

**DOKUZ EYLUL UNIVERSITY**  
**GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**  
**DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE**  
**AMERICAN CULTURE AND LITERATURE PROGRAM**  
**MASTER’S THESIS**

**AMERICAN BOARD (ABCFM) MISSIONARY**  
**ALPHEUS NEWELL ANDRUS’ MARDIN ACTIVITIES**

**Firat AVCI**

**Supervisor**

**Assist. Prof. Dr. Füsün ÇOBAN DÖŞKAYA**

**İZMİR – 2022**

## THESIS APPROVAL PAGE



## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this doctoral thesis titled as “American Board (ABCFM) Missionary Alpheus Newell Andrus’ Mardin Activities ” has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

...../...../2022

Firat AVCI



**ABSTRACT**  
**Master's Thesis**  
**American Board (ABCFM) Missionary Alpheus Newell Andrus' Mardin**  
**Activities**  
**Firat AVCI**

**Dokuz Eylül University**  
**Graduate School of Social Sciences**  
**Department of American Culture and Literature**  
**American Culture and Literature Program**

The period between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century marks the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in history. During almost fifty years, the empire experienced tumultuous social and political events that accelerated its dissolution. Although this era of dissolution cannot be solely based on certain and clear reasons, some significant factors stand out as initiators and triggering elements in this process. Examining the activities of many foreign elements in various regions of the empire accounts for significant social and political changes in the Ottoman lands. As one of these foreign elements, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) had a remarkable impact on the minorities living in the empire with its missionary, educational and institutional activities. This study attempts to provide an insight into the life of Alpheus Newell Andrus, one of the Board's most prominent missionaries, and his missionary activities in Mardin and Eastern Turkey. In the study, Andrus' missionary and educational works, his involvement with social interactions, his influence on the ABCFM missions in Turkey, and his role in changing the social and political atmosphere during the dissolution era of the empire have been examined.

**Keywords:** American Board (ABCFM), Mardin, Missionary Activities, Ottoman State, USA, Alpheus Newell Andrus

**ÖZET**  
**Yüksek Lisans Tezi**  
**Amerikan Board (ABCFM) Misyoneri Alpheus Newell Andrus'un Mardin**  
**Faaliyetleri**  
**Fırat AVCI**

**Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi**  
**Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü**  
**Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Anabilim Dalı**  
**Amerikan Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Programı**

On dokuzuncu yüzyılın sonları ile yirminci yüzyılın başları arasındaki dönem, tarihte Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dağılmasına işaret eder. Yaklaşık elli yıllık bu dönemde imparatorluk, çözülüşünü hızlandıran çalkantılı sosyal ve siyasi olaylar yaşamıştır. Bu çözülme dönemi tek başına, kesin ve net nedenlere dayandırılmazsa da, bu süreçte teşvik edici ve tetikleyici unsurlar olarak bazı önemli faktörler öne çıkmaktadır. Birçok yabancı unsurun imparatorluğun çeşitli bölgelerindeki faaliyetlerinin incelenmesi, Osmanlı topraklarında önemli sosyal ve siyasi değişimlerin nedenlerini açıklayıcı niteliktedir. Bu yabancı unsurlardan biri olan American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), misyonerlik, eğitim ve kurumsal faaliyetleriyle imparatorlukta yaşayan azınlıklar üzerinde dikkat çekici etkiler bırakmıştır. Bu çalışma, Board'un önde gelen misyonerlerinden Alpheus Newell Andrus'un yaşamına ve Mardin ve Türkiye'nin doğusundaki misyonerlik faaliyetlerine ışık tutmaya çalışmaktadır. Çalışmada Andrus'un misyonerlik ve eğitim çalışmaları, sosyal etkileşimlere katılımı, Türkiye'deki ABCFM misyonlarına etkisi ve imparatorluğun dağılma döneminde değişen sosyal ve siyasi atmosferdeki rolü incelenmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Amerikan Board (ABCFM), Mardin, Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri, Osmanlı Devleti, ABD, Alpheus Newell Andrus

**AMERICAN BOARD (ABCFM) MISSIONARY ALPHEUS NEWELL  
ANDRUS' MARDIN ACTIVITIES**

**CONTENTS**

|                      |      |
|----------------------|------|
| THESIS APPROVAL PAGE | ii   |
| DECLARATION          | iii  |
| ABSTRACT             | iv   |
| ÖZET                 | v    |
| CONTENTS             | vi   |
| ABBREVIATIONS        | viii |

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
|--------------|---|

**CHAPTER ONE**

**AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS**

|                                                                                                              |    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1.1. THE ROOTS OF ABCFM AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT                                                                | 5  |
| 1.2. THE ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES IN OTTOMAN<br>EMPIRE AND THE USA-OTTOMAN POLITICAL RELATIONS | 6  |
| 1.3. SITUATION OF MINORITIES IN THE EMPIRE AND OTTOMAN<br>INTERNAL AFFAIRS                                   | 8  |
| 1.4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ABCFM MISSIONS IN TURKEY                                                             | 12 |

**CHAPTER TWO**

**ABCFM AND MARDIN**

|                                                                                  |    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 2.1. MARDIN AS A FAVORABLE CITY FOR MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES                        | 20 |
| 2.2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MARDIN STATION                                         | 27 |
| 2.3. OUTSTANDING BOARD MISSIONARIES IN MARDIN AND THEIR<br>INFLUENCE IN THE CITY | 29 |

|                                                                       |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 2.4. THE CONDITIONS IN MARDIN IN TERMS OF MISSIONARY<br>ACTIVITIES    | 33 |
| 2.5. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSION IN MARDIN AND ITS<br>OUT-STATIONS | 39 |

### **CHAPTER THREE**

#### **ALPHEUS NEWELL ANDRUS' ACTIVITIES**

|                                                                                     |    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 3.1. ALPHEUS NEWELL ANDRUS' EARLY YEARS IN MARDIN AND<br>DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATION | 53 |
| 3.2. INTEREST IN KURDS AND THE ARMENIAN EVENTS                                      | 65 |
| 3.3. A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND ALPHEUS NEWELL ANDRUS' LAST<br>YEARS IN TURKEY       | 70 |
| CONCLUSION                                                                          | 73 |
| REFERENCES                                                                          | 77 |

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

**A.B.C.F.M.** American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

**USA** United States of America



## INTRODUCTION

The history of Christian missions worldwide through the centuries offers a practical comprehension of Christianity, a multicultural and global religion. Having had substantial impacts on social and political developments in many regions worldwide, Christian missions proved that Christianity had a universal characteristic and practically could be applied among many local people in different countries. Throughout history, Christian missionaries traveled to different countries to spread Christianity, an established religion in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. The Ottoman Empire, which contained various lands in these three regions, had also been one of the beaten tracks of missionaries. Until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire after World War I, missionaries from different sects, including Catholic and Protestant missions, occupied the Ottoman lands by expanding their churches, spreading their doctrines, and converting the masses.

The word mission stands for an important assignment given to a person or group of people, typically involving travel abroad. In Christianity, it means the vocation or calling of an organized effort to go out into the world and spread the Christian faith. The word mission originates from the Latin word “mittere,” which means “to send.” In this sense, the persons who have been assigned for this purpose and sent to other parts of the world to spread the Christian faith are called missionaries.<sup>1</sup> From the early period of Christianity to the latest periods, missionary activities have been maintained and exercised principally along with commercial and political purposes. It is generally classified according to some periods such as the Apostolic Period, the Patristic or Early Church Period, the Medieval Period, the Reformation Period, the Post-Reformation Period, and the Modern Period.<sup>2</sup> Especially during the Post-Reformation and Modern periods, English and American missionary organizations came to prominence with their increasing activities within the Ottoman lands. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was

---

<sup>1</sup> “Definition of mission”. Oxford University Press. Lexico.com. 29 September 2021.

<https://www.lexico.com/definition/mission?locale=en>

<sup>2</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, **Anadolu'daki Amerika: Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları**, 3rd Ed., İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara, 2000, p. 14.

one of the most influential organizations in missionary activities throughout the Ottoman Empire. As a Protestant missionary organization founded in 1810, the American Board sent missionaries to other lands worldwide. As well as their primary cause, which was spreading Protestantism, also aimed to open schools in these lands. The Board assigned its missionaries for activities in Turkey between 1820 and the early twentieth century.

The first American Board missionaries who came to the Ottoman Empire were Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons. These missionaries first went to Malta Island and participated in expeditions with English missionaries to observe this field in terms of missionary activities. They also learned the native languages spoken on this island.<sup>3</sup> In the following years, many other missionaries of the ABCFM followed the footsteps of these missionaries, including prominent missionary figures such as Daniel Temple, Jonas King, Eli Smith, Rufus Anderson, Elias Riggs, William Goodell, William Schauffler, Cyrus Hamlin, Harrison G.O. Dwight, and Benjamin Schneider.

The American Board increased and systematized its activities in the Ottoman lands after the official relations between the Ottoman Empire and the United States started in 1830. The Board divided the settlements into mission, station, and out-station categories. The mission is called the region where a missionary starts his first activities. The mission is the biggest part encompassing stations and out-stations. A missionary starts his first activities and opens schools there. He travels to the surrounding areas to open new fields for missionary work. If possible, he starts missionary activities in newly-explored regions and open stations there. A station is a smaller part than a mission connected to it. In other words, stations are smaller units and constitute the mission. Missionaries who have sufficient knowledge and practice are sent to the stations. These missionaries explore the region in detail, open schools, practice native languages, preach to people in the region, get in contact with them and attempt to bring more members to the church and schools. They can also establish out-stations, a smaller unit, in some parts of the station after deciding that these regions are suitable for missionary work. An out-station can be opened in promising regions by the approval of the American Board. American missionaries assign their native

---

<sup>3</sup> Ayşe Aksu, **Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolu'su'ndaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri**, Marmara University Institute of Social Sciences, İstanbul, 2010, p. 21.

helpers there to lead the out-stations and maintain missionary activities such as preaching, opening schools, guiding students, and directing promising ones to upper-level schools. As far as their method is concerned, it included two main steps: opening a field somewhere and occupying a field. In the first step, missionaries explore areas and regions which have not been discovered in terms of missionary activities before. This activity is called opening a field. After they conclude that missionary activities can be established and maintained in the long run, they occupy that field and start systematic missionary work there.<sup>4</sup>

The American Board spread its activities among many communities around the Ottoman Empire. They started their missions among Greeks, Armenians, and other Christian populations. They also targeted other groups, including Turks, Kurds, and Arabs, especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They even attempted to extend the missionary work towards Muslim people from time to time. Some of these missions failed at first, and some could not be maintained in the long run. However, the Board achieved success among some Armenian and Greek populations. Especially they could make progress in the work towards Armenian communities. Even though they could hardly progress in other groups, they substantially impacted various communities in different regions.

Among all of the missions of the ABCFM, Ottoman lands took a prominent part until its collapse after World War I. American missions were started and increasingly progressed throughout this long era, and they also shaped the future of some socio-political developments and influenced certain critical events such as the Armenian events of 1895. Having seen rich potential in Armenian communities, they intensively increased their activities in the regions where these people would live. They opened fields and stations in Eastern Turkey and focused on the evangelization of native people living in the regions of this part of the country. Some of these stations occupied an important place in the work of the American Board. Mardin was one of these cities that was occupied and attached great importance by the Board.

One of the stations opened by the American Board in Eastern Turkey, Mardin station, was first established by Frederick Williams in 1858. This mission with other Board missionaries continued until the first quarter of the twentieth century. Apart

---

<sup>4</sup> Aksu, pp. 22-24.

from Williams as the founder of the mission, another outstanding missionary was Alpheus Newell Andrus, who became the head of the Mardin station after Williams' death. Andrus actively worked in Mardin and other provinces in the region, established contacts with local people, kept in touch with Ottoman officials, and advanced this mission with other missionaries. Andrus, whom the well-known English archeologist, traveler, and secret-agent Gertrude Bell spoke highly of,<sup>5</sup> spent almost fifty years in the city and made essential contributions to the regional mission. Having spent almost fifty years in Mardin, Andrus became one of the leading and the most critical missionaries of the ABCFM working in the Ottoman Empire. Andrus helped the Board missionary and educational activities develop in Mardin and South-eastern Turkey. From time to time, he got involved with some events regarding minority problems of the empire and was considered an agitator by the Ottoman government. In terms of missionary work, Andrus was active during the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, and Mardin station, with his persistent efforts, became a pivotal city affecting the Eastern Mission. He and the mission he led was a key source of influence on the dramatically changing Ottoman society.

---

<sup>5</sup> Türkmen Törelî and Füsün Çoban Döşkaya, "Amerikan Board Misyoneri Olive L. Parmelee Andrus ve Mardin", **Geçmişten Günümüze Tarihten İzler**, (Ed. M. Doğan Karacoşkun, Osman Köse), Berikan Yayınevi, Ankara, 2018, p. 218.

## CHAPTER ONE

### AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS

#### 1.1. THE ROOTS OF ABCFM AND ITS ESTABLISHMENT

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was one of the first American missionary Christian organizations to send missionaries abroad to spread Christianity and its principles worldwide. ABCFM was, more clearly, a missionary organization whose religious principles were based on Protestantism, and it was founded to propagate its doctrines to "heathens" in "Bible Lands." The main objective of the organization initially was to spread Christianity among nonbelievers. However, the target groups changed in time according to particular conditions.<sup>6</sup> It first began to develop by a group of students at Williams College in Massachusetts led by Samuel J. Mills. Mills and his friends created a group called Society of Brethren in Williams College, which laid the foundations of the American Board. Inspired to create such a missionary group after graduation, four young men, Samuel J. Mills, Adorium Judson, Samuel Newell, and Samuel Nott, continued their efforts and created a group in Andover Theological Seminary. This paved the way for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and it was officially founded on June 27, 1810.<sup>7</sup>

The Board's founders were children of the New England region in which there had been the first and second Great Awakening movements. The religious awakening and academy movements in the United States had a profound effect on the establishment and practices of the Board. In parallel with the development of academies and their numbers, the American Board also made progress, with its members showing a remarkable increase. For missionary work, the primary purpose was to teach the Protestant principles and the message of God to "savage" and "heathen" people of foreign lands and make them civilized by converting them into Christianity. On the other hand, missionary work could bear some other meanings too.

---

<sup>6</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Frank Andrews Stone, **Academics For Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey: 1830-2005**, Caddo Gap Press, San Francisco, 2006, p. 5.

In an instruction letter given to the missionaries Pinkwy Johnson and Benjamin Schneider on December 1st, 1833, missionaries were considered soldiers in a war of conquest. The letter stated clearly that the "promised" lands in the Ottoman Empire would be taken back with an unarmed crusade.<sup>8</sup>

## **1.2. THE ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN BOARD MISSIONARIES IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE USA-OTTOMAN POLITICAL RELATIONS**

The importance of Turkey for missionary activities is also seen in historical sources: "Turkey is the key of Asia in terms of missionary activities."<sup>9</sup> American Board missionaries researched and examined the Ottoman lands long before opening missions around the empire. Although the first missionaries had to settle in coastal regions like İstanbul and İzmir, the Board took the opportunity to enter the Ottoman Empire's interior part. After decades, these lands stood out as the most significant regions for the Board: "Asiatic Turkey has been committed almost entirely, Syria excepted, to the care of the American Board. The honor and responsibility of this mighty trust we cannot feel too deeply. If we fail in Japan, other agencies will fill up our lack; but if we fail in Turkey, all fails."<sup>10</sup>

It was not easy for American Board missionaries to stay in Turkey at the earliest attempts. The first American Board missionaries, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons, arrived at the Ottoman lands on January 15, 1820.<sup>11</sup> The period they set off on a quest in the Empire coincided with the early political relations of the long-established United States of America and the Ottoman Empire. Before bringing up the early attempts of the Board in Turkey, it is good to examine the political atmosphere between two states, internal changes of the empire, and its substantial impacts on the activities of the American Board in Turkish lands because the thesis would fall short of the main points that are to be made without mentioning about this background.

---

<sup>8</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 23.

<sup>10</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Reports of Committees on the Annual Report", December 1885, Vol.: 81, No.: 12, p. 509.

<sup>11</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 23.

The diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the United States were first established in 1830 when they started negotiations for mutual recognition and a navigation and commerce treaty. Before that year, Americans contacted the Ottoman lands, although they did not have official qualifications. The U.S got involved in trade around the Mediterranean and started relations with North Africa. In Barbary Wars, the United States fought against Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis. These states were included in the Ottoman lands and were considered part of the empire. However, they were practically independent of it. Until the early 19th century, no genuine attempts for diplomatic relations were made between them. When President Monroe sentimentally supported Greek insurrection against the rule of the Ottomans, it might have had adverse effects on the political tendencies to start official relations. Nevertheless, it did not take ten years for two long-established states to sign a treaty for mutual recognition. The treaty of 1830 entitled Americans "the most-favored-nation" and gave the right for the capitulations, which permitted Americans to exercise extraterritorial jurisdiction over their nationals within Ottoman lands.<sup>12</sup>

When Fisk and Parsons first landed on the empire, the relations lacked an official character. For this reason, these two missionaries faced plenty of difficulties in exercising their goals. They relied on the protection of British officials in the Empire due to the lack of any official relationship between the United States and the Ottoman Empire. According to Ortaylı, the development of Protestantism in the Ottoman lands could be explained by American missionaries' efforts and the protection of British diplomacy.<sup>13</sup> After the treaty and mutual recognition of the two states, American Board missionaries found better opportunities as American citizens in Turkey. They could bear a valid identity and had peculiar privileges in these lands for the first time. That is to say, political protection was crucially necessary for missionaries, and indeed it made room for more freedom to carry out their duties.

Fisk and Parsons arrived at the empire long before these rights were given to American citizens. The first place that they were charged with was the island of Malta, where a station was already established to Christianize the Muslims living in the empire's boundaries by English missionaries. Though Fisk and Parsons aimed at

---

<sup>12</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 2nd Ed., Hil Yayın, İstanbul, 1987, p. 95.

converting Muslims, Jews and nonbelievers, they tended towards the native Christians, seeing that they were in miserable conditions.<sup>14</sup> As a matter of fact, in 1818, they were appointed by the Board to Palestine. However, they would start a drilling process and search for potential fields to open stations before the final destination.

For this reason, they would start from Malta and travel to the interior parts to extend their drilling activities. When Parsons landed on Al-Quds/Jerusalem on the seventeenth of February, 1821, the mission in Turkey by the Board officially started.<sup>15</sup> The deaths of Parsons in 1822 and Fisk's in 1825 left their mission incomplete in a way. Nevertheless, they traveled through the trading roads, collected information, and contacted communities. They were the pioneers and the founders of the Syria Mission.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, missionary activities would walk lamely without a political identity and protection in Ottoman lands.

### **1.3. SITUATION OF MINORITIES IN THE EMPIRE AND OTTOMAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS**

For a full-fledged success in missionary activities, the security of American citizens alone was not sufficient. If the target communities of American Board missionaries were not religiously free, it would inhibit the Board's efficiency. To better comprehend this obstacle, it is beneficial to mention the millet system in the Ottoman Empire and how it functioned in geography containing a wide variety of ethnic and religious elements. The system was based on the latter, making the recognition problem considerably complicated.<sup>17</sup> Assyrians, one of the first target communities of the Board in the empire, set an excellent example in this issue. Assyrians were considered a significant community along with Armenians by the Board because they were one of the oldest Christian groups in the world. To convert these very rooted people back to the "real doctrines of Christianity" would be both promising for the works on the other communities and accessible for the missionaries. Seeing that the

---

<sup>14</sup> Aksu, pp. 21-22.

<sup>15</sup> L. S. Crawford, **Turkey: A Course of Twelve Lessons**, Woman's Board of Missions, Boston, 1899, p. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> For detailed information see Uğur Kurtaran, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Millet Sistemi", **Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi**, No.: 8, 2011.

Ottoman laws did not recognize them as a separate millet, it would never be easy to take solid steps in their missionary work. Assyrians were officially considered part of the Armenian Patriarchate in this millet system.<sup>18</sup> Assyrians that belonged to this Armenian Patriarchate must have been a separate community so that some political reasons by the Armenians could not easily hinder the activities of this community. Therefore, it can be clearly stated that some changes in the internal system of the Ottoman Empire were necessary for the missionary success of the American Board and the establishment of the empire's political relations with the United States.

In addition to the status of the people belonging to a particular ethnic origin, a more challenging problem was that of Protestant communities. When the Board's missionary activities started in the Ottoman Empire, there was no recognition for Protestants in the millet system. Even if some communities were converted to Protestantism, lack of official recognition in the empire would be something deterrent in a way. Not having these fundamental rights, Protestant communities could not have been appropriately organized, and they also could be cast out and devoid of a sense of belonging to their community. These rights were not easy to be gained in a short time.

Nevertheless, the Ottoman state in the 19th century was increasingly falling into decline and had to meet expectations of Western powers that were putting the empire's feet to the fire at every turn so that the empire started new reform acts. After a couple of decades from the beginning of the board's missionary activities, they obtained some results. The Ottoman Empire declared some reform acts, and they provided the necessary liberties for Protestants and other non-muslim communities. The Rescript of Gülhane (also known as the Hatt-ı Şerif of Gülhane), which was declared in 1839, cleared the way for the rights of Protestants.<sup>19</sup> In 1850, Protestants in Ottoman lands were officially given the right to be recognized as a separate millet. For ABCFM, although this act was a significant turning point to make more rooms to carry out its goals freely, it could not be enough to encourage natives to be autonomous in their activities and not need support from the Board. In this sense, a more concrete

---

<sup>18</sup> İbrahim Özcoşar, **19. Yüzyılda Mardin Süryanileri**, Erciyes University Institute of Social Sciences, Kayseri, 2006, p. 34.

