson's decision not to declare war on the Ottoman Empire when the United States entered World War I in 1917, so that the massive investment in lives, programs, and property of the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire would not be harmed. The strong programs brought to Turkey by the missionaries were worth protecting: today Turkey has advanced ideas about education, medicine, democracy, equality, and the rule of law, all of which were advocated by the missionaries.

APPENDIX I

United States Ministers Resident in Constantinople, 1831-1890

Commodore David Porter (1831-1843)

Dabney S. Carr (1843-1849)

George P. Marsh (1849-1853)

Carroll Spence (1855-1858)

James Williams (1858-1861)

Edward Joy Morris (1861-1870)

Wane MacVeagh (1870-1871)

George H. Boker (1871-1875)

Horace Maynard (1875-1880)*

James Longstreet (1880-1881)

General Lewis Wallace (1881-1885)

Samuel S. Cox (1886-1887)

Oscar S. Straus (1887-1889)

Solomon Hirsch (1889-1892)

* Maynard graduated valedictorian of his class at Amherst, 1838. Readers may recall that Rev. Henry Van Lennep was the valedictorian of his class at Amherst, 1837. George Washburn, who worked closely with Maynard during the Bulgarian Crisis of 1876-78, was also an Amherst graduate.

APPENDIX II

**1853 Exchange of Letters between Henry van Lennep, American Missionary,
and
The Ambassador of the King of Holland resident in Constantinople,
with the initial request letter from
The Foreign Affairs Advisor to the King of Holland to the Ambassador**

**1.) The requesting letter from the King of Holland's Foreign Affairs Advisor,
van Hall, to Ambassador Baron N.W. Mollerus in Constantinople:**

The Hague, June 10, 1853

Sir,

In following the negotiations which have lately taken place in Constantinople and which in part had as an aim the betterment and the safety of the Christian population in the Ottoman Empire, the attention of the King has been fixed on the state of Christians who profess the Protestant religion, and His Majesty wishes to have some exact information on this object.

In 1848, you mentioned, Sir, in your dispatch of February 17 No. 14, a communication from the Porte, addressed to the governors of the Provinces, with the goal of protecting the protestant subjects against all persecution, in opposition to their religious liberties.

1. What gave rise to this measure?
2. Has this measure had the desired result, or have there been subsequent complaints from the Protestants?

3. To what ecclesiastical authority do they address themselves in case of an emergency?
4. The Protestant bishopric, which was established in the 1841 by the King of Prussia and by the English government, in order to protect and to extend the protestant church in Palestine, has it become an authority, or--so to speak--a central point for all the protestant Christians in Syria, Lebanon, and in Palestine?
5. Are there still English and American missionaries active in these countries?
6. What is the number of Protestant Christians in the Ottoman Empire?
7. Are there, with the exception of Smirna [sic], established preachers, or could one through transient missionaries in service at Pera , Alexandria, and other places count a certain number of Protestants?
8. Does the Dutch diplomatic service have a particular position because of treaties or ancient customs concerning Protestants in Pera and other places in Turkey?

Please, Sir, give me some answer to the questions mentioned above, and add any other details which you judge might satisfy as much as possible the wish of the King.

Agreez [formal complimentary close],

Signed: Van Hall [Advisor to the King]

2.) Letter from van Lennep to Ambassador Baron N.W. Mollerus, responding to the questions in the letter received by the Ambassador from the Foreign Affairs Advisor to the King of Holland.

“Monsieur Le Baron N.W. Mollerus, Resident Minister of Monsieur the King of Holland at The Sublime Porte

Monsieur Le Baron,

I hasten to respond to the questions that you asked me in regard to the Protestant subjects of the Sublime Porte. I shall first present you an outline of the introduction and of the present state of Protestantism in this country; I shall next respond to the questions one by one; for the whole meaning of my answers couldn't otherwise be felt.

Although for twenty years preachers of the Gospel, English and American, at first small in number, have been occupied in translating and in spreading the Holy Scriptures, and have even preached their doctrines in the indigenous languages; and although many persons, especially among the Armenians, have embraced these doctrines; however a Protestant Community has only existed since 1847. Those who had embraced the faith professed by the Protestant Churches of Europe and America had remained until then in the bosom of their ancient Church, hoping, and the missionaries with them, that the leaven of the evangelical truth would spread little by little in the mass of the people, a general reform would take place without convulsion or schism. They became day by day () numerous and more bold. But the part which adhered to the Armenian church became alarmed moreover each day; and it was not slow to wear down with its influence the officers of the Ottoman government, and the temporal power of the Patriarch to put some in prison and to sent others into exile. Finally in February of 1847 a general persecution erupted in all the principle cities of the Empire. A confession of faith containing the Doctrines of Rome, to which the Armenian Church itself had never given its full agreement, was presented by the Patriarch, counseled by the Jesuits, to each individual who was suspected of Protes-

tantism, and it was required of him to place his signature there. The weak yielded, but the greatest number refused. So the anathema was launched against the recalcitrants; their names were pronounced in all the churches; and the order was given to have nothing to do with them. This order was punctually accomplished by the means of promises and threats. Women abandoned their husbands, and children threw their sick and infirm parents out the door. Others were beaten, mistreated, thrown in prison by means of false accusations and false witnesses; and they were mixed with murderers and thieves. Still others were chased from their own houses, and found themselves suddenly without shelter, almost all lost the means of earning their living; and their abandonment was such that the water carriers refused for some time to furnish them with drink, and the bakers refused to sell them bread. But what seemed to be supposed to destroy, in this country the Church being born in Christ was only a means to benefit it. In the middle of the persecutions and alarms, these brothers, excommunicated and rejected by their ecclesiastical authorities, after having tried in vain to remain in the church of their fathers while obeying the word of God, took the resolution to unite together as the Church of Christ. They adopted a confession of faith based on Scriptural writings, and agreeing with those of the Protestant Church of Europe and America; and they took the name of the Armenian Evangelical Church. Providence intervened then to protect them against the persecution of their enemies. Thanks to the powerful interceptions of the ambassadors of England and of Prussia, His Majesty the Sultan accorded them a *Firman* to the Imperial Charters, in

which the Protestants are recognized as a new Community, subjects of The Porte, possessing all the privileges and the immunities of the most favored communities.

If this *Firman* had been sincerely executed, nothing more would have been desired. But unfortunately that was not the case. Even in the Capital, the authorities, pushed by Armenians powerful because of their social position, have permitted many, many times the most flagrant injustices. To give an example: although the Protestants had the right to possess a church or chapel where they could publicly exercise their worship, that was always refused to them, and they are still obliged to meet in private homes. They had hoped for some time that the project of the sale of a part of the lot containing the old Dutch chapel, which for a long time has only been used as a store, a project which you, Monsieur the Envoyé, had wanted to favor from the first year of your arrival here, would have succeeded and served to place the Protestants in a much more advantageous position, seeing that in this country a public building is regarded as an unequivocal sign of the existence of a sect, and of its recognition by the government. But this hope vanished, and in spite of all the efforts of the Protestants themselves and the representatives of Protestant powers in their favor, they are no more advanced than they were 6 years ago. Neither in Constantinople, nor in any other city in the interior, exists any public building, be it church or chapel, which represents so to speak the Doctrines which they profess. And the lack of such a building casts doubt in all minds with regard to the full and entire recognition of Protestantism in the country. A very great number of the weak do not dare to

attach themselves to a party which occupies such a doubtful position; and their powerful adversaries profit from it to sustain all sorts of challenges against them.

You know well, Monsieur le Baron, the organization by communities which exists in this country, and I don't need to tell you that each of them is a distinct body and besides, that taxes are gathered by the Turks not from each individual of the community, but only from its leaders. This puts a great deal of power in the hands of a few individuals who ordinarily have themselves named to their posts by means of their personal influence and of their wealth, and it often happens that they abuse this power to extort large sums especially from the weak and not to pay anything themselves. In a great part of Turkey, the Governors do not want to recognize the order of the Firman mentioned above as applying outside of the walls of the Capital; so that it is not permitted to Protestants to organize themselves as a Community apart, that they are abandoned to the power of the Armenian force and burdened with taxes, put in prison, forced by hunger to submit to Doctrines which they do not believe. I cannot here enter into details which would be too long; but I can affirm that scenes of suffering take place in different cities and towns of the Empire, which would break the heart of those in Europe whose () have in former times suffered like them in the same holy cause. It is true that orders are generally not slow to be obeyed from the Capital, to put an end to such abuse. But as soon as they finish in one place, they start in another.

