

AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONS TO THE ARMENIANS OF THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE: FASHIONING THE MODEL OF EDUCATED
CHRISTIAN WOMANHOOD IN THE EAST IN THE SECOND HALF
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A Master's Thesis

by
SARAH ZEYNEP GÜVEN

Department of
History
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University
Ankara
January 2018

AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONS TO THE ARMENIANS OF THE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE: FASHIONING THE MODEL OF EDUCATED
CHRISTIAN WOMANHOOD IN THE EAST IN THE SECOND HALF
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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

by
SARAH ZEYNEP GÜVEN

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA
January 2018

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



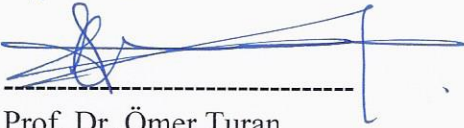
Asst. Prof. Dr. Kenneth Weisbrode
Supervisor

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



Asst. Prof. Dr. Paul Latimer
Examining Committee Member

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



Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan
Examining Committee Member

Approval of the Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences



Prof. Dr. Halime Demikan
Director

ABSTRACT

AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONS TO THE ARMENIANS OF THE OTTOMAN
EMPIRE: FASHIONING THE MODEL OF EDUCATED CHRISTIAN
WOMANHOOD IN THE EAST IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE NINETEENTH
CENTURY

Güven, Sarah Zeynep

M.A., Department of History

Supervisor: Asst. Prof. Dr. Kenneth Weisbrode

January 2018

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was one of the first establishments to introduce a Western-style educational system to the peoples of the Ottoman Empire. This thesis is an examination of the emergence of interest in foreign missions among American women in particular, and the latter's contribution to missionary activities. It seeks to determine how and why educational facilities for Armenian females were established and their social and religious impact, largely from the perspective of the missionaries themselves. It looks at how

contact with Armenians prompted adjustments in missionary approaches and policies towards educational missions. The notion of educated Christian womanhood entailed the championing of female education and a re-imagining of the role of women as wives and mothers. The promotion of female education facilitated new opportunities for Armenian women via teaching and evangelism. The central argument of this thesis is that American missionary activity significantly contributed to the increased interest in female education among the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Keywords: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), American Missionaries, Armenians, Female Education, Ottoman Empire.

ÖZET

ONDOKUZUNCU YÜZYILIN İKİNCİ YARISINDA, OSMANLI DEVLETİNDE, AMERİKAN MİSYONERLERİN EĞİTİMLİ HİRİSTİYAN KADIN FİKRİNİ ERMENİLER ARASINDA YAYGINLAŞTIRMA FAALİYETLERİ

Güven, Sarah Zeynep

Yüksek lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Yrd. Doç. Dr. Kenneth Weisbrode

Ocak 2018

Amerikan Misyoner Teşkilatı (ABCFM) batılı eğitim sisteminin Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki insanlara tanıtılmasında öncülük eden bir kuruluştur. Bu tez genel olarak, bu teşkilat aracılığı ile, özellikle Amerikan kadınları arasında misyonerlik faaliyetlerine ilginin ne şekilde doğduğunu ve onların misyonerlik çalışmalarına katkılarını değerlendiriyor. Bu ataştırma, Ermeni kızları ve kadınlarına yönelik eğitim kurumlarının nasıl ve neden kurulduğunu, ve bu kurumların yarattığı sosyal ve dini etkileri, özellikle misyonerlerin açısından değerlendiriyor. Ayrıca, bu

çalışma Ermenilerle ilişkiler nedeniyle, misyonerlerin eğitim alanlardaki görüşlerin ne şekilde etkilendiğini açıklıyor. Kadınların eğitilmesinin desteklenmesi yanı sıra, “eğitimli hıristiyan kadın” kimliğinin, kadının eş ve anne olarak rolünün yeniden tanımlanmasını kapsıyordu. Kadınların eğitilmesine verilen bu desteğin Ermeni kadınlarının öğretmenlik ve evangelizm konusudaki çalışmalara katılabilmeleri için yeni fırsatlar yaratılmasında oynadığı rol diğer bir araştırma konusudur. Bu tezin ağırlıklı olarak savunduğu konu, Ondokuzuncu yüzyılın ikinci yarısında, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda, Amerikan misyonerlerinin faaliyetlerinin Ermeni toplumunda kadınların eğitimi konusunda ilginin artmasına önemli katkılarda bulunmuş olmasıdır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Amerikan Misyoner Teşkilatı (ABCFM), Amerikan Misyonerleri, Ermeniler, Kadınların Eğitimi, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. Kenneth Weisbrode and committee member, Asst. Prof. Dr. Paul Latimer for their moral support and academic guidance throughout the course of this work. This project could not have been completed without their contributions. I am thankful to Prof. Dr. Ömer Turan for his helpful feedback.

I would also like to thank Fusun Yurdakul of Bilkent University Library for her positivity and invaluable assistance with respect to my research.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family who have been unwavering in their encouragement and support from the beginning.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER II: THE IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS: THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING	12
2.1 The Formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, New Divinity and Disinterested Benevolence.	12
2.2 The Formation of the Woman’s Board of Missions and the Rise of Educated Christian Womanhood.	19
CHAPTER III: EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS TO ARMENIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS.	26
3.1 ‘The Anglo-Saxons of the East’	26
3.2 Missionaries’ Views of Armenian Women.	33
3.3 From Humble Beginnings.	35
3.4 Overcoming Opposition to Female Education.	39
CHAPTER IV: THE ROLE OF THE PRINTING PRESS.	42
4.1 The Revival of Modern Armenian.	42
4.2 The Distribution and Diversification of Texts	45
CHAPTER V: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GIRLS’ SCHOOLS AMONG GREGORIAN ARMENIANS.	48
5.1 The Impact of Mission Schools.	48
5.2 Missionaries’ Response to Armenian Schools.	52
5.3 Changes in Popular Attitudes to Female Education.	54
CHAPTER VI: THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS IMPACT OF EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS.	58
6.1 The Civilizing Impulse.	58
6.2 ‘The Beginnings of a Civilization that has a Christian Aspect’.	61
6.3 Prayer Meetings and Mothers’ Meetings.	64
6.4 Armenian Bible Women.	66
CHAPTER VII: REINVENTING THE HOMEMAKER.	72
CHAPTER VIII: THE EMERGENCE OF FEMALE ARMENIAN TEACHERS.	77
CHAPTER IX: SHIFTS IN EDUCATIONAL MISSION POLICY AND TOWARDS SELF-SUPPORT	86
9.1 The Secularization of Curricula.	86

9.2 The Inclusion of Foreign Languages.	89
9.3 Armenian Contributions to Educational Missions.	91
CHAPTER X: CONCLUSION.	97
REFERENCES	100
APPENDICES: TABLES	
A. Educational Missions	109
B. ABCFM Missionaries and Local Helpers	112
C. Evangelical Churches	115
D. Local Financial Contributions for All Purposes (in Dollars)	118
APPENDICES: FIGURES	
E.1 Students at Euphrates College, Harpoot.	119
E.2 Graduates and teachers, Euphrates College, Harpoot.	119
E.3 Girl students and their two teachers, Euphrates College, Harpoot.	120
E.4 Central Turkey Girls' College, Marash	120
E.5 Armenian teachers of Central Turkey Girls' College, Marash	120



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Modern missions in Turkey are an attempt to show to all in that country what true Christianity means in the individual, in the family and in society.¹

In the 1830s, the French political scientist, Alexis de Tocqueville, was one of the first to comment upon the distinctiveness place occupied by American women in his canonical book, *Democracy in America*. Tocqueville concluded that one of the prime reasons for the political and economic success of the upstart new republic was due to the virtuousness and selflessness attributed to mothers and wives. Despite her social inferiority, Tocqueville argued, the American woman was often respected for her talents in a culture in which it was less controversial for her to raise her intellectual and moral level to match that of a man:

¹ James L. Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1908), 114.

I, for one, do not hesitate to say that although women in the United States seldom venture outside the domestic sphere, where in some respects they remain quite dependent, nowhere has their position seemed to me to be higher ... if someone were to ask me what I think is primarily responsible for the singular prosperity and growing power of this people, I would answer that it is the superiority of their women.²

Protestant theology defined within the nineteenth century American religious atmosphere of the Second Great Awakening advanced beliefs that bore the potential for provoking radical change in personal spirituality, church organization, social order and to facilitate women's greater participation in home and foreign missions. The basic principle of the Protestant evangelical faith, namely, that salvation is to be gained on an individual and/or personal basis and by direct engagement with the truths of the Bible, advocacy of literacy and education for both sexes. American missionaries affiliated with the ABCFM (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) in turn regarded efforts to challenge customs and practices that they considered inimical to human welfare, dignity and individual empowerment as a fundamental component of their religiosity.³ In particular, missionary ideas about womanhood and female education touched upon the topics of religion, education, gender, civilization and acculturation.

By 1860, the ABCFM divided the mission field into three separate and equivalent regions for organizational clarity. The Western Turkey Mission included Constantinople (Istanbul), Bursa, Smyrna (Izmir), Marsovan (Merzifon), Cesarea (Kayseri), Sivas and Trebizond (Trabzon). Central Turkey included Aintab (Gaziantep), Marash (Kahramanmaraş), Adana, Oorfa (Urfa), Hadjin (Saimbeyli)

² Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Library of America, 2004), 708.

³ Mark Amstutz, *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 52.

and Tarsus. Finally, the Eastern Turkey Mission included Erzroom (Erzurum), Harpoot (Elazığ), Mardin, Bitlis and Van). This thesis covers several out-stations of the ABCFM and WBM in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century, particularly, Harpoot, Marsovan, Aintab, Smyrna, Constantinople and Marash. In any case, the missionary methods employed with respect to the establishment of churches and schools were ‘essentially the same everywhere.’⁴

While some educational efforts faltered, many met with success, and over time, became more complex in terms of administration, curriculum and facilities. From 1878 to 1903, the ABCFM opened seven higher educational institutions for young women: Euphrates College at Harpoot and American College at Van in Eastern Anatolia, Central Turkey College (Female Seminary) with campuses for men and women at Aintab and Marash, St. Paul College at Tarsus, Anatolia College at Marsovan, the American Collegiate Institute for Girls at Smyrna and the American College for Girls at Constantinople. Mission high schools often had an elementary and preparatory department established under its auspices to prepare children and adults for higher education. In other words, by the time they were established, mission colleges and seminaries were often part of a graded system including elementary, primary, intermediate and high school to prepare children and adults for a collegiate-level education.⁵ Students who completed their education at either Gregorian Armenian (common) schools or mission schools could enter the

⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at the City of New York* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1889), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264890> 41.