<sup>19</sup> The Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerif (Supreme Edict of the Rosehouse), also known as Tanzimât Fermânı was a proclamation by Sultan Abdülmecid I in 1839 which started a series of reforms in the Ottoman Empire. For detailed information see Christoph Herzog and Malek Sharif (Ed.), **The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy**, Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2010.

step was to give them institutional rights. This deficiency was overcome with another reform act. The Reform Edict of 1856 gave non-muslim communities the right to start institutions. It made it possible for the Protestant communities to establish their schools. As it is also understood from the historical development of the American Board Schools in the Ottoman Empire, the Board missionaries could find more spaces to exercise their duties and make room for native Protestants to act autonomously. Also, the missionary activities in many communities developed along with the latest reform. Armenians being in the first place works on other ethnic groups gathered speed in time.<sup>20</sup>

The reforms ushered in a reconstruction period in the Ottoman Empire. High pressure from western powers and wearing wars during the 19th century left the state little chance other than carrying into effect new regulations. During this century, American missionaries took advantage of their rights. They defended themselves with clear reminders of the laws and tried to protect their native communities in this way. Over time, the missionaries obtained more rights and freedom. Starting with the last quarter of the century, American missionaries were not required to have customs duties.<sup>21</sup> In 1875, almost 55 years after the first American Board missionaries arrived at the Ottoman lands, the missions continued in a far more settled and free way in terms of official recognition. A remarkable increase in schooling initiatives also attracts attention from this time on.<sup>22</sup>

During the reign of Abdulhamid II, Ottoman internal affairs became more complicated. Things grew in the early years of Abdulhamid, not in favorable conditions. When Russia declared war against the Ottoman Empire in 1877, the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, the war of 93, resulted in an overwhelming defeat of the Ottomans. The empire fought the war without help from the European powers. Such was the extent of the damage that the Russians pushed the Ottomans back to İstanbul, and they even entered into the part known today as Yeşilköy. The empire's future and Abdulhamid's position as the Sultan seemed dramatically in danger. "Abdul Hamid

---

<sup>20</sup> Ercan Uyanık, "II. Abdülhamit ile Amerikan Protestan Misyonerlerinin Eğitim Mücadelesi: Amerika'ya Kaçırılan Nusayri Kızları", **Kebikeç Dergisi**, No.: 37, 2014, p. 36.

<sup>21</sup> Özgür Yıldız, "ABCFM (Amerikan Board) Arşivleri'nin Osmanlı-Amerikan İlişkileri Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi", **Tarih Okulu Dergisi**, No.: XXVII, 2016, p. 530.

<sup>22</sup> Aksu, p. 8.

himself knew as well as anyone that his tenure of power was most precarious."<sup>23</sup> Starting with this critical period, Abdulhamid embraced an equilibrium policy by being neutral against external powers. He tried to apply the same balance in interior affairs as well. He established his intelligence agency to keep the state under his control and prevent interferences of the external powers in domestic affairs, especially those associated with the non-muslim minorities.

The early years of the Abdulhamid era were relatively of great hope for the Board missionaries in Turkey. However, the Sultan's approach towards the foreign schools in the empire grew stricter with time. During the 1870s, American Board missionary activities had come to fruition with its growing religious and educational works. Beginning especially with around the second half of the reign of Abdulhamid, a thorough and systematic examination of foreign schools started for the first time. Two documents are present in the Turkish state archive about this issue. In these documents, several points are worth mentioning to understand better the approach of Abdulhamid towards foreign schools: Lack of an apparent policy regarding these schools or permitting foreign schools freedom exceedingly until that time brought the situation as it was and the source of this problem aroused not only from the implementations of capitulations but also the carelessness of statesman in the empire. These documents also ascertained some goals of the foreign schools, which were to damage Muslim communities' loyalty towards the Ottoman government, spread their religious doctrines among society, and struggle against Islam.<sup>24</sup> These facts played a determining role in the Sultan's policies towards the foreign schools. The schools engaged in harmful activities against the empire's unity must have been detected. For this purpose, many schools were closed in 1878 because they did not have a government license.<sup>25</sup> The American Board schools, in general, did not get affected negatively by this policy for a time because they had already been appropriately established. Also, they received the necessary political support from the American government. In 1892, Abdulhamid's attempt to close all unlicensed schools in the empire was blocked by much diplomatic pressure. Six years later from this event, he

---

<sup>23</sup> Grattan Geary, **Through Asiatic Turkey: Narrative of A Journey From Bombay to the Bosphorus**, Vol.: II, London, 1878, p. 311.

<sup>24</sup> Yahya Akyüz, "Abdülhamit Devrinde Protestan Okulları ile İlgili İki Belge", **Ankara University Journal of Faculty of Educational Sciences**, Vol.: 3, No.: 1, 1970, p. 122.

<sup>25</sup> Uyanık, p. 37.

attempted to send American missionaries back to their homeland. It can be said that the Armenian events of 1895 probably played a crucial role in the Sultan's decision. However, this attempt also failed due to the same diplomatic reasons and also the support from the American government at every turn. American missionaries received much support from Theodore Roosevelt, the 26th president of the United States, and gained some privileges in the Ottoman lands due to his strenuous efforts.<sup>26</sup> It is also worth mentioning that the general attitude towards the American institutions depended on the political atmosphere and relations between the two states. During the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, the United States applied a strict policy against adverse incidents that happened to Americans in the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans were forced to pay for the past losses of American institutions in 1901. It was to the extent that Roosevelt even sent a fleet to Turkish waters to show that the demands of the United States had to be met unfalteringly. In 1907, Abdulhamid recognized all American institutions and buildings in the Ottoman lands as lawful, and they had the right of corporate ownership of mission property.<sup>27</sup>

#### 1.4. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ABCFM MISSIONS IN TURKEY

The American Board missions in Turkey gained ground until the first quarter of the twentieth century. Starting with the drilling activities of Fisk and Parsons after 1819, the Board developed and extended its goals along with the remarkable increase in the number of fields in Turkey. When Fisk and Parsons landed on İzmir in 1820, the leading destination was Al Quds/Jerusalem, a sacred city for Islam, Christianity, and Judaism for centuries. That is why their mission was called the Mission to Palestine. While staying in İzmir, they intended to start printing there. They also needed to learn local languages such as Greek and Italian immediately as there were only two men with whom they could communicate in English. The first population that they saw potential was Greeks.<sup>28</sup> However, Fisk and Parsons had to leave İzmir to

---

<sup>26</sup> Yıldız, p. 531.

<sup>27</sup> Arpee Leon, "A Century of Armenian Protestantism", **Church History**, Vol.: 5, No.: 2, 1936, pp. 164-165.

<sup>28</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Palestine Mission: Letter from Messrs. Fisk and Parsons to the Corresponding Secretary", January 1821, Vol.: 17, p. 20.

go to Egypt, and the missionary work was delayed in İzmir.<sup>29</sup> Over the years, the drilling activities by other Board missionaries showed that some other significant regions in Turkey provided the basis to open new fields. The Board missionaries especially saw a promising potential in the communities such as Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks. The missionaries sent by the Board to the Ottoman lands beginning in the 1820s tried to explore the regions and discover potential fields. After Fisk and Parsons, some other missionaries that have been important figures in the history of ABCFM were sent to Turkey. Among these were Eli Smith, Rufus Anderson, Elias Riggs, William Goodell, William Schauffler, Cyrus Hamlin, Harrison G.O. Dwight, and Benjamin Schneider. These missionaries collected information and regularly reported to the board about how Turkey was to be seen as a promising country regarding the Board's success in general. The main subjects in the reports of the early missionaries included several points about the religious situation of native people, qualities of native religious leaders, educational background, moral values and practices, social relations among communities, and political order.<sup>30</sup>

One of the most outstanding figures of the American Board was William Goodell, who followed in the footsteps of Fisk and Parsons. The Board sent him to Ottoman lands for the mission in Palestine in 1822. He and Isaac Bird, another missionary of the Board, landed on Malta in 1823.<sup>31</sup> After almost a half year in Malta, they came to Syria on their way to Palestine. He settled there with Bird because of the disorder in Palestine for that time, and they worked among Turks, Arabs, Maronites, Jews, and Greeks in Beirut without molestation. Probably missionary works towards Armenians made ground when Goodell and Bird converted two Armenian clergymen to Protestantism. Yet, they were forced to leave the city after some time due to several reasons such as bad reactions from native ministers, Greek insurrection, the disorder in the region, and the war between Russia and the Ottomans. After a few years, Goodell and Bird set off for Malta again on the 2nd of May, 1828.<sup>32</sup> With the arrival of Rufus

---

<sup>29</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Palestine Mission: Letter from Messrs. Fisk and Parsons to the Corresponding Secretary", June 1822, Vol.: 18, pp. 178-179.

<sup>30</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, pp. 24-25.

<sup>31</sup> Edward Dorr Griffin Prime, **Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., Late Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople**, 4th Ed., Robert Carter and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1877, p. 74.

<sup>32</sup> Prime, p. 103.

Anderson, a prominent figure in the Board, at Istanbul in 1829, a new change would be awaiting Goodell. Goodell was sent to Istanbul to carry on his missionary work there, and he founded the Armenian Mission of Istanbul in 1831.<sup>33</sup> The apparent recovery for the missions in Turkey could be explained with the start of the first diplomatic relations between the Ottoman Empire and the United States. The influence of this development was significant considering the security problems that the missionaries had experienced in previous years in Ottoman lands. Istanbul could be safer for the mission work as being the capital, and the protection provided by American political influence could prevent harmful reactions against them. Indeed, the Board missionaries benefited a great deal from this political protection. Goodell and Schauffler also formed a friendship with David Porter, the first envoy of the United States in the Ottoman Empire, and were even hosted in his house for a short time.

With the beginning of the missions in the empire's capital after 1830, the missionary activities were expanded in Istanbul, and the early missionaries of the Board such as Anderson, Goodell, Schauffler, Dwight, Riggs, Hamlin, and Bliss came into prominence in time.<sup>34</sup> Rufus Anderson especially stands out as an important figure in the history of ABCFM in Turkey. Anderson did his duty as the corresponding secretary of the Board between the years 1832 and 1866. Anderson's importance can be explained by the fact that he was given full charge of foreign missions with this responsibility and played a determining role in the development of the foreign missions.<sup>35</sup> He was closely involved with the decisions made in the foreign missionary work. He overpoweringly worked with his observations, reports, and effective guidance in the region. Anderson saw the potential convertibility of Armenian communities, and several drilling works in the interior part of the empire were carried out in this period.

On the other hand, Anderson was well aware of the significance of political order for the actual achievement of the Board. The protestant schools and churches definitely would not be permanent in the long run unless a safeguard was provided

---

<sup>33</sup> Aksu, p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> Crawford, p. 10.

<sup>35</sup> R. Pierce Beaver, "The Legacy of Rufus Anderson", **Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research**, Vol.: 3, No.: 3, 1979, p. 94.

with intense diplomacy. That is why he saw the British diplomatic support for the protection of Protestant communities as something of high importance:

*Moreover, as Russia was the acknowledged protector of the Greek Christians in Turkey, and France of the Roman Catholics, the question naturally arose with the enlightened English Ambassador at the Porte, and with English statesmen, whether England would not strengthen herself in Western Asia, by becoming the protector of the Protestant Christians, then multiplying in those regions through the labors of Protestant missionaries. A Parliamentary "Blue Book" contains the proof of this. Thus it came to pass that the English embassies, both at Constantinople and in Persia, were providentially induced, if they were not really instructed, to extend that protection to the American missionaries, and their converts, among the Armenians and Nestorians, without which neither Turkey nor Persia would have been really open to the gospel.<sup>36</sup>*

As stated by Anderson himself, the protection of the United Kingdom had great importance as well as that of the United States in the expansion of missionary activities of the Board. It is hardly surprising that ABCFM gathered speed and progressed significantly throughout the Ottoman lands starting with the 1830s.

After Anderson's works and observations in the empire, Eli Smith and Harrison G. O. Dwight went to the interior parts such as Tokat, Ankara, Amasya, and Erzurum.<sup>37</sup> This long expedition of discovery was called "Researches in Armenia," which indicates that the main target of the travel would be Armenians. The journey was extended to even the Western part of today's Iran, including a wide range of regions. These missionaries collected detailed information about Armenians in the eastern parts of the empire and did not lose time to report them to the Board. The results regarding Armenians were quite promising in a way, although in some parts, they lacked the necessary qualities. From the protestant view, the most critical issue was faith indeed, and the other obstacles could be overcome with a series of education. In this sense, it can be seen that some Armenian communities showed a tendency to Protestantism more than other groups.

Nevertheless, the missionary work would not be limited to these populations, and missionary activities on the other Christian groups would be maintained. The situation of Muslim populations was proven to be considerably unpromising in this long-lasting journey. Therefore, the journey of Smith and Dwight clarified one thing:

---

<sup>36</sup> Rufus Anderson, **Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims**, 3rd Ed., Charles Scribner and Company, Boston, 1870, pp. 5-6.

<sup>37</sup> For detailed information see Eli Smith, **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 Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas**, Vol.: I, Boston, 1833.

Non-Protestant Christians being in the first place, the Board had to center upon non-Muslim populations. This condition of Muslim populations throughout Turkey was still the same at the end of the nineteenth century:

*Smyrna was entered in 1820; Constantinople, in 1831. From thence the work gradually reached out to Nicomedia and Brousa, to Aintab and Antioch, thence to Marsovan, Sivas, Trebizond, Erzroom, to Marash, Aleppo, Oorfa, Mardin, and Mosul, and still onto the adjacent regions of Persia. Cities, towns, villages, hamlets, and homes are reached in a steady widening of the field, until all Asiatic Turkey is covered with a network of stations and out-stations, of churches and schools, that bring the new impulse to well-nigh every home and heart in the non-Moslem population of the empire. The Moslem population soon became inaccessible, and has remained so to this day.<sup>38</sup>*

As it is also understood from the methods of the American Board missionaries, the first and essential part of missionary work was to explore the regions to identify the populations who were convertible to the Protestant faith. In the 1830s, the number of Board missionaries in the Ottoman Empire increased, and they laid the groundwork to open fields in suitable areas. They opened churches and schools to spread their doctrines systematically. It had started with the Palestine mission during the 1820s, and then other missions throughout the empire followed the Armenian mission in İstanbul. The Constantinople Mission for Armenians was also called as Turkey Mission, and its scope was extended in the following years. Stations were established in the provinces such as İzmir, Bursa, and Trabzon in the 1830s, and the Turkey Mission kept on progressing afterward. Many provinces were occupied in the interior parts of the empire, especially Eastern Turkey.<sup>39</sup>

The mission in Turkey was separated into three parts owing to the enlargement of the mission fields with the growing number of stations. The Prudential Committee decided to divide the mission as Western Turkey, Central Turkey, and Eastern Turkey missions:

*In accordance with the wishes of brethren concerned, the Prudential Committee have passed the following resolution:--"That the portion of the Northern Armenian mission east of the 38th degree of longitude and the Assyria mission constitute together one mission, to be called The Mission to Eastern Turkey; and that the stations of the Northern Armenian mission west of that meridian, form a mission to be called The Mission to Western Turkey." This renders a change in the name of another mission also expedient, for the sake of uniformity, and what*

---

<sup>38</sup> Judson Smith, "The Crisis in Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, November 1896, Vol.: 92, p. 444.

<sup>39</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 69.

*has been called the Southern Armenian mission will be hereafter designated The Mission to Central Turkey.*<sup>40</sup>

In 1870, the mission to Turkey and their stations were as follows:<sup>41</sup>

Western Turkey Mission: Istanbul, İzmir, Bursa, İzmit, Merzifon, Aksaray, Sivas, Edirne, Eski Zagra, Philippopolis, Samokov

Central Turkey Mission: Antep, Maraş, Urfa, Halep, Antakya, Adana

Eastern Turkey Mission: Bitlis, Erzurum, Harput, Mardin

ABCFM consolidated the missions in Turkey by this decision and made them function more systematically. The Board sent more personnel to the mission fields, including female missionaries who were in charge of religious and educational work towards native girls and women in the fields. Physicians were also sent to serve as health officers who would take care of the missionaries and the native people and start health services in the fields. For example, a missionary called Dr. Thom came to Mardin province in the 1870s and contributed a lot to the mission with his health services and the foundation of Mardin American Hospital in 1880. The Board founded American hospitals in Talas, Merzifon, Sivas, Konya (Western Turkey Mission); Harput, Van, Mardin, Erzurum, Diarbekir (Eastern Turkey Mission); Antep and Adana (Central Turkey Mission).<sup>42</sup> Based upon these facts, it can be seen that the American Board institutionalized its activities in the region around this period. In the time, the missionaries appeared more as official figures and strengthened their positions. Although they faced specific difficulties during the second half of the reign of Abdulhamid II, Board missionaries gained accomplishment as a result of their ongoing works. The American Board kept the missions up thus and so in the empire until World War I. The war-affected the stations deeply, and some missionaries were even accused of getting involved in destructive activities in their mission work. After the United States declared war against Central Powers, some missionaries had to leave their fields. However, some missionaries stayed in the stations under the critical conditions of the war atmosphere. The missionary work continued with their schools after the

---

<sup>40</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Mission to Western Turkey", November 1860, Vol.: 56, No.: 11, p. 342.

<sup>41</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Annual Survey of the Missions of the Board", January 1870, Vol.: 66, No.: 1, pp. 9-11.

<sup>42</sup> Faruk Taşkın, "Amerikan Board Misyonerlerinin Türkiye'deki Sağlık Faaliyetleri (1833-1923)", **Journal of Eurasian Inquires**, Vol.: 6, No.: 2, 2017, p. 164.

foundation of the Turkish Republic for a period, yet its activity decreased through the years. Some missions and schools had undergone some changes. For example, Mardin station was transferred to the Presbyterian Church because of post-World War conditions. Because the Baghdad Railway could connect the city to the southern stations, but not the western and northern parts, it was given to the care of the Presbyterian Board.<sup>43</sup> As stated before in this thesis, security meant a lot for the missionary work to be carried on.

Conditions dramatically changed for ABCFM in Turkey after the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. The new Turkish state was inflexible regarding the autonomously-administered foreign schools due to their possibilities of interfering in internal affairs and causing turmoil, especially in the eastern regions. When Fred Field Goodsell, the Near Eastern Mission Secretary of ABCFM,<sup>44</sup> negotiated the situation of the Board schools in newly-established Turkey with the Turkish minister of education, he faced strict new rules which would not permit foreign schools to move with the same freedom they had in the Ottoman Empire. The new Turkey would also embrace a secular system, which was possible that American Board schools could be forced to abandon their religion-based education system.<sup>45</sup> In these conditions, the schools of ABCFM would not function according to its principal doctrines. Therefore, some American Board schools, especially in the eastern part of the country, were closed and the other ones continued with new ways of administration more conformable to the nationalist and secular Turkey.

As seen in the historical development of ABCFM in Turkey, it took several decades for the missionaries to establish their missions in specific fields, spread throughout the Ottoman Empire, and institutionalize their activities in the stations. Several factors influenced these missions, yet one of the most determining ones was the political background in the empire. Both foreign politics and internal affairs were significant in this sense. The start of official diplomatic relations helped a great deal to the missionary work of the Board in the Ottoman lands. On the other hand, starting

---

<sup>43</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "The Mardin Transfer", November 1920, Vol.: 116, No.: 11, p. 488.

<sup>44</sup> Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Memorial records for Fred F. Goodsell", American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #16924, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/orc-exhibit/items/show/collection/12/id/16924> (12.09.2021).

<sup>45</sup> Stone, pp. 253-254.

with the Hatt-ı Sherif of Gülhane, a period of reform and reorganization opened in the empire. These reforms were proclaimed and led to significant changes throughout the decades. Non-muslim millets gained some rights, which also contributed very much to the missionary activities of the Board.



## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **ABCFM AND MARDIN**

#### **2.1. MARDIN AS A FAVORABLE CITY FOR MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES**

Before examining the activities of the American Board missionary Alpheus Newell Andrus in the region, some essential characteristics of the province of Mardin, where Andrus spent 49 years, should be mentioned. After this necessary study of the city, the developments in this station will be understood more clearly. Mardin is an important city with a unique, centuries-long culture and living tradition. Undoubtedly, for ABCFM thinking twice before opening the mission station in a region and analyzing the movement area meticulously, rather than a homogeneous demographic structure, it was necessary to choose a region with many elements rich in cultural diversity, such as Mardin. In this respect, after being started by Frederick Williams, Mardin proved to be the right place to work on and gained momentum with the following missionaries, especially Andrus. Considered the cradle of civilizations, Mardin stands out as one of the oldest cities of upper Mesopotamia with its unique culture, architecture, and history. The city is located in the South Eastern Region of Turkey, on the slope of a hill looking down south to the Mesopotamian plains. Many landforms can be found in Mardin located in the Tigris and Euphrates basins of the Southeastern Anatolia Region. It has been populated by different ethnicities whose cultures and religions varied remarkably for centuries. The city's diverse population is composed of Arabs, Kurds, Assyrians, Yezidees, Armenians, and Turks. This diversity provided a basis for a multi-cultural, multireligious, multilingual, and multiethnic lifestyle tradition, and it has also had a profound effect on the city's architecture. There are remarkable traces of old civilizations, including Islamic and Christian culture, in which the unique harmony that kept the people together for centuries is seen. The city has preserved its natural, architectural, historical, and visual values through the years, contributing to its becoming a significant value for local and foreign tourism. The entire city looks like an open-air museum. Most of the city's buildings are made of beige-colored limestone rock obtained from local quarries. It shines out with its famous castles, bazaars, traditional streets, and houses. Though some modernized

districts and neighborhoods exist in the city, Mardin is mainly composed of traditional houses and an urban texture, including civil architecture.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, this is not a thing happening in a short period but a magnificent accumulation of history through hundreds of years. Therefore, a historical context will help understand the city's harmonious aspect.