However it is much to be hoped that the new *Firman* accorded by the Sublime Porte to the Protestants as to all the other subject communities will succeed in

remedying these abuses. The former *Firman* placed the Protestant Community under an officer of the Government, Turkish in religion, who acted as often against as in their interests. But the new one gives them a leader, chosen from among themselves, and places him on a same level as the Patriarchs, Armenians, Greek, and Catholic, and the Asham Basti (?) of the Jews. The only distinction which exists among them is created by the Protestants themselves. Jealous of their religious liberties, they wanted the civil authority to have no office in the Church; and that the preachers of the Word of God occupy the same level as the common people before the authorities. In contrast with the other communities the religious power and the civil power find themselves concentrated in the same hands.

There are several types of Protestants in Turkey. There are those who are Protestant by conviction and opinion only, and these form at the present time about a third, probably, of all Armenians. Others however have caused themselves to be listed in the registers of the Protestants; but their number is still small because of the vexations to which they have always been subject. They count around 2000 souls and live principally in the cities of Constantinople, Smyrna, Broosa, Nicomedia, Adabazar, Cesarea, Marsovan, Tokat, Sivas, Trebizond, Arabkir, Erzerroom, Diarbarkir, Aintab, Bitlis, and Adana.

Since the organization of an Evangelical Armenian Community according to the orders of the imperial government, members of other communities and nations have united themselves to them in a way that it has become a Protestant Community, embracing diverse nations, using different languages, in which each one possesses its

own ecclesiastical organization, forming thus diverse Churches, in sympathy with each other, in rapport concerning Doctrines of the faith, reunited, together under the aegis of one single ("only and same") civil organization. Also a German colony has left Russia and has established itself within the boundaries of Turkey to Tulcha not far from the Danube; they have become subjects of the Sublime Porte and members of the Protestant Community and number around 250 souls. Similarly Greeks in Constantinople, from Dersim to Akhisar (the former Thyatira) have enrolled themselves with the Protestants. Jews [converted] have done the same thing in the Capital.

In Syria, many persons have embraced the Doctrines of the Word of God in Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Hasbeya through the preaching of the American missionaries. They all speak the Arabic language although formerly they professed different religions, that of the Greeks, the Roman Catholics, the Druses. They count around 600 souls. And in Jerusalem, Nablos, Nazareth, and Jaffa, others also have adopted the same sentiments through the preaching of the Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem and by those who work with him with as much zeal as judgement. All the latter are also members of the Protestant Community; for the functions of the Bishop of Jerusalem have a purely religious character, and the Ottoman government has never delegated to him any temporal power over any of its subjects.

I hope, Monsieur le Baron, that this outline, although very rapid, will give you an idea of the position which at this time the Protestants in Turkey occupy; I

mean those who are subjects of the Sublime Porte, for it is not a question here of the subjects of allied nations. I come now to the questions which you wanted to ask me.

1. *What gave rise to the Communication from the Porte addressed (in 1847) to the Governors of the Provinces, in order to protect the protestant subjects against all persecution, in opposition to their religious liberties?*

The outline given above contains a response to this question. It really was the incessant persecutions incited by the Patriarch and the Armenian notables, for more than 10 years, and which in 1847 had become so general and so violent that they attracted the attention of the whole country and the Sultan himself, even that of the ambassadors of the Allied Powers.

2. *Has this measure had the desired result, or have there been subsequent complaints from the Protestants?*

I have said, the religious liberties of the Protestants are far from being found affirmed on the same footing as that of the other religious communities; not so much because of some imperfection in the *Firman* and Charter which was first accorded to them, but because of the powerfulness of their enemies, and the lack of interest on the part of the Ottoman government in the establishment and maintenance of their liberties.

[Note on side of text: "this is what will doubtless prevent the new *Firman* also from producing the all the results one would have the right to hope for."]

3. *To what ecclesiastical authority do they address themselves in case of an emergency?*

The two organizations, civil and religious, of the Protestants have been explained. As for what pertains to religious affairs, they address themselves to their own pastors, and have a council that decides all general questions. And for what pertains to civil affairs, the council of the Community decides everything, and refers its execution to the leader of the Community. The latter addresses himself directly to The Porte, and also has recourse to the Representatives of Friendly Powers.

4. *Has the protestant bishopric, which was established in 1841 by the King of Prussia and by the English government, in order to protect and to extend the Protestant church in Palestine become an authority, or--so to speak--a central point for all the protestant Christians in Syria, Lebanon, and in Palestine?*

The only temporal influence exercised by the Church of Jerusalem in favor of Protestant subjects of La Porte in Palestine consists in making representations in their favor when they are oppressed, and these official representations are often supported by the representatives of English and Prussian governments. And it is the same for all the Protestant Missionaries in Turkey. For the governments of Prussia and of England have adopted for several years the system of protecting by their influence all Protestants in general, rather than to seek to make the Church of Jerusalem a Protestant center in some way as the Eastern Bishops are, which the Ottoman government has never wanted to admit. But Protestantism enjoys a great advantage in Jerusalem, which is to have a church built by a *Firman* accorded to this effect by the Sublime Porte. This is the case in no other city in Turkey; and in that country it produces much effect. The Bishop of Jerusalem is the spiritual leader of Protestants in Palestine only, in Nazareth, Jaffa, Nablos, and Jerusalem, and who have received

the Doctrines of the Word of God through the preaching of Missionaries acting under the authority of this Bishop.

5. Are there still English and American missionaries active in these countries?

Among Armenian Protestants there are some indigenous pastors; there are also some in Hasbeya in Syria. The German colony in Thoulcha has a German pastor who is however a subject of The Porte. All the other evangelical preachers are foreign. There are 16 American missionaries among the Armenians, of whom two are also doctors. Among the Jews there are 3 Americans, 2 Scots, and 2 English. In Mesopotamia there are 5 Americans, of whom one is also a doctor. In Syria there are 11 Americans, of whom 2 are doctors. And in Palestine, [there are] 4 English and one Swede. I am charmed to be able to add that Holland is represented in this charitable work; for although I am related to an American Society, however I am Dutch, and I preach the Gospel the Middle East, for which my brothers have formerly suffered in Europe. Thus there are in Turkey 45 foreign missionaries, belonging to five different nations, who all work in the most perfect harmony, in the most cordial understanding.

6. What is the number of Protestant Christians in the Ottoman Empire?

The Armenians count around 2000 souls; the Germans 230; the Greeks, 95; in Mesopotamia 150; in Syria around 600; in Palestine around 250. Sum total: 3325 souls. And as the number grows without ceasing one could place it at 3500 souls for the [total? Word indistinct.]

7. *Are there, with the exception of Smyrna, established preachers, or could one count a certain number of Protestants among transient missionaries in service at Pera, Alexandria, and other places?*

Only in Smyrna is there a Dutch chaplain. At Constantinople, the Dutch are in fact small in number, and they have access to the English, American, and Prussian chapels. As to baptisms and to burials, I have always felt that I only filled them as a very agreeable duty for me for my compatriots. I don't know what they do in Alexandria, but an English chapel is located there, which the Dutch are supposed to be able to attend.

8. *Does the Dutch diplomatic service have a particular position because of treaties or ancient customs concerning Protestants in Pera and other places in Turkey?*

You are, Monsieur, much more competent than I to answer this question. I know no treaty which directly touches the Protestant subjects of The Porte. But you know well that it is conceded to every friendly nation to have a chapel or even an alternate Church at L'Am at Constantinople, and even at the Consulate in the other cities. The French have for a long time made use of this to build Catholic Churches; and that could be a point conceded by The Porte. And I can also add that, although no treaty gives Holland a protectorate of Protestant subjects of The Porte, however it is a custom which has, so to speak, taken the force of a treaty that the representatives of European nations intervene by way of counsel to obtain that justice be done to those of the subjects of The Porte who profess the same religion.