⁵ “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life,” *Harpoot (kaza) – Schools (Part I)*, <http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetofmamuratulazizharput/harpotkaza/education-and-sport/schools-part-i.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).

preparatory departments of mission colleges. By the 1890s, some colleges like Anatolia and Euphrates expanded their facilities to include normal (pedagogical) schools for both men and women, a hospital and an orphanage.

The Woman's Board of Missions (WBM) and the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior (WBMI) considerably accelerated and expanded efforts to establish and direct female educational institutions. Unlike the ABCFM, WBM and WBMI *specifically* aimed to work for women and children and were established as auxiliary organisations to the ABCFM in the late 1860s. They played a pivotal role in the expansion of the ABCFM's educational activities especially with respect to promoting and advancing female education. The familiar line from the Puritan Governor of Massachusetts Bay, John Winthrop, about forming the perfect Protestant society which would shine like 'a city upon a hill,' is what both male and female educator-missionaries had in mind for the peoples among whom they laboured. It was in large part towards that end that missionaries directed their educational efforts among Armenian women and girls. Additionally, the championing of women's education, especially, vis-à-vis literacy, was regarded as a means of empowering women in their traditional roles as mothers and wives, reforming gender relations and transforming the character of home life. Such a family-centered approach of missionary policy can be explained on the basis of the notion that strong families would serve as one of the key pillars of robust evangelical communities.⁶

⁶ The evangelical and educational reach of the ABCFM and its subsidiaries extended beyond the Armenians. In the Ottoman Empire, they also labored among the Bulgarians, Greeks, Nestorians, and to a lesser extent, among the Jews, Turks and Kurds.

In line with their teachings at New England female seminaries such as Mount Holyoke, they utilized the ideological framework of educated Christian womanhood to justify their educational efforts thereby increasing the scope of activities for Armenian students and graduates. They defined this theoretical construct as a pious and well-educated wife and mother who possessed the intellectual abilities and virtuousness which allowed her to serve as a helpful and loving companion to her husband and as a guide for the religious, moral and intellectual development of her children. This ideology entailed a reassessment of familial relationships such as between husband and wife, mother and child and between the nuclear and the extended family.⁷ Moreover, missionary teachings were centered on themes such as personal responsibility vis-à-vis religiosity, household management (such as child-rearing), mental and physical development (such as health and hygiene) and community leadership (such as advocacy of female literacy, evangelism, and to a lesser extent, philanthropy).⁸ Most importantly, however, the model of educated Christian womanhood was used to legitimize the right of women to be educated and to act as agents for positive social and religious change within their communities, particularly in the areas of education and evangelism.

The two foreign secretaries of the ABCFM in the second half of the nineteenth century had differing approaches towards female education in the context of missionary work. Broadly speaking, the first wave of missionaries who served under Foreign Secretary Rufus Anderson's leadership (1822–1866) between the 1840s-1860s did not perceive themselves as agents of socio-cultural change. All in

⁷ Victoria Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880-1922* (London: Cambridge Scholar Press, 2003), 145.

⁸ William McGrew, *Educating across Cultures: Anatolia College in Turkey and Greece* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 65.

all, they had a narrow conception of evangelism to the extent that they aimed to proselytize local populations with minimal disruption to prevailing social, cultural and political customs. In other words, Anderson's approach demanded the subordination of education strictly to the furtherance of evangelism. However, the second wave of missionaries under Foreign Secretary Nathaniel Clark's leadership (1867-1894) generally regarded the socio-cultural changes in the communities in which they labored - especially the 'civilizing' tendencies of mission work within the context of 'socially uplifting' women - as a positive result of their educational efforts and tied it to a broader conception of evangelism.

While the number of converts to Protestantism remained modest, the educational activities of the ABCFM, WBM and WBMI served to increase the enthusiasm and interest in female education, which in turn, allowed dozens of Armenian women of both evangelical and Apostolic faith to become active in public life. The generally increasing numbers of female students attending mission schools, seminaries and colleges, the increasing demands for local and American female teachers and the greater financial and administrative responsibility assumed by local Armenian populations over time vis-à-vis the operation of educational institutions for both sexes were some of the factors which demonstrated the growth of interest in female education among Armenians.⁹

⁹ The most enthusiastic responses toward American educational efforts in the area of female education came from the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire, followed by the Bulgarian and Greek. Therefore, most mission schools, colleges and seminaries had a predominantly Armenian student body. Nevertheless, the level of receptivity and interest in female education was not equal among all Armenian communities. Indeed, female educator-missionaries of the Eastern Turkey Mission, in cities such as Oorfa such as Corinna Shattuck encountered greater resistance and hostility toward the prospect of educating girls. While such resistance tended to result in a reduction in evangelistic efforts, local populations were often enticed by the promise of a good education.

The study of the American foreign missionary enterprise began in the 1970s by historians such as Arthur Schlesinger Jr. who interpreted the movement as a manifestation of American cultural imperialism.¹⁰ Such scholars often pointed to the disruptive impact of missionary activity vis-à-vis challenging social and cultural traditions based on an attitude of aggressive ethnocentrism.¹¹ Scholars have offered differing interpretations of the motives and nature of missionary activity and influence as it relates to American foreign missions in the nineteenth century. While it is clear that American missionaries travelled to foreign lands to share the gospel with people in foreign lands who were unfamiliar with Christianity or considered ‘nominal Christians’ due to their Orthodox faith, few historians have conceptualised missionaries solely within the framework of their evangelical goals. Rather, most understand missionary influence as having a greater impact in social, cultural or political terms. Most scholars argue that missionaries quickly became (directly or indirectly) involved in economic, social, cultural, and political activities (at times simply to facilitate the teaching of religion). This thesis reflects a similar approach by examining the socio-cultural implications of the revival of the modern Armenian vernacular, the establishment of schools and the introduction of a printing culture within the context of promoting female education. Historian John Fairbank argues that American missionaries advocated ‘a strong sense of personal responsibility for one’s own character and conduct, an optimistic belief in progress toward general betterment, especially through the use of education, invention, and technology, and a conversion of moral and cultural worth.’¹² Hence, many historians have argued that

¹⁰ Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., “The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism,” ed. John King Fairbank, *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 336-73.

¹¹ Amstutz, *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy*, 50-1.

¹² John King Fairbank, *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), 7.

American missionaries promoted values and approaches which could extend beyond a religious context. More recently, historians such as Barbara Reeves Ellington¹³ and Ussama Makdisi¹⁴ have asserted that missionaries' impact usually extended beyond the sphere of religion as missionaries became implicated in economic, social, cultural and political activities. In particular, they focus on missionary projects from the perspective of the host culture. Such historical analysis involves examining the implications of cross-cultural dialogue between missionaries and the people of the host culture. Scholarly attention has also been focused on the missionary movement from the perspective of women's history¹⁵ which remains a worthwhile approach to the study foreign missions, especially within the context of the approach of female

¹³ Reeves' Ellington's case study of American missionary activity among Bulgarian Orthodox Christians illustrates that Bulgarian women appropriated American educational ideals to demand reforms in female education in the interests of national progress, which in turn helped shape Bulgarian national discourse. See Barbara Reeves-Ellington. "Embracing Domesticity: Women, Mission, and Nation Building in Ottoman Europe, 1832-1872." In *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, edited by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Sklar and Connie Shemo. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010. Furthermore, Reeves-Ellington shows how Protestant American missionaries struggled to control the direction of their impact and influence among Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Balkans who adapted the missionaries' ideology to their own purposes by utilizing missionary teachings to justify a new strain of nationalism which became part of the growing problem of sectarianism in the Ottoman Empire. See Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers: Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013).

¹⁴ Makdisi studies the interaction between the American Protestant missionaries (of the ABCFM) and Orthodox Christian Arabs (the Maronite Christians of Mount Lebanon) in the 1800s. He illustrates how the missionaries of the ABCFM conflated the civilizing and evangelizing impulse as part of a negotiation of their influence among the local population. See Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2009).

¹⁵ Historian Karen J. Blair defines the notion of "Domestic Feminism" by which the first generation of college-educated women graduates could justify collegiate training for women, utilize their training and extend their domestically-nurtured attributes in the public sphere. Such historians opened a new perspective on the study of a women's foreign missionary movement by applying notions of a separate sphere for women as a basis for a subculture that formed a source of identity and a basis for public action. See Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980). The term "Domestic Feminism" was first employed by Daniel Scott Smith, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic feminism in Victorian America," in *Clio's Consciousness Raised*, ed. Mary Harman and Lois W. Banner (New York: Harper and Row, 1974). The term has also been employed by Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

educator-missionaries who sought to advance female education and taught or administered mission schools which served young women and girls.

This objective of this thesis is to answer a few main questions. To what extent did the missionaries affiliated with the ABCFM view a cultural and intellectual renaissance among Armenian women and girls as necessary for a reformation of the Gregorian Armenian Church? In other words, why was the establishment of educational facilities for females deemed necessary? How did missionaries respond to the challenges of achieving this goal? To what extent were American missionaries successful at changing cultural attitudes towards female education? How did their methods and attitudes evolve in response to local conditions? And how did they negotiate the nature and direction of the impact of their educational initiatives? I will start by outlining the emergence of an interest in foreign missionary service in the US and the promotion of female education among New England women. This examination will reveal how the zeitgeist informed the establishment of the ABCFM, and in turn, the core values, motives and approaches underlying American educational projects, particularly for females. I will then examine why the Armenian millet of the Ottoman Empire served as an attractive target group within which to conduct missionary activities. I will look into the role of the printing press in terms of furthering the work of educational missions. The translation and distribution of the Bible, and later, other religious tracts and educational materials into Armenian and Armeno-Turkish became one of the foremost projects of the ABCFM and was vital to the advancement of their educational efforts. I will examine the changing attitudes toward female education among Armenians, particularly, as evidenced by the establishment of Armenian girls' schools among Gregorian Armenians. I will look into shifts in educational

mission policy and scope of education provided by mission schools and colleges within the context of efforts to exercise greater control over educational missions on the part of evangelical Armenians.