Mardin's foundation dates back to 4500 BC according to archaeological excavations in the region although it is not known precisely when and by whom it was founded; it has been able to combine many structures related to Subari, Hurri, Sumerian, Akkadian, Mitani, Hittite, Assyrian, Scythian, Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, Abgar, Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Seljuk, Artukid and Ottoman periods.<sup>47</sup> As for the origin of the name Mardin, there are multiple stories that cannot be proven historically. However, the most known and broadly accepted one is that the city derives its name from a man who foretold its future, which Missionary Andrus also mentioned:

*There is a disagreement in regard to the origin of the name Mardin (pronounced Mardeen). Some incline to derive it from the Syriac and Arabic root, signifying bold and insolent in rebellion. Others, with probably greater propriety, give the name a Koordish origin, and derive it from the two words mer and deen, which mean insane man! This derivation has a tradition to make it acceptable and to settle it: A woman in search of lost sheep wandered upon those heights [around the present-day Artuklu], and accidentally came upon a man slumbering among the rocky crags. She woke him with the inquiry as to what he was doing in such a desolate and inaccessible spot. He replied, "This is the site of a future city." The woman answered, "You are a crazy man," and resumed her hunt for her sheep; and so this nameless personage has given a name to the city of which he prophesied.<sup>48</sup>*

Mardin, also, is historically known as Izala, its Persian name, and it was an important territory of the Middle Assyrian Empire. From that time to the 12th century, the city was a convenient base of military operations due to its magnificent castle's geostrategic advantages. In the early 12th century, it became one of the most important political, cultural, and economic centers of the region, starting with the rule of Artuqids. Mardin served as the capital of the Turkic Artuqid dynasty between the 12th and 15th centuries, in which it literally became a city with its neighborhoods, houses,

---

<sup>46</sup> Sirma R. Turgut and Nazlı Ece Geyik, "A Candidate for UNESCO World Heritage List: Mardin Province", **International Journal of Constructive Research in Civil Engineering (IJCRCE)**, Vol.: 4, No.: 4, 2018, p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> "Mardin'in Tarihi", <http://www.mardinimiz.com/tarih.htm> (07.05.2021)

<sup>48</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "Mardin", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 10, p. 290.

bazaars, madrasahs, and mosques.<sup>49</sup> After that period, it was affected by Turkization and Islamization processes through the following centuries, especially in the architecture of the traditional city center.<sup>50</sup> When it came under the rule of the Ottomans in 1516, it was made a part of the Diarbekir Province. Though it changed hands until the 19th century due to regional problems, it was again attached to Diarbekir.<sup>51</sup> With the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, it became a province.

The convenience of Mardin for opening a mission by ABCFM can be based on several reasons. These include demographic and socioeconomic factors considering the city's region. Mardin historically belongs to Tur Abdin region, in which ABCFM missionary Andrus was active during his mission there. Today, Tur Abdin includes Mardin and some districts of Batman and Şırnak provinces. The region has been an excellent site for its position as an important route to The Silk Road and harbored people from various ethnic and religious backgrounds. Christianity spread in the region starting with the first century, and most people accepted Christianity the following centuries.<sup>52</sup> The most determinant factor to open a mission there was the Christian population inhabiting the region for centuries. These people were the main masses for whom the missionary activities would be carried out. Tur Abdin was a significant region as the non-Protestant Christian population there, such as Papal Armenians, Assyrians, Papal Assyrians, and Chaldeans (Papal Nestorians), making it a convenient place to conduct missionary activities. Assyrians were a rooted people whose history would date back to the early centuries, and their history is nearly as old as that of Christianity:

*Assyrians belong to the Antakya Church which is one of the oldest Apostolical churches and was founded by Saint Peter the Apostle in the year 43. Assyrian Church firstly diffused in ancient Syria. The capital city of ancient Syria was Antakya and it included present-day Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Libya, Jordan and Palestine.*<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> Adnan Çevik, "Üçyüz Yıllık Bir Başkent: Mardin", **1st International Symposium of Mardin History Papers**, Istanbul, 2006, p. 65.

<sup>50</sup> Turgut and Geyik, pp. 29-30.

<sup>51</sup> Murat Çağlayan, "Cumhuriyet Taşrasında Geleneksel Üzerine Modern Şehirleşme: Mardin Örneği", **International Symposium on Civilization, Cities and Architecture**, Istanbul, 2016, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> Tahsin Korkut and Yalçın Karaca, "2017 Yılı Mardin ve Batman İllerinde (Turabdin Bölgesi) Hristiyan Mimarisi Konusunda Yüzey Araştırması", **36. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı**, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Vol.: 3, Ankara, 2019, pp. 408-409.

<sup>53</sup> Korkut and Karaca, p. 409.

They inhabited the region for centuries even though they were exposed to living under pressure from the authorities at times. When the region came under the rule of the Ottomans, they were considered a different ethnicity, yet did not have any representative in İstanbul, the capital, and were made a part of the Armenian Patriarchate.<sup>54</sup> In the Ottoman Empire, the definition of a different ethnicity would be based on religion rather than race or nationality. Assyrians could not constitute sufficient unity to send a representative to Istanbul and be recognized as a separate group. The identity of Assyrians has also been controversial, and they have been estimated to have the exact origin with Chaldean and Aramaic people.

Nevertheless, there are notable disagreements regarding their origin and historical, geographical, and philological approaches. Although there was no apparent unity among the Assyrian people, they considerably engaged the attention of missionaries. In the early period of American Board missions in Ottoman lands, there opened among Assyrians a mission that was called the Mission to the Nestorians in 1835. Fourteen years later, the Assyria Mission was established in Mosul. For sure, the most promising community was Armenians for the Board, yet Assyrians continued to be of significant value for decades. Elias Riggs, one of the most prominent missionaries of the American Board, learned the Assyrian and Chaldean languages at a very young age and also published a grammar book of Chaldean.<sup>55</sup> In the 1830s, an American missionary called Horatio Southgate worked on Assyrians in Mardin when he was assigned to explore the eastern regions in the Ottoman Empire. Southgate described Mardin "as the chief place of the Syrian nation, and the great center of their population."<sup>56</sup>

Other non-Protestant Christian people in the region were Armenians, and these people embraced Catholic doctrine for centuries, although Orthodox Armenians also existed in previous centuries. In the mid 19th century, except for some Protestant ones, all Armenians embraced Catholicism, and they formed a significant mass for ABCFM

---

<sup>54</sup> Özcoşar, p. 16.

<sup>55</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 35.

<sup>56</sup> Horatio Southgate, **Narrative of A Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia: With Observations On The Condition Of Mohammedanism And Christianity In Those Countries**, Vol.: II, Bradbury and Evans, London, 1840, p. 275.

to conduct missionary activities and convert them to Protestantism.<sup>57</sup> Long before the American Board, there were missionary activities of other Christian sects in the region. Nearly the whole Armenian population in Mardin embraced Catholicism like many other Armenians in the region during the eighteenth century. According to Bozan, Catholic missionaries' activities in the region and a native man called Melkon Tazbazyan played a significant role in this massive conversion.<sup>58</sup> Based on this example, there is no doubt that the impact of missionary activities has been key to denominational changes in society. The American Board gave priority to Armenians in missions and saw a potential to be converted to Protestantism. They became the focus of interest for many missionaries and travelers. Their conditions and some necessary information about them were reported along with the missionary activities. As for Armenians in Mardin, they engaged the attention of missionaries, although they did not constitute the majority in this city. According to Southgate, there were five hundred Armenian families out of three thousand in Mardin in 1837. In other parts of the country, they aroused much more interest. Within ten years in the Ottoman lands, the missionaries considered Armenians the most promising group for them, so they changed the name of the mission in Turkey to Armenian Mission in twenty years in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>59</sup>

The demographic situation and the scenery of harmony in which various people with different backgrounds lived for centuries promised a big hope to carry out missionary works in Turkey. In this sense, Mardin was a suitable place to start a mission, especially for its heterogeneous characteristics: "Mardin differs from most other cities in the empire in this respect, that the Moslem and the Christian (i. e. non-Moslem) portions of the population do not occupy distinct and separate quarters. As a consequence the Moslems are less clannish, and less fanatical than is usually the case."<sup>60</sup> From the beginning of the mission there, American Board missionaries examined the city in detail and presented reports regarding the population as well as

---

<sup>57</sup> İbrahim Özcoşar, "Osmanlı Dönemi Mardin Ermenilerinde Dini Değişim", **Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences**, Vol.: 7, No.: 2, 2008, (Değişim), p. 431.

<sup>58</sup> Oktay Bozan, "XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Mardin'de Amerikan Misyonerlerinin Faaliyetleri", **e-Şarkiyat İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi**, No.: XII, 2014, p. 23.

<sup>59</sup> Kocabasoğlu, p. 176.

<sup>60</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "Mardin", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 10, p. 291.

other characteristics of it. Missionary Andrus, in his early years, frequently traveled throughout the city and the region and collected detailed information: "The population of the city, according to the latest government returns, is 16,386, distributed as follows: Moslems, 8,184; Papal Armenians, 3,188; Syrians, 2,922; Papal Syrians, 1,340; Chaldeans (Papal Nestorians), 420; Protestants, 308; Jews, 24."<sup>61</sup> Despite different communions, the Christian communities presented a significant number, and the mission could be started and maintained to convert these people.

On the other hand, Christians lived in the city scattered but not in a single district. In other words, the members of intended communions would live in different parts, which raised difficulties in terms of unity for the work of Board missionaries in Mardin. Andrus noted that the Christians in some villages were hard to differentiate from their Muslim neighbors:

*From Kullith to Sert was a journey of three days, constantly penetrating into the mountainous country of the Koords, and passing the few villages of Christian population at long intervals. These Christian villagers, in many, indeed in most cases, differ very little from the Moslem Koords, – even their dress, usages, superstitions, and holidays being alike. They truly are sheep having no shepherd, – scattered and wild, plundering and robbing strangers often, and constantly oppressing one the other.*<sup>62</sup>

American Board missionaries also embraced Mardin for its availability in terms of geography. Comparing other cities and out-stations, connecting surrounding mission works was more reachable and suitable. Andrus resided in this city as the mission station and traveled to the out-stations and other fields. Much earlier from the opening of Mardin station, in 1841, Mosul was first occupied as the station center; however, it needed to be transferred to Mardin in 1858 for several reasons.<sup>63</sup> Mosul was unfavorable due to its location being far from the key places.

Moreover, Mardin was far healthier with its climate comparing the dry and exhausting weather conditions in Mosul. After years of search and examination, ABCFM missionaries deemed Mardin an excellent place to reside permanently. It was, after all, a healthy city despite its rough weather conditions. According to ABCFM

---

<sup>61</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "Mardin", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 10, p. 290.

<sup>62</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: A Tour in Koordistan", April 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 4, p. 110.

<sup>63</sup> Willis Curtis Dewey, "Mardin in Mesopotamia", **The Missionary Herald**, March 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 3, p. 96.

missionary and physician Dr. Thom, Mardin was a healthy city with its fresh air and good water, and the mortality rate was very low:

*I have visited a number of places throughout the Turkish empire, and none of them have the attractions, in a hygienic point of view, that Mardin has. We occupy a situation on a high range of mountains, outside of the city, with abundance of good water and fresh air, and all the work one can desire. Could more than this be needed in any land?*<sup>64</sup>

In addition to all these bright sides, the city had some demanding characteristics, and it posed challenges to American Board missionaries. The language was one of the most trying factors for the missionary work in the city. Mardin was "the only station under the care of the Board using the Arabic language."<sup>65</sup> Moreover, it contained people using various dialects as well as different languages. The people from non-Arab ethnicities would need instructions, sermons, and publications in their mother tongues. However, the noticeable difference in local dialects and the lack of a systematic order presented a great challenge for the Board missionaries. Even Arabic, the primary language in the city, could be a source of the problem while working in the field:

*Such wide diversity of course makes missionary work much more difficult. For example, in the matter of language, the missionaries use the Arabic tongue, but in touring the services of an interpreter are often necessary, and sometimes the words of the missionary must pass through two other mouths before they can be understood by the larger part of his audience. Some of the native helpers are quite proficient in language. Pastor Hanoosh, for example, can preach in three or four of the languages mentioned, and use two more in conversation.*<sup>66</sup>

In the beginning, such differences among Christian populations were already a problem. Besides, Andrus and the mission in Mardin saw the potential in other communities such as Kurds over time, and there appeared new challenges for the missionary work in Mardin. Lacking religious sources in their language, Kurds needed scripture to be converted to Christianity. However, the main problem arose because the Kurdish language did not have a systematic and coherent structure. In other words, the absence of a settled Kurdish language and an alphabet obstructed a full-fledged translation of a Kurdish Bible. Not only was it a communication problem with an ethnic group in the field, but also it was a big obstacle for conveying the spiritual

---

<sup>64</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Items from the Missions", May 1877, Vol.: 73, No.: 5, p. 145.

<sup>65</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Letters from the Missions", December 1905, Vol.: 101, No.: 12, p. 648.

<sup>66</sup> Willis Curtis Dewey, "Mardin in Mesopotamia", **The Missionary Herald**, March 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 3, p. 96.

messages of Christ and converting people to Christianity, or rather Protestantism. After a long and trying work for years, an Armeno- Kurdish Hymn-book and the translation of the Gospel of Matthew from the Armeno-Kurdish to the Arabo-Kurdish could be written.

## 2.2. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MARDIN STATION

Long before Mardin was added to the Board's stations in Turkey, an American doctor called Ashael Grant had already made observations when he came to Mardin in 1839.<sup>67</sup> Mardin probably was considered an excellent place to start a mission because the favorable conditions of this city stated before in this thesis encouraged hope following years, and Dr. Grant's reports about the city also had to play a significant role in establishing this station. When Frederick Williams, the founder of Mardin station, moved to the city from Mosul in 1858, Mardin was occupied in terms of the American Board, and in two or three years, it was established as a station. After 1860, some out-stations in Mardin were also founded. Midyat, Sert, Mosul, Kulleth, Kutturbul, Karabash, and Derike and Protestant churches were established in these out-stations following years. Mardin station was expanded with many new out-stations including Diarbekir, in 50 years, especially after the arrival of Alpheus N. Andrus:<sup>68</sup>

1850: Diyarbekir

1860: Mardin, Sert, Kutturbul, Hazro

1861: Kulleth, Karabash

1862: Hasan Keyf

1863: Derike, Satıköy, Lice

1864: Kabeköy

1865: Görli

1867: Kalaat, Mosul, Redvan

1868: Telkafe

1869: Midyat

---

<sup>67</sup> For detailed information see Thomas Laurie, **Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians**, Boston, 1853.

<sup>68</sup> İdris Yücel, **Kendi Belgeleri Işığında Amerikan Board'un Osmanlı Ülkesindeki Teşkilâtlanması**, Erciyes University Institute of Social Sciences, Kayseri, 2005, p. 155.

1870: Benabul, Tel Jihan  
1871: Kabe  
1872: Manensyek  
1875: Çaruk  
1878: Aman, Bati, Refuri  
1879: Kafene, Kerboran, Binkelf, Habrunaz, Baghdad  
1880: Erdi, Elkaş  
1885: Azaklı  
1894: Nusaybin  
1902: Yenişehir  
1907: Aillaze, Sadeya

During the early years of Mardin's occupation, the progress seemed to go very slowly. Williams spent most of the year 1860 in the United States, and the mission in Mardin staggered for some time, although the province was occupied with its 112 Protestant members.<sup>69</sup> Above all, Mardin as a newly-occupied station was a big challenge for its missionary due to lack of progress in the mission. For this reason, it would either be abandoned or supported with new strategies and new missionaries. While the mission in Harpoot was progressing well with its seminary, the Mardin mission evenly came to attention with its weak situation. Thus, a missionary who would help both Mardin station and the mission, in general, was needed. This missionary would probably be Alpheus Newell Andrus, who met this deficiency the following years. Until that time, Williams took care of the station as well as he could. He opened a Training School there in September 1862, with eight students, two of whom were from Diarbekir church.<sup>70</sup> Williams established the first church in Mardin in 1867, consisting of 19 members. Of Syrian origin, its first pastor was Cercis (Jurjis) bin Abdullah Hadaye.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Mission to Eastern Turkey: Station Reports", July 1862, Vol.: 58, No.: 7, p. 218.

<sup>70</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Mardin: Station Report", May 1863, Vol.: 59, No.: 5, p. 146.

<sup>71</sup> Bozan, p. 28.

### 2.3. OUTSTANDING BOARD MISSIONARIES IN MARDIN AND THEIR INFLUENCE IN THE CITY

As stated before, Williams needed at least one other missionary to help the station's development. The station recently needed a younger and more active missionary as Williams was too old to deal with the whole city. This new missionary was Alpheus Newell Andrus, who came to Mardin in 1868 with his wife, Louise. After this year, many missionaries attended the mission in Mardin to assist the progress in the province. Williams died on February 14th, 1871.<sup>72</sup> After his death, Andrus and other missionaries maintained the station and led to significant changes there, and a lot of schools, dispensaries, and churches were established during the fifty years of this mission. One of these missionaries was Olive Parmelee, a female missionary of the Board, who arrived at Mardin station after Andrus came.

Parmelee was a graduate of Mount Holyoke Female Seminary from the class of 1861. A chemist and educator, Mary Lyon had founded Mount Holyoke in 1837, and it was closely associated with female missionaries. She also stands out for being one of the seven female missionaries sent abroad by the Woman's Board of Missions.<sup>73</sup> As one of these female missionaries, Parmelee started missionary activities towards women and established the first school for girls in Mardin in 1868. Parmelee worked actively on home visits to persuade women of the region to embrace Protestant doctrines. She studied and practiced Arabic to communicate well with the native people. Mardin had a closed society, and a woman's status was not in good condition in such a society. She tried to get women and girls to join meetings and classes. In the early years of her mission, Parmelee saw a promising future for the work in Mardin, although she believed that the field was not ready for a large school, and they had to be patient for further development.<sup>74</sup> She had to leave Mardin temporarily and return to the United States with Andrus due to their health problems and stayed there in 1875.<sup>75</sup> The same year Parmelee and Andrus got married, and they went back to

---

<sup>72</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Death of Rev. W. F. Williams", May 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 5, p. 134.

<sup>73</sup> Törelî and Döşkaya, p. 207.

<sup>74</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Woman's Work: Letter from Miss Parmelee", April 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 4, p. 117.

<sup>75</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Annual Survey of the Missions of the Board", January 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 1, p. 6.

Mardin at the end of the year. Olive (Parmelee) Andrus returned to the United States twice following years for several reasons. She worked in the mission for forty-eight years until her death on August 25th, 1916.<sup>76</sup>

Caleb Frank Gates was another outstanding figure who worked in Mardin station. He is generally known for his duty as the president of Robert College between 1903 and 1932. Gates spent almost thirteen years in Mardin and contributed a lot to this station in this period. He set off from New York on the 10th of September, 1881, and arrived at Mardin on the 19th of November the same year. He did not lose time to work on several issues. He studied Arabic to communicate with people there, to teach and preach with the people. He went to Mosul in 1882 to observe this province. Gates worked with the Boy's High School until his transfer to Harpoot in 1894. He also visited all parts of the city during this period. He used the time effectively in the region and came to prominence with his systematic methods, as seen in the following lines of him:

*A short time ago I made an experiment in the use of tracts for the sake of initiating the young men into Christian work. I offered to place two tracts in the hands of every member of the society [The Young Men's Society]<sup>77</sup> who would fulfil the following conditions: 1. He must read them himself. 2. He must then give them to two unconverted persons. 3. He must make those two persons the subject of special prayer that God might use the tracts for the conversion of their souls. I told them that the tract was a bullet, but prayer was the powder to drive it home to the hearts of sinners.<sup>78</sup>*

Gates gave particular importance to the language learning issue. He studied Turkish after a period of time in Mardin, although Turkish was hardly spoken in this region. "No one should live in a country and not know its language," he said.<sup>79</sup> He traveled a lot as he studied and examined schools and churches in the out-stations and reported necessary details, including social conditions in these out-stations. The station

---

<sup>76</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "The Chronicle", October 1916, Vol.: 112, No.: 10, p. 467.

<sup>77</sup> The Young Men's Society was a group of young men of Mardin students and church members who held Sabbath meetings and tried to keep religious spirit alive. The members elected Caleb Gates as the president, however, Gates preferred to leave the administration to the young men themselves.

<sup>78</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin.-The Boys' High School", October 1888, Vol.: 84, No.: 10, p. 437.

<sup>79</sup> Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Dr. Caleb Frank Gates, president of Robert College, 1903-1932 : an appreciation", American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #11093, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/orc-exhibit/items/show/collection/6/id/11093> (23.09.2021).

progressed well during his presence in Mardin, as seen in the *Missionary Herald* reports.

Willis Curtis Dewey was another significant missionary who worked in the Mardin station. Dewey spent almost 24 years in this mission and helped the organization of out-stations in this region. He arrived at Mardin on the 8th of November, 1878, before staying in Beirut for a year. When he started his mission in the city, he was an important figure as a supportive missionary for Andrus. He was involved in all the departments of the mission work as a teacher in the Theological Seminary and Middle School and a treasurer. As the other Mardin missionaries did, he studied Arabic to communicate with native people and work efficiently. According to records, he had a little melancholic personality as well as his humorous and social character. Dewey could have spent more years in the Mardin mission. However, he contracted cancer in 1902 and was obliged to leave Mardin to return to New York. According to Gates, his colleague in Mardin station, he was a true man, a person of principle, and modesty and humility.<sup>80</sup>

The only missionary specializing in healthcare in Mardin station was Dr. Daniel Morrison Benonia Thom. Dr. Thom was a significant missionary in the station and worked for over forty years in the region. He also acquired Arabic as the mission language in his early years. When he arrived at Mardin in November 1874, the need for a health service was deeply felt due to bad health conditions in the region originated from lack of clean water and illnesses such as diarrhea and typhus. On the other hand, Andrus did not have a male colleague to help the mission in Mardin until that time. Throughout over forty years in Mardin, Dr. Thom helped a great deal to the mission in the region. In 1902, his medical work included 128 operations, 5,150 written prescriptions, and 475 home visits.<sup>81</sup> He worked as a government examiner during World War I. He was also awarded a medal by the Ottoman government "for long and faithful service in Mardin; also for services in Diarbekir during the cholera epidemic in 1894."<sup>82</sup> Adversities happened many times during his presence in Mardin. In one of

---

<sup>80</sup> Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Memorial records for Willis C. Dewey", American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #16831, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/16831> (23.09.2021).