Here, Monsieur, is a rapid survey of the subject on which you have made me the honor of consulting me. I will always consider myself very happy if I can be

useful in any manner either to yourself, or to His Majesty's government; and I beg
you to believe me

Your very humble servant,

Henry J. van Lennep

APPENDIX III

Demarche of the American Minister on Freedom of Conscience

Nov. 6, 1855⁷⁹

United States Legation
Constantinople
November 6th, 1855

To His Excellency, Fuad Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs

In unison with some of my Colleagues, near the Sublime Porte, I beg to call the attention of Your Excellency to a subject, in which my government feels a deep interest, I allude to the abrogation of the Mohamedan law, making it a capital offence, for a Mussulman to renounce Islamism:

Before assigning to Your Excellency, the reasons which have induced me to address you the present communication, permit me to remark, that as the diplomatic representative of the United States in turkey, I desire to arrogate to myself no right to interfere in the civil or religious regulations of the Sultan's government. Permitting no interference on the part of other nations in its domestic concerns, the government of the United States claims no right to interfere with the internal Policy of other powers; it however, cannot but feel a deep concern in all questions, in which its citizens either from political or religious reasons are interested, and if the expression of that interest on this occasion is suggestive of the repeal of a law which affects along the subjects of the ottoman empire, it hopes that a desire to procure for them, the

79. Carroll Spence Papers, Box 1, File 15, Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Research Center.

same religious freedom, as that enjoyed by its own citizens will entitle its suggestions to an indulgent consideration.

As the representative however, of a republic, the Constitution of which, disclaims all right on the part of its national Legislature to make “*Any law for the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof*” – the territories of which are open to the believers in all faiths – the laws of which operate alike, on the followers of all prophets. I flatter myself, I shall escape the imputation of an officious interference in the affairs of his Imperial Majesty’s Government, in suggesting to it, the abrogation of a law, which forces man to purchase the most estimable of all right, freedom of conscience, at the expense of his life. If, however, I entertained any scruples of delicacy, in addressing Your Excellency upon a subject, so intimately connected with the religious organization of your government, a knowledge of the numerous reforms, hitherto made by his I Majesty the Sultan to ameliorate the condition and contribute to the happiness and prosperity of his subjects, would have induced me to abandon them. Frankly and freely, I propose to present to Your Excellency’s consideration such suggestions as I deem advisable, in support of the request which I make his Majesty the Sultan, drawing from the past concessions made by him to his Christian subjects, as hope that he will accord similar privileges to the Mussulman population of his empire.

Your Excellency is doubtless aware of the fact, that many of the *causes* and *reasons* which in times gone by gone by, generated a spirit of religious persecution and sanctioned the enactment of laws punishing religious apostasy with death, have

ceased to exist, and are now regarded by mankind, as causes too inadequate, reason too frivolous for the effusion of human blood.

That bigotry which in former times, chained the human body when it could not fetter the mind, which opened the arteries of life, when it could not open the door of religious conviction – which forced the Israelite to seek from Mohamedan Turkey a home, denied him in Christian Spain, and which deprived that country of the enterprise industry and intelligence of its Mussulman population – which peopled the wilds of America with religious refugees from protestant England and with Huguenots from Catholic France – that mistaken zeal for the Church which legalized the tortures of the Italian and Spanish inquisitions, sanctioned by alternate burning of Protestants and Catholics in England, consigned to the dungeons of Germany the earlier reformers and enacted retaliatory laws against Catholics in other countries – that religious thirst for human blood slaked in the sacrifice of Israelites in almost every country of Europe, have all within the last century disappeared, and the laws dictated by them have ceased to disgrace the Statute books of an enlightened age. Time has taught man, to be more indulgent to the opinions of his fellowman and religion is fast fulfilling the great mission assigned to it by the God of the Universe, paving the way to that future State, to which humanity aspires with acts of charity, not with deeds of persecution.

Its teachings have neither been lost upon individuals or nations. Upon the hearts of the former, it has made impressions of good will and mercy towards his fellow man, among the latter it has sown those seeds of reform, which bursting through

the prejudices of the past, are now producing fruits of civil and religious freedom for the 19th century. The spirit of civilization nourished by them is fast diffusing itself throughout the world. Neither tyranny nor bigotry have (sic) of late been able to arrest its progress. In the entrenched camp – in the walled town – in the Church or mosque of the worshipper of God – in the temple of the life immolating heathen, it has found admission. From all nations, from all creeds, it has levied tributes for man's happiness. It has closed the door of the Christian inquisition – it has sheathed the sword of the martial propagator of Islamism – is quenching the flames of the funereal pile which devour the heathen widow – is forcing the pagan cannibal to abandon his orgies of human flesh, and is now demanding *from Turkey the abrogation of a law repugnant alike to reason and humanity.*

A perfect state of national isolation can alone excuse a government from being influenced by it. Its isolation once destroyed the bonds of brotherhood once entered into with other countries, the spirit of civilization which animates them, should influence it.

As long as the policy of the Sublime Porte favoured a species of national seclusion other nations were to some extent indifferent as to the usages or laws which affected its people. The Christian world heard with equal indifference, of the consignment of some faithless female or the waters of the Bosphorous (sic) or of the decapitation of an apostate Mussulman.

When however Turkey took her stand among the civilized nations of the earth and claimed to be regarded by them as one of their number, she was called upon to make good her claim to be so considered by the abrogation of such laws, as were repugnant to the rubric of civilization established by the Christian world. To this exaction of civilization (if I may so term it) the Sublime Porte has of late most liberally responded. No nation in Europe has within so short a time made more numerous or important reforms. No government has exhibited a greater desire to conform its institutions and its policy to the spirit of the age. The various decrees of his Majesty the Sultan tending to enlarge the civil and religious freedom of his subjects are fresh in the memory of all of us.

By the Hatt-i Sherif of Gulhane (1839) that Magna Charta of Turkish Civil Liberty, he guaranteed to his subjects irrespective of their religious creeds, security in the enjoyment of life, reputation, and property.

By the Penal Code promulgated by him in 1840 a uniform Code of Criminal law was established for all of his subjects and the power of life and death was taken from the hands of the Sultan and consigned exclusively to the custody of the law.

By a pledge, given by him a few years ago to the Christian powers, no Christian embracing Islamism and returned to the Christian faith, shall here after suffer death for his apostasy.

By an imperial *Firman* of 1840 promulgated for the purpose of protecting the Jews from the persecutions of the Christians, the former are declared entitled to the

same privileges as those accorded to the other subjects of the Porte and the Sultan asserts his determination to protect them therein.

By the imperial *Firman* of 1853, the protestant Armenians were shielded from the persecutions of the Armenian Church, and religious freedom and protection in its enjoyment accorded to them. Other reforms in the religious and civil organization of his Majesty's Government less important than those mentioned, but tending however to strike down the barriers erected by custom, usage and law between the Christians and Mussulman, have been lately sanctioned or acquiesced in, by the Ottoman Government; an enumeration however of those above mentioned while it affords your Excellency the proof of my appreciation of them, also presents ample precedents for future reformatory action in both religious and civil matters.

Permit me also to inform your Excellency that not only does the spirit of civilization (of the influence of which on your own and other governments I have already spoken) demand the abrogation of the existing law punishing apostasy from Islamism with death, but a wise administration of the powers of government, dictates to the governing power, the repeal of all penal laws, when the causes and reasons for their exactment (sic) have ceased to apply to the existing state of things.

When the immediate followers of the Prophet, burning with a zeal to fulfill the command of the Koran, "to make war against all those who believed neither in God or the future judgment and who did not observe what was forbidden by God and the prophet" made their triumphal march through Arabia, Egypt, Palestine, Syria

along the Northern portions of Africa, as far as the pillars of Hercules – when conquered nations were commanded to embrace Mohamedanism or pay the tribute of submission, every Mussulman was not only a propagator of Islamism, but the defender of the religious, civil and military organization upon which it was based. His apostasy was then, both a military and religious offence, because the Mohamedan faith lost by it, a propagator of its doctrines, the state a defender of its social and military organization.