By way of primary sources, I will utilize the literature of three separate, but affiliated missionary organizations, namely the ABCFM, the WBM and the WBMI to gain insight into their policies, approaches and outlook. *The Missionary Herald* which was the official magazine of the ABCFM. It contains letters and reports from missionaries (often sent to the home office in Boston), news, commentary, articles and statistical information relating to the progress of mission work. *Life and Light for Woman* (a quarterly published by the WBM) and *Mission Studies* (published by the WBMI) were the two main periodicals containing missionary literature which pertained to women's work in the field.¹⁶ The memoirs and accounts of American missionaries will also be utilized as primary sources. The latter sources provide greater insight into the challenges and obstacles encountered by missionaries and the reasons behind the changes in policy or approach. Nevertheless, as missionary literature was intended for public consumption, authors were disinclined to engage in detailed debates about the shortcomings of mission policy. Rather, they often wished to present an uplifting and optimistic portrait of mission work to readers back home. To this end, there was a tendency to downplay tensions between the missionaries of the Prudential Committee (home office), field (resident) missionaries and local populations. In other words, the accounts provided by missionaries, such as Susan Anna Wheeler (a teacher in Harpoot), may be compromised due to a potential motive to downplay the failures, setbacks and unintended results of mission policy. For

¹⁶ The dates of publication covered for annual reports by the ABCFM, *The Missionary Herald*, *Life and Light for Woman* and *Mission Studies* are 1850 to 1910.

instance, in her book *Missions in Eden* (1899), Wheeler outlines the challenges of educational work such as the backlash of unsympathetic Armenian church leaders or members of the community who engaged in persecution or intimidation toward Armenians sympathetic to the missionaries. However, rather than expanding on the harsh realities of mission work, she quickly reverts to expressions of pride in the graduates and the mission.¹⁷ It is clear that advancing the story of survival and triumph enhanced the respectability and righteousness of evangelicalism and contributed to the dominant missionary narrative which was that evangelical foreign missions were guided by divine will.

¹⁷ Susan Anna Wheeler, *Missions in Eden: Glimpses of Life in the Valley of the Euphrates* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1899), 123.

CHAPTER II

THE IDEOLOGICAL ROOTS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS: THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

The Bible woman has become an institution. Her work is indispensable; she multiplies the missionary's influence, goes before to prepare the way, and after to impress the truth. One of the humblest, she is at the same time one of the mightiest forces of the Cross in non-Christian lands.¹⁸

2.1 The Formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, New Divinity and Disinterested Benevolence

The rise of an organized foreign missionary ideology in the form of the ABCFM began with the 'Haystack Prayer Meeting.' While seeking shelter from a summer storm one day in 1806, Samuel J. Mills Jr. (1783-1818) and a group of friends at Williams College vowed to dedicate their lives to foreign missions. This group led by Mills and other interested students organized themselves more formally

¹⁸ Helen Barrett Montgomery, *Western Woman in Eastern Lands: An Outline of Fifty Years of Woman's Work in Foreign Missions* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1910), 114.

while at Andover Seminary.¹⁹ In 1810, they enlisted the official support of the newly-constituted General Association of Massachusetts and a group of New England church leaders, which paved the way for the creation of the first major centralized and interdenominational foreign missionary organization of the US, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).²⁰ While the founders were Congregationalist, the ABCFM and its affiliates were chartered and governed independently without church or state control.²¹ Most of the ABCFM's funding came from contributions made by church communities and auxiliary societies formed to support the mission cause.²² In general, missionaries concentrated on language study, Bible translation, the printing of religious materials, setting up schools and hospitals and conducting private evangelism. By the end of the nineteenth century, the ABCFM had created one of its most substantial missionary networks in the Ottoman Empire, accounting for nearly 25 per cent of its total missionary fields in the world.²³

Like other voluntary associations for missionary, reformatory or benevolent purposes, the origins of the ABCFM in the US can be traced to the evangelical enthusiasm aroused by the religious revivalism in New England.²⁴ As an outgrowth of the Second Great Awakening which began in the late eighteenth century and gained momentum in the first decade of the nineteenth century, New Divinity

¹⁹ Mark A. Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992), 186.

²⁰ Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 423.

²¹ The ABCFM did not have a particular denominational agenda until it officially became an arm of the Congregational Church in 1913.

²² McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 4, 19.

²³ Simon Payaslian, *United States Policy toward the Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 11.

²⁴ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 422.

provided the theological rationale for the establishment of the ABCFM. Historian Wilbert Shrenk defines New Divinity theology as a ‘widespread movement’ rooted in revivalism and millennialism which was influential among the ABCFM’s leadership from the earliest days of its formation.²⁵ The writings of Jonathan Edwards (esp. *The Life of Brainerd*), which were repopularised during this period, furthered the cause of New Divinity theology among clergy and laity alike. New Divinity strengthened the socially egalitarian and socially progressive aspect of the Puritan tradition.

The impulse toward social reform which ran through the activities and approach of educator-missionaries could be traced back to New Divinity thought. New Divinity theology could paradoxically accommodate an ethnocentric outlook with a humanistic and altruistic outlook based upon spiritual equality. Challenging social and cultural traditions and practices which were regarded as repressive, unjust and inimical to human welfare or dignity regardless of socio-economic status, ethnicity or gender was generally understood as one of its central precepts.²⁶ However, American missionaries often struggled to define the extent to which they could or should implement such an approach. Their reservations related to the limitations of their human and financial resources and to concerns pertaining to the potentially disruptive and deleterious impact of ‘Western’ ideas on the personal and communal habits of foreign societies.

²⁵ Wilbert Shrenk, *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 22.

²⁶ Amstutz, *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy*, 52-4.

New Divinity held both sexes to the same standard with respect to furthering the cause of evangelism. Thus, the role of female missionaries as wives, and later as single women, was compatible with New Divinity thought. According to Barbara Reeves-Ellington, evangelical Americans perceived the American discourse of domesticity as a product of civilization and progress firmly embedded in the religious identity of a nation, which they believed to be ‘at the pinnacle of progress as a Protestant Republic.’²⁷ Women’s domestic responsibilities and traditional roles took on a new significance in the religious, social and political life of the nation because women were responsible for nurturing and moulding the next generation of spiritually-enlightened patriots. While it was rooted in stereotypical feminine attributes such as selflessness, it impelled women to play a more active role in the churches and to embrace a greater claim to moral authority within the home. Mark Noll argues that:

In many areas of the country it soon became conventional to look upon women as the prime support for the nation’s republican spirit. Mothers, it was thought, were the ones who could most effectively inculcate the virtues of public-spiritedness and self-sacrifice that were essential to the life of the republic. And such notions were increasingly linked to the idea that women had a special capacity for the religious life, as individuals who could understand intuitively the virtues of sacrifice, devotion, and trust that were so important to the Christian faith.²⁸

Missionary men and women frequently cited the doctrine of disinterested benevolence as a major influence in their decisions to join in the cause of foreign missions. While a detailed exploration of the tenets of New Divinity theology is beyond the scope of this thesis, it is necessary to have an understanding of two main premises of an ideology which formed such a large part of the ABCFM’s approach to

²⁷ Reeves-Ellington, “Embracing Domesticity,” 270.

²⁸ Noll, *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*, 181.

proselytising among Orthodox Christians. Firstly, in sermons and treatises, leading evangelical figures emphasised the Arminian doctrines of unlimited sufficiency of the atonement (Christ's death was sufficient to save each and every sinner and salvation was freely offered to all) and de-emphasised the limited Calvinist design of the atonement, namely predestination (Christ's death was designed to save only God's elect or chosen people).²⁹ Secondly, the New Divinity tied the ethic of disinterested benevolence to missionary motivation.³⁰ Disinterested benevolence stressed that evangelical activism was to be found in action; the true Christian expressed herself in unselfish acts of love, mercy, and personal sacrifice to bring glory to God and further his kingdom.³¹ The concept was expanded and revived by Samuel Hopkins who was an influential disciple of Jonathan Edwards. Like Edwards, Hopkins claimed that historical events were leading to the building of a universal Protestant society and that contributing to this building was the most important work anyone could do.³² On a related note, missionaries evoked the spiritual and historical images of hardship and sacrifice most associated with the original Apostles who undertook heroic journeys to exotic lands to bring the message of Christianity to the peoples of the East.³³

Missionaries were eager to manifest the virtue of benevolence they identified with their own hope of salvation. First and second-hand expressions of disinterested benevolence were commonplace in missionary writings, and at times approach the

²⁹ Shrenk, *North American Foreign Missions*, 23.

³⁰ Frank Andrews Stone, *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program, and Impact of the Educational Institution Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-2005* (San Francisco: Caddo Gap Press, 2006), 8.

³¹ Shrenk, *North American Foreign Missions*, 24.

³² Lawrence Friedman and Mark McGarvie, *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 58.

³³ McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 5.

seeking of martyrdom. Leaving behind one's family and friends to journey to a distant land and take a leap into the unknown by immersing oneself in a foreign culture before dying a martyr's death served as a prime illustration of the religious virtue of female self-sacrifice. Disinterested benevolence was particularly apt in relation to the work of women who were traditionally viewed as more inclined to embody the Christian virtue of selflessness and charity.³⁴ William Strong provides an anecdotal account of the kind of sacrifice required to be a female missionary (whom he describes as 'heroic'):

She had a very small fraction of a room; at night, she shared it with four or five members of the family, and during the day her room was the family kitchen, dining-room, and place of all work. To live in this way for weeks, without a moment's quiet, with no place of retirement, with no confidential companion, is a missionary trial which many of us would hesitate to incur.³⁵

The notion of disinterested benevolence was also conveyed through evangelical publications such as women's missionary memoirs. *The Memoir of Mrs. Mary E. Van Lennep* written by her mother, Louisa Hawes. It was constructed from her daughters' diary and letters tracing her early life, marriage, conversion experience, her decision to become a missionary and her journey and arrival in the Ottoman Empire. Accounts of physical and emotional suffering and hardship, primarily, sickness and death, occupy a large part of such missionary literature.