<sup>81</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Items from the Missions", March 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 3, p. 122.

<sup>82</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Two Devoted Physicians", February 1916, Vol.: 112, No.: 2, p. 70.

them, he was harmed and stabbed by two robbers who almost killed him. One night in March 1912, he noticed a light in his office after he had left it. He thought it was an emergency case and rose from his chair and crossed the hall. Then he saw two men who were coming towards him. They suddenly threw his lamp to the ground. He grabbed one of the robbers, but the other one struck him down by the other, pulled him along the hall, stabbed him in the neck. However, he survived owing to prompt care.<sup>83</sup> Dr. Thom also went through challenging experiences in his last years in Turkey. With Andrus and Miss Fenenga, he was expelled from Mardin by the Turkish government. After staying in Sivas for a time, Thom died on the sixth of December, 1915.

After the death of Dr. Thom, Andrus and Miss Fenenga were expelled from the Ottoman lands. Agnes Fenenga had come to Mardin mission in 1901 and worked in this city as the principal of the Mardin School for Girls. Fenenga worked under the Women Board of Missions, which belonged to the American Board, and was transferred with Mardin station to the Presbyterian Board in 1922. She returned to the American Board with the station in 1925. However, her duty did not last long in Turkey. She was compelled to leave the country in 1933.<sup>84</sup> Fenenga was eager to follow the example of Olive (Parmelee) Andrus, whom she called "the mother of many daughters."<sup>85</sup> Her school accepted many girls with poor conditions, including orphan ones. Probably she aspired to work in the station as many years as Olive Andrus did. However, her time in this mission did not last long because of the war conditions in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, she was forced to leave these lands to return to America. After World War ended, she came back to Mardin station. When she was obliged to leave the city again, she had worked there for almost thirty years, except for the times she spent in the United States due to the conditions.

Mardin station lasted more than half a century with the missionaries before mentioned and other members of the American Board. Things did not go well for the Mardin mission during the world war. In 1917, for instance, there were only three

---

<sup>83</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Field Notes: In Peril of Robbers", June 1912, Vol.: 108, No.: 6, pp. 277-278.

<sup>84</sup> Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Memorial records for Agnes Fenenga", American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #16876, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/16876> (23.09.2021).

<sup>85</sup> Agnes Fenenga, "The Mother of Many Daughters: Olive Parmelee Andrus, Mardin, Turkey", **Light and Life**, January 1911, vol.: 41, No.: 1, pp. 14-17.

ladies left in Mardin station: Mrs. Seraphina S. Dewey, Miss Diantha L. Dewey, and Miss J. Louise Graf.<sup>86</sup> Nevertheless, it can be clearly said that the station grew increasingly through the decades, although the Board's mission ended by degrees after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Considering the early conditions of the Board in Mardin, the Board missionaries' work was influential. Before mentioning the historical progress in this station, it is essential to go through the regional conditions that challenged the mentioned missionaries very often during this long period. The region was not a bed of roses for the missionaries because of its harsh weather conditions, poverty in the region, the backwardness of people, and reactions from other religious sects.

## 2.4. THE CONDITIONS IN MARDIN IN TERMS OF MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

Mardin was a city that varied between the continental climate and Mediterranean climate. With the high mountains in the north and desert climate in the south, winters were cold, and summers were quite hot. Especially this scorching heat was considerably challenging for the Board missionaries. Apart from the central Mardin, the out-stations could be in worse conditions. For example, Mosul, an out-station of Mardin, was first considered as a station by the missionaries. However, this idea was abandoned due to this province's unfavorable geographical conditions, and Mosul was transferred to Mardin as an out-station. Over time, it was even considered a winter station for the same reason.<sup>87</sup> The heat would also pose a danger to their health. The missionaries sometimes returned to the United States for their physical conditions, which is seen in the missionary reports, so the weather of Mardin, especially the heat, probably affected them very much. Although Mardin was thought to be a healthy city to stay permanently (that is why it was made a station), its out-stations such as Mosul made things difficult. Gates describes this situation very well:

*Midsummer is not the most suitable time for missionary tours. The heat is so great that traveling is attended with much discomfort and some danger to health. . . . The heat seemed to shrivel and scorch everything in nature, and all the moisture of the body seemed to be drying up. When we found water we drank copious*

---

<sup>86</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Turkey: Still in Turkey", October 1917, Vol.: 113, No.: 10, p. 467.

<sup>87</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: The Famine", May 1888, Vol.: 84, No.: 5, p. 213.

*draughts, which afforded only temporary relief. Unfortunately the water is not good in the Jebel Toor region to which we were going.*<sup>88</sup>

Weather conditions were undoubtedly a determining factor, but not the only one. Missionaries observed and examined the people living in the region and faced other challenging situations in these populations. Poverty was one of them, of course. There was no possibility for a mission station to survive the test of time in these poor conditions. Poverty was a big problem because economic self-support was building stone of a station. Generally, the mission would not continue unless the community could provide self-support for its practices over time. One of the main aims for the missionary work was "...to make them feel that they ought to win their way by their efforts, and not to live on charity."<sup>89</sup> Oppression applied by the aghas (feudal lords in that region) and increasing taxes made it more difficult from time to time. The tradition of blood feuds among native communities could make the conditions more unfeasible. The communities were also backward, considering this region's social standards and way of life. For instance, early marriage among the people of this region was a big obstacle for a missionary:

*Pleased with the attainments of a little boy not yet ten years old, I told his mother I wanted her to send him to our school at Mardin. She replied that he was engaged to be married. There is not much opportunity for boys and girls to acquire an education when they are betrothed at the age of six or seven years, and taken out of school as soon as they are old enough to work, or learn a trade.*<sup>90</sup>

The conditions of women also caught the attention of the missionaries. Women's education in this region seemed a more challenging task than men's due to women's social status. They were pushed into the background in a way. A woman who would go around in the street, especially an unmarried one, was not welcomed by the society in Mardin. Frederick Williams complained about the situation, saying that Mardin was worse than any other city that he had been before in this respect after his various observations in the city.<sup>91</sup> The situation was to the extent that Miss Pratt was

---

<sup>88</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: A Summer Tour in Mesopotamia", October 1893, Vol.: 89, No.: 10, p. 471.

<sup>89</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin.-The Boys' High School", October 1888, Vol.: 84, No.: 10, p. 437.

<sup>90</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: A Summer Tour in Mesopotamia", October 1893, Vol.: 89, No.: 10, p. 471.

<sup>91</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Woman's Work: Letter from Miss Parmelee", April 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 4, p. 118.

grateful for being born in a Christian land. She thought that the misery of women in Mardin could only be overcome by accepting the gospel and changing the way of life accordingly. According to Pratt, Protestant women in the area were superior to the others for having such privileges.<sup>92</sup> In this sense, the importance of missionary activities was also emphasized for having changed the situations of women in Turkey.<sup>93</sup>

The relationship between missionaries and authorities was complicated in a way. However, in the *Missionary Herald*, the missionaries generally mention the problems created by local elements such as feudal aghas, bandits, shrewd local authorities, gendarmerie, and other communities, including Jacobites, Papal Christians, and Muslims. The aghas of the region, at least, were supporters of the established order, so they would not be expected to permit a change in the society efficiently. In the early years of the Mardin mission, it can be seen that these aghas were big oppressors of the missionaries. However, after Abdulhamid II came to the throne, some reforms were implemented. Miss Pratt mentions these lords, one of whom she called "a cruel persecutor of the Protestants," and how twenty-three aghas were expelled from Diarbekir who had committed "wicked deeds" against the Protestants in the region.<sup>94</sup> Indeed, removing the aghas was not enough to leave them in peace. Individual groups of bandits would cause troubles from time to time. Missionary Ainslie mentions "well mounted and fully armed" robbers who followed them almost six miles and how they could escape "but by the mercy of God."<sup>95</sup> The missionaries expected good care and protection from the Ottoman government. They tried to be in contact with the local government officials in order to inform them about conditions. Generally, they gained protection as American citizens from the government based on the agreements made with the United States. Nevertheless, they needed to bring forward this issue in times of too much disorder in the region. For this

---

<sup>92</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey: Refining Influence of the Gospel - Pleasant Impressions", December 1876, Vol.: 72, No.: 12, p. 399.

<sup>93</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "British Quarterly Review on 'The Americans in Turkey': The Improved Condition of Woman", May 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 5, p. 145.

<sup>94</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Gleanings from Letters", November 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 11, p. 474.

<sup>95</sup> Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Memorial records for John A. Ainslie", American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #16654, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/16654> (25.09.2021).

purpose, a convention of American citizens in Turkey blamed and threatened the Turkish administration as being inefficient in protecting American citizens in Turkey:

*A CONVENTION of American citizens resident in the Turkish Empire was held at Constantinople in June last, holding daily sessions for nearly two weeks, to consider what action should be taken in view of the outrages committed upon foreigners living in Turkey. Forty gentlemen were in attendance, representing twenty-two different cities, from Monastir on the west to Mardin beyond the Tigris. It seems that there are, including children, some four hundred Americans residing within the bounds of the Turkish Empire. Statements were presented to the Convention, showing that the Turkish Government has utterly failed to afford these residents the protection called for by natural right and by treaty stipulations. A memorial addressed to the President of the United States was adopted, setting forth the annoyances they had experienced through the action or the inefficiency of the Turkish Government. Special reference is made to the interference of the authorities with the publication and sale of the Scriptures and other books; these books having been seized and confiscated; the refusal to grant permits for the erection of buildings, even of dwelling-houses, on land purchased in legal form, and the failure to afford protection from bandits and lawless men, or to punish these culprits when discovered. These complaints are accompanied by specifications with evidence; and the papers have been forwarded to the State Department, at Washington. The Prudential Committee have endorsed the appeal, addressing a letter to Secretary Frelinghuysen, in which they say: "The facts detailed in this memorial and the accompanying statements speak for themselves, and we are confident that they will excite in you the same feelings of righteous indignation which they have aroused in us and in the victims of this high-handed oppression. We are sure that there is no need either to emphasize these facts, or to stimulate the determination of our government not to tolerate such injurious treatment of its citizens."*<sup>96</sup>

As seen in these statements American Board members were not only missionaries but also American citizens, and they used this identity as a shield to obtain necessary protection from social adversities they suffered in Turkey. The fact remains that indigenous elements caused much distress from time to time. Considering an example incident that happened in one of the out-stations of Mardin, in Arnas, it is seen that Protestants suffered a great deal more from local authorities than the representatives of the Ottoman government. In this village, at the beginning of March 1881, a tax collector, who was called Ismail Efendi, was charged by the chief collector to get taxes around the region. Although he was warned not to collect anything in Arnas, he and some soldiers forced two headmen (their names were Yahko and Melki) of the Protestant community to pay some money. After a lot of trouble and fight, and with the efforts of their teacher and preacher Elyas, the Protestants received help from

---

<sup>96</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Editorial Paragraphs", December 1883, Vol.: 79, No.: 12, p. 472.

the "Kaymakam," a sub-governor in the Ottoman Empire, and could put an end to this situation with his support.<sup>97</sup> In addition to maltreatment by individual units of local authorities, disputes arose very often between the Protestants and people of other communities. The Protestants faced strong opposition and attacks by other Christian groups, especially by Papal Christians and Jacobites. Gates writes in the Herald that they had to meet with strong reactions from Papal Christians because of their school work.<sup>98</sup> In the early 1880s, some out-stations witnessed some severe attacks by Jacobites against the Protestants. A constitution of a church in Benabeel (Bülbül) resulted in a big conflict and according to a report<sup>99</sup> pressure on the Protestants in Kerboran (Dargeçit) by Jacobites was intensifying day by day. They even attempted bribery to get government support so that the Protestant work could not be exercised.<sup>100</sup> The reactions probably arose from the fact that the missionary work among these communities brought to a successful conclusion with a number of converts from these populations to Protestantism. Also, there was a significant influence of other factors in these reactions. An American source describes the events as follows:

*The converts to Protestantism are chiefly from the sect of Jacobites. Some Christians in a village in the mountains, sixteen hours from Mardin, recently declared themselves Protestants, and thus placed themselves under the protection of the American Mission. The Kurdish Agas, or feudal lords, seeing in this an intention of escaping the illegal exactions and oppression to which they had been formerly subjected, had recourse to every species of oppression to make them withdraw their declaration of Protestantism; they caused their houses to be broken into, and the head ornaments consisting of gold and silver coins—to be torn off the women's heads. This was a scandalous outrage. The Mission at Mardin was appealed to, and a telegram was sent by Mr. Andrus to Abder Rahman Pasha, the enlightened Governor-General of Diarbekir, who issued orders to have three of the Agas arrested and taken to Mardin.*<sup>101</sup>

As stated before, the Board missionaries and their native helpers in the Mardin mission encountered far more difficulties by native elements than the representatives of the Ottoman government, although the foreign schools in the empire were

---

<sup>97</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "Oppression in Turkey A Specimen Case", **The Missionary Herald**, September 1881, Vol.: 77, No.: 9, pp. 350-351.

<sup>98</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: The Papists at Mardin", October 1894, Vol.: 90, No.: 10, pp. 427-428.

<sup>99</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: The Mardin Field", September 1882, Vol.: 78, No.: 9, pp. 354-355.

<sup>100</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Persecutions at Kerboran", January 1883, Vol.: 79, No.: 1, pp. 28-29.

<sup>101</sup> Geary, pp. 159-160.

intensively examined in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The missionaries used their American citizenship as a protection shield to maintain their activities and provide protection for their native communities. Discounting the fact that the Ottoman governments strictly controlled and sometimes attempted to punish the missionaries and their native helpers who were alleged to interfere in the riotous incidents such as the Armenian insurrection, relationships between Ottoman authorities and the missionaries were generally in good odor. The Board missionaries in Mardin were in touch with the government officials. If necessary, Missionary Andrus would talk to the officials to solve some issues, especially those regarding security. Sometimes, at the security request of the missionaries, the Governor would send the gendarmerie units to the area to solve incidents happening there.<sup>102</sup> Andrus also mentions an event in which the Kaymakam was very respectful towards him, and the gendarmerie provided guidance and security for Andrus and his native helpers.<sup>103</sup> From this, one cannot infer that the Ottoman officials were very supportive for the missionaries. This resulted from the political atmosphere between Ottoman and American governments, going on for decades. That is why high-ranking officials knew that protection of the American citizens was in their charge, and they had to act accordingly. It would not be wrong to look at the process from this point of view when American political pressure regarding their citizens living abroad is considered. Also, protecting foreigners residing in the Ottoman Empire would not put the empire under suspicion in the international arena in a period that witnessed the Western powers frequently interfering in its internal affairs. That is to say, it can be clearly said that American Board missionaries in Mardin station were neither mistreated nor supported by the Ottoman government officials most of the time. Except for periods of significant civil unrest, they maintained their activities using their American citizenship as a shield. The greater part of the reactions and attacks against them stemmed from some regional elements such as feudal aghas, bandits, shrewd local authorities, gendarmerie, and other communities, including Jacobites, Papal Christians, and Muslims.

The native elements that would harm the missionaries and their helpers faced a series of implementations of the new reforms during the early period of the reign of

---

<sup>102</sup> Geary, pp. 161-163.

<sup>103</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Letters from the Missions: Eastern Turkey Mission", October 1892, Vol.: 88, No.: 10, p. 407.

Abdulhamid II. Especially the feudal aghas who resisted the new order would be sent to exile or judged in the law's eyes. Indeed, missionaries were content with this new order as the aghas were damaging them and one of their bitterest enemies. In 1879, Andrus mentioned how he gave moral support to the Second Imperial Commissioner, Manas Efendi, in his work to arrest the men of the aghas. Also, other men behaving against the law, such as bandits or lawless highwaymen in the region, would be arrested. Andrus explains why he gave his support to this case: "I gave him what moral support I could, and where it seemed expedient and practical, directly assisted him in his work of reform, feeling that whatever might be done in this direction, would be immediately helpful to the more properly missionary work."<sup>104</sup> The things changed just as he said because after the latter part of the 1870s, missionary work in the region, especially in Mardin, gained momentum. Indeed, other factors influenced the development of the missionary activities, yet the security part would form the basis for a "more properly missionary work."

## **2.5.THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MISSION IN MARDIN AND ITS OUT-STATIONS**

The fundamental issue that underlies the missionary activities was indeed the evangelical work. After they were provided more suitable conditions, the missionaries in Mardin station went on with their efforts to convert more people, increase the frequency of meetings, explore more fields and build churches. The Protestant community could also get involved more with the work, as seen in the example when the community could repair and expand a chapel without the Board's assistance. This significant change was attributed to the spirit of solidarity among the community, yet it was also a result of the development of the mission.<sup>105</sup> When Dr. Thom went to a Kurdish village two hours away from Mardin, he saw that around nineteen families declared themselves Protestants. Apart from that, he also noticed an improvement in the situation of women in this Protestant community. Dr. Thom got surprised when he

---

<sup>104</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Reform in Eastern Turkey", December 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 12, p. 501.

<sup>105</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "How It Was Done", **The Missionary Herald**, June 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 6, pp. 180-182.

saw a young woman presuming a speech as it was generally seen as a shame among Kurdish people for a woman to keep her speech before men like this.<sup>106</sup>

The number of churches in Mardin station increased through the years, as did their members. A remarkable development was seen in Midyat, where the families of Amas, Bati, and Rafuza demanded a missionary activity in their village, and 700 people in this village became Protestant.<sup>107</sup> In 1880, Mardin station had its sixth church, with one in Karabash. Except for Kutturbul, all of them had pastors.<sup>108</sup> In the following years, operations were enlarged in the Mardin mission with the addition of more out-stations and churches. Mardin station was also the only one where Arabic was spoken as the primary language. So, it was a center for the other Arabic-speaking populations in the region. Therefore, it was considered a significant place to work, and missionary activities had to be accelerated. In 1889, there were eight churches in the Mardin mission and 449 members.<sup>109</sup> The following year Mardin station witnessed the largest addition to the church that had occurred at a time when thirty people were received to the church.<sup>110</sup> During this decade, the missionaries and their native helpers found opportunities to explore more areas and broaden the mission. Mosul had already been out of frame as a station decades ago. However, this province maintained its importance as a field of work. It was an out-station of Mardin and a promising region for missionary activities. It would be made a station at first; however, the idea was abandoned years ago for several reasons. The everlasting journey to this area and its scorching heat in the summer were among these.

Nevertheless, American Board missionaries did not desist from searching this place in detail. Missionary Andrus had been waiting for a chance to visit Mosul for a long time, and he went there in 1879 in company with Edwin M. Bliss, who was from the American Bible Society. Andrus also had a chance to visit Baghdad, which was first explored as a new area. For this reason, a colporteur would be sent there to

---

<sup>106</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Interest in Mardin - A Needy Out-Station", May 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 5, p. 160.

<sup>107</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin - The Evangelical Work", October 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 10, p. 380.

<sup>108</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Karabash - A New Church", April 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 4, p. 135.

<sup>109</sup> Willis Curtis Dewey, "Mardin in Mesopotamia", **The Missionary Herald**, March 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 3, p. 96.

<sup>110</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Editorial Paragraphs", September 1890, Vol.: 86, No.: 9, p. 349.

examine the religious situation of the people in this province. This colporteur was Shemas Suluba, one of the earlier Protestants in the Mardin field and who had worked before in Bitlis, Redwan, Kutturbul, Siirt, Karabash, and Mardin.<sup>111</sup> Besides, Baghdad was convenient to be managed from Mosul, so its situation would depend on that of Mosul eventually. This issue was discussed in the last annual meeting of the Eastern Turkey Mission.<sup>112</sup> The same topic was on the agenda the same year in the meeting of the native Protestant leaders. A convention of pastors and helpers was held in October 1879. Some outstanding native Protestants such as Pastor Elyas of Siirt (the oldest pastor in Mardin field), pastor Jurjis Kjudershaw of the Mosul church, and pastor Jurjis Hadeiya (of the Mardin church opened in 1867) were present at the meeting. Several topics were discussed in this convention to improve and enlarge the mission in Mardin.

Furthermore, it had the potential to mark a new period for this field's people, according to the missionary W. C. Dewey.<sup>113</sup> In 1887, the Board missionary John Aislie was assigned to Mosul, and he went there with his family after spending six years in Mardin. The increase in the number of Board missionaries was also seen along with the expansion of the Mardin station. Dr. Daniel Thom and William Dewey, with their families, and Miss Nutting and Miss Prat were in Mardin; John Ainslie was in Mosul with his family; and Alpheus Andrus and Olive Andrus were in Midyat in 1890.<sup>114</sup>

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the progress in the Mardin mission was vividly felt. Midyat came to prominence as the rising out-station during the 1880s:

*Midyat is in a very prosperous condition, as may be learned from the increase of their subscriptions for 1885. Last year they gave three thousand piasters toward the work; this year they promise to give four thousand. They are extremely anxious for a church organization. Two months hence there will be a conference of the churches at that place, when the subject will be considered.*<sup>115</sup>

Melki, the pastor of Midyat, was quite happy about the situation in Midyat. He states that the officials also send their kids to them. The Kaymakam even visited the school

<sup>111</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "A Colporter at Bagdad", April 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 4, p. 136.

<sup>112</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", October 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 10, pp. 383-384.