When in later times the crusaders, those knight errants of Christianity, desolated Christian countries and sacked Christian towns, in their zeal to wrench from the believers of your prophet the tomb of their savior, when every true believer in Islamism was called upon to defend his country against Christian doctrines and Christian arms, to fight for his mosque and his fireside, then too apostasy from Islamism was an offence big with danger to the church and to the state.

When in still more recent times, your *Osmanli* forefathers, carved their way through subjugated nations, from the Dardanelles to Vienna, and established in Europe an entrenched camp, ever liable to be attacked by the people they had subjugated or by nations eager to arrest the expansion of Islamism – when the faith of your fathers and the throne of the Sultan could alone be protected by the arm of the true believer, then too apostasy from Islamism was a severance of the bond of safety to all, a military, civil and religious crime, a desertion from the army, from the state and from the church.

A similar state of things no longer exists. The mission of Islamism, so far as conquest is concerned, has been accomplished. Its followers have merged their religious military into a civil religious organization. They have abandoned their thirst for perpetual war, for a desire for continued peace, and burying the prejudices of the past they are now calling upon their Christian compatriots to lend their assistance in defending those territories which in bygone times, could alone be defended by those professing the same faith as themselves.

Apostasy now is but a desertion from the Mohamedan faith, and does not as of yore entail upon the state the loss of a defender. Why then punish it with the loss of that life, which may *now* be devoted to the defense of your country and which is *now* deemed worthy to protect the throne of the head of the state and of the Mohamedan faith?

The basis of that monument of Mohamdean national reform, laid by Sultan Mahmoud of glorious memory, in the blood of the *Derebeys* and *Jannissaries* (those opponents of civil and religious liberty) was bequeathed to the present Sultan, as a foundation, whereon to erect such subsequent reforms, as might be required by the exigencies of the age. Incited by the same laudable love for the good of his people, which prompted his illustrious father to commence and continue a series of reforms, in despite (sic) of difficulties at home and abroad, to which a spirit less resolute than his own, would have succumbed, the present sultan, since his arrival to the throne, has given ample evidence of his determination to complete the structure which his great father commenced. Zealously and wisely has he applied himself to the task.

Each year his subjects, by his concessions in favour of political or religious freedom have witnessed its progress towards completion. The crowning stone, however, bearing the Inscription of *freedom of conscience to all*, remains still to be laid to culminate the Mohamedan monument to civilization. Will he, whose life has been devoted to its erection, the worthy rival of his illustrious father in his labours of reform, permit some future Sultan, by placing it there, to rob him of an honor of which he has proved himself so worthy? The civilized world hopes not!

Entertaining the views above expressed I respectfully request your Excellency to submit them to his Majesty the Sultan, and make known to him the deep interest which I feel in the abrogation of a law, the causes for the observance of which have ceased to exist, the execution of which is dissonant from the humane and enlightened spirit of the age in which we live.

Permit me, while expressing a hope, that the views above stated may find an advocate in the person of your Excellency with his Majesty the Sultan, to review to you the assurance of my high consideration.

Signed: Carroll Spence.

GLOSSARY OF CITY NAMES

The spelling of city names changed from Ottoman Turkish to modern Turkish. The missionaries used a variety of spellings, which can be very confusing. Below are the main city names in both spellings:

Missionary Usage

Modern Spelling

Constantinople

Istanbul

Adrianople

Edirne

Aintab

Gaziantep

Brousa

Bursa

Cesarea

Kayeri

Diarbekir

Diyarbakir

Harput (Harpoot)

Elazig

Marash

Karamanmaras

Marsovan

Merzifon

Nicomedia

Izmit

Smyrna

Izmir

Tocat

Tokat

Trebizond

Trabzon

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrams, Elliott, ed. *The Influence of Faith: Religious Groups and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001.
- Ahlstrom, Sydney. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972.
- Akgun, Secil. "The Turkish Image in the Reports of American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire." *The Turkish Studies Association Bulletin*, 13, no. 2, September, 1989.
- Allen, W.E.D., and P. Muratoff. *Caucasian Battlefields: A History of the War on the Turco-Caucasian Border, 1828-1921*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.
- Allmendinger, David F. Jr. *Paupers and Scholars: The Transformation of Student Life in Nineteenth-Century New England*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975.
- American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Annual Reports 1830-1889*. Boston: ABCFM.
- *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners*. Boston: Published by the Board, 1861.
- Prudential Committee. *Memorandum for the Missions in the Turkish Empire*. Boston: Beacon Press. 1881.
- Anderson, Frank Maloy and Amos Shartle Hersey. *Handbook for the Diplomatic History of Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1870-1914*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918.
- Anderson, Matthew Smith. *The Eastern Question, 1774-1923*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966.
- ed. *The Great Powers and the Near East 1774-1923*. London: Edward Arnold, Ltd., 1970.
- Anderson, Rufus. *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*. Boston: ABCFM, 1872.
- Anderson, Rufus. *The Theory of Missions to the Heathen, A Sermon at the Ordination of Mr. Edward Webb as a Missionary to the Heathen, Ware, Mass. Oct. 23, 1845*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster. Reprinted in Beaver, R. Pierce, *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson*.

- Andrew, John A.III. *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800 – 1830*. Lexington, Kentucky, 1976.
- Andrew, Sir William. *Euphrates Valley Route to India, in connection with the Central Asian and Egyptian Questions*, 1882.
- Angell, James Burrill. *The Reminiscences of James Burrill Angell*. New York and London: Longmans, Green. 1912.
- , "The Turkish Capitulation," *American Historical Review*, VI (Jan. 1901) 254-259.
- Argyle, George Douglas Campbell, Duke of. *The Eastern Question from the Treaty of Paris to the Treaty of Berlin*. 2 vols. London: Strahan & Company, Ltd., 1879.
- Arpee, Leon. *The Armenian Awakening: A History of the Armenian Church 1820-1860*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. 1909.
- Ashmead-Bartlett, Ellis. *With the Turks in Thrace*. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1913.
- Atamian, Sarkis. *The Armenian Community: The Historical Development of a Social & Ideological Conflict*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955.
- Axtell, James. *The School upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974.
- Baepler, Paul, ed. *White Slaves, African Masters: An Anthology of American Barbary Captivity Narratives*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1999.
- Bailey, Frank Edgar. *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement: A Study in Anglo-Turkish Relations 1826-1853*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942.
- Bailey, Thomas Andrew. *A Diplomatic History of the American People*. 10th ed. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1980.
- Bailyn, Bernard. *Education in the Forming of American Society*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960.
- Ballaster, Ross. *Fabulous Orient: Fictions of the East in England 1662-1785*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Banner, Lois W. "Religion and Reform in the Early Republic: The Role of Youth". *American Quarterly* 23, no. 5 (Dec. 1971)

- Barclay, James Turner. *The City of the Great King: Jerusalem As It Was, As It Is, and As It Will be*. Philadelphia: James Challen, 1857.
- Barkey, Karen. *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Barrows, John Otis. *In the Land of Ararat: A Sketch of the life of Mrs. Elizabeth Freeman Barrows Ussher, Missionary to Turkey and a Martyr of the Great War*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1916.
- Barsoumian, Hagop Levon. *The Armenian Amira Class of Istanbul*. Yerevan, Armenia: American University of Armenia. 2007.
- Bartlett, Samuel Colcord, Rev. *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board*. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. 1876. Reprinted as *Historical Sketches of the Missions of the American Board*. New York: Arno Press, 1972.
- Barton, Clara. *The Red Cross*. Washington: National Red Cross, 1989.
- Barton, James L. *Daybreak in Turkey*. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1908.
- *The Christian Approach to Islam*. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1918.
- *The Missionary and his Critics*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1906.
- *Survey of the Fields 1914-1915*. Boston: ABCFM, 1915.
- Beaver, R. Pierce. *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968.
- "Missionary Motivations through Three Centuries," *Reinterpretations in American Church History*. Vol. 5 of *Essays in Divinity*. Brauer, Gerald, ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- *To Advance the Gospel: Selections from the Writings of Rufus Anderson*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1967.
- Behesnilian, Rev. Krikor. *In Bonds: An Armenian's Experiences*. London :Morgan & Scott. n.d. (ca. 1896).
- Blunt, Wilfrid Scawen. *My Diaries – Being a Personal Narrative of Events 1888-1914. Part One (1888-1900)*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1921. *Part Two (1900 – 1914)*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1921.
- Bemis, Samuel Flagg, ed. *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963. First published in 1928.