Women's missionary memoirs also contributed to the construction of the image of the female missionary.³⁶ While the wives of the pioneer missionaries

³⁴ Roberta Wollons, "Travelling for God and Adventure: Women Missionaries in the Late 19th Century," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 31, no. 1 (2003), 56.

³⁵ William Strong, *The Story of the American Board* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910), 222.

³⁶ Lisa Joy Pruitt, *A Looking Glass for Ladies: American Protestant Women and the Orient in the Nineteenth Century* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2005), 25.

emphasised their virtue and piety as Christian homemakers, they felt also emphasised their authority to engage in religious pursuits solely through the extraordinary call of the Spirit. Female missionaries' perception of themselves as passive and submissive souls feeling the pull of divine providence is expressed in women's missionary memoirs such as *The Missionary Sisters: A Memorial of Mrs. Seraphina Haynes Everett and Mrs. Harriet Martha Hamlin, Late Missionaries of the ABCFM at Constantinople* (1860). In a letter to her mother written from Pera, Constantinople in May 1845 Seraphina Haynes Everett writes: 'I have cause each day and hour to call upon my soul and all within me, to bless the Lord for calling me, so insignificant, so weak, to engage in such a glorious work as this among the Armenians, and for the prospect of usefulness my dear husband has among them. It is through him that I expect to do any work in this field.'³⁷ Such memoirs also emphasised the significance of a Christian upbringing as a product of parental piety.

Evangelical popular culture often contained accounts of children, husbands, and other relatives who were converted through the prayers, intercession or actions of women. Evangelical magazines which began to proliferate in the forty years preceding the Civil War contained fictional accounts of women who defied male authority by attending a revival meeting. Women regretted their defiance of fathers or husbands, but saw themselves as obeying Christ before man. The story usually involved women being turned out of the house or followed by the hostile husband of father, who eventually became overwhelmed with guilt and was ultimately converted. Like women's missionary memoirs, such stories reinforced the cultural

³⁷ Mary Gladding Wheeler Benjamin, *The Missionary Sisters: A Memorial of Mrs. Seraphina Haynes Everett and Mrs. Harriet Martha Hamlin, Late Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Constantinople* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1860), 61-2.

construction of Christian womanhood and reflected the zeitgeist vis-à-vis the importance of women's roles in familial religiosity. According to Marilyn Westerkamp, many of the men who joined evangelical churches in the antebellum period had done so through the persuasion of women. Hence, the approach was in line with the mood in American evangelical churches where pastors often expressed their dependence upon women as the bearers of the next generation of evangelicals.³⁸ An understanding of female piety which emphasised the role of women in the evangelisation of family members was embraced by missionaries who labored among the Orthodox Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire. In line with the model of educated Christian womanhood, the education of women and girls, particularly via the opening of Protestant schools, was seen as vital to the creation and propagation of evangelical communities through the conscious rearing of future generations. For instance, a *Mission Studies* report from 1910 notes that, '[Missionaries] rejoice that many of [the female students] marry the young men who have had a Christian education, thus ensuring the building of Christian homes and the rearing and training of a new generation to whom Christianity will be a natural-inheritance and not an acquired trait.'³⁹

2.2 The Formation of the Woman's Board of Missions and the Rise of Educated Christian Womanhood

³⁸ Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America, 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 140.

³⁹ Anonymous, "Department of the Branches: Illinois Branch Meeting," *Mission Studies*, May 1910, 155.

The Second Great Awakening was also significant in terms of generating interest in social reform and foreign missions among New England women. The extension of women's private domestic responsibilities into the public sphere vis-à-vis advancing social reform was a concept which was gaining ground in the US. Some New England women embraced causes such as abolitionism, temperance, social work, better treatment of the mentally ill and educational opportunities for women. The latter issue was embraced by Catharine Beecher (1800-1878) who became a prominent advocate of the education of women and girls. Beecher also published guides and manuals on the subjects of motherhood and homemaking in the mid-to-late nineteenth-century.⁴⁰ This spirit of social reform also extended into the realm of home and foreign missions. According to Noriko Ishii, 'The women's foreign missionary movement provided Protestant women with opportunities to extend feminine morality to the public domain under the disguise of fulfilling their womanly duties.'⁴¹ In other words, women's private roles could potentially be extended into public life through culturally-acceptable lines of work within the context of evangelism such as writing, nursing and teaching. Teaching was the primary means through which women could impart moral values pertaining to subjects such as family life, hygiene, industry, hard work, honesty and piety.

⁴⁰ Beecher's publications dealt with the themes of education, domesticity, marriage and child care with titles such as *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1841), *The Duty of American Women to their Country* (1845), *Religious Training of Children in the School, the Family and the Church* (1864), *Formation and Maintenance of Economical, Healthful, Beautiful and Christian Homes* (1869), *The American Woman's Home* (1869), *Principles of Domestic Science as Applied to the Duties and Pleasures of Home: A Text-book for the Use of Young Ladies in Schools, Seminaries and Colleges* (1870) and *Woman's Profession as Mother and Educator: With Views in Opposition to Woman Suffrage* (1872). The authors and the readership of such literature were of similar backgrounds: Protestant, white, American-born, New England townswomen of some education and usually from professional, artisan and trading families. See Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity*, 76.

⁴¹ Noriko Kawamura Ishii, *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909: New Dimensions in Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 11.

Teachings at New England female seminaries were informed by the ideology of Republican Motherhood which can be understood as an offshoot of New Divinity theology as it was based on the idea that women were vital to the maintenance of Christian culture and society in their role as wives and mothers.⁴² The domestic application of this language of Christian domesticity had implications for missionary strategy because it informed the construction of the model of educated Christian womanhood. Many female missionaries understood the model of educated Christian womanhood as a universal ideology which could be applied not just to women in North America, but to women all around the world, including Armenian women and girls in the Ottoman Empire. The educator-missionary, Maria West⁴³ wrote an instruction book to her students towards the end of her missionary service in the Ottoman Empire illustrative of the approach of female educator-missionaries such as herself vis-à-vis the inculcation of the model of educated Christian womanhood in mission schools and colleges. West understood the book as a lesson guide which contained ‘all the instructions given to my pupils during the past years.’⁴⁴ It was

⁴² Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 11-12. Linda Kerber, “The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment—An American Perspective,” *American Quarterly* 28, no. 2 (1976): 187-205.

⁴³ The American Collegiate Institute for Girls (International College for Girls) at Smyrna began in the late 1870s when Maria West opened a day school for boys and girls in the city’s Armenian quarter. In the late 1890s, it was expanded to serve as boarding schools for boys and girls and expanded once more to serve as a collegiate institute. By 1897, it offered three years of kindergarten, three years of primary, four years of preparatory and five years of collegiate work. Students often graduated at the age of around nineteen or twenty. The student body grew throughout the late nineteenth century; there were one hundred and twenty-four pupils in 1900, while the graduating class that year numbered four. See Douglas K. Showalter, “The 1810 Formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” in *The Role of the American Board in the World*, eds. Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin (Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2012), 56. See also American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Ninetieth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at St. Louis* (Boston: The Board, 1900), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013160315;view=1up;seq=9> 50. Beginning in 1903, the college also accommodated a normal (pedagogical school) to meet the rising demand for trained teachers in village and elementary schools. See Gorun Shrikian, “Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance” (PhD diss., Faculty of Concordia Seminary, 1977), 215-221.

⁴⁴ Maria A. West, *The Romance of Missions or Inside Views of Life and Labor in the Land of Ararat* (New York: Anson D.F. Randolph and Company, 1875), 694-5.

entitled 'Loving Counsels for the Christian Women of Turkey in the Armenian Language,' and was printed by the New York Tract Society in 1874.⁴⁵ While the book was only to be used by her students at Constantinople and Harpoot, 4,000 copies were printed for general circulation as West claimed that some Armenian community leaders requested that she broaden its scope so that it could be circulated to all of the Protestant women in the land as a 'Christian Manual' to aid them in their proselytizing efforts. It concerns the major themes of the ideology of educated Christian womanhood. The chapters are entitled as follows: 'Your Calling and Responsibility,' 'The Fulfilment of these Obligations,' 'Where to Begin your Work,' 'The Ordering of the Household,' 'Your Duties as Wives,' 'Your Duties as Mothers,' 'Your Duties as Neighbors,' 'Your Duties as Teachers,' 'What Work for Christ Involves,' 'What Work for Christ Requires,' 'Means for Putting in Practice these Requirements,' 'Plan of Christian Work: Sunday-schools, Children's Meetings, Mother's Meetings, Prayer-meetings, Soul-loving Societies, with Special Directions for Conducting Them, Pledges, Constitutions, etc.' In the second part of the book, West deals with topics 'Concerning Health, Cleanliness, and How to Care for the Sick.'⁴⁶

Moreover, during the forty years before the Civil War, new evangelical associations and societies arose to further the cause of religion. Women played a prominent role in these organizations and occasionally formed their own societies, elected their own officers and made policy decisions about goals, methods, strategies, fund-raising and expenditures.⁴⁷ The mid-Atlantic and New England states

⁴⁵ West, *The Romance of Missions*, 696.

⁴⁶ West, *The Romance of Missions*, 696-697.

⁴⁷ Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America*, 155.

saw the development of tract societies, bible societies, female missionary societies, maternal associations and Sunday school unions established to foster revivalism and bolster the work of conversion within families.⁴⁸ The after-shocks of the Second Great Awakening in the form of New Divinity theology and the increasingly popular ideology of Manifest Destiny propelled some educated middle-class evangelical women to direct their training and sense of Christian mission to the westward expansion of the US, especially through home missions to Native Americans. Such work helped to lay the foundation for foreign missions because it demonstrated the level of interest, energy and commitment American women were able and willing to invest in the work of evangelism.

In the post-Civil War era, the Woman's Board of Missions (WBM) of Boston was the first of two Congregational women's boards established in the late 1860s 'that women might work directly for women abroad.'⁴⁹ The other major women's board affiliated with the ABCFM was the Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior (WBMI) headquartered in Chicago. Like the ABCFM, the missionaries of the WBM and WBMI were staunch supporters of female education. In his summary of the operational principles of the WBM, ABCFM historian, Fred Field Goodsell noted that its missionaries pledged to 'consider the establishment and support of girl's boarding schools as of primary importance.'⁵⁰ While they were an auxiliary of the ABCFM, the WBM funded, staffed and managed a separate budget and

⁴⁸ Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America*, 141.