<sup>113</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", April 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 4, pp. 134-135.

<sup>114</sup> **Eighty-First Annual Report of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", 1891, p. 45.

<sup>115</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: White Fields", May 1885, Vol.: 81, No.: 5, p. 198.

in Midyat.<sup>116</sup> Midyat kept on growing through the years. In 1895, twenty-two new members were received to the Midyat Church. This was "the largest accession at one time in the history of that church, and the largest in the history of the station, except the occasion in Mardin in 1884, when thirty-one were received."<sup>117</sup> Kerboran was another excellent place in the mission work. Things in Kerboran were surprisingly going well in 1894 after the pastor was being threatened for a while. A few years ago, the chapel had been built without any aid from the Board. This Kurdish-speaking area was one of the most promising out-stations in Mardin. For this reason, Andrus probably noticed the lack of a Bible written in the Kurdish language, which was the language spoken in Kerboran, and planned an Arabo-Kurdish New Testament. He started with translating the Armeno-Kurdish Gospel of Matthew that the American Bible Society had published in 1891 into Arabo-Kurdish language.<sup>118</sup>

The mission in Mardin grew more mellow, so to speak, during the period between the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. The station was expanded along with the churches, and the number of members increased year by year. Uniformity was secured among the out-stations. In 1905, the missionaries could assemble all teachers, preachers, and Bible-readers for a 'Summer School' in Mardin. This was a first in the history of the station, and it was "a new departure" for it.<sup>119</sup> Mardin station, in general, also gained more economic independence throughout the years. After the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of its opening, a letter by the Evangelical Church of Mardin was penned by Selim Hanno, the secretary of the church, to the Prudential Committee in the United States:

*...and inasmuch as last year we reached the semi-jubilee of our church and its pastorate, which was celebrated the thirtieth of last October, and was a joyful day to us, to our missionaries, and to the association of our churches convened with us at that time -- a day whose influence we cannot forget until we reach the full jubilee; and forasmuch as we saw that the time had come for us to be financially independent of aid from the churches you represent, and also that many are more in need of this aid than we are, it has been decided by us to make our schools independent of aid from you, even as has been our pulpit for the last*

---

<sup>116</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin - Letter from a Native Pastor", November 1888, Vol.: 84, No.: 11, p. 504.

<sup>117</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Churches of the Mardin Station", October 1895, Vol.: 91, No.: 10, p. 401.

<sup>118</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", August 1894, Vol.: 90, No.: 8, p. 334.

<sup>119</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Letters from the Missions", December 1905, Vol.: 101, No.: 12, p. 648.

*eight years, so that what has heretofore been given to us may go to aid others (save that we shall yet need aid in building for schools and a chapel).<sup>120</sup>*

On the fiftieth anniversary of Mardin station's establishment, the history of this station was filled with many achievements since its foundation. The missionaries had been able to work with 150 native helpers, and out of these people, 51 were still working in the station. Eight pastors and preachers had lost their lives during the Events of 1895. It seems from the briefings in the Herald that the missionaries faced less fanaticism, and the reactions against the Evangelical activities diminished, and education (especially for women) was approved.<sup>121</sup> In the light of this information, the change in the social conditions, especially the one about the education of women, has a capital importance to mention because missionary work had been deeply affected by the backwardness of society and the situation of women in this society. During the early period of Mardin station, the missionaries were surprised about the conditions of women in this region. Society's approach would say that women had no intellectual capacity, and they reacted to the attempts to educate women with opposition and derision.<sup>122</sup> This situation could be interpreted as people's skepticism towards American missionaries, yet it would be a wrong approach as society's general attitude in this region was mainly against women's education. Thus, it was a general problem in the region, and the missionaries also had to deal with it in their activities. That is to say, female education was an essential criterion along with other achievements to evaluate the progress of Mardin station at the end of fifty years' work there.

Education and evangelical activities were the main parts of the work of ABCFM in Mardin. Yet, there was also a third field. The American Board sent health staff to their stations to provide healthcare for its missionaries and people in the region. Healthcare was important, especially in a region with harsh geographical conditions. Andrus pointed out how health issue was the central part to be considered in the mission work when he wrote that it was hard work having "spiritual, literary, and physical" necessities, and the people working needed to be "strong in faith, sound in

---

<sup>120</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "A Message from the Evangelical Church of Mardin, Eastern Turkey", August 1893, Vol.: 89, No.: 8, pp. 316-317.

<sup>121</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Annual Survey: Turkey", November 1907, Vol.: 103, No.: 11, p. 550.

<sup>122</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "British Quarterly Review on 'The Americans in Turkey': The Improved Condition of Woman", May 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 5, p. 145.

culture, and firm in health."<sup>123</sup> The work in the Eastern Turkey Mission mainly consisted of three main departments. Educational work was going on with theological schools, colleges, high schools, and village schools. As the building stone of the mission, evangelistic work had never stopped.

Moreover, the medical work was in progress, and all of the five stations in the mission had physicians. Medical work in Mardin had started with the arrival of Dr. Daniel Thom in 1874, who spent his years in this station until he died in 1915. After Thom, another medical staff was also sent to the region to support medical work. The Board also established hospitals in Turkey. In 1905, there were fourteen hospitals in Turkey under the responsibility of American Board doctors.<sup>124</sup> One of them was Mardin American Hospital which was founded in 1880.

Medical work influenced the mission positively with time. The service was appreciated by the government and people in the region and aroused sympathy towards American Board doctors. Mardin missionary Dr. Thom was awarded a medal for his work during the cholera epidemic in the region in 1894. He took care of Turkish soldiers and cooperated with the Ottoman government during World War I. Mardin Hospital worked under the Red Cross during this time, although the flag of the Red Crescent was also used on the hospital.<sup>125</sup> Also, the attitude of local communities towards the missionaries changed in time, which can be considered a result of medical service provided by the Board. Healthcare service positively affected the work in the other two departments (educational and evangelical) and was of great importance in this sense. It was clearly pointed out in the *Missionary Herald*:

*Medical work is becoming a mighty power. In the hospitals at Aintab, at Cesarea, at Marsovan, in hard, earnest work at Mardin, at Harpoot, at Van, and now entered upon at most stations, a tremendous influence is used. Tens of thousands are relieved, prejudice is broken down, superstition is dissipated, quackery is driven out, friends are made, souls are won, and a beneficent influence is exerted as effectively as in days when apostles had the healing touch. Look at this little girl, brought up to consider another prophet greater than our Messiah. She has patiently endured the amputation of a foot in the hospital. She has been charmed with the story of Jesus as she lay in her bed, and now she gives her whole heart to comforting the other patients with his words and in his name. Here is a rough man who must undergo a hard operation. She says to him: "Never fear. I will pray*

---

<sup>123</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "Mardin", *The Missionary Herald*, October 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 10, pp. 291-292.

<sup>124</sup> *The Missionary Herald*, "The Missionary Herald Extra", July 1905, Vol.: 101, No.: 7, p. 386.

<sup>125</sup> *The Missionary Herald*, "Turkey: Letters from Various Scenes", April 1915, Vol.: 111, No.: 4, p. 189.

*Jesus to care for you, and He will; so be happy.” The rude man is melted with the child’s faith and love, and her prayers cheer him as he goes through the ordeal.*<sup>126</sup>

As seen in the example, spiritual work was also exercised along with medical work. A little girl from another religion or sect was told the story of Jesus Christ and was relieved in this way. On the other hand, medical services also brought in financial gains sometime later. According to Taşkın, Mardin Hospital announced a profit in 1904.<sup>127</sup> The economic advancement in this department substantially supported the mission in Mardin:

*The total amount of money received from prescriptions, operations and visits was £ T. 274.27, or \$1,206.79. This has met all of the expenses of the hospital and dispensary, in fact all of the cost of the medical work except the salary of Dr. Thom, and leaves in the treasury, to the credit of the new account, a balance of £ T. 40.77, or \$179.39.*<sup>128</sup>

Medical work helped missionaries to win people over from different communities. Evangelical work was exercised to convert individuals and change their old religious ideas. Furthermore, the education department aimed for a much more rooted and long-established development among those communities, for it was a process of giving systematic instruction of Protestant culture, which had the potential to influence them profoundly. From the very beginning, education was considered indispensable to missionary work by the American Board. For this reason, it was conducted along with the religious work and integrated into it. After decades, the importance of education increased for the American Board. Nathan George Clark, the Foreign Secretary of the Board, emphasized the importance of education for the evangelical work in 1888 in the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World and said that for teaching the Bible better primary school was requisite and intermediate level education was essential to raise pastors, teachers and other workers.<sup>129</sup> As in other missions, educational work was planned in the early years of Mardin station. American missionaries opened various schools in Mardin, such as

---

<sup>126</sup> Charles C. Tracy, “The Outlook for Christ in Asiatic Turkey”, **The Missionary Herald**, September 1906, Vol.: 102, No.: 9, p. 424.

<sup>127</sup> Taşkın, p. 165.

<sup>128</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, “Items from the Missions”, March 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 3, p. 122.

<sup>129</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, p. 118.

schools for boys and girls, Sabbath schools, village schools, high schools, and theological seminaries.

The first known school in Mardin had been opened with 110 students in 1847 under Episcopal auspices.<sup>130</sup> During this period, the American Board had been still searching the Tur Abdin region to initiate its activities in the region. Mardin had not even been considered as a station during this period. After establishing Mardin station by Williams, it was not an easy task to start educational activities in the first stage. At first, he spread the Gospel and opened a church in the station. He did not have an assistant missionary to collaborate with in this new field either. In September 1862, a Training School was started in Mardin with eight students.<sup>131</sup> Williams only had one native preacher, one teacher, and one helper to work with in that period.<sup>132</sup> In the following years, educational work grew. Williams was in charge of a Seminary for Young Men in 1870, and theological classes had started.<sup>133</sup> The Theological classes were doing well, and the situation of students, in general, was promising. The language of education was Arabic. However, the gap between spoken-Arabic and written-Arabic was significant because the people of that region had fallen behind in terms of writing. The students were taught Christianity and lessons such as Geography and Arithmetic. The education results in the first class of this school were entirely satisfactory.<sup>134</sup>

A seminary for young women was also opened after the arrival of Olive L. Parmelee in 1868. She was in charge of this school with Isabella C. Baker, another female missionary of the American Board. The cost of each student was approximately 30 dollars. Miss Nutting in 1891 and Miss Fenenga in 1904 were in charge of the school. As in the school for boys, the language of education was Arabic. The girls were taught various lessons such as Algebra, Astronomy, Botany, Ancient History, Music, Geography, Physics, Pedagogics, Housework, and Child Care. Gymnastics was also a part of education.<sup>135</sup>

---

<sup>130</sup> Stone, p. 128.

<sup>131</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Mardin: Station Report", May 1863, Vol.: 59, No.: 5, p. 146.

<sup>132</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Survey of the Missions of the Board: Eastern Turkey", January 1863, Vol.: 59, No.: 1, p. 4.

<sup>133</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Mission Schools", May 1870, Vol.: 66, No.: 5, p. 146.

<sup>134</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Theological School at Mardin", April 1872, Vol.: 68, No.: 4, p. 116.

<sup>135</sup> Aksu, p. 243.

After the arrival of more missionaries such as Alpheus Andrus, Olive Parmelee, and Isabella Baker and the establishment of the theological seminary, educational work progressed well. Williams was relatively old, so that the main duty would be handed to these missionaries in the station. When Williams died at 53 in 1871, the main work fell to the other missionaries. Especially Andrus felt the necessity of another missionary who would help him in the mission work. Following years, some other missionaries were sent to Mardin.

Nevertheless, educational work continued well until that period. In 1874, there was a church, a pastor, and a school. The community was considering opening a new chapel and a typical high school, which was planned to be a preparatory department to the theological school. The seminary had graduated two classes after courses of five summers and had two classes under instruction. There was also a seminary for training women and girls to be Bible Readers and teachers. This school had seventeen pupils.<sup>136</sup>

Education influenced the evangelical work very much in Mardin station. Until the mid-1870s, there were preachers with little ability, but, as the work progressed, an improvement in the school system was required because it needed to raise better preachers and educate teachers of the common school in a more systematic way. For this reason, there appeared a need for extension in the school system. A middle school had already been planned between the common school and the theological seminary. In this process, Andrus intended to involve the community in the foundation of this school and get help from them as he wanted them to realize the importance of education and religious matters. Only with a community embracing the significance of education would the success be long-lasting. The middle school was opened, and a school board was formed with the members, half of whom were chosen from the community. The school started with nine students, increasing to twenty-five in about two years. Also, in common schools, the community took place in the administration likewise.<sup>137</sup> A middle school was also opened in Midyat, a quite promising out-station of Mardin. It would have the same relation with the theological school in Mardin. The students would be tested, and the most promising ones would be sent to the theological

---

<sup>136</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "Mardin", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 10, p. 291.

<sup>137</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Schools at Mardin - Aid from the People", November 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 11, p. 394.

school in Mardin. The ones who would not get satisfactory results would be teachers or colporteurs in this region. There were seven students in this middle school in 1878, and it was considered important by Missionary Andrus. He associated the growth in the educational department in Midyat with the strength they gained against the local powers:

*The villagers all around have watched the controversy over the building, and seeing that we have succeeded in completing it in spite of the efforts of the great aghas to prevent it, they think there must be strength behind us. And as in these parts strength of any kind is most esteemed, this success for Protestantism has greatly raised the despised religion in their estimation, and they are beginning to turn to us for instruction, and are asking for teachers for their villages.*<sup>138</sup>

Educational work in Midyat and other regions in the Jebel Tour expanded and progressed in a short period. Schools were opened for both boys and girls in Midyat. With the recent developments in this region, there was one middle school, one training school for women, and two common schools in total. The number of students in the schools highly increased.<sup>139</sup>

The middle and theological schools in Mardin blossomed forth in a short time. The third class graduated from the theological seminary in 1879. The graduates were assigned to work in the important fields, yet except one of them, all were not directly involved with teaching or preaching. A new class with nine students was started in the middle school the same year, and this school was reorganized regarding teachers and curriculum after Missionary Dewey arrived at Mardin. Dewey wrote about four men who graduated from the high school: Absharah, Bahnam, Elyas, and Isya, all of whom would be sent to work in surrounding regions. They were also candidates for the theological seminary, which was reopened the following year. Absharah would work as a teacher of the Boys' School in Mardin. Bahnam would be sent to the Boys' School in Mosul to gain experience as a teacher there. Elyas would work in Hassan Kafe (Hasankeyf) but later was transferred to Arnas, a village near Midyat. Moreover, Isya was sent to Kulleth to replace a man who left the work there.<sup>140</sup>

---

<sup>138</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Schools at Mardin - Aid from the People", November 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 11, p. 395.

<sup>139</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", October 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 10, p. 380.

<sup>140</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: A Few New Helpers", March 1881, Vol.: 77, No.: 3, p. 104.

Mardin was becoming one of the most promising stations with time. In the title of "Decennial Statistics of the Turkish Mission of the A.B.C.F.M" the progress in the provinces, including Mardin, and the increase of expenses on these places was mentioned.<sup>141</sup> The progress in other missions could also affect the Eastern Mission and raise the expectations about the stations. Board missionaries would set a premium on the educational department in this development:

*The marvelous growth of our churches in Turkey, and the fact that Armenians and Greeks are looking to us to instruct them impresses upon us now the essential importance of giving increased attention to the higher education. Robert College has made a self-governed Bulgaria possible. Who will venture to divine what similarly equipped institutions in Aintab, Harpoot, Marsovan, Mardin, and Midyat, with American and native professors working as equals side by side, may not do for the Turkish, Armenian, Arabic, and Syriac-speaking peoples of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia? Such institutions, thoroughly evangelistic, seeking the conversion of their pupils, - with their attached theological seminaries and medical schools and hospitals, - teaching the English language, which the people must have, we commend to the beneficences of those who wish to do much good with their stewardship.*<sup>142</sup>

In this conjuncture, Mardin station would bear great importance indeed. Students that graduated from Mardin High School for both boys and girls served as teachers to some significant outer regions such as Aleppo, Mosul, and Baghdad. Mardin schools supplied teachers even for Egypt.<sup>143</sup> Moreover, Mardin school sent preachers and teachers to the other missions in Macedonia.<sup>144</sup> Therefore, it must be regarded as a station whose influence was seen in a wide range of regions. It was considered as the educational center in the whole of Eastern Turkey.<sup>145</sup> This station also attracted the government's attention, and sometimes government officials were sent to Mardin to examine the schools there. In June 1883, an official inspector was sent from Istanbul, the capital, for the first time to Mardin for the missionary schools to be examined. This probably arose from the Abdulhamid government's interest in the strict control on foreign schools throughout the empire and/or the intention of

---

<sup>141</sup> George W. Wood, "Decennial Statistics of the Turkish Missions of the A.B.C.F.M.", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1883, Vol.: 79, No.: 10, p. 375.

<sup>142</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Reports of Committees on the Annual Report", December 1885, Vol.: 81, No.: 12, p. 510.

<sup>143</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Supplying Teachers", January 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 1, p. 28.

<sup>144</sup> James L. Barton, "Survey of the Fields, 1910-1911: Colleges at Van and Mardin, Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, November 1911, Vol.: 107, No.: 11, p. 529.

<sup>145</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Editorial Notes: A College for Mardin", June 1909, Vol.: 105, No.: 6, p. 234.

examining foreign schools and taking them as an example when organizing new national schools. The atmosphere that this new practice created is clearly understood from the statements of missionary Dewey:

*though in the course of the conversation he dropped two remarks that made me a little apprehensive. One was to the effect that foreigners have no business to be teaching in the schools; the other, that the purpose of the government in giving closer attention to the schools, sending out inspectors, and so on, is to secure equalization between the different communities in educational progress. This is to be effected in two ways: by stimulating the communities that are backward to greater zeal, and by checking those that are in advance.*<sup>146</sup>

American Board schools in Mardin sometimes hosted the Turkish government's representatives, and official visits continued in the following years. Some officials even sent their children to American schools.<sup>147</sup> During this period, Turkish government officials looked impressed by the American schools in Mardin. When a school inspector was sent by the government from Istanbul to Mardin, he was surprised by how things were quite well contrary to his preconceived opinion before coming.<sup>148</sup> Over time, American Board schools were under the inspection of the Turkish government. Representatives from the "Mooarif Mejliss" (equivalent to today's Ministry of National Education) were present in graduation ceremonies for schools for boys and girls. From the reports, the Board schools seem to have received the approval of the government officials.<sup>149</sup> The Ottoman government approached these schools with good impression and with suspicion, however. The suspicion towards the American missionary schools increased, especially after the Armenian events of 1895. As stated in this thesis before, Abdulhamid II attempted to send the missionaries back to the United States, although he could not succeed due to the political relations with the United States.

From a more optimistic approach, it can be suggested that the quality in the schools of the American Board could be helpful for the Ottoman government in terms of their contribution to the modernization of Ottoman schools. It caught the attention

---

<sup>146</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: The Schools at Mardin - Official Visitation", January 1884, Vol.: 80, No.: 1, p. 25.

<sup>147</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin - Letter from a Native Pastor", November 1888, Vol.: 84, No.: 11, p. 504.

<sup>148</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: The Schools at Mardin - Official Visitation", January 1884, Vol.: 80, No.: 1, p. 26.

<sup>149</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Churches of the Mardin Station", October 1895, Vol.: 91, No.: 10, p. 402.

of government officials for their growth, and students in American schools were receiving education in various subjects in addition to religious teachings. Conditions for women in the region also changed after the missionaries' educational work. On the other hand, they also appeared as the agents who could stir up revolts and/or support the ones who committed such things. They were troublemakers in the Ottoman lands in a way. They also presented a threat to the Pan-Islamism spirit of this period since the target of American schools was to convert people, and they were as crucial as building churches. It can be argued that the missionary work was exercised among other Christian sects and had nothing to do with the Muslim population. Nevertheless, the Board schools were enormously systematic and targeted long-lasting results even in Muslim populations in the course of time:

*WHAT most interested me in the line of education was the grand work which is being done by the schools or colleges at Marsovan, Harpoot, Mardin, and Aintab. They are a legitimate out come of the evangelistic conception as to the place of education. They are doing a work every whit as important as that which can be expected from the Protestant pulpit of this country. It would be an exaggeration to claim that everyone of the hundreds of young men gathered together in these schools become Christian men , but it is no exaggeration to say that they are all brought under the most positive Christian influences and that probably most of them receive impressions which are to be lifelong in their influence. It requires no great effort of the imagination to believe that most of them are to become the ablest men, the most successful men , and the best men in the communities in which they may hereafter reside. They are to become a leaven, the reach of which in its transforming power is not to be calculated by mathematics.<sup>150</sup>*

In other words, missionary activities would also influence Muslim populations in the long run. This was not only a religious conversion process but also an acculturation process. Therefore the missionaries in Mardin also sometimes aimed to work among Muslim populations when circumstances allowed. In 1890, a Muslim student in Mardin High School was converted to Christianity for the first time.<sup>151</sup> This was an outstanding achievement in the history of Mardin station since a great barrier was cleared, and the missionaries saw potential in Muslim students after that stage. It was still a sluggish process, though. After a long time, a new course for the study of

---

<sup>150</sup> Marcellus Bowen, "The Interior of Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 10, p. 401.

<sup>151</sup> Ayşe Aksu, "Cumhuriyet Devri Amerikan Okullarının Dinî ve Ahlakî Eğitim Değerlerindeki Dönüşüm", **Değerler ve Eğitimi - II Sempozyum Bildirileri Kitabı**, İstanbul, 2015, (Değerler), p. 835.