- Berkes, Niyazi. *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1964.
- Bigham, Clive. *A Ride Through Western Asia*. London and New York: MacMillan & Co., 1897.
- Birdsall, Richard D. "The Second Great Awakening and the New England Social Order," *Church History*, 39. 1970.
- Bliss, Daniel. *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*. New York: Revell, 1920
- , *Reminiscences and the Founding of the American University of Beirut*. Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1989.
- Bliss, Edwin M. *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities*. Philadelphia: Hubbard Publishing Co., 1896.
- Bliss, E.D.P. "Armenia's Struggle for Independence," *Current History* X, no. 1 (January, 1920).
- Bliss, Howard S. "Sunshine in Turkey," *The National Geographic Magazine*. January, 1909.
- Bliss, Isaac G. *Twenty-five Years in the Levant*. 1883. From the Sixty-Seventh Report of the American Bible Society, presented May 10, 1883.
- Braude, Benjamin and Bernard Lewis, eds. *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. Vol. I. The Central Lands*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982.
- Bryson, Thomas A. *An American Consular Officer in the Middle East in the Jacksonian Era: a Biography of William Brown Hodgson, 1801-1871*. Atlanta: Resurgens Publications, Inc., 1979.
- , *American Diplomatic Relations with the Middle East, 1784-1975: A Survey*. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1977.
- , *Tars, Turks, and Tankers: The Role of the United States Navy in the Middle East, 1800-1979*. Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1980.
- Bugbee, James. M. *The Eastern Question, Historically Considered*. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1877.
- Burnet, D.S. *The Jerusalem Mission*. New York: Arno Press, 1977.
- Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

- Campbell, J. Alston. *In the Shadow of the Crescent*. London: Marshall Brothers, 1906.
- Cass, Lewis. "Religious Rights of American Citizens Residing or Traveling in Foreign Countries." *Congressional Record*. 54th Congress, 1st Session, 28, part 1., 1854.
- Chambers, William Nesbitt. "Russia and Gospel Work in the Caucasus." *Missionary Herald*, 1891.
- Chambers, William Nesbitt. *Yoljuluk: Random Thoughts on a Life in Imperial Turkey*. London: Simkin Marshall, Ltd., 1928. Reprinted by the Armenian Missionary Association of America, 1988.
- Christian Register* (Boston) Dec. 1, 1894.
- Clarke, Edward Daniel. *Travels in Various Countries in Europe, Asia and Africa*. 4th ed. Vol. III. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1817.
- Clarke, Rev. James F. *Bible Societies, American Missionaries and the National Revival of Bulgaria*. New York: Arno Press and The New York Times, 1971.
- Compton, Carl C. *The Morning Cometh*. New Rochelle, New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1986.
- Conforti, Joseph. "Mary Lyon, the Founding of Mount Holyoke College, and the Cultural Revival of Jonathan Edwards." *Religion and American Culture* 3, no. 1 (Winter, 1993): 69-89.
- . *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition & American Culture*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Coon, Carleton S. Jr., ed. *Daniel Bliss and the Founding of the American University of Beirut*. Washington, D.C.: The Middle East Institute, 1989.
- Cox, Samuel S. *Diversions of a Diplomat in Turkey*. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co., 1893.
- . *Orient Sunbeams: or, from the Porte to the Pyramids by way of Palestine*. New York: Arno Press, 1977.
- Cremin, Lawrence. *American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783*. New York: Harper & Row, 1970.
- Curzon, Hon. Robert. *Armenia: A Year at Erzerum, and On the Frontiers of Russia, Turkey and Persia*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1854.
- Daily News* (London). May 1 – July 30, 1876.

- Daniel, Norman. *The Cultural Barrier: Problems in the exchange of ideas*. Edinburgh: University Press, 1975.
- , *Islam, Europe, and Empire*. Edinburgh: The Edinburgh University Press, 1966.
- , *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*. Oxford: OneWorld, 2000.
- Daniel, Robert L. *American Philanthropy in the Near East, 1820-1960*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1970.
- Davison, Roderic H. "The Armenian Crisis, 1912-1914," *American Historical Review* 53, no. 3 (April, 1948): 481-505.
- , *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963.
- , "Where is the Middle East?" *Foreign Affairs* 38 (July, 1960):665-675.
- De Kay, Dr. James E. *Sketches of Turkey in 1831 and 1832*. New York: J. & J. Harper, 1833.
- Dennis, Alfred L. P. *Adventures in American Diplomacy 1896-1906*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1928.
- De Novo, John A. *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East 1900-1939*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1963.
- Department of State. *Records of Foreign Service Posts: Turkey*. 014, 1874-1881.
- Devereux, Robert. *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period: A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963.
- DeWolfe, M.A. *Classic Shades: Five Leaders of Learning and Their Colleges*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1928.
- Dexter, Edwin Grant. *A History of Education in the United States*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1906.
- Dillenberger, John and Claude Welch. *Protestant Christianity: Interpreted Through Its Development*. 2nd ed. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1998.
- Dwight, Harrison Gray Otis. *Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church*. London: James Nisbet and Co., 1854.
- , *Christianity Revived in the East, or, a Narrative of the Work of God among the Armenians of Turkey*. New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850.

- . *Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth B. Dwight, including an account of the plague of 1837, With a sketch of the life of Mrs. Judith S. Grant, Missionary to Persia.* New York: M.W. Dodd, 1840.
- Earle, Edward Mead. "American Mission in the Near East" *Foreign Affairs* 7 (April, 1929): 398-417.
- Eliot, Sir Charles. *Turkey in Europe.* London: E. Arnold, 1900.
- Elliot, H.G. (Sir). *Some Revolutions and other Diplomatic Experiences.* London: John Murray, 1922.
- Ellis, Joseph J. *Founding Brothers: The Revolutionary Generation.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2001
- Ecumenical Missionary Conference, 1900.* New York: American Tract Society, 1900.
- Ewing, J.W. *Goodly Fellowship: A Century Tribute to the Life and Work of the World's Evangelical Alliance, 1846-1946.* London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, Ltd., 1946.
- Fairbank, John. "Assignment for the '70s." *American Historical Review* 74 (Feb., 1969): 876-879.
- Farnsworth, F.A. "Some Results of Missionary Work in Turkey." *Missionary Herald* (March, 1896).
- Field, James A. Jr. *America and the Mediterranean World 1776-1882.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Fieldhouse, D. K. *Economics and Empire, 1830-1914.* London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1973.
- Findley, Carter V. *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.
- Finkel, Caroline. *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300-1923.* New York: Basic Books, 2005.
- Finnie, David H. *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East.* Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Fisk, Pliny. *The Holy Land, an Interesting Field of Missionary Enterprise.* Boston: S.T. Armstrong, 1819.
- . *Holy Land Missions and Missionaries.* New York: Arno Press, 1977.