⁴⁹ Florence A. Fensham, Mary I. Lyman, H. B. Humphrey, *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire* (Chicago: Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, 1908), 37.

⁵⁰ Fred Field Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses* (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1959), 162.

occasionally built and directed its own educational institutions.⁵¹ It also supported women missionaries financially by raising money for their salaries, travelling expenses and houses.⁵² According to Strong, the organizational scope and clarity provided by the WBM allowed women's evangelical efforts to become more systematized and well-developed.⁵³ In particular, grants donated by the WBM and WBMI were instrumental in the establishment and the support of the ABCFM's female educational work in the Ottoman Empire.⁵⁴

The WBM was specifically formed to support and direct the work of single women who were increasingly taking an interest in missionary services bolstered by their education in women's seminaries. The women appointed by the WMB for mission work as Bible women and educators for Armenian women and girls were often graduates of New England female seminaries and colleges such as Vassar, Radcliffe, Wellesley, Smith, Mount Holyoke (America's first women's college) or Oberlin (America's first coeducational college).⁵⁵ In line with New Divinity theology, students at Mount Holyoke were taught that missionary work was a prime embodiment of the spirit of disinterested benevolence that epitomized conversion. Therefore, missionary engagement was celebrated as the ultimate expression of piety. According to Johanna Selles, 'Graduates of female colleges, seminaries, and

⁵¹ The ABCFM determined of the selection of geographical fields, helped coordinate financial and administrative affairs and generally set the tone vis-à-vis mission goals and policies.

⁵² David Brewer Eddy, *What Next in Turkey* (Boston: The Taylor Press, 1913), 150.

⁵³ Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, 222.

⁵⁴ Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 194.

⁵⁵ Mount Holyoke Female Seminary was established by Mary Lyon in South Hadley Massachusetts in November 1837. It was America's first publicly endowed institute of higher education which appealed directly to young unmarried Protestant women. The school curriculum at Mount Holyoke expanded over time as Lyon emphasised the importance of a "non-religious" education which included science, arithmetic, grammar, astronomy, physiology in addition to domesticity. See Wollons, "Travelling for God and Adventure," 60.

academies saw mission service as a direct expression of a spiritual call.⁵⁶ Moreover, the traditional separation of men and women in many societies, including among the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire, did not permit the male missionaries to have contact with women in public or private settings. Hence, it was more appropriate for missionary wives and later the (mostly) single missionary women of the WBM and WBMI to work among women and girls. As pointed out by Susan Anna Wheeler, ‘The women cannot be reached by the men; but lady missionaries can enter all the homes and soon find their way to the hearts of their sisters.’⁵⁷ Female missionaries were expected to be in good health, have skills in manual training such as cooking, cleaning and nursing. It was also essential that she was skilled at learning foreign languages, something which required ability and much dedication by way of study.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Johanna Maria Selles, *The World Student Christian Federation, 1895-1925: Motives, Methods, and Influential Women* (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 57.

⁵⁷ Wheeler, *Missions in Eden*, 92-3.

⁵⁸ Wheeler, *Missions in Eden*, 72-3. The desire to engage in foreign missions was also motivated by personal reasons; some women were compelled to support themselves financially or were eager to pursue adventure in exotic lands. For example, the Ely sisters are said to have been captivated by the stories told by missionaries on furlough.

CHAPTER III

EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS TO ARMENIAN WOMEN AND GIRLS

*Their antiquity, racial strength, intellectual alertness, large numbers, and importance in that empire all demand a more extended consideration ... It is the Armenian race that has responded most fully to the call of modern learning. By far the largest number of students of any one race in the schools in Turkey are Armenians.*⁵⁹

*One of his [Dr Hamlin's] students, a young Armenian, with some trepidation confided to him that he had a sister who joined with him in all his studies ... "But you must not tell anybody," said he, "for if it were known, my sister could never get married."*⁶⁰

3.1 'The Anglo-Saxons of the East'

Educator-missionaries claimed that the promotion of literacy would allow local populations to gain an appreciation of the Protestant emphasis on individual salvation through a close and independent reading of the Bible and facilitate

⁵⁹ Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 65, 192.

⁶⁰ Fensham et al, *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire*, 37.

conditions conducive for the creation and consolidation of self-sustaining and self-propagating Protestant religious communities. According to a report published by *The Missionary Herald* in 1867, ‘The permanence and prosperity of the evangelical churches and communities, which are being established in all parts of Turkey, will depend very much upon the intelligence of the men and women who constitute them.’⁶¹ In other words, it was thought that the need for the reformation of the Gregorian Armenian Church along evangelical lines would become apparent once local populations embraced the importance of literacy and a literary culture. The resulting ‘spirit of free inquiry’ was in turn expected to prompt local populations to re-examine some of the seemingly ‘morally-dubious’ religious, social and cultural mores of their society. According to Barton, ‘There must be produced readers and a literature if the intellectual and moral life of the people was to be raised. If the old Gregorian Church was to become enlightening in its belief and practise there must be educated leaders as well as an intelligent laity.’⁶² Once educational and literary work had progressed, missionaries were quick to point out that there was a greater propensity to question the nature of religious life. According to J. K. Greene, a missionary stationed in Bursa, ‘Though the ignorant mass of the people still continues to observe the rites and traditions of the [Gregorian Armenian] church, yet a large body of the Armenians have learned enough of Bible truth to disbelieve in the intercession of saints, the adoration of pictures, and the propriety of the confessional.’⁶³ Similarly, a *Mission Studies* report published in 1906 points to a tendency toward religious reform: ‘The defects and failures of the priests are freely

⁶¹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1867), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kww;view=1up;seq=782-4>.

⁶² Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 181.

⁶³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 17.

criticized and condemned and there is a demand for a new order of things.’⁶⁴ In particular, there was detected increased pressure by Armenians with respect to the preaching of sermons in the modern Armenian vernacular. As educational efforts shifted in alignment with a broader conception of evangelical goals, the more ambitious goal of promoting of a graded system of Western education was adopted, an approach which more closely resembled the vision of the notable missionary in Constantinople, Cyrus Hamlin.⁶⁵

The potential impact of American educational initiatives was judged against the backdrop of Orientalist prejudices. Missionaries claimed that ignorance, superstition, illiteracy and lack of social progress and improvement were the dominant features of both Christian and Muslim Ottoman communities. Most missionaries subscribed to the ethnocentric attitude that Anglo-Saxon Protestants had a divinely ordained duty to provide religious, moral and civilizational guidance to other racial and religious groups. An inclination toward stagnation and backwardness seemed to them to be a shared characteristic of Eastern cultures. According to an ABCFM report of 1864:

There are certain well-known features or characteristics of the Oriental world which are a necessary bar to all progress... the east is characterised by fixedness, un-changeableness, immobility. It neither moves nor is moved by ordinary forces. It holds very firmly to the past and abhors every idea of

⁶⁴ Anonymous, “Indirect Influence of Protestant Missions upon Schools in Turkey,” 332.

⁶⁵ The missionary, Cyrus Hamlin, was the director of the Bebek Seminary and the founder of Robert College in Constantinople in 1863. Hamlin’s disagreements with the ABCFM led him to break away from the organization in 1860 and carry out his educational projects independently of its direction. The success of Robert College strongly contributed to the growing interest in higher education among Armenian communities. Nearly a decade after its founding, the Armenian evangelical unions (beginning with that of the Central Turkey Mission) began to propose the opening of similar higher educational institutions in their regions. Now under Clark’s leadership, the ABCFM’s positive response to such requests helped to pave the way for the establishment of Euphrates College, Anatolia College, the American College for Girls, the American Collegiate Institute for Girls, Central Turkey College and the Girls Seminary at Aintab. See Shrikian, “Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission’s Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance,” 170.

change. It will suffer an evil without ever thinking of removing it. Its modes of life and thought - the whole cast of its civilization - are what they were centuries ago. Now an American College education breaks up and renders impossible this spirit of the Oriental World ... [the] Christian education of the youthful mind is the hope of the Oriental world.⁶⁶

However, missionaries were quick to draw upon stereotypical representations to outline the perceived differences between Muslim and Christian communities.

Missionaries argued that the Christian world was engaged in an existential civilizational struggle with the Islamic world. When comparing Orthodox Armenians to their Ottoman Muslim neighbours, missionaries often noted what they perceived to be a considerably greater measure of transformative potential at the religious, moral, social and intellectual levels. According to Fensham et al:

As a people, when given opportunity for proper developments, they [Armenians] are intelligent, adaptable, clever, industrious – fine material for good citizens ... Readily receptive of new ideas and quick to perceive the advantages of western Christian civilization; here as a most promising field for gospel sowing, a fact which was very soon evident to the early missionaries in Turkey, in striking contrast to the closed shut doors of Mohammedanism.⁶⁷

Missionaries often referred to Armenians as ‘the Anglo-Saxons of the East.’⁶⁸

In missionary literature, they were portrayed as a downtrodden but resourceful, resilient and industrious people who had suffered centuries of war, conquest and oppression, but had nevertheless retained their status as the most advanced people in the region. According to Greene, ‘[Armenian] history proves that they are a staunch

⁶⁶ Anonymous, *Statements in Regard to Colleges in Unevangelized Lands* (Boston: The Board, 1864) in Esra Danacioglu Tamur, “Early Missions and Eastern Christianity in the Ottoman Empire: Cross-Cultural Encounter and Religious Confrontation, 1820-1856,” in *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, eds. Selcuk Esenbel, Bilge Nur Criss, Tony Greenwood (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 43.

⁶⁷ Fensham et al, *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire*, 73.