Islam was opened in the theological class in Mardin in order to train students to start missionary activities among Muslims.<sup>152</sup>



---

<sup>152</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, “Field Notes: Mardin Theologues Studying Islam”, December 1910, Vol.: 106, No.: 12, p. 568.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ALPHEUS NEWELL ANDRUS' ACTIVITIES**

#### **3.1. ALPHEUS NEWELL ANDRUS' EARLY YEARS IN MARDIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATION**

During the early twentieth century, the Mardin station was among the most prominent stations of ABCFM in Turkey. It is indeed beyond doubt that Alpheus Newell Andrus played a significant role in this development. Andrus spent nearly fifty years in Mardin as an ABCFM missionary and was the head of Mardin station. He was very active throughout these years. He traveled plenty of regions, observed populations, examined potential stations or out-stations, and sent various reports to the Prudential Committee. Before Andrus, missionary activities had already started in Mardin and the region. However, the Mardin mission (also the Eastern Turkey Mission in general) was enlarged and progressed substantially. After he arrived at the station, new activities started, and more out-stations were added to Mardin. American Board missionaries could find more spaces to conduct these activities in these years. Indeed, the socio-political conjuncture was the main factor in this progress; nevertheless, Andrus' significant influence over the development in Mardin station can be seen in his active work in the region considering his travels to various areas, effective communication skills with native people and authorities, and monitoring and reporting main developments to the Board.

The sources are not enough to find a lengthy biography of Alpheus Newell Andrus. However, his general life story is reachable from several resources. Andrus was born in New York City on July 17, 1843. He was from a middle-class family who had their origins in Scotland, and his father was a merchant. He entered College Hill Academy in Poughkeepsie, New York, and had the right to go to college as a freshman in 1860. He became a member of the Mills Theological Society and the Philologian Society when he was in college. After active and successful college life, he enrolled in Union Theological Seminary and graduated in 1867.<sup>153</sup> After graduation, Andrus did

---

<sup>153</sup> John Haskell Hewitt, **Williams College and Foreign Missions: Biographical Sketches of Williams College Men who Have Rendered Special Service to the Cause of Foreign Missions**, The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1914, pp. 478-479.

not lose much time deciding to participate in missionary activities under the American Board. He was assigned to Mardin, a remote region in the Eastern part of Turkey, and he would need to take a long road. A month before his voyage to the Ottoman Empire, he married Miss Louisa Morse. Andrus and his wife, Louise, sailed from New York to Liverpool to Ottoman lands on April 25, 1868.<sup>154</sup> Arriving in Istanbul in May, he later went to Harput, a part of Elazığ city in today's Turkey. He stayed there for a few months before landing in Mardin on November 20.<sup>155</sup> Thenceforth, he settled in this city and worked there for 49 years until he was forced by Ottoman authorities to leave the country during World War I. Andrus, whom the well-known English archeologist, traveler, and secret-agent Gertrude Bell spoke highly of, spent almost half of his life in the city and made essential contributions to the regional mission. He reported the missionary work in Mardin and surrounding provinces in the *Missionary Herald*, the monthly journal published by the American Board. He made considerable contributions with his articles or papers such as "Oppression in Turkey," "Concerning the Yezidees," "The Koormanji Koords," and "Impressions from a Missionary Experience of Twenty-five Years." He penned a well-settled article in which he introduced Mardin in detail to the readers of the *Herald*. Among the subjects he mentioned were the missionary buildings in Mardin, a brief history of the city, its geography, populations living there, and its typical characteristics.<sup>156</sup>

Before Andrus, the first missionary in Mardin was Williams, who came from Mosul in 1858. The year before Andrus arrived at the station, the first work started by Williams in 1859 had come to fruition with a church of nineteen members. The same year a school was also founded.<sup>157</sup> In seven years, the number of members of this church increased more than two times, with forty-five members. When Andrus arrived at Mardin, there was ongoing progress in the field, especially in Mardin.<sup>158</sup> In May 1868, it can be seen from the reports that Williams had spent too little time recently there, and the primary duty in Mardin station would be handed on to Andrus. In 1868,

---

<sup>154</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Monthly Summary: Embarkation", June 1868, Vol.: 64, No.: 6, p. 200.

<sup>155</sup> Hewitt, p. 479.

<sup>156</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "Mardin", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 10, pp. 289-292.

<sup>157</sup> Hewitt, p. 480.

<sup>158</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Station Reports", May 1868, Vol.: 64, No.: 5, p. 152.

the progress in Mardin could be seen in the numbers of attendees, church members, and the number of contributions. Also, the out-stations of Mardin such as Sert were reaping the fruits of the works done the previous years. In 1869, a theological class was formed with five pupils<sup>159</sup> whose education would be provided by Andrus and two associates. In this respect, Andrus was to take a mission that had already been settled in a way. However, he would be the only person in charge of the field for a time and suffer from a lack of support. He would need to know the area well, study and practice Arabic, which was the native language of people there, and learn the conditions in the region.

Mardin's demographic availability owing to several factors stated before in this work presented some opportunities for the mission work there. On the other hand, the conflicts among communities in Mardin also existed for decades, which Andrus analyzed and reported to the Board whenever possible. American Board missionaries were generally protected by the agreements between the Ottoman and American governments. However, the native protestants faced much stricter reactions from other native people and local forces. According to statements by some people in charge of them, the protestant community was in some way under pressure by the local authority.<sup>160</sup> According to missionary reports, some sorts of abuse of power by the gendarmerie, including beating and humiliating, were committed against the Protestants in the region. The claims include local forces collecting money from Protestants illegally claiming that they already owe the money and have to pay the claimed taxes one way or another. Williams speaking of these incidents, claims that the Protestants in the region were mistreated compared to other ethnic and religious communities: "Though the Protestants were the only community in Mardin which owed government no arrearages for taxes, they were the only ones imprisoned! Not a Moslem, Jew, Papist, Jacobite, or Armenian was imprisoned though everyone owed large arrearages."<sup>161</sup>

---

<sup>159</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Annual Survey of the Missions of the Board", January 1870, Vol.: 66, No.: 1, p. 11.

<sup>160</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: The Recent Persecution", December 1868, Vol.: 64, No.: 12, p. 402.

<sup>161</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Statements by Mr. Williams", December 1868, Vol.: 64, No.: 12, p. 404.

On the other hand, from the reports, these actions seem to be exercised by individuals rather than the government represented by the "Mejlis", a formal council in the city as some compensations could be done after negotiations with government officials according to Williams' statements. Nevertheless, the government seems to make little effort to ensure the security of the Protestants in the region. Considering all of these, the missionaries would need to find security solutions using their American citizenship as a tool. They tried to solve this problem by contacting some representatives in Istanbul, the capital while complaining about paying much more taxes than any other community in the city did. They were still waiting for some compensation for the wages they had paid for and improved conditions.<sup>162</sup>

Another problem that Andrus and the other missionaries were confronting was the scattered Christian population in some parts and the lack of spirit to support each other. Moreover, they were seen constantly oppressing each other, which required profound work in those parts of the region.<sup>163</sup> The main issue was to awaken the Protestant spirit and convey the important messages to the community to form a strong unity and solidarity. In this sense, there appeared a need for an active and versatile missionary work that would organize the native community materially and spiritually and resist the external hazards from the authorities and people of other communities.

Under these circumstances, Andrus would start his mission and need more comprehensive knowledge to be prepared for them. Especially the several languages spoken in the city were a big obstacle for those who had little knowledge. He ascertained this multilingual character of the field and saw it as a problem to overcome as soon as possible:

*It was the polyglot character of the people of this wide region, and not their social heterogeneity, which was always a problem to Mr. Williams when attempting effort for them; and that is, to-day, the great obstacle to aggressive work in our field. For its most thorough working, there should be among the missionaries — not necessarily in the case of each individual — a knowledge of Arabic, Koordish, Taurani (a dialect of the Syriac), and Turkish. Had we the gift of tongues there might be hope, but in its absence, who will help us.*<sup>164</sup>

---

<sup>162</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Letters from Mr. Williams", January 1869, Vol.: 65, No.: 1, pp. 23-24.

<sup>163</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", April 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 4, pp. 110-112.

<sup>164</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: A Correction", June 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 6, p. 175.

In his early years, Andrus tried to know the area well and visited the out-stations of Mardin. He attached importance to the potentiality of the areas he observed. One of his early visits to the out-stations was to Karabash, where only six young men formed the Protestant community there. Nevertheless, the spirit in this little group was like a spark of fire, and he asked for help from the Board for this little community.<sup>165</sup> He also visited Sert, another out-station of Mardin, where the situation was entirely satisfactory. For Andrus, the spirit was the essence of a mission. Probably that is why he was happy to see brotherly love among these people and their devotion to the pastor. He expressed his content for the Protestant church and its deeds while negatively describing some other communities: "...among Moslems of the most fanatical stamp, Koords of profound ignorance and utterly lawless, and Christians (!) of most intense bigotry and fierce in their opposition to the truth..."<sup>166</sup>

Missionary Andrus spent his early years in Mardin station with plenty of visits to surrounding areas and out-stations. In this province, where most of the population spoke the Arabic language, he was also interested in Kurdish communities. Among the places he visited were Diarbekir, Redwan, Jezireh, and other Kurdish-speaking parts.<sup>167</sup> Missionary activities were not entirely successful in Kurdish regions. Especially Muslim Kurdish populations would not be the target for that period. Although the general view would consolidate this reality, some work could be exercised among Christian ones in several areas in the region. Redwan was one of the most promising out-stations. The most satisfactory progress in this out-station was building a new chapel here. Andrus knew little or nothing of the Kurdish language in his visit to Redwan.<sup>168</sup> In the following decades, Andrus would study Kurdish in detail, and he would be able to grasp the knowledge of this language to translate religious scripts. The developments in Kurdish-speaking communities such as Redwan arouse his interest in knowing this language better. He was content with the new chapel established in Redwan. When he went to Bakend, near Redwan, the hospitality of a

---

<sup>165</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", October 1869, Vol.: 65, No.: 10, p. 325.

<sup>166</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: The Church and Pastor at Sert", August 1870, Vol.: 66, No.: 8, p. 250.

<sup>167</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Death of A Native Pastor", June 1872, Vol.: 68, No.: 6, p. 180.

<sup>168</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Tour in the Koordish Region", August 1872, Vol.: 68, No.: 8, p. 245.

Muslim Kurd toward them caught his attention. Andrus mentions their arrival at a priest's house there and how he did not want them and showed them the door. Unlike the Christian priest, the Muslim Kurd wanted to host them going down the street. The contrast between the enmity of a Christian and the tolerance and hospitality from a Muslim impressed Andrus very much.<sup>169</sup> This event probably showed him that there also existed toleration in people from Muslim populations. This memory was indeed an exception, but it was one of the most favorable experiences in Kurdish regions. Andrus' observations among Kurds made him interested more in this group. He was considerably content in his travels to Redwan and Sert.

Andrus did not lose time to start new travels to enlarge the Mardin mission. One of the most important fields for him was Mosul, and he worked in this field. He went there also with the idea of opening a Protestant school and reported his observations there. The mission would not be quite easy, for Papal Propaganda was at its best in that period. He emphasized the great Papal influence and power in Mosul. Above all, they had plenty of material sources without charging their students. Under these circumstances, Andrus asked for help from the Board due to the small Protestant community's feeble conditions.<sup>170</sup> Mosul had been a significant field for ABCFM and other missionaries for years and would be so the following years. Andrus' reports helped the Board to get necessary information in order that it could gain more space in this region.

After the death of his wife, Louisa, Andrus returned to the United States, and there he married Miss Olive Parmelee, who was a female missionary from Mardin station.<sup>171</sup> He was also present in the board's annual meeting held in Chicago.<sup>172</sup> They sailed back to Mardin in October 1875, accompanied by Miss Pratt.<sup>173</sup> After their arrival, Andrus did not lose time to continue his work with the same zeal. He received

---

<sup>169</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Tour in the Koordish Region", August 1872, Vol.: 68, No.: 8, p. 246.

<sup>170</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Visit to Mosul - Papal Influence", June 1874, Vol.: 70, No.: 6, pp. 176-177.

<sup>171</sup> Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Personnel records for Olive L. Parmelee Andrus," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #11563, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11563> (02.10.2021).

<sup>172</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Annual Meeting of the Board", November 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 11, p. 354.

<sup>173</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Annual Survey of the Missions of the Board: Eastern Turkey Mission", January 1876, Vol.: 72, No.: 1, p. 5.

a letter from Baghdad to start work there; however, the station had many obstacles in regions surrounding Midyat. Therefore, this request had to be turned down for that time. Andrus sent *The Missionary Herald* a report of the villages in which he claimed that Muslim Kurds and Yezidees were oppressing Christians. The Protestants in one of the villages in Midyat faced opposition and threats by a tyrant when they attempted to repair their building. Although they had official permission from the Diarbekir government, the tyrant hindered the process. Andrus contacted the government at every turn and emphasized their rights as American citizens. In the same report, he finishes his lines by asking for more financial support from the Board.<sup>174</sup> At that time, Andrus asked for financial support and an assistant missionary to help him work. He also acutely warned the Board in a way: "Do not, my dear sir, expect much progress, and let not the churches look for it in this field, so long as one small man and a young doctor are the only force to hold and develop it."<sup>175</sup>

Andrus had practical negotiation skills in his contact with the government officials. During the trying times when the missionaries and their helpers had troubles with the native elements, he played the political card laying stress on his American citizenship to impel the government to act in this way. On the other hand, he was capable of engaging the attention of the Board by his descriptive reports about the mission work and conditions in the region. His reports and articles were both in detail and to the point. For example, Mosul was a city that had great importance for him. In his article, "The Missing Link,"<sup>176</sup> he emphasized the need for exploring and starting a mission in this long-abandoned region. He wrote the article item by item and fixed the board's attention to why it was necessary to work in Mosul. He questioned why this city had been neglected by the Board and explained how important this region had become recently. According to Andrus, a new civilization would appear not only in the European portions of the Ottoman Empire in the phase of the Eastern Question, which aroused the world's attention. This region would be affected profoundly by this development as well. He also mentioned the British focus on Baghdad. The English society in this region was friendly to American missionaries and could help them.

---

<sup>174</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey", September 1876, Vol.: 72, No.: 9, pp. 292-294.

<sup>175</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey: Refining Influence of the Gospel - Pleasant Impressions", December 1876, Vol.: 72, No.: 12, p. 399.

<sup>176</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "The Missing Link", **The Missionary Herald**, March 1877, Vol.: 73, No.: 3, pp. 72-74.

Considering all of his points, one thing was sure that Andrus had a good grasp of politics and could also be analytic as a missionary.

Andrus took the mission forward by his observations in new fields and his works in the already settled station. Nevertheless, there was much work to be accomplished, for one of the mission's main objectives was to make sure that native Protestants would not be financially dependent on the Board. In 1878, the tenth year of Andrus' presence in Mardin, the station was remarkably changed. The community and the missionaries could enlarge and repair a chapel without a single financial help from the Board. Apart from the money collected there, it demonstrated a genuine collaborative spirit among this Protestant community in Mardin. Andrus' influence on this development was strong indeed. He wanted to publish this recent development in the *Missionary Herald* to encourage other small and feeble churches to do the same. Andrus emphasized this significant change as a turning point in the station:

*But more than the success achieved in raising this amount, and finishing the work without any help from the Board, is the joy we have in seeing the wonderful amount of good feeling and brotherly harmony which the effort has developed among the congregation, and the impulse which the church has received in a spiritual direction. Our expectations in this regard are being realized, and we look for a fresh start to the work of the Lord in this city, consequent upon this effort. Don't forget to pray for the little church in Mardin.*<sup>177</sup>

The same spirit helped establish the Normal School in Mardin the same year. Mardin station needed preachers and teachers. For this reason, the proper establishment of a school that would prepare students for the theological seminary was urgently needed. Andrus wanted to involve the community in the foundation of this school and get financial help from them because he wanted them to realize the importance of education and religious matters. The middle school was opened, and a school board was formed with the members, half of whom were chosen from the community. The school started with nine students. While encouraging native communities to provide financial support for churches and schools in the station, Andrus often demanded support from the United States. He reported the current conditions and wanted to evoke their supporters in America: "The sinews of this war are with you. The Master has put the funds into your hands, that you may enjoy the

---

<sup>177</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "How It Was Done", *The Missionary Herald*, June 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 6, p. 182.

luxury of giving, and he still sits over against the treasury to see how you cast in and how much."<sup>178</sup>

There was a need for money, more exploration, and one more missionary. Andrus demanded another colleague for him and Dr. Thom. He had mentioned this requirement several times in the previous years. Dr. Thom was occupied with his duty as a physician, and Andrus had to take care of Mardin station. The question was who would be in the touring saddle exploring surrounding fields and supplying information. The board soon sent this new missionary to meet those necessities. Willis Curtis Dewey arrived at Mardin on November 8th, 1878. The arrival of Dewey lessened the burden on Andrus and made possible the long-awaited travel to Mosul and Baghdad. Andrus was accompanied by Edwin M. Bliss from the American Bible Society.<sup>179</sup>

The church and community in Mosul had improved remarkably, and they were in a better state than the previous years. Andrus considered Baghdad an open field in which some exploration was needed at first. For this reason, a colporteur would be sent there to examine the religious situation of the people in this province. Shemas Suluba, from Diarbekir, was chosen as the colporteur. Baghdad was also convenient to be managed from Mosul, so its situation would depend on the developments in Mosul. This issue was one of the topics in the last annual meeting of the Eastern Turkey Mission. The mission in Mosul meant something special for Andrus. He was anxious to enlarge the Mardin mission to that region and happy to be one of the initiators of this work. These two cities were parts of Nineveh and Babylon once upon a time.<sup>180</sup> Andrus wanted Mosul and Baghdad to be given much attention. He demanded another missionary from the Board who would reside in Mosul for eight months of the year. There were some openings in Mosul, and the colporteur in Baghdad continued his research, observed the conditions there, and communicated with the people. The question was if Baghdad field was occupied or not. Andrus wrote an informative report to the Board, which pointed out its importance. After that report, it was decided to enter Mosul and Baghdad more vividly, and the Prudential Committee started to look for two missionaries to send for Mosul and Baghdad.<sup>181</sup>

---

<sup>178</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Schools at Mardin - Aid from the People", November 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 11, p. 395.

<sup>179</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", October 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 10, p. 383.

<sup>180</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Gleanings from Letters", December 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 12, p. 511.

<sup>181</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Bagdad", October 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 10, pp. 373-376.

That period in the history of the Mardin mission was full of events that considerably affected this station's work. Unstable conditions in some out-stations, results of the Turkish-Russian War, economic distress in the region impeded the work. The impacts of the Ottoman-Russian war in every way were seen in Mardin. Drilling activities continued in Mosul and Baghdad without missionaries residing in these cities. On the other hand, it was also a period of reform. The Ottoman government cleared the way for more freedom by the latest reforms. However, they were not applied in this region of the country by the central government, as Andrus explains the situation in the *Missionary Herald*. Feudality was a big problem to overcome and rebellious acts of Kurds in the region.<sup>182</sup> However, the previous year, Andrus had met the second Imperial Commissioner of Reform, Mannas Effendi, a Papal Armenian, and he had been informed that Mannas Effendi had worked hard with the troops at his command arrest the men of the aghas acting against law and order.<sup>183</sup> The government also increased the operations against the rebels in the region.<sup>184</sup>

After the recent reforms of the Ottoman government, Andrus and his colleagues found more favorable conditions in the missionary work. Without security from the oppression of aghas and lawless rebels, the American missionaries would not lead a fundamental change in the region. Of course, Andrus knew this fact very well. When some areas were cleared of these oppressors, the mission work could be accelerated in the out-stations. In some out-stations, the work had been rather sluggish. Kulleth, for example, was one of the first villages that Williams had intended to start his mission.

Contrary to expectations, it lacked the necessary progress, and this part did not blossom forth. However, it suddenly showed an increase in the growth of Protestantism, and a church was organized there in April 1881, with the help of Andrus and Dewey. It started with nine members, and Elias Sahds was chosen as its pastor. Kulleth was a grand opening because it had the potential to influence Midyat, which was close to this village, and it was a church with a pastor while some churches in the region, such as the one in Sert, still had no pastor. On the other hand, a pastor was

---

<sup>182</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Gleanings from Letters", January 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 1, p. 27.

<sup>183</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Reform in Eastern Turkey", December 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 12, p. 501.

<sup>184</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Midyat", June 1881, Vol.: 77, No.: 6, p. 228.

elected for the church in Kutturbul, Midyat, in June. About two weeks later, Andrus was in Midyat again. Having spent his energy for settlement in the mountains the previous year, he had a great deal of work to do to take the mission forward. From then on, he could deal with more original problems. One of the most hindering conditions for the missionary work was the lack of sources or translations of the Bible in native languages though Midyat was an exception to this situation. There was no biblical source in the Kurdish language either, which could be done in twenty-three years of missionary work in Mardin. In 1881, some Araboo-Kurdish sources prepared to take significant steps in this issue.<sup>185</sup> Andrus was deeply interested in this problem. He often expressed his discontent about the work in Kurdish villages. Even though spiritual life was appreciated among communities, he wanted to take concrete steps in this direction. He was not satisfied with the situation in Kerboran due to the lack of literary function because the work was conducted among Kurdish people there, and there was nothing in written or printed form.<sup>186</sup> Though they suffered a lot from the troubles with other communities, the community in Kerboran was hopeful and enthusiastic regarding religious practices. Nine families became members of the Protestant community, and more was expected in the future. It stood out as one of the "brightest spots" in the field, along with Midyat.<sup>187</sup>

The recent developments in some out-stations of Mardin resulted from Andrus's extensive and to-the-point work. He wanted to ensure that the missionary activities would be carried out under more secure conditions. He communicated with the government officials at every opportunity, used his American citizenship for the benefit of the mission, took advantage of the latest reform acts in the region, encouraged the communities for initiative and self-dependence, and was in negotiation with the Board to supply the necessary amount of money for the mission. One of his most outstanding achievements was the expansion of the Mardin mission to Mosul and Baghdad. Andrus had demanded missionaries for these cities, which the Prudential Committee had approved. Caleb Gates was that missionary who would work in Mosul. He arrived at Mardin in 1881 and went to Mosul in a year without loss of time. Gates

---

<sup>185</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", January 1882, Vol.: 78, No.: 1, pp. 31-32.