- Fowle, Luther. *As It Looks to Me: Amerikan Bord Heyeti 1820-1970*. Boston: Arndt, undated.
- Fox, Jonathan and Shmuel Sandler. *Bringing Religion into International Relations*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Gallenga, Antonio. *Two Years of the Eastern Question*. London: S. Tinsley, 1877.
- Gates, Caleb Franck. *Not For Me Only*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940.
- Geyer, Alan. *Piety and Politics: American Protestantism in the World Arena*. Richmond, Va: John Knox Press, 1963.
- Ghurbal, M. S. *The Beginnings of the Egyptian Question and the Rise of Mehemet Ali*. London: G. Routledge, 1928.
- Gibbs, H.A. R. *Islamic Society and the West: A study of the impact of Western civilization on Moslem culture in the Near East*. London: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Gillard, David. *The Struggle for Asia 1828-1914: A Study in British and Russian Imperialism*. London: Metheun & Co. Ltd., 1977.
- Gladstone, The Right Hon. William Ewart, M.P. *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*. London: John Murray, 1876.
- Goodell, Rev. William. *The Old and the New: or The Changes of Thirty Years in the East*. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1853.
- Goodsell, Fred Field. *They Lived Their Faith: An Almanac of Faith, Hope, and Love*. Boston: American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, 1961.
- Gordon, Leland James. *American Relations with Turkey 1830-1930: an Economic Interpretation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932.
- Grabill, Joseph L. "The "Invisible" Missionary: A Study in American Foreign Relations." *Church and State* (1972): 93-105.
- , "Missionaries Amid Conflict: Their Influence upon American Relations with the Near East, 1914-1927." PhD diss., Indiana University, 1964.
- , *Protestant Diplomacy and the New East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810 – 1927*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971.
- Greene, M. Louise. *The Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1905.

- Griffin, Clifford S. "Religious Benevolence as Social Control, 1815 – 1860." *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 44, no. 3 (Dec. 1957): 423-444.
- Haight, Sarah Rogers. *Letters from the Old World by a Lady of New York*. New York: Harper, 1840.
- Hamlin, Cyrus. "America's Duty to Americans in Turkey." *The North American Review* 478 (September, 1896): 278.
- . *Among the Turks*. New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1878.
- . *My Life and Times*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1893.
- Handy, Robert T. ed. *The Holy Land in American Protestant Life, 1800-1948*. New York: Arno Press, 1980.
- Hanioglu, M. Sukru. *A Brief History of the late Ottoman Empire*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Harris, David. *Britain and the Bulgarian Horrors of 1876*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939.
- . *A Diplomatic History of the Balkan Crisis of 1875-1878: the First Year*. Stanford: The Stanford University Press, 1936.
- Harris, Thomas. *The Life and Services of Commodore Bainbridge, United States Navy*. Philadelphia: Carey, Lee & Blanchard, 1837.
- Hatch, Nathan O. *Democratization of American Christianity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Hawes, Louisa. *Memoir of Mrs. Mary E. Van Lennep, only daughter of the Rev. Joel Hawes, D.D. and wife of the Rev. Henry J. Van Lennep, Missionary in Turkey*. Sixth Ed. Hartford: Wm. Jas. Hammersley, 1850.
- Heimert, Alan. *Religion and the American Mind: from the Great Awakening to the Revolution*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Heimert, Alan E. and Perry Miller, eds. *The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences*. Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1967.
- Hepworth, George H. *Through Armenia on Horseback*. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1898.
- Hill, Patricia R. *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870 – 1920*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1985.

- Hopkins, Mark. *Religious Teaching and Worship*. Sermon for Dedication of the New Chapel, September 22, 1859. Boston: 1859.
- Hopkirk, Peter. *The Great Game: The Struggle for Empire in Central Asia*. New York: Kodansha International, 1992.
- Hornby, Sir Edmund. *An Autobiography*. London: Constable & Co. Ltd., 1929.
- Horton, George. *The Blight of Asia: An Account of the Systematic Extermination of Christian Populations by Mohammedans and of the Culpability of Certain Great Powers; with the True Story of the Burning of Smyrna*. Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Co., 1926.
- Howard, Harry N. "The United States and the Problem of the Turkish Straits." *Middle East Journal* 1 (Jan., 1947): 59-62.
- Hurewitz, Jacob C. *Middle East Dilemmas: The Background of United States Policy*. Published for the Council on Foreign Relations. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953.
- Hutchinson, Robert. "American Missionary Ideologies: Activism as Theory, Practice and Stereotype" in Church, F. Forrester and Timothy George eds. *Continuity and Discontinuity in Church History*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1979.
- Hutchison, William R. "Cultural Strain and Protestant Liberalism." *American Historical Review* 74 (April, 1971): 386- 411.
- , *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.
- Jelavich, Barbara. *The Ottoman Empire, the Great Powers and the Straits Question 1870-1887*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1973.
- Jelavich, C. *Tsarist Russia and Balkan Nationalism: Russian Influence in the Internal Affairs of Bulgaria and Serbia, 1879-1886*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1958.
- Jessup, Henry Harris. *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*. Vol. 1,2. New York & London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1910.
- Kafadar, Cemal. *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Kark, Ruth. *American Consuls in the Holy Land 1832-1914*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1994.
- Karpat, Kemal H. ed. *The Ottoman State and its Place in World History*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

- , *Political and Social Thought in the Contemporary Middle East*. New York: Praeger, 1982.
- , *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith and Community in the Late Ottoman State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Keller, Charles R. *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942.
- Kemp, Geoffrey and Robert E. Harkavy. *Strategic Geography and the Changing Middle East*. Washington, D.C.:Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, in cooperation with Brookings Institution Press. 1997.
- Kerner, Howard Joseph. *Turco-American Diplomatic Relations 1860-1880*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation) 1948.
- Khalidi, Rashid. *Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East*. Boston: Beacon Press. 2005.
- Kinneir, John MacDonal. *Journey through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Kooristan in the years 1813 and 1814: with remarks on the marches of Alexander and retreat of the ten thousand*. London: J. Murray. 1818.
- Kirkland, Elizabeth Cabot. *Letters*. Cambridge: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1905.
- Kling, David W. "New Divinity Schools of the Prophets, 1750-1825: A Case Study in Ministerial Education." *History of Education Quarterly* 37, no. 2, Special Issue on Education in Early America, (Summer, 1997): 185-206.
- Kling, David W. "The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793-1836," *Religion and American Culture* 6 (summer 1996): 195-223.
- Knapp, Grace H. *The Mission at Van*. (Privately printed), 1915.
- , *The Tragedy of Bitlis, Being Mainly the Narratives of Grisell M. McLaren and Myrtle O. Shane*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1919.
- Lambert, Rose. *Hadjin, and the Armenian Massacres*. New York:Fleming H. Revell Co., 1911.
- Langer, William L. *The Diplomacy of Imperialism: A Penetrating and Revelatory Study of European Diplomacy in the Crucial Period from 1890 to 1902*. New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.
- Latimer, Elizabeth Wormeley. *Russia and Turkey in the Nineteenth Century*. Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Company, 1894.

- Latourette, Kenneth Scott. *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*. 7 Vols. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1937-45, especially Vol. 4, *Europe and the U.S.A.*, Vol. 5, *The Americas*, Vol. 6, *The Great Century in Northern Africa and Asia A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*.
- *The Christian World Mission in Our Day*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954.
- *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*. New York: Harper and Co., 1958.
- "The Effect of the Missionary Enterprise on the American Mind." *Religion in Life* 13 (1944): 53.
- *Missions and the American Mind*. Indianapolis: National Foundation Press, 1949.
- Laurie, Thomas. *The Contributions of our Foreign Missions: To Science and Human Well-Being, The Ely Volume*. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1881.
- Lepsius, Johannes. *Armenia and Europe: An Indictment*. London: Houghton & Stoughton, 1897.
- Lewis, Bernard. *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*. 3rd ed. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- *The Middle East*. New York: Scribner, 1995.
- Long, David F. *Nothing Too Daring: Biography of Commodore David Porter, 1780-1843*. (nfi) 1970.
- Loomis, Albertine. *Grapes of Canaan: Hawaii 1820*. Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1966.
- Lowry, Heath W. *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003.
- Lowry, Heath W. *The Story Behind "Ambassador Morgenthau's Story"*. Istanbul: The Isis Press, 1990.
- Lybyer, Albert H. "America's Missionary Record in Turkey." *Current History* 19 (February, 1924): 802-803.
- Lynch, William F. *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*. Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1853.
- MacColl, The Rev. Malcolm. *Three Years of the Eastern Question*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1878.