⁶⁸ Fensham et al, *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire*, 35.

and virile race, home-loving, industrious and intelligent ... During six hundred years of Turkish oppression they have shown a wonderful power of recovery from disaster and massacre, and as farmers, artisans, and traders have always forged ahead.⁶⁹

The great majority of Ottoman Armenians were members of the Armenian Apostolic (Gregorian) Church, a community scattered throughout Anatolia, but with sizable population clusters in eastern Anatolia.⁷⁰ The Armenians did not constitute a linguistically homogenous entity. At least half used Turkish for daily and religious purposes, while the remaining population spoke either various mixtures of Armenian and Turkish or Kurdish (literary Armenian was spoken only by a minority of well-educated Armenians).⁷¹ As one of several non-Muslim communities in the Ottoman Empire, Armenians were represented at all levels of their social, political and cultural life by the Armenian Patriarch who served as the head of their Church. American missionaries took advantage of the millet system to appeal to Armenians with relative freedom from government authorities.⁷²

Missionaries claimed that evangelizing Orthodox Christians would in time be sufficient to sway Muslims.⁷³ In the early 1830s, led the ABCFM to shift its focus to the spiritual enlightenment of what it called ‘the degenerate churches of the East.’⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 20.

⁷⁰ Some Armenians mostly concentrated in the Western cities of the Ottoman Empire were attached to the Roman Catholic Church, which gained legal status in 1831. See McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 13.

⁷¹ Elisabeth Ozdalga, *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 265.

⁷² Showalter, “The 1810 Formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” 50.

⁷³ Ottoman law prohibited missionaries from proselytising among Muslim and Jewish communities. Nevertheless, when proselytizing among Christians, missionaries benefited from the diplomatic and consular protection of their own government, as well as from the capitulations, which meant that they were not subject to Ottoman law.

⁷⁴ Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, 8.

The instructions given to missionaries on this issue as reported in *The Missionary Herald* in 1839 was as follows: ‘The Mahommedan nations cannot be converted to the Christian faith, while the oriental churches, existing everywhere among them as the representatives and exemplifications of Christianity, continue in their present state.’⁷⁵ This remained a peripheral goal of evangelical work among Armenians, who were considered the most receptive millet to missionary efforts. As indicated by a report in *The Missionary Herald* in 1899: ‘Through them [the Armenians] it is expected that other nationalities are to be reached, and the country evangelized.’⁷⁶

Like many of his contemporaries, H.G.O. Dwight saw Armenians as a race destined to form the model Protestant society of the East, to realize the dream of the ‘city upon a hill’ akin to what John Winthrop envisioned for the Puritans in the New World:

As we proceed in this history, it will become more and more evident that God has been among them [Armenians] in very deed, working outwardly by his Providence, and inwardly by his Spirit; thus, encouraging the brightest hopes of what they [Armenians] are one day to become as a people, and of what they are to do, instrumentally, in conferring the temporal and spiritual blessings of Christianity on all the nations and races around.⁷⁷

The original policy of the ABCFM beginning in the early 1840s was to reform the Gregorian Armenian churches from within. As Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM, Rufus Anderson put forth, ‘Our object as a mission is to form churches and not a sect. A Protestant sect may grow out of our efforts, but it is not the thing for

⁷⁵ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1839), https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433068288913_362.

⁷⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6n9l;view=1up;seq=7_533.

⁷⁷ H.G.O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church* (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1854), 30.

which we labor.’⁷⁸ American missionaries did not claim that their mission called for the establishment of a separate church; rather, they expressed the hope that they might affect a religious revival without challenging the existing ‘ecclesiastical authority,’ ‘erroneous doctrines,’ or ‘unscriptural practices,’ but merely introducing the Protestant faith to the communities who would themselves bring about the desired changes. As Greene argued, ‘It is not the rites, ceremonies, and superstitions of those people that you, a foreigner and stranger, can attack to the best advantage; these will be corrected as a thing of course when your main work is accomplished. Your great business is with the fundamental doctrines and duties of the Gospel.’⁷⁹ Thus, in 1842, it was resolved that American missionaries would direct their proselytising efforts to ‘the common people through the press and the schools,’ rather than to the clergy.⁸⁰

However, the 1840s saw a sharp increase in the persecution of evangelical Armenians and their sympathizers, which fuelled the separation and greater independence of the minority group.⁸¹ The Protestant Armenian community was granted official recognition and protection in the form of millet status (separate from Orthodox Armenians) in 1850 via the issuing of an imperial decree by the Porte thanks in large part to the intervention made on their behalf by the British

⁷⁸ Rufus Anderson quoted in Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, 13.

⁷⁹ Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 99.

⁸⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1889), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kwd;view=1up;seq=7> 18.

⁸¹ Beginning in the late 1830s, the Armenian Church was engaged in habitual campaigns of hostility and persecution directed at Protestant Armenians and those suspected of sympathising with American missionaries. Notwithstanding the tolerant approach of some sympathetic Armenian Patriarchs, the Armenian elite adopted increasingly brutal measures. Patriarchal orders and anathemas forbade all contact with the missionaries. In June 1846, a bull of excommunication and anathema was issued against all who remained loyal to evangelism which the patriarch declared must be publicly read at all the Armenian churches throughout the Ottoman empire. While characterizing such opposition as rooted in ignorance and bigotry, missionaries usually remained resolved to carry out their mission as planned. In fact, most tended to view such opposition as propitious of religious revivalism. See Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, 63. See also Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 163-6.

Ambassador, Stratford Canning. In July 1846, a group of Armenian men and women established the first Armenian Protestant Church in Constantinople. The official recognition of a Protestant millet also led to the establishment the Armenian Evangelical Union (AEU) in 1865, an organization which often collaborated with the ABCFM to engage in the work of Bible distribution and the establishment of Protestant churches and schools.⁸²

3.2 Missionaries' Views of Armenian Women

Missionaries tied the religious life of Orthodox Armenians to the poor social status of women. Armenians were thought to engage in a mode of religious worship which was considered morally, intellectually and spiritually stupefying due to its liturgical, formalized, ritualistic and superstitious nature. As posited by Eli Smith,

the great evil is a superstitious reliance upon the external observances of religion, to the neglect of its vitality. The common people have almost no idea of spiritual religion, nor in fact of any doctrine, but such as tell them when and how to make the cross, to fast, feast, confess, commune, and the like; and the only practical effect of their religion of course, is to cause the performance of such ceremonies.⁸³

For most American missionaries, the customs and traditions which shaped the contours of the Orthodox Christian Armenian family, including domestic

⁸² Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 74.

⁸³ 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, Volume One* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833), 312.

relationships, also appeared to be based upon female submission and disregard for the personal, religious or moral thought of women.⁸⁴

Many missionaries claimed that the oppression of women was also a product of the seemingly repressive political conditions and negative socio-cultural influences produced by life under Muslim rule. It was noted in missionary literature that the Armenians of Anatolia were once the heirs of a formerly thriving cultural and religious life which valued educational pursuits and respected the role of women in society. According to James Barton, ‘Under Moslem rule all education ... was discouraged, and some of the Moslem customs, like the veiling of their women, were adopted. The low estimate placed upon womanhood by the conquerors was accepted in a measure by these races, and some of the worst of the vices of the Moslems became common among the Christians.’⁸⁵

While there were many shared cultural, social and religious characteristics between the Armenian communities scattered across Anatolia⁸⁶ there were regional and familial variations in Armenian women’s lives vis-à-vis religious doctrine and practice.⁸⁷ The viability of educating females often depended on several different factors such as the availability of schools, difficulties of travel to the nearest school, the family or community’s belief system (which often, but not always, ran counter to efforts to educate them) and the economic means to support her education.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 63.

⁸⁵ Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 101.

⁸⁶ There was also considerable overlap in the social and cultural habits of Armenian and Muslim communities.

⁸⁷ Suad Joseph, *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures: Family, Law and Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 10.

⁸⁸ The broader challenges which faced missionary efforts in their educational work included the instability and disruption created by natural disasters, famine, disease and internecine conflict (a concern in the mid-1890s). While relations between missionaries and the Porte were often

Nevertheless, the educational endeavours in the Ottoman Empire were occasionally pursued at the behest of local Armenian teachers and leaders (most notably in Constantinople and Smyrna). While it was uncommon for missionaries to encounter established schools for girls, Armenian efforts to initiate their establishment was already underway when the educator-missionary, Maria West, arrived in Smyrna in 1876.⁸⁹

3.3 From Humble Beginnings

The significance of engaging in educational efforts quickly became apparent to the early missionaries sent to the Ottoman Empire. Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons arrived in Smyrna in 1819 to survey the city for its suitability as a site for mission work and report on the policy and methods of work required. Barton notes their instructions thus: ‘You will survey with earnest attention the various tribes and classes which dwell in that land and in the surrounding countries. The two grand inquiries ever present in your minds will be, What good can be done? and By what means?’⁹⁰ For Fisk, Smyrna seemed like an excellent center for future mission work due to its reputation as a port city of commerce and communication. However, his assessment of the Armenian millet showed him that the dissemination of religious materials would not be very successful until more of the population became literate through the establishment of schools. Survey work in the field also cemented the idea

harmonious, the growth of Armenian nationalism (especially at Euphrates College) resulted in a significantly more strained relationship.

⁸⁹ Shrikian, “Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance,” 225.

⁹⁰ Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 119-20.

that established Protestant churches could not function or become self-supporting under conditions of illiteracy for both sexes. In 1829, the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM led by Secretary Anderson decided to establish a mission among the Armenians of Turkey which accommodated the opening of educational facilities as a peripheral means of evangelism. When Parsons and Fisk arrived in Smyrna they observed that there was nothing resembling a modern educational system, only a ‘few schools which did exist were almost entirely ecclesiastical, maintained for what purpose of teaching a few men to conduct religious services.’⁹¹ Indeed, according to Shrikian, these schools were inadequate in terms of funding which led to difficulties vis-à-vis the provision of textbooks, an organized curriculum, schoolhouse furnishings and methods of teaching.⁹² It quickly became apparent that local religious authorities had failed to provide adequate learning opportunities for their adherents because they were themselves people of minimal formal schooling.⁹³ In any case, it must have been clear that any existing schools would not have been likely to admit converts to Protestantism.

The first prominent missionaries to emphasise the importance of educating women and girls were William Goodell and his wife, Abigail who were sent from Malta to Constantinople in June 1831. The Goodells assisted Armenians in

⁹¹ Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 181.

⁹² Gorun Shrikian, *Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance* (Unknown: Ottawa, 2011), 132.