<sup>186</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", June 1884, Vol.: 80, No.: 6, p. 235.

<sup>187</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: White Fields", May 1885, Vol.: 81, No.: 5, p. 199.

has an important place in the history of ABCFM. He made a considerable contribution to missionary work. In the later years, he became the president of Euphrates College and Robert College. Thus, Gates' observations and opinions are worth mentioning here. After a period of investigation in Mosul and other out-stations, Gates considered that much more work to do in this region for the evangelical work here had considerably fallen behind, and some progress could be achieved only in recent years. This region had been opened to missionary work a few decades ago and neglected for a very long time. In this sense, Gates appreciated Andrus' efforts of reviving the mission in Mosul. He was also amazed by the progress in Mardin station that Andrus had led for years:

*It is an occasion for regret that the church attendance is only 1,163, or about one half of the total number of Protestants; that the Protestants still form so small a proportion of the Christian population, and are still so far from self-support; and yet, when we review the history of Mardin station, and see that sickness and changes have left only one missionary, much of the time, to care for this wide field, we are moved to say: 'This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvelous in our eyes.'*<sup>188</sup>

Caleb Gates wished to further the mission in Mardin and also appreciated the progress already made by Andrus and the other missionaries. During his duty in Mardin, he was pleased with the developments in this station. In July 1887, Alpheus and Olive Andrus went to the United States.<sup>189</sup> During this time, the recent news in Mardin was reported by Gates in the *Missionary Herald*.<sup>190</sup>

Alpheus Andrus spent nearly two years in the United States. This was a long period for him to stay away from the station. The reason for this long interval is not known very well though the missionaries could return to their homeland due to health problems or their participation in the annual meetings of the Prudential Committee. Thus, either possibility can be considered to be true for this extended stay. Missionaries Gates and Dewey led the mission in Mardin in the absence of Andrus. Gates was highly content with the situation of the theological start. He aimed to establish a self-supporting school that would not depend on the support of the Board. Especially his idealist approach towards the mission made him both unsatisfied and

---

<sup>188</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: The Mardin Station Work", August 1885, Vol.: 81, No.: 8, p. 318.

<sup>189</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Notes for the Month", September 1887, Vol.: 83, No.: 9, p. 368.

<sup>190</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, 1887, Vol.: 83, pp. 149, 272.

enthusiastic. He wanted the careless students to confess Christ. It was evident that he would work actively in the absence of the leader of the Mardin mission.<sup>191</sup>

### 3.2. INTEREST IN KURDS AND THE ARMENIAN EVENTS

It is unknown what topics Andrus discussed with the Board committee in two years; however, it is clear he took an eager interest in Kurdish populations, especially the Yezidee people, after he arrived at Mardin. Yezidees were of Kurdish origin, but their unusual religion made them different from other Kurdish communities. They were worshippers of the devil who was cast out of paradise. In his article, "Concerning the Yezidees," Andrus profiled this community in detail. He described them item by item, yet he wrote that there were much more exciting details he could not write because of the tiny space he had in the Herald. Andrus was looking for opportunities to start evangelical work among these people. There was no hope from the first impression, mainly due to their prejudice against books and reading. However, Andrus saw their way clear to work among these people when an influential Yezidee from a neighborhood in Siverek asked for a teacher in his village.<sup>192</sup> The following year's interest in Yezidees continued, although Andrus or the other missionaries noted no remarkable change. Furthermore, an Islamization process was started by the Sultan towards this community. Andrus hoped it would be unsuccessful and wished the mission work could be exercised among these people.<sup>193</sup>

The only obstacle in front of the mission was not only Islamization. Andrus mentioned four important movements that could affect the course of that field. One was themselves, the Evangelical Church (Protestantism), and there were Islam, Papal Christianity, Old Syrian or Jacobite Church that would-be opponents of the former:

*(1) The first is among the followers of Islam. It is a revival, not of doctrine, nor of life, but of ceremonialism and exclusiveness. There is no increased study of the Koran, nor any indication of a return to the juster dealings which marked the reigns of the earlier caliphs; but there is a decided increase in the cultivation of the Pharisaic spirit and a separation from the more intimate contact and intercourse with the Christian populations. Nor is this movement wholly from*

---

<sup>191</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin", April 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 4, p. 152.

<sup>192</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "Concerning the Yezidees", **The Missionary Herald**, September 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 9, pp. 385-388.

<sup>193</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "More About the Yezidees", **The Missionary Herald**, April 1892, Vol.: 88, No.: 4, pp. 175-176.

within, but it is rather the resultant of two forces--one internal, having its source at the head of the empire, and the other external, with its source in the increasing influence of Europe and America along commercial and educational lines. The Christian populations are responding to these influences and, as a consequence, are progressing, though at a slow pace, while Islam is less mobile and envious is of the progress of her neighbors. So long as the existing régime stands, this movement will be accentuated."

(2) The second movement is the growing activity of the papacy, especially in these parts. The convent and theological school of the papal Syrians, located in Mardin, right over against our own schools, is to be at once enlarged to double its present capacity. At a neighboring village a score of houses have just been bought over to the papacy by its payment of their back taxes and fines for withholding names from the soldier tax list. A new and more vigorous campaign for the conquest of these Bible lands for the papacy is being entered upon, dating from the close of the conference referred to, November 10, 1894.

(3) The third movement is the accelerated disorganization of the Old Syrian or Jacobite Church and community. Several causes have been and are still at work to give impetus to the downward trend of the Jacobite Syrians.... For the first time in the history of this church and of ecclesiasticism in this empire, the government has stepped in and boldly intimated who of the bishops shall not be allowed to be chosen patriarch by the Jacobite community, while on the other hand it holds the office before the remaining eligible candidates subject to the highest bidder.... Already the evil effects of such a chaotic condition of affairs are beginning to be seen in the defection of some to the papal Syrians, and in the closing of schools for lack both of funds and interest necessary to their maintenance." "

(4) The fourth movement has come up among these movements like the 'little horn' of the seer, and is destined to pluck them up by the roots. The evangelical movement is still a 'little horn,' but it is a horn -- even the horn of David (Ps. 132:17), and a 'horn of salvation' (Luke 1:69). It is pushing against the first movement and compelling it to acknowledge the presence of a spirit that is not Pharisaical. It is pushing against the second movement and making the people of all creeds to own that there is a form of Christianity that is not bound in the swaddling clothes of ceremony and ritual, and that owns not Rome as the centre of its unity and authority, but holds up the freedom of the individual in Christ with responsibility to him alone. It is pushing against the third movement and beginning to attract its better element which is growing weary with the disintegration, contention, and strife, and the ignorance which breeds and fosters them."

The pressure of this 'little horn' is, of course, always and only a moral one, and is quietly but steadily increasing. The very important question with us here and now is, how to maintain this pressure and, if possible, increase it with diminishing resources.<sup>194</sup>

The work among the Yezidee community was not successful, yet Andrus' efforts towards Kurdish communities in general never stopped. Andrus drew up an article called "The Koormanji Kurds," in which he mentioned typical characteristics of these people in detail. For him, some of the most exciting issues regarding Kurds

---

<sup>194</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Four Prominent Movements", September 1895, Vol.: 91, No.: 9, pp. 367-368.

were their clothes, places they lived, and cultural traits. On the other hand, he referred to the feudalism in these communities, which he resembled in Europe during the Middle Ages. As already stated in this thesis, Andrus had something against the feudal aghas. He did his best to get rid of these figures and operations of the Ottoman government against some of these local lords who often helped him. Above all, Andrus was also interested in the origin of the Kurds. He referred to many possibilities regarding their origin and concluded that Kurds came from the "Medes", who were likely the same people referred to in Genesis 10:2 as the name "Madai." He based the missionary work among the Kurds on this historical and religious inference. Indeed, he was also a firm believer in the evangelization of Kurds sooner or later.<sup>195</sup> That is why he insisted on a full-fledged translation of the Bible to Kurdish. Andrus spent plenty of years for this purpose, but it was not easy to work after all. The translation issue was a long and trying work due to the lack of an alphabet and a systematic structure in this language. After a long time of work, an Armeno- Kurdish Hymn-book and the translation of the Gospel of Matthew from the Armeno-Kurdish to the Arabo-Kurdish could be written.<sup>196</sup> The translation of the Bible to Kurdish, which Andrus had begun years ago, continued after his death with the efforts of Henry H. Riggs. Kurds had no alphabet, and Andrus had a good knowledge of Arabic. That is why he had used Arabic letters in the translation. The same problem confronted Riggs when he tried to complete a well-prepared translation. Most Kurds lived in Turkish-speaking regions; therefore, Riggs was to rewrite the one that Andrus had prepared with the Arabic letters that had no vowel signs and were used in writing the Turkish language. With this version, more than two million Kurds in the Turkish lands would access the New Testament.<sup>197</sup>

Kurds were not one of the main targets for the missionary work in Mardin in the beginning, and they became more of an issue over the years. Missionary interest in Kurdish populations also alerted Sultan Abdulhamid. According to Kieser, Kurds were unsure about their socio-political identity, so they sought new guidance. Therefore, the Sultan would not leave this ethnicity to a foreign influence. Kieser suggests that the

---

<sup>195</sup> Alpheus Newell Andrus, "The Koormanji Koords", **The Missionary Herald**, January 1902, Vol.: 98, No.: 1, pp. 43-46.

<sup>196</sup> Hewitt, p. 483.

<sup>197</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Editorial Notes: The Kurdish New Testament", December 1921, Vol.: 117, No.: 12, p. 403.

Sultan considered the Protestant missionaries a threat against Islamization among these people, although Catholicism was not perceived in the same way. To consolidate the Sunni identity of the Kurds, Abdulhamid included them in the privileged cavalry units, which were called Hamidiye Regiments.<sup>198</sup> Andrus did his best to accelerate the work among the Kurdish populations under these political circumstances.

While the Sultan started the systematic integration of Sunni Kurds into the Ottoman identity, Andrus and the Board missionaries in the region considered written documents in Kurdish as the best way to influence these people. Things went quite well in some Kurdish regions for the missionaries; however, failing to supply written sources for Kurds would only provide a short-term gain. During the mid-1890s, for example, the progress in Kerboran, where the missionary work was exercised in Kurdish, considerably surprised Andrus. In the previous years, a chapel had been built there without any financial support from the Board. However, there was still nothing written in the Kurdish language. He had begun transliterating into Arabo-Kurdish, the Armeno-Kurdish Gospel of Matthew.<sup>199</sup> It was a considerable step in this sense indeed. It would not be exaggerating to say that these efforts on the Kurdish Bible issue influenced separatist emotions among these people since Andrus and other missionaries did detailed research about the history and origin of the Kurds and how they could create an alphabet written sources of their language.

During that period, two significant events affected Andrus and hindered his works in the region. One was the retrenchment of the Board on the missions, which was probably due to the economic depression of 1893 in the United States. The impact of the retrenchment on the mission over five years had been overwhelming. It was a turning point for them.<sup>200</sup> The other trouble-making issue was the Armenian Events of 1895-1896. The rebellious acts of Armenian groups in the region led to a series of tragic events that still occupy an important place in history. In this domestic turbulence, the influence of American missionaries has always been the subject of debate. The American Board had helped very much to the internationalization of the

---

<sup>198</sup> Hans-Lukas Kieser, "Mission as Factor of Change in Turkey (nineteenth to first half of twentieth century)," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol.: 13, No.: 4, 2002, pp. 396-397.

<sup>199</sup> *The Missionary Herald*, "Eastern Turkey Mission", August 1894, Vol.: 90, No.: 8, p. 334.

<sup>200</sup> *The Missionary Herald*, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Four Prominent Movements", September 1895, Vol.: 91, No.: 9, p. 368.

Armenian Question during the previous years.<sup>201</sup> Their efforts were to protect the native Armenians among whom they conducted missionary activities. The real problem was whether American missionaries and their helpers incited the actions for a separate Armenia. According to Bozan, Armenian activities for a separate state from the Ottoman Empire were significantly influenced by some written works classified by the Ottoman authorities as "Evrak-Muzırır" (Harmful Papers), and among the ones who propagated these documents were the person working in the missionary schools. One of the most prominent figures was Hanosh Efendi, a member of the ABCFM in Mardin station. He was accused of penning provocative papers that led to the events in Nusaybin. Hanosh Efendi and his two friends from the Protestant community were sentenced to heavy imprisonment, five years for each.<sup>202</sup>

Eight pastors and preachers from the Mardin station lost their lives during these tragic events.<sup>203</sup> Andrus and other missionaries were deeply affected in consequence of the Armenian events. They were tracked more often by the authorities after these events. Andrus, along with some students and other people accused of political offenses, would be arrested if necessary. He even went to the consul at Diarbekir to put himself under the protection of this consul. The American minister in Istanbul made great efforts to solve this problem. At this time, some students dropped out of school and tried to hide in their homes for fear of a general arrest.<sup>204</sup> Thus, it was a dark period for the Mardin mission in which the headman of the station even had difficulties maintaining security for himself. After almost five years from the Armenian Events, he went to the United States to spend some time there. Andrus, his wife, and Miss Pratt arrived in the United States on November 21, 1900.<sup>205</sup>

---

<sup>201</sup> Kieser, p. 400.

<sup>202</sup> Bozan, pp. 39-40.

<sup>203</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Annual Survey: Turkey", November 1907, Vol.: 103, No.: 11, p. 550.

<sup>204</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Editorial Paragraphs: Arrests in Mardin", June 1899, Vol.: 95, No.: 6, p. 221.

<sup>205</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Notes for the Month", January 1901, Vol.: 97, No.: 1, p. 33.

### 3.3. A TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND ALPHEUS NEWELL ANDRUS' LAST YEARS IN TURKEY

As stated before, Abdulhamid's attempts to end American missionary activities in the Ottoman lands failed due to the international political pressure in the early years of the twentieth century. Therefore, it can be said that the pressure on the missionaries after the Armenian Events relatively eased off. In December, Andrus, his wife, and Miss Agnes Fenenga, the new female missionary, returned to Mardin. After this period, things were back on track for missionary work. Mardin station maintained its expansion to other regions. It supplied teachers for the cities such as Aleppo, Mosul, and Baghdad. A teacher was also sent to a college in Asyut, Egypt. Andrus emphasized the significance of Mardin station mentioning this expansion: "So the benefits of the plant established here are not confined to the narrow borders of our station field."<sup>206</sup>

Andrus was content with the current conditions in the station in general. He continued his visits to the out-stations and hosted people in Mardin. The good news was coming from the works in Diarbekir and Karabash. According to him, the region, which contained cities such as Mardin, Diarbekir, Mosul, and Baghdad, would come into prominence shortly when the railroad to the Persian Gulf started to work. In his report to the Board, he called for growing attention to this region. They were not supposed to fail or experience a regression.<sup>207</sup> More missionaries, financial support, and fewer government hindrance were needed for extensive work throughout the region. Besides, Andrus reported some adverse conditions in the region. It seemed that the government would put back the missionary work by raising difficulties for the missionaries rather than targeting them directly. Andrus reported to the Board that the Ottoman government had pigeonholed the application of the Protestants to build a church for a very long time. The main issue in this report was the retrenchment and financial troubles in this station. He complained that they could not receive enough support from the Board and donators in this respect. As a result of this deficiency, they

---

<sup>206</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Supplying Teachers", January 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 1, p. 28.

<sup>207</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Evangelistic Work at Mardin - Prospects", July 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 7, p. 307.

were obliged to resort to partial support from the native helpers. Some other amounts of money would be expected from the United States.<sup>208</sup>

Andrus was well known for his touring in the region, which is why Gertrude Bell mentioned him as a person who knew the region well.<sup>209</sup> Due to the circumstances and his growing age, he was probably not seen in touring reports during his recent years in the mission. He mostly remained at the forefront of the educational work. He was also a lecturer in the newly started Islam courses and dealt with the historical development of this religion. Nevertheless, he did travel to surrounding provinces if necessary. Still, as the head of the Mardin station, he attended the annual meeting held in July 1912 in Erzurum.<sup>210</sup> With the First World War outbreak, traveling opportunities in the empire became more difficult. Besides, Andrus was too old for this extensive kind of work. Therefore, he worked in the education department and wanted to devote partly his time to Kurdish translation work, and he was permitted for this by the Board.

Also, Williams College, his Alma Mater, had conferred a doctorate of divinity upon him in 1914.<sup>211</sup> It can be said that these were the signs of retirement for Andrus in a sense, although he would continue his missionary work in Mardin. However, the conditions did not permit him to carry on his work. In 1915, Andrus, Dr. Thom, and Miss Fenenga were sent to Sivas after spending some time in Diarbekir and Harpoot. Dr. Thom caught typhus and died in Sivas. The following year, Andrus and other missionaries were sent to Istanbul. After the United States declared war on the Ottoman Empire, the missionaries had to leave the country in 1917.<sup>212</sup>

Having worked nearly fifty years as an ABCFM missionary in Turkey, Andrus arrived in New York on June 15, 1917.<sup>213</sup> Whether he believed to go back to Mardin one day, he went on with his works in the United States. He maintained his studies of Kurdish language and grammar to help other missionaries who would go to the Turkish lands and work among the Kurds there.<sup>214</sup> When he died on January 12, 1919, his works were left unfinished. He had worked on translating the New Testament into

---

<sup>208</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "Eastern Turkey Mission: Cramped on Every Side", November 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 11, pp. 523-524.

<sup>209</sup> Bozan, p. 31.

<sup>210</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "The Chronicle", October 1912, Vol.: 108, No.: 10, p. 473.

<sup>211</sup> Hewitt, p. 483.

<sup>212</sup> Bozan, p. 44.

<sup>213</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "The Chronicle", July 1917, Vol.: 113, No.: 7, p. 345.

<sup>214</sup> **The Missionary Herald**, "The Chronicle", February 1918, Vol.: 114, No.: 2, pp. 94-95.

Kurdish and made progress as far as the fifth chapter of the Book of Revelation.<sup>215</sup> However, his contributions to the Kurdish language and other accomplishments throughout his missionary life made his mark in history.



---

<sup>215</sup> R. Stanley M. Emrich, “Dr. Andrus, of Mardin”, **The Missionary Herald**, March 1919, Vol.: 115, No.: 3, pp. 107-108.

## CONCLUSION

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) did many works during the last hundred years of the Ottoman Empire. The organization especially had crucial impacts on the latest era of the empire by the activities of its missionaries among many communities in its various regions. Much as activities of these missionaries, at first glance, did not pose distinct threats for weakened Ottoman state, they had a profound impact on the disintegration among societies throughout its lands by a systematic missionary, educational and institutional work. When the first American Board missionaries, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons started to work in the Ottoman lands, the conditions were not quite ripe for the American Board missionaries in the empire. With the beginning of Ottoman-American official relations, the Board missionaries could find opportunities to exercise their activities in a well-settled environment. It is seen that many prominent figures of the Board came to Turkey and started their extensive works since that period. Among these missionaries were Daniel Temple, Jonas King, Eli Smith, Rufus Anderson, Elias Riggs, William Goodell, William Schauffler, Cyrus Hamlin, Harrison G.O. Dwight, and Benjamin Schneider.

The board missionaries opened churches, schools, and hospitals in critical regions throughout the years to convert people living in these regions to Protestantism. For this purpose, they contacted native communities, learned their languages, and prepared written sources for them. They got involved with social developments and strove to stand against inhibitory elements such as local authorities, the other religious communities, and bandits. American Board missionaries also took advantage of the political atmosphere between Ottoman and American governments as well as the leverage of the United States in critical conditions. Over time, they gained special rights with several reform acts declared by the Ottoman governments. Due to the misuse of these rights by the American missionaries, American missionary activities, especially educational works, were examined by the Ottoman officials during the reign of Abdulhamid II. The Sultan attempted to control American Board schools and missionary activities after noticing them as threats to the unity among Ottoman nations. He believed that the Ottoman education system needed to be modernized with

reforms to compete with foreign schools and keep its societies from the impact of foreign elements.

Whether the Sultan succeeded in restraining the adverse impacts of missionary activities has been a debate question for years. American Board missionary activities in the Ottoman lands showed a marked improvement. They affected the socio-political events and education system in the Ottoman lands from the early activities of the first Board missionaries to the early twentieth century. The American Board especially succeeded in converting Armenian communities, most of whom lived in Eastern Turkey. They also worked among Greeks, Arabs, Kurds, and Assyrians. They attached particular importance to Eastern Turkey in missionary activities and changing political conditions.

As one of the most important stations in Eastern Turkey, the American Board exercised intensive missionary work in Mardin, the only station of the Board in Turkey where the work was carried out in the Arabic language. The missionaries could find a suitable setting for missionary activities because the city harbored various ethnic groups such as Arabs, Kurds, Armenians, and Assyrians. They also institutionalized by opening schools and a hospital in the city and other Mardin foundations. When Frederick Williams moved from Mosul to Mardin in 1858, he established a station with considerable influence in Eastern Turkey. As the missionary activities in Mardin station progressed, it also helped its out-stations and other vital regions to grow in time.

The city's multi-cultural atmosphere, location, and healthy weather created an ideal setting for the ABCFM missionaries. Over time, Mardin became a central place among the Board stations in Eastern Turkey. In this development process, the Board missionary Alpheus Newell Andrus played a significant role as the head of the Mardin station. His activities resulted in expanding the American Board missions in Mardin and the regions surrounding this city. Apart from the evangelization of the people in these regions, he helped to change socio-political conditions in the region. He made observations among various communities and wrote about them.