- MacGahan, Januarius Aloysis. *The Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria: Letters from Bulgaria, 1876*. Geneva (nfi). 1965.
- Makdisi, Ussama. *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008.
- . *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Mardin, S.A. *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- . "Libertarian Movements in the Ottoman Empire, 1878-1895." *Middle East Journal* 16 (1962): 169-82.
- Marriott, Sir John A. R. *The Eastern Question: An Historical Study in European Diplomacy*. 4th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Martin, Edwin W. *The Hubbards of Sivas: A Chronicle of Love and Faith*. Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1991.
- McCarthy, Justin. *The Turk in America: The Creation of an Enduring Prejudice*. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press, 2010.
- McLoughlin, William G. *Revival, Awakenings, and Reform: An Essay on Religion and Social Change in America, 1607-1977*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Mead, Walter Russell. *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- . "The New Israel and the Old." *Foreign Affairs* 87 (July/August 2008): 28-46.
- Midhat Pasha. "The Past, Present, and Future of Turkey," *The Nineteenth Century* (Jan-June 1878): 981-1000.
- Mill, John. *The Ottomans in Europe, or, Turkey in the Present Crisis*. London: Weldon & Co., 1876.
- Miller, Perry. *Errand Into the Wilderness*. Cambridge, Mass, and London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Millman, Richard. *Britain and the Eastern Question 1875-1878*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.
- Minasian, S.M. *Correspondence and Other Documents Relating to Troubles in the Turkish Missions of the American Board of the Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. New York: Atkin & Prout, 1883.

- Minor, Clorinda. *Meshullam! Or, Tidings from Jerusalem: From the hournal of a Believer Recently returned from the Holy Land*. Philadelphia: self-published, 1851.
- Missionary Herald* (Boston) 1830-1880.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot. *The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: New York University Press, 1936.
- Morton, Rev. Daniel Oliver. *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, late Missionary to Palestine*. Poultney, Vermont: Smith & Shure. 1824.
- Munro Butler-Johnstone, Henry Alexander, M.P. *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East: A Letter Addressed to the Right Hon. W.E. Gladstone, M.P.* London: W. Ridgeway, 1876.
- Najjar, Fauzi M. "The Debate on Islam and Secularism in Egypt." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 18 (Spring 1996): 1-21.
- Naval Documents Related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers. Vol. I: *Naval Operations including Diplomatic Background, from 1785-1801*. Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1939.
- Naylor, Natalie A. "The Theological Seminary in the Configuration of American Higher Education: The Ante-Bellum Years." *History of Education Quarterly* 17 (Spring 1977): 17-30.
- Neill, Stephen. "The History of Missions: An Academic Discipline," *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. 6 of *Studies in Church History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Nestorova, Tatyana, *American Missionaries among the Bulgarians (1858-1912)*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1987.
- Noll, Mark A. *America's God: from Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Norwich, John Julian. *The Middle Sea*. New York: Doubleday, 2006.
- Obenzinger, Hilton. *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.
- Opal, J. M. "Exciting Emulation: Academies and the Transformation of the Rural North, 1780s – 1820s." *The Journal of American History* 91 (Sept. 2004): 445-470.

- Oren, Michael B. *Power, Faith, and Fantasy: America in the Middle East 1776 to the Present*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2007.
- Palgrave, William Gifford. *Essays on Eastern Questions*. London: Macmillan and Co., 1872.
- Parker, Richard B. *Uncle Sam in Barbary: A Diplomatic History*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2004.
- Parmelee, Rev. "The Armenian Church." *Missionary Herald* (July, 1868).
- Parsons, Levi. *The Dereliction and Restoration of the Jews*. Boston: S.T. Armstrong, 1819.
- Pears, Sir Edwin. *Forty Years in Constantinople: The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears 1873-1915*. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1916.
- Pearson, Samuel C., Jr. "From Church to Denomination: American Congregationalism in the Nineteenth Century." *Church History*, 38, (March, 1969): 67-87.
- Penrose, Stephen Brasley Linnard, Jr. *That They May Have Life: The Story of the American University of Beirut 1866-1941*. New York: The Trustees of the American University of Beirut, Printed by the Princeton University Press, 1941.
- Peri, Oded. *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Perkins, the Rev. Justin. *Residence of Eight Years in Persia, Among the Nestorian Christians; with Notices of the Muhammedans*. Andover: Allen, Morrill & Wardwell, 1843.
- Phillips, Clifton Jackson. *Protestant America and the Pagan World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Pitman, Emma Raymond. *Mission Life in Greece and Palestine as Illustrated in the Missionary Labours of Mary Briscoe Baldwin in Athens and Joppa*. London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., n.d. (ca. 1877).
- Porter, David. *Constantinople and its Environs*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1835.
- Porterfield, Amanda. *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Prime, Edward D.G. *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire, or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D.* New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876.

- Puryear, Vernon J. *International Economies and Diplomacy in the Near East: A Study of British Commercial Policy in the Levant 1834-1853*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935.
- Quartaert, Donald. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Read, Hollis. *The Hand of God in History; or, Divine providence historically illustrated in the extension and establishment of Christianity*. Hartford: H.E. Robbins and Co., 1851.
- Reed, Daniel G. and Robert D. Linder, Bruce K. Shelley, Harry S. Stout. eds. "Proceedings of the Missionary Jubilee Held at Williams College, 'Haystack Prayer Meeting'." *Dictionary of Christianity in America*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Intervarsity Press, 1990.
- Reed, James. *The Missionary Mind and American East Asia Policy, 1911-1915*. Cambridge and London: Council of East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1983.
- Resat, Kasaba. *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century*. Albany: SUNY Press, 1988.
- Rich, Norman. *Great Power Diplomacy 1814-1914*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1992.
- Richter, Julius. *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910.
- Riggs, Alice Shepard. *Shepard of Aintab*. New York: Interchurch Press, 1920.
- Riley, James. *Sufferings in Africa: Captain Riley's Narrative of the Loss of the American Brig Commerce*. New York: C. N. Porter, 1965.
- Robert, Jacques. "Religious Liberty and French Secularism." *Brigham Young University Law Review* 2 (2003): 637-660.
- Roberts, J.M. *The Penguin History of Europe*. London: Penguin Books, 1996.
- Rudolph, Frederick ed. *Essays on Education in the Early Republic*. Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Runciman, Sir Steven. *The Orthodox Church and the Secular State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Rush, Benjamin. "Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools." *Thoughts Upon the Mode of Education Proper in a Republic*. Philadelphia, 1786.

- St. John de Crevecoeur, J. Hector. *Letters from an American Farmer*. London: Everyman. n.d.
- Salt, Jeremy. *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians, 1878-1896*. London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1993.
- , "Trouble Wherever They Went: American Missionaries in Anatolia and Ottoman Syria in the 19th Century." *Altrusim and Imperialism: The Western Religious and Cultural Missionary Enterprise in the Middle East*. Middle East Institute Conference: Bellagio, Italy. August, 2000.
- Sarafian, Kevork A. *History of Education in Armenia*. Los Angeles: C.C. Crawford, 1930.
- Sarkissian, A.O. *History of the Armenian Question to 1885*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1938.
- Saunders, Daniel. *Journal of the Travels and Sufferings*. Salem: Athenium, 1794.
- Schauffler, William G. *Autobiography of William G. Schauffler, for Forty-nine Years a Missionary in the Orient*. New York: Anson D.F. Randolph & Co., 1887.
- Schneider, E.C.A. *Letters from Broosa, Asia Minor*. Chambersburg, Pa.nfi. 1846.
- Schuyler, Eugene. *American Diplomacy and the Furtherance of Commerce*. New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1895.
- Scipio, Lynn. *My Thirty Years in Turkey*. Rindge, New Hampshire: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1955.
- Senior, Nassau W. *A Journal Kept in Turkey and Greece in the Autumn of 1857 and the Beginning of 1858*. Reprint Edition. New York: Arno Press, 1977.
- Seton-Watson, Robert William. *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics*. New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1962.
- Severance, Gordon and Diana Severance. *Against the Gates of Hell: The Life and Times of Henry Perry, a Christian Missionary in a Moslem World*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 2003.
- Shannon, R.T. *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Agitation, 1876*. London: Harvester Press, 1963.
- Sharkey, Heather J. *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008.