⁹³ At the time of the arrival of the first wave of missionaries, there did not exist an organized or modern educational system among Armenians. One of the main centres of learning were monastic schools which produced educated religious and lay leaders. The other was diocesan schools (primary schools connected to the Gregorian Armenian churches) which begun to be established from the 1850s. They were usually short-lived, however, some proved to be more promising, such as the Central School of Marash, which came to prepare students for the mission colleges in Tarsus, Aintab, and other places. See “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life.” *Marash – Schools*. <http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetaleppo/sandjakofmarash/education-and-sport/schools.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).

reorganizing the few existing elementary schools for boys which lacked adequate textbooks, curriculum, schoolhouse furnishings, as well as modern methods of teaching.⁹⁴ The Goodells opened a day school for girls in their Constantinople home in 1832 intending to serve the Greek, Turkish and Armenian communities. However, the school was closed due to hostility by local ecclesiastical authorities who opposed the idea of education for girls.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, they returned to the city again in 1845 to open a girls' boarding school in Pera, Constantinople known as the 'Mission Training School.' Given the existence of schools for teaching embroidery, the Goodell's adopted the clever tactic of offering embroidery classes as a first step to the establishment of schools for girls which offered a wider curriculum: 'To propose a school for teaching girls was madness, but public sentiment favoured a scheme by which they might learn the woman's art: embroidery. For embroidery, the knowledge of drawing was essential, and to drawing, gradually, reading and writing were added.'⁹⁶ Harriet Lovell was the first female educator-missionary to arrive in the Ottoman Empire to work at the school which was attended by about half a dozen girls around the ages of twelve or thirteen with curriculum of reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing and Bible study.⁹⁷ It was at this school that the Goodell's introduced Armenians to the Lancastrian system which encouraged more advanced students to teach lower grades, thereby offsetting the lack of a trained teaching staff.⁹⁸ It was a technique which was widely and successfully employed for many decades throughout mission stations, particularly at Aintab and Marash, where

⁹⁴ Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 176.

⁹⁵ Showalter, "The 1810 Formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," 50-51.

⁹⁶ Fensham et al, *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire*, 38.

⁹⁷ Robert, *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their Thought and Practice*, 90.

⁹⁸ Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 176.

children and others were employed to teach women at their houses, receiving payment for each lesson.⁹⁹ While the ‘Mission Training School’ initially proved a success mostly among Armenian evangelical families from Constantinople, its student body quickly grew larger and attracted many Gregorian Armenians.¹⁰⁰ It was later renamed the Constantinople Home for Girls and operated as a boarding school in the 1870s before being renamed the American College for Girls in 1890. It was the first school which was entirely administered, taught and paid for by the WBM.¹⁰¹

Protestant churches and schools spread throughout the Armenian communities in Anatolia often with the assistance, guidance and funding provided by American missionaries.¹⁰² Under Foreign Secretary Anderson’s leadership, the ABCFM’s translating, publishing and distributing work continued in the city of Constantinople. However, the founding of churches and schools on which to base the establishment of evangelical communities was largely moved to the Christian enclaves of the Ottoman provinces such as Aintab, Harpoot, Marash and Erzroom. Factors which contributed to the establishment of a mission station at a particular location included a large population with many nearby villages, relatively peaceful relations between various ethnic groups, minimal resistance by local Orthodox

⁹⁹ Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 126.

¹⁰⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1893), 185.

¹⁰¹ Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 77. See also Anonymous, “The Constantinople Home,” *Life and Light for Woman*, October 1876, 289. The Gedik Pasha High School (also in Constantinople) grew out of a Sunday school of 60 scholars established in the early 1880s by Susan M. Schneider and Martha J. Gleason. The student body was mostly Armenian, Greek and Turkish. Most of the pupils were from non-Protestant families. The school was a co-educational institution with separate educational facilities for both boys and girls which prepared students for acceptance at the American College for Girls and Robert College. See Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 127. In 1900, the school had 185 pupils, the boys and girls being about equal in number. A class of four graduated that year. The Sunday-school associated with the school had an average of over 200 members. See American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Ninetieth Annual Report*, 47.

¹⁰² Eleanor Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 110.

churches, an opportunity to resist the growth and influence of Roman Catholic missionaries, its geographical significance as a centre of trade and a favourable physical environment. The students who were admitted generally had to be qualified in terms of ‘character, intelligence, and self-support,’¹⁰³ they had to pass entrance examinations, and with the exception of some students who were accepted as ‘charity scholars,’ were expected to pay tuition fees for their admission and/or board. The first students admitted to mission schools were predominantly the children of evangelical families. However, mission schools quickly began to accommodate increasing numbers of students who were not converts to Protestantism. Nevertheless, they remained cognizant of students’ religious backgrounds. For example, Anatolia College in Marsovan listed nine Catholic, twenty Muslim, 75 Protestant, 101 Gregorian Armenian and 200 Orthodox Greek students in the 1913-1914 academic year.¹⁰⁴

3.4 Overcoming Opposition to Female Education

One of the largest obstacles faced by educator-missionaries concerned the difficulty of overcoming popular prejudice against the education of women and girls among Orthodox Christian communities, including Armenians. It did not take long for American missionaries who began travelling through Ottoman lands in the 1830s to discover that the social status of Ottoman women was considerably different from what they were accustomed to at home. Many female missionaries expressed concern

¹⁰³ McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 45.

¹⁰⁴ Anatolia College, “The Anatolian,” American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #11079, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11079> (accessed January 17, 2018).

that young Armenian girls were not only married at an early age, but sold at a fixed price according to beauty, age and social status.¹⁰⁵ In addition to early marriage, missionaries were concerned that young married women were treated like slaves and were not shown adequate respect in public or private settings. For instance, they observed that women were not permitted to eat with male family members and were barred from speaking to family members until the birth of their first child to illustrate their inferior position vis-à-vis their husbands and in-laws. According to Shrikian, ‘There were strict regulations imposed on the younger women barring them from expressing their opinion or intermingling in conversations taking place among the male members of the family. When the new bride became older and the mother of several children, these rules were released and she enjoyed more freedom and authority in the household.’¹⁰⁶

Notwithstanding the lack of a universal educational system in the Ottoman Empire, an ingrained culture of gender discrimination was cited as the main cause of the lack of schools and high rates of illiteracy among females which prevented them from knowing the Bible. Eli Smith noted that the number of Armenian girls and women who could read was extremely small due to the prejudice against educating them: ‘The education of girls is not only not desired, but decidedly disliked, and in some places the prejudice against it is strong. Its novelty gives alarm; an ability to read is considered a qualification hardly becoming any but nuns; an immoral tendency is apprehended.’¹⁰⁷ There was a decided aversion against educating girls as

¹⁰⁵ Shrikian, “Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance,” 92.

¹⁰⁶ Shrikian, “Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance,” 93.

¹⁰⁷ Smith, *Researches of the Rev. E. Smith and the Rev. H.G.O. Dwight in Armenia*, 294.

they would be likely to be perceived as ‘unfeminine’ and in turn ‘undermine the system of arranged marriages, humiliate their families, and shame the community.’¹⁰⁸ According to Victoria Rowe, female literacy was viewed as detrimental to traditional familial relationships based on female dependency: ‘A literate girl was seen as threatening to the family’s control over her sexual behaviour, demonstrated by the common maxim that girls who could write could write love letters.’¹⁰⁹ Challenging gender discrimination was perceived as the first step to promoting female literacy and education. According to Barton, ‘Among all classes in the country was an inherent prejudice against the intellectual or social advancement of women ... It became necessary ... to educate the men up to the idea that girls could learn and that it was worthwhile to educate them.’¹¹⁰ Many missionaries claimed that a ‘spirit of inquiry’ (a commonly used phrase in missionary literature) which had the potential to affect a religious revival could simultaneously be extended into aspects of social and cultural life, especially with respect to the reassessment of the role of women, family life and gender relations.

¹⁰⁸ Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 76.

¹⁰⁹ Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women’s Writing*, 154.

¹¹⁰ Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 187-8.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROLE OF THE PRINTING PRESS

*The first duty of the missionary was to give the Bible to the people in the spoken language of the land. But how could the Bible accomplish any efficient work among people when 90 per cent of the men and almost 100 per cent of the women knew not how to read?*¹¹¹

*It is an interesting fact that wherever the Bible, and especially the New Testament, has been most widely read, there the people have been the more determined to have modern educational facilities for their children and better prepared to welcome the better forms of Western civilization.*¹¹²

4.1 The Revival of Modern Armenian

The printing press was considered an invaluable technological device vis-à-vis efforts to evangelize and educate local populations. To read the Bible in one's own language was a cornerstone of Protestant theology as it was considered essential

¹¹¹ Joseph K. Greene, *Leavening the Levant* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1916), 125.

¹¹² Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 154.

for the development of an individual's direct relationship to God. As noted by William McGrew, 'In view of the fundamental importance to evangelical Protestantism of personal communion with the Lord and direct access to the Gospels without priestly intercession it was imperative that evangelical followers be taught to read.'¹¹³ Notwithstanding high rates of illiteracy in the population at large (especially among women and girls), missionaries were often dismayed that most Armenians (clergy and laity alike) could not read the Bible as it was written in an ancient language which most of the population could no longer understand. Thus, even when a copy of the Bible was present in people's homes, it was not read, but merely treated as a sacrosanct object. According to a *Mission Studies* report of 1906, the common practice of Bible study in mission schools and the efforts of Bible societies were effectively challenging this cultural custom, 'So large a number of the rising generation are studying the Bible in our schools the old superstitious awe in which it was held is fast passing away, and the colporteurs of the Bible societies are selling many copies all through the country.'¹¹⁴

The ABCFM made significant contributions to the revival of the modern Armenian vernacular.¹¹⁵ The missionary press was first established in Malta in 1822 by Daniel Temple before being transferred to Smyrna in 1833. The ABCFM-operated printing press in Smyrna facilitated the publication of thousands of copies of the Scriptures, religious and educational tracts, pamphlets and books which were

¹¹³ McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 20.

¹¹⁴ Anonymous, "Indirect Influence of Protestant Missions upon Schools in Turkey," *Mission Studies*, November 1906, 332.