Andrus was the head missionary of the Mardin station and was a prominent figure who was in touch with other stations. Especially during the first half of his years in Mardin, he traveled vigorously to other fields where new possibilities for missionary

work could be found. Mosul and Baghdad were some of these places which were given great importance even though these cities had stiff geographical conditions, especially in summer. Andrus demanded other missionaries be sent from the American Board to extend the Mardin station and also helped to open new out-stations surrounding the city.

Mardin was a city for many missionaries and foreign figures to travel to know and examine the region better. The reports show that the city was beaten to travel to some politically significant places in the South, such as Mosul and Baghdad. In this sense, Mardin station and its head missionary Andrus worked extensively to shape the region throughout the decades. He guided and hosted foreign travelers in Mardin, and his reports helped them know the region well and report information about it. He was a missionary who had the necessary knowledge of politics. He stayed in touch with other foreign travelers and agents swarming all over the region, and his involvement with the Ottoman Empire's minority troubles made him a key actor in Eastern Turkey. His social and political insight helped him grasp emerging minority issues such as the Armenian Question in the region. Andrus reported these internal problems of the Ottoman Empire and contributed to their internationalization. Therefore, he came to the forefront as a figure who got involved with the social and political events in addition to his duty as an American Board missionary.

The main motive for the intervention of foreign powers in the Ottoman internal affairs was the minority issue in terms of religion. The American Board missionaries worked hard to convert minorities and create more spaces among other communities in these circumstances. Andrus was one of the most critical Board missionaries in this sense. During the conflict between the Protestants and other communities, he could handle the situations pretty well most of the time. He maintained his contact with the Ottoman officials as often as possible, and sometimes he strengthened his relations with them. When the Sultan started a struggle against some feudal lords and bandits, Andrus' support was apparent because these figures were also the troublemakers for the ABCFM missionaries in the region and perturbators for public order.

On the other hand, Andrus and other Board missionaries developed a relatively favorable relationship with local representatives of the Ottoman government. For example, the Board schools were visited by some Ottoman officials and appreciated

in terms of education. However, the Board activities were regarded as harmful after they were involved with riotous events such as the Armenian Events of 1895, and Andrus was even considered an agitator. During such times, Andrus played the political card when required. He emphasized his American citizenship during conflict just as other Board missionaries and used the American leverage as a shield to protect himself, missionaries, and native Protestant communities. Therefore, Andrus and his activities must be analyzed in terms of social and political reality.

Andrus also worked on Kurdish communities, another outstanding group in Turkey, and studied the Kurdish language to systematize it by translating the Bible. His efforts to create Kurdish written sources for missionary purposes were later maintained by others, which was a significant outcome in the history of the American Board missions. During the era of Abdulhamid II, Andrus tried to reverse the Sultan's policy on the Kurds which aimed to make them an inseparable part of the Islamization among Ottoman nations. He gave a particular interest to Yezidees. His articles let the Board and its followers know about this small and exciting community. Either because he lost interest in them or he saw the impracticability of their conversion, Andrus could not accomplish a result among Yezidees. However, his efforts on the Kurds never stopped from the beginning to the end.

Considering the social dynamics, disorder among communities, changing values and circumstances in the Ottoman Empire, it is essential to take various factors into account. As one of these factors, the American Board influenced the Ottoman Empire profoundly by its systematic and long-term educational and missionary activities. Indeed, all American Board missionaries impacted the dissolution of the empire. However, the missionaries such as Andrus, who could extend his exercises to more wide fields, gathered intelligence in the region, and served as a guide to foreign elements, are principal of capital importance in the history of the ABCFM and its long-term activities. In this sense, the examination of Andrus' life and his missionary activities in Eastern Turkey helps to comprehend both the changing dynamics in the dissolving period of the empire and the role of the American Board in the events of this dramatic social change.

## REFERENCES

Aksu, Ayşe. **Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Osmanlı Anadolu'sundaki Eğitim Faaliyetleri (1820-1900) ve Bunun Osmanlı Toplum Yapısına Etkileri**, (Unpublished Phd Thesis), Marmara University Institute of Social Sciences, İstanbul, 2010.

Aksu, Ayşe. “Cumhuriyet Devri Amerikan Okullarının Dinî ve Ahlakî Eğitim Değerlerindeki Dönüşüm”, **Değerler ve Eğitimi - II Sempozyum Bildirileri Kitabı**, İstanbul, 2015, (Değerler), pp. 829-854.

Akyüz, Yahya. "Abdülhamit Devrinde Protestan Okulları ile İlgili İki Belge", **Ankara University Journal of Faculty of Educational Sciences**, Vol.: 3, No.: 1, 1970, pp. 121-130.

Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), İstanbul, "Memorial records for Fred F. Goodsell", American Research Institute in Turkey, İstanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #16924, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/orc-exhibit/items/show/collection/12/id/16924> (12.09.2021).

Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), İstanbul, "Dr. Caleb Frank Gates, president of Robert College, 1903-1932 : an appreciation", American Research Institute in Turkey, İstanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #11093, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/orc-exhibit/items/show/collection/6/id/11093> (23.09.2021).

Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), İstanbul, "Memorial records for Willis C. Dewey", American Research Institute in Turkey, İstanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #16831, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/16831> (23.09.2021).

Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Memorial records for Agnes Fenenga", American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #16876, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/16876> (23.09.2021).

Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Memorial records for John A. Ainslie", American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #16654, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/16654> (25.09.2021).

Amerikan Bord Heyeti (American Board), Istanbul, "Personnel records for Olive L. Parmelee Andrus," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #11563, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11563> (02.10.2021).

Anderson, Rufus **Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims**, 3rd Ed., Charles Scribner and Company, Boston, 1870.

Andrus, Alpheus N. "Concerning the Yezidees", **The Missionary Herald**, September 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 9, p. 385-388.

Andrus, Alpheus N. "How It Was Done", **The Missionary Herald**, June 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 6, pp. 180-185.

Andrus, Alpheus N. "Mardin", **Missionary Herald**, October 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 10, pp. 289-292.

Andrus, Alpheus N. "More About the Yezidees", **The Missionary Herald**, April 1892, Vol.: 88, No.: 4, pp. 175-178.

Andrus, Alpheus N. "Oppression in Turkey A Specimen Case", **Missionary Herald**, September 1881, Vol.: 77, No.: 9, p. 350-351.

Andrus, Alpheus N. "The Koormanji Koords", **The Missionary Herald**, January 1902, Vol.: 98, No.: 1, p. 43-46.

Andrus, Alpheus N. "The Missing Link", **The Missionary Herald**, March 1877, Vol.: 73, No.: 3, p. 72-74.

Barton, James L. "Survey of the Fields, 1910-1911: Colleges at Van and Mardin, Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, November 1911, Vol.: 107, No.: 11, p. 529.

Beaver, R. Pierce. "The Legacy of Rufus Anderson", **Occasional Bulletin of Missionary Research**, Vol.: 3, No.: 3, 1979, pp. 94-97.

Bowen, Marcellus. "The Interior of Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 10, pp. 401-402.

Bozan, Oktay. "XIX. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Mardin'de Amerikan Misyonerlerinin Faaliyetleri", **e-Şarkiyat İlmi Araştırmalar Dergisi**, No.: XII, 2014, pp. 21-48.

Crawford, L. S. **Turkey: A Course of Twelve Lessons**, Woman's Board of Missions, Boston, 1899.

Çağlayan, Murat. "Cumhuriyet Taşrasında Geleneksel Üzerine Modern Şehirleşme: Mardin Örneği", **International Symposium on Civilization, Cities and Architecture**, Istanbul, 2016, pp. 1-21.

Çevik, Adnan. "Üçyüz Yıllık Bir Başkent: Mardin", **1st International Symposium of Mardin History Papers**, Istanbul, 2006, pp. 63-77.

"Definition of mission". Oxford University Press. Lexico.com. 29 September 2021.  
<https://www.lexico.com/definition/mission?locale=en>

Dewey, Willis C. "Mardin in Mesopotamia", **The Missionary Herald**, March 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 3, pp. 94-97.

**Eighty-First Annual Report of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions**, "Eastern Turkey Mission", 1891, p. 45.

Emrich, R. Stanley M. "Dr. Andrus, of Mardin", **The Missionary Herald**, March 1919, Vol.: 115, No.: 3, pp. 107-108.

Fenenga, Agnes. "The Mother of Many Daughters: Olive Parmelee Andrus, Mardin, Turkey", **Light and Life**, January 1911, vol.: 41, No.: 1, pp. 14-17.

Geary, Grattan. **Through Asiatic Turkey: Narrative of A Journey From Bombay to the Bosphorus**, Vol.: II, London, 1878.

Herzog, Christoph and Sharif, Malek (Ed.). **The First Ottoman Experiment in Democracy**, Ergon Verlag Würzburg in Kommission, 2010.

Hewitt, John H. **Williams College and Foreign Missions: Biographical Sketches of Williams College Men who Have Rendered Special Service to the Cause of Foreign Missions**, The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1914.

Kieser, Hans-Lukas. "Mission as Factor of Change in Turkey (nineteenth to first half of twentieth century)," **Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations**, Vol.: 13, No.: 4, 2002, pp. 391-410.

Kocabaşoğlu, Uygur. **Anadolu'daki Amerika: Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları**, 3rd Ed., İmge Kitabevi Yayınları, Ankara, 2000.

Korkut, Tahsin and Karaca, Yalçın. "2017 Yılı Mardin ve Batman İllerinde (Turabdin Bölgesi) Hristiyan Mimarisi Konusunda Yüzey Araştırması", **36. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı**, T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, Vol.: 3, Ankara, 2019, pp. 407-426.

Kurtaran, Uğur. "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Millet Sistemi", **Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi**, No.: 8, 2011.

Laurie, Thomas. **Dr. Grant and the Mountain Nestorians**, Boston, 1853.

Leon, Arpee. "A Century of Armenian Protestantism", **Church History**, Vol.: 5, No.: 2, 1936, pp. 150-167.

"Mardin'in Tarihi", <http://www.mardinimiz.com/tarih.htm> (07.05.2021)

Ortaylı, İlber. **İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı**, 2nd Ed., Hil Yayın, İstanbul, 1987.

Özcoşar, İbrahim. **19. Yüzyılda Mardin Süryanileri**, Erciyes University Institute of Social Sciences, Kayseri, 2006.

Özcoşar, İbrahim. "Osmanlı Dönemi Mardin Ermenilerinde Dini Değişim", **Gaziantep University Journal of Social Sciences**, Vol.: 7, No.: 2, 2008, (Değişim), pp. 427-440.

Prime, Edward D. G. **Forty Years in the Turkish Empire: or, Memoirs of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., Late Missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. at Constantinople**, 4th Ed., Robert Carter and Brothers Publishers, New York, 1877.

Smith, Eli. **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 Nestorian and Chaldean Christians of Oormiah and Salmas**, Vol.: I, Boston, 1833.

Smith, Judson. "The Crisis in Turkey", **The Missionary Herald**, November 1896, Vol.: 92, pp. 443-451.

Southgate, Horatio. **Narrative of A Tour Through Armenia, Kurdistan, Persia, and Mesopotamia: With Observations On The Condition Of Mohammedanism And Christianity In Those Countries**, Vol.: II, Bradbury and Evans, London, 1840.

Stone, Frank A. **Academis For Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey: 1830-2005**, Caddo Gap Press, San Francisco, 2006.

Taşkın, Faruk. "Amerikan Board Misyonerlerinin Türkiye'deki Sağlık Faaliyetleri (1833-1923)", **Journal of Eurasian Inquires**, Vol.: 6, No.: 2, 2017, pp. 149-175.

**The Missionary Herald**, "Palestine Mission: Letter from Messrs. Fisk and Parsons to the Corresponding Secretary", January 1821, Vol.: 17, No.: 1, pp. 19-20.

**The Missionary Herald**, "Palestine Mission: Letter from Messrs. Fisk and Parsons to the Corresponding Secretary", June 1822, Vol.: 18, No.: 6, pp. 178-179.

**The Missionary Herald**, "Mission to Western Turkey", November 1860, Vol.: 56, No.: 11, pp. 342-343.

**The Missionary Herald**, "Mission to Eastern Turkey: Station Reports", July 1862, Vol.: 58, No.: 7, pp. 217-220.

**The Missionary Herald**, "Survey of the Missions of the Board: Eastern Turkey", January 1863, Vol.: 59, No.: 1, p. 4.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Mardin: Station Report”, May 1863, Vol.: 59, No.: 5, pp. 146-147.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Station Reports”, May 1868, Vol.: 64, No.: 5, pp. 152-153.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Monthly Summary: Embarkation”, June 1868, Vol.: 64, No.: 6, p. 200.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: The Recent Persecution”, December 1868, Vol.: 64, No.: 12, pp. 401-403.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Statements by Mr. Williams”, December 1868, Vol.: 64, No.: 12, pp. 403-404.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Letters from Mr. Williams”, January 1869, Vol.: 65, No.: 1, pp. 23-24.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission”, October 1869, Vol.: 65, No.: 10, pp. 324-326.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Annual Survey of the Missions of the Board”, January 1870, Vol.: 66, No.: 1, pp. 7-17.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Mission Schools”, May 1870, Vol.: 66, No.: 5, pp. 145-148.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: The Church and Pastor at Sert”, August 1870, Vol.: 66, No.: 8, pp. 250-251.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: A Tour in Koordistan”, April 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 4, pp. 109-113.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Woman’s Work: Letter from Miss Parmelee”, April 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 4, pp. 117, 118.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission”, April 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 4, pp. 109-113.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Death of Rev. W. F. Williams”, May 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 5, pp. 134-135.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: A Correction”, June 1871, Vol.: 67, No.: 6, p. 175.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Theological School at Mardin”, April 1872, Vol.: 68, No.: 4, pp. 115-117.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Death of A Native Pastor”, June 1872, Vol.: 68, No.: 6, pp. 180-181.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Tour in the Koordish Region”, August 1872, Vol.: 68, No.: 8, pp. 245-247.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Visit to Mosul - Papal Influence”, June 1874, Vol.: 70, No.: 6, pp. 176-177.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Annual Meeting of the Board”, November 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 11, pp. 321-355.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Annual Survey of the Missions of the Board”, January 1875, Vol.: 71, No.: 1, p. 6.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Annual Survey of the Missions of the Board: Eastern Turkey Mission”, January 1876, Vol.: 72, No.: 1, p. 5.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey”, September 1876, Vol.: 72, No.: 9, pp. 292-294.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey: Refining Influence of the Gospel - Pleasant Impressions”, December 1876, Vol.: 72, No.: 12, p. 399.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Items from the Missions”, May 1877, Vol.: 73, No.: 5, p. 145.

**The Missionary Herald**, “British Quarterly Review on ‘The Americans in Turkey’: The Improved Condition of Woman”, May 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 5, pp. 139-145.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Interest in Mardin - A Needy Out-Station”, May 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 5, pp. 160-161.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Schools at Mardin - Aid from the People”, November 1878, Vol.: 74, No.: 11, pp. 394-395.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin - The Evangelical Work”, October 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 10, p. 380.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission”, October 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 10, pp. 380-384.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Gleanings from Letters”, November 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 11, p. 474.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Reform in Eastern Turkey”, December 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 12, p. 501.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Gleanings from Letters”, December 1879, Vol.: 75, No.: 12, p. 511.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Gleanings from Letters”, January 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 1, p. 27.

**The Missionary Herald**, “A Colporter at Bagdad”, April 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 4, p. 136.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission”, April 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 4, pp. 134-136.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Karabash - A New Church”, April 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 4, p. 135.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Bagdad”, October 1880, Vol.: 76, No.: 10, pp. 373-376.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: A Few New Helpers”, March 1881, Vol.: 77, No.: 3, p. 104.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Midyat”, June 1881, Vol.: 77, No.: 6, p. 228.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission”, January 1882, Vol.: 78, No.: 1, pp. 31-32.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: The Mardin Field”, September 1882, Vol.: 78, No.: 9, pp. 354-355.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Persecutions at Kerboran”, January 1883, Vol.: 79, No.: 1, pp. 28-29.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Editorial Paragraphs”, December 1883, Vol.: 79, No.: 12, p. 472.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: The Schools at Mardin - Official Visitation”, January 1884, Vol.: 80, No.: 1, pp. 25-26.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission”, June 1884, Vol.: 80, No.: 6, pp. 234-236.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: White Fields”, May 1885, Vol.: 81, No.: 5, pp. 198-199.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: The Mardin Station Work”, August 1885, Vol.: 81, No.: 8, p. 318.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Reports of Committees on the Annual Report”, December 1885, Vol.: 81, No.: 12, pp. 509-510.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Notes for the Month”, September 1887, Vol.: 83, No.: 9, p. 368.

**The Missionary Herald**, 1887, Vol.: 83, pp. 149, 272.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: The Famine”, May 1888, Vol.: 84, No.: 5, p. 213.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin.-The Boys’ High School”, October 1888, Vol.: 84, No.: 10, pp. 436-438.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin - Letter from a Native Pastor”, November 1888, Vol.: 84, No.: 11, pp. 504-505.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Mardin”, April 1889, Vol.: 85, No.: 4, pp. 152-153.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Editorial Paragraphs”, September 1890, Vol.: 86, No.: 9, p. 349.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Letters from the Missions: Eastern Turkey Mission”, October 1892, Vol.: 88, No.: 10, pp. 406-408.

**The Missionary Herald**, “A Message from the Evangelical Church of Mardin, Eastern Turkey”, August 1893, Vol.: 89, No.: 8, pp. 316-317.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: A Summer Tour in Mesopotamia”, October 1893, Vol.: 89, No.: 10, pp. 471-472.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission”, August 1894, Vol.: 90, No.: 8, pp. 332-334.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: The Papists at Mardin”, October 1894, Vol.: 90, No.: 10, pp. 427-428.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Four Prominent Movements”, September 1895, Vol.: 91, No.: 9, pp. 367-368.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Churches of the Mardin Station”, October 1895, Vol.: 91, No.: 10., pp. 401-402.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Editorial Paragraphs: Arrests in Mardin”, June 1899, Vol.: 95, No.: 6, p. 221.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Notes for the Month”, January 1901, Vol.: 97, No.: 1, p. 33.

**Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Supplying Teachers”, January 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 1, p. 28.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Items from the Missions”, March 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 3, p. 122.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Evangelistic Work at Mardin - Prospects”, July 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 7, p. 307.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Eastern Turkey Mission: Cramped on Every Side”, November 1903, Vol.: 99, No.: 11, pp. 523-524.

**The Missionary Herald**, “The Missionary Herald Extra”, July 1905, Vol.: 101, No.: 7, p. 386.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Letters from the Missions”, December 1905, Vol.: 101, No.: 12, pp. 647-649.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Annual Survey: Turkey”, November 1907, Vol.: 103, No.: 11, pp. 543-562.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Editorial Notes: A College for Mardin”, June 1909, Vol.: 105, No.: 6, p. 234.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Field Notes: Mardin Theologues Studying Islam”, December 1910, Vol.: 106, No.: 12, p. 568.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Field Notes: In Peril of Robbers”, June 1912, Vol.: 108, No.: 6, pp. 277-278.

**The Missionary Herald**, “The Chronicle”, October 1912, Vol.: 108, No.: 10, p. 473.

**The Missionary Herald**, “The Chronicle”, January 1915, Vol.: 111, No.: 1, p. 45.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Turkey: Letters from Various Scenes”, April 1915, Vol.: 111, No.: 4, p. 189.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Two Devoted Physicians”, February 1916, Vol.: 112, No.: 2, p. 70.

**The Missionary Herald**, “The Chronicle”, October 1916, Vol.: 112, No.: 10, p. 467.

**The Missionary Herald**, “The Chronicle”, July 1917, Vol.: 113, No.: 7, p. 345.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Turkey: Still in Turkey”, October 1917, Vol.: 113, No.: 10, p. 467.

**The Missionary Herald**, “The Chronicle”, February 1918, Vol.: 114, No.: 2, pp. 94-95.

**The Missionary Herald**, “The Mardin Transfer”, November 1920, Vol.: 116, No.: 11, pp. 488-489.

**The Missionary Herald**, “Editorial Notes: The Kurdish New Testament”, December 1921, Vol.: 117, No.: 12, p. 403.

Törelî, Türkmen and Döşkaya, Füsün Ç. "Amerikan Board Misyoneri Olive L. Parmelee Andrus ve Mardin", **Geçmişten Günümüze Tarihten İzler**, (Ed. M. Doğan Karacoşkun, Osman Köse), Berikan Yayınevi, Ankara, 2018, pp. 201-249.

Tracy, Charles C. “The Outlook for Christ in Asiatic Turkey”, **The Missionary Herald**, September 1906, Vol.: 102, No.: 9, pp. 422-424.

Turgut, Sırma R. and Geyik, Nazlı E. "A Candidate for UNESCO World Heritage List: Mardin Province", **International Journal of Constructive Research in Civil Engineering (IJCRCE)**, Vol.: 4, No.: 4, 2018, pp. 24-34.

Uyanık, Ercan. "II. Abdülhamit ile Amerikan Protestan Misyonerlerinin Eğitim Mücadelesi: Amerika'ya Kaçırılan Nusayri Kızları", **Kebikeç Dergisi**, No.: 37, 2014, pp. 35-56.

Wood, George W. "Decennial Statistics of the Turkish Missions of the A.B.C.F.M.", **The Missionary Herald**, October 1883, Vol.: 79, No.: 10, p. 375.

Yıldız, Özgür. "ABCFM (Amerikan Board) Arşivleri'nin Osmanlı-Amerikan İlişkileri Bağlamında Değerlendirilmesi", **Tarih Okulu Dergisi**, No.: XXVII, 2016, pp. 519-541.

Yücel, İdris. **Kendi Belgeleri Işığında Amerikan Board'un Osmanlı Ülkesindeki Teşkilatlanması**, Erciyes University Institute of Social Sciences, Kayseri, 2005.