- Shaw, Stanford J. and Ezel Kural Shaw. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol. II: Reform, Revolution and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Sloan, Douglas, ed. and intro. *The Great Awakening and American Education: A Documentary History*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University. 1973.
- , *Education and Values*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1980.
- Smith, Eli and H.G.O. Dwight. *Missionary Researches of the Reverend E. Smith and Reverend H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia: Including a journey through Asia Minor, and into Georgia and Persia with a visit to the Nestorian and Chaldaean Christians in Oormiah and Salmas*. Vol. 1,2 . Boston and New York: Crocker and Brewster, 1833.
- Smith, Paul H. et al. eds. *Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789*. 26 vols. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976-2000.
- Smith, Timothy. *Revivalism and Social Reform: American Protestantism on the Eve of the Civil War*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957.
- Smith, Walter B., II *America's Diplomats and Consuls of 1776-1865*. Arlington, Va.: Center for the Study of Foreign Affairs, 1986.
- Sousa, Nasim. *The Capitulatory Regime of Turkey: Its History, Origins and Nature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1933.
- Southgate, Horatio. *Narrative of a Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia and Mesopotamia*. London: Appleton, 1840.
- Starbuck, Charles C. "A General Review of Mission: The Turkish Empire." *Andover Review*, 11 (1889): 97.
- Stephen, Everett W. *Survival Against All Odds: The First 100 Years of Anatolia College*. New York: Caratzas Publishing Co., 1986.
- Stevens, Marcia and Malcolm Stevens. *Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin*. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1989.
- Stone, Frank Andrews. *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey: 1830-1980*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984.

- Stowe, David M. *God's Left Hand and Right Hand*. Amerikan Bord Heyeti: Near East Mission. Address delivered June 30, 1870.
- Stratford de Redcliffe, Stratford Canning, Viscount. *The Eastern Question*. London: J. Murray, 1881.
- Straus, Oscar S. *Under Four Administrations: From Cleveland to Taft*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922.
- Strong, William Ellsworth. *The Story of the American Board*. Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1910.
- Thomas, Lewis V. and Richard N. Frye. *The United States and Turkey and Iran*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.
- Thomson, William M. *The Land and the Book: or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs, the Scenes and Scenery, of the Holy Land*. Vol. I. New York: Harper, 1860.
- Tibawi, Abdul Latif. *American Interests in Syria, 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary and Religious Work*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.
- Times* (London) May 1 – August 30, 1876.
- Times* (London) *Weekly Edition*, January 14, 1895.
- Troeltsch, Ernest. *Protestantism and Progress: A Historical Study of the Relation of Protestantism to the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.
- . *Religion in History*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991.
- Turkish Missions' Aid Society for the Promotion of Evangelical Missions in Bible Lands. *Thirtieth Annual Report, May 1886*. London: Office of the Society: 7, Adam Street Strand, 1886.
- Tuveson, Ernest. *Redeemer Nation: the Idea of America's Millennial Role*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.
- United States Department of the Navy. *Navel Documents Related to the United States Wars with the Barbary Powers*. Vol. 1-6. Washington, 1939-44.
- Ussher, Clarence D. and Grace H. Knapp. *An American Physician in Turkey: A Narrative of Adventures in Peace and in War*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917.
- Van Lennep, Henry John. *Bible Lands: Their Modern Custom and Manners Illustrative of Scripture*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1875.

- , *The Grave of Henry Martyn: Description to Accompany the Picture*. New York: Anson D.F. Randolph, 1863.
- , *Travels in Little-Known Parts of Asia Minor*. Vol. 1,2. London: John Murray, 1870.
- Vogel, Lester. *To See a Promised Land: Americans and the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press, 1993.
- Voll, John O. *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World*. 2nd ed. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1994.
- Wagner, Moritz. *Travels in Persia, Georgia, and Koordistan: with sketches of the Cossacks and the Caucasus*. London: Hurst and Blackett, 1856. Reissued by Farnborough, Hants, Gregg International, 1971.
- Wallace, Susan E. *Along the Bosphorus: and Other Sketches*. Chicago and New York: Rand McNally, 1898.
- Washburn, George. *Fifty Years in Constantinople*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909.
- Westerkamp, Marilyn. *Women and Religion in Early America 1600 – 1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions*. London, New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Wheatcroft, Andrew. *Infidels: A History of the Conflict between Christendom and Islam*. Oxford: Penguin Books, 2004.
- White, George. *Adventuring with Anatolia College*. Grinnell, Ia.:Herald-Register Publishing Co., 1940.
- Wiggins, Rosalind Cobb. *Captain Paul Cuffe's Logs and Letters, 1808-1817: A Black Quaker's "Voice within the Veil."* Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1996.
- Wilder, Royal Gould. *Mission Schools in India of the ABCFM, with Sketches of the Missions among the North American Indians, the Sandwich Islands, the Armenians of Turkey and the Nestorians of Persia*. New York: A.D.F. Randolph, 1861.
- Williams, Daniel Day. *The Andover Liberals: A Study in American Theology*. New York: Octagon Books, 1970.
- Wilson, Ann Marie. "In the name of God, Civilization, and Humanity: The United States and the Armenian massacres of the 1890s." *Le Movement Social* (Avril-Juin, 2009): 27-44.

- Wright, Louis B. and Julia H. Macleod. *The First Americans in North Africa: William Eaton's Struggle for a Vigorous Policy Against the Barbary Pirates, 1799-1805*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945.
- Wright, Thomas G. *Literary Culture in Early New England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920.
- Yasamee, F.A.K. *Ottoman Diplomacy: Abdulhamid II and the Great Powers, 1878-1888*. Istanbul. 1996.
- Yehoshua, Ben-Arieh. *The Rediscovery of the Holy Land in the Nineteenth Century*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1979.
- Zurcher, Erik. *Turkey: A Modern History*. 3rd edition. New York: I.B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2004.

Turkish Sources

- Açıkses, Erdal. *Amerikalıların Harput'taki misyonerlik faaliyetleri*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi. 2003.
- Aydın, Mithat. *Bulgarlar ve Ermeniler arasında Amerikan misyonerleri*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi. 2008.
- Aydın, Mithat. *Balkanlarda isyan: Osmanlı-İngiliz rekabeti, Bosna-Hersek ve Bulgaristan'daki ayaklanmalar, (1875-1876)*. Çağaloğlu, İstanbul: Yeditepe. 2005.
- Kocabaşoğlu, Uygur. *Kendi Belgeleriyle Anadolu'daki Amerika 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*. İstanbul:Arba Yayınları. 1989.
- Öztürk, Ayhan, and Özgür Yıldız. *Amerikan Protestan misyonerlerinin Türkiye'deki faaliyetleri, 1820-1938*. Kayseri: Arka Oda Yayınları. 2007.
- Yıldız, Özgür. *Misyonerlik ve Amerikan Board teşkilatı: Türkiye'de siyasi ve sosyal hayata etkileri*. İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık. 2009.

Mutlu, Şamil. *Osmanlı devleti'nde misyoner okulları*. İstanbul: Gökkuşbu. 2005.

Unpublished Sources

- Alumnae Biographical Files. Archives and Special Collections, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts.
- Alumni Biographical Files. Archives and Special Collections, Robert Frost Library, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Alumni Biographical Files. Archives and Special Collections, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

Carroll Spence Papers, Georgetown University Library, Special Collections Research Center. Washington, D.C.

Clarke, Rev. J. *Report, September, 1876*. Houghton Library: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Files, "European Turkey Mission, Vol. I, A-H, 1871-1880."

Cyrus Hamlin Papers, Bowdoin College Library, Brunswick, Maine.

Department of State Records, National Archives of the United States, College Park, Maryland.

Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Bible House, Istanbul.

William Goodell Papers. Library of Congress Special Collections. Washington, D.C.

Washburn, George. *History of the Eastern Question, 1100-1900*. Alumni Biographical Files, George Washburn (Class of 1855), Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College Library, Amherst, Massachusetts.

Washburn, George. *Personal Recollections 1856-1900*. Alumni Biographical Files, George Washburn (Class of 1855), Archives and Special Collections, Amherst College Library, Amherst, Massachusetts.