¹¹⁵ The promotion of a printing culture which revived the modern Armenian vernacular had political implications for a growing Armenian national consciousness which began to filter into mission colleges such as Euphrates College and Anatolia College at the turn of the century. Within this context, teaching was increasingly seen as a patriotic profession among both Armenian men and women. See Gorun Shrikian, *Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance*, 152.

distributed through the Ottoman Empire for the next two decades, before it was transferred to Constantinople.¹¹⁶ Material was printed in local languages including Armenian and Armeno-Turkish.¹¹⁷ Missionaries claimed that the availability of the Bible in local vernaculars was indispensable to evangelization. Harrison Dwight¹¹⁸ and William Goodell led in translating the Bible and other religious literature into Armeno-Turkish.¹¹⁹ The last revision of the Armeno-Turkish Bible was made by Goodell in 1863, and was quite successful at promoting literacy for many decades to come. Frank Andrews Stone posits that, ‘It sold well for forty years and was the vehicle for many Ottoman Christians becoming literate.’¹²⁰ After William Goodell, the next pioneer in Bible translation into Armenian and Armeno-Turkish was Elias Riggs who also translated other religious texts such as tracts, hymns and folklore.¹²¹

In addition to furthering the development of the modern Armenian vernacular, the translation, publication and distribution of texts into Armenian and Armeno-Turkish aided the running of schools and churches. Missionaries saw religious and educational literature as indispensable to the efforts of educator-missionaries who operated the mission schools and colleges. In every mission station, book depositories were established for distribution purposes (over time, the

¹¹⁶ Shrikian, “Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance,” 215-216.

¹¹⁷ Armeno-Turkish is Turkish written with Armenian characters. It was intended to reach Armenians who spoke Turkish, which was about one-third of Armenians under Ottoman rule. See Shrikian, “Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance,” 120.

¹¹⁸ The popularity and demand for mission publications quickly became evident as attested to by Dwight who noted that, ‘There was a constantly increasing demand for books, so that by the spring of 1843, it was impossible to procure a supply from our press and bindery in Smyrna, with the limited funds we had, to meet seasonably all the orders that came in.’ See H.G.O. Dwight, *Christianity Revived in the East or Narrative of the Work of God Among the Armenians of Turkey* (New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850), 123.

¹¹⁹ Joseph Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy: 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 12.

¹²⁰ Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 45.

¹²¹ Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, 21.

students of the colleges assisted in the distribution work in addition to their teaching responsibilities).¹²² By the 1880s, the publication department of the ABCFM (known as the Publication Committee) was responsible for carrying out the work of preparing and issuing the books, tracts, and newspapers needed in all the mission stations. In the interest of facilitating greater contributions by local populations, members of this committee were annually appointed with equal input by the three missions at their annual meeting and by the Armenian ecclesiastical unions which represented the evangelical Armenian churches.¹²³

4.2 The Distribution and Diversification of Texts

The ABCFM undertook an organized method of distribution for all types of educational and literary material.¹²⁴ The American Bible House in Constantinople (established in 1872) served as the ABCFM's centre of business, translation, publication and distribution work throughout the empire for many decades. Its printing presses produced periodicals, newspapers, religious and educational books translated into nearly thirty different languages, including modern Armenian and Armeno-Turkish, to be used in schools and homes across mission stations. In addition to printing facilities, there were storerooms for Bibles and mission books, as well as rooms for editors and translators.¹²⁵ By the end of the 1890s, many of the

¹²² Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 121.

¹²³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1888), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89066110529;view=1up;seq=7299>.

¹²⁴ Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 122.

¹²⁵ Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 129.

Armenian schools utilized the New Testament as a textbook and the Bible had been widely distributed to Armenian homes and schools. It was estimated that by the early 1890s, the American Bible House in Constantinople had disseminated the Scriptures in issues or portions which amounted to some 3,000,000 copies. It was also estimated that 3,761,730 copies of religious and educational books and tracts had been published since the start of work.¹²⁶

There was a diversification of the kinds of books which were translated, published and distributed by the ABCFM. For the first few decades of its operation, the vast majority the texts were of a religious nature (catechisms, tracts and primers).¹²⁷ The Bible was the text which was most highly in demand and was the most common text utilized by Armenian and American Bible women and educator-missionaries to promote literacy.¹²⁸ By 1868, it could be claimed that most Armenian families had the Bible in the modern vernacular and that it was often used as a text book in the schools.¹²⁹ However, in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, elementary and secondary textbooks on grammar, spelling, geography, mathematics, philosophy and even scientific and medical texts were published for use in educational institutions.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1893), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kwh;view=1up;seq=7> 184. For Anderson's views on the topic of missionary publications see Rufus Anderson, *Foreign Missions: Their Relations and Claims* (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1869), 115.

¹²⁷ Religious books included titles such as 'Evidences of Christianity,' 'Concordance of the New Testament,' 'Scripture Text-book,' 'History of the Reformation,' 'History of the Church,' 'Pilgrim's Progress,' 'Saints' Rest,' 'Anxious Inquirer,' 'Hymn and Tune Books,' 'Treatises on Moral and Intellectual Philosophy.' See American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Norwich* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1868), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924081231890> 17-18.

¹²⁸ See appendix B for tabular information about numbers of female missionaries and local helpers in all three mission fields.

¹²⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 27.

¹³⁰ Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East*, 21.

The ABCFM's only religious Armenian periodical, *Avedaper* (*The Messenger*), began to be published fortnightly and monthly in the Armenian and Armeno-Turkish languages in the early 1850s.¹³¹ It contained articles intended for women and children which touched on the topics of motherhood, childcare and homemaking. Occasionally, it contained excerpts of popular antebellum American mother's manuals which celebrated the power of maternal influence in the home and society such as Thomas Gallaudet's *The Child's Book on the Soul* and *The Mother's Primer to Teach Her Child Its Letters and How to Read*, John Abbott's *The Mother at Home* and Lydia Sigourney's *Letters to Mothers*.¹³² In 1868, it was estimated that one third of the expense of the *Avedaper* was met by subscribers. In 1873, it there were 1,600 weekly copies and 4,000 monthly copies of the *Avedaper* published in American, Armeno-Turkish and Greco-Turkish. In 1878, there were over 2,100 published copies. By 1893, it was estimated that the weekly edition had about 1,750 subscribers, while the monthly edition had about 1,650 subscribers. The subscribers to the *Avedaper* were almost evenly divided between Protestant and non-Protestant Armenians.¹³³

¹³¹ Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches, Volume Two*, Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872, 264.

¹³² Reeves-Ellington, "Embracing Domesticity," 274.

¹³³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Third Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Minneapolis* (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1873), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429159;view=1up;seq=7> 18. See also American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1878), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429134;view=1up;seq=7> 28. See also American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-First Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1881), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264908;view=1up;seq=9> 34. See also American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Third Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Worcester* (Boston: The Board, 1893), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429241;view=1up;seq=9> 33.

CHAPTER V

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GIRLS' SCHOOLS AMONG GREGORIAN ARMENIANS

The Gregorian Armenians ... employed one of our last year's graduates to teach their girls' school, paying her more than twice the salary we pay her classmates who teach in the college, and allowing her to have Bible lessons and pray with the pupils, conditions on which she insisted.¹³⁴

Each girl educated at the Seminary [Central Turkey College] becomes a center of influence in village or city to which she returns, and is an illustration of all of the influence of true Christian culture. Such girls welcome the presence and aid of their former teachers, and make vigorous efforts in promoting education among their friends and the churches and communities where they belong.¹³⁵

5.1 The Impact of Mission Schools

¹³⁴ Anonymous, "Life and Light for Woman," *Life and Light for Woman*, May 1891, 200.

¹³⁵ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Providence* (Boston: The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1877), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429159> 34.

A recurring observation in missionary literature is that American educational endeavours impelled the Armenian Patriarchate to significantly increase the scope of educational work in order to meet the foreign competition.¹³⁶ Beginning in the 1860s, Orthodox Armenian church leaders began to open or improve free schools for both boys and girls, which were often located close to Protestant churches and schools.¹³⁷ According to an ABCFM report from 1868 referring to the Eastern Turkey Mission, '[The] instruction of the female sex is not now confined to the mission schools, but in those opened last winter by the Armenians, to keep scholars away from our teachers, were to be found some 600 girls.'¹³⁸ Similarly, according to a report in *Mission Studies*,

Wherever American mission schools are started the native communities are roused to intellectual activity and soon start schools of their own or improve those already existing ... When the school for girls was opened [in an Armenian quarter of Smyrna], Armenian girls in large numbers came to the school. The Armenian community school felt the loss and of course tried to recover it. The only effectual way to keep girls from the American school was to better their own.¹³⁹

Like the Orthodox churches, Roman Catholics churches also responded to the American educational enterprise by opening schools wherever missionary schools were opened in an effort to counteract their influence.¹⁴⁰ The desire to offset the potentially disruptive and destabilising religious influence of ABCFM schools prompted some Armenian community leaders to improve their educational programs

¹³⁶ Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 74.

¹³⁷ Wollons, "Travelling for God and Adventure," 59.

¹³⁸ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 41.

¹³⁹ Anonymous, "Indirect Influence of Protestant Missions upon Schools in Turkey," *Mission Studies*, November 1906, 331.

¹⁴⁰ Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 178.

to appeal to more families who were becoming interested in the education of girls and young women.¹⁴¹

Missionaries observed that local leaders and ecclesiastics were pressured to appropriate the approaches and methods of mission schools and seminaries which in turn served to increase women's leadership roles within their communities. Educator-missionary, Ruth Bushnell observed that in Erzroom, Armenians successfully challenged ecclesiastical opposition to demand Bible teaching in Armenian schools, daily lessons of which were part of the curriculum in all Protestant mission schools: 'The priests fought against it as long as they could, and finally, when the demand became so urgent, they undertook the teaching of it themselves, to a small class of teachers, with their own interpretations and explanations.'¹⁴² In addition to developments in educational facilities and teaching methods, the Gregorian Church was also known to engage in the organization of women's prayer meetings and benevolent societies modelled on those of missionaries. These were occasionally led by former students and graduates of American mission schools and colleges.¹⁴³

The influence of the educational missions on local schools extended still further as Armenian schools employed graduates of mission schools and colleges as teachers and utilized religious and educational material produced by the ABCFM. According to an ABCFM report of 1889, 'The Gregorian Armenians are using more Protestant textbooks in their schools, and in some cases, they are employing

¹⁴¹ Joseph, *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures*, 13.

¹⁴² Ruth M. Bushnell, "Result of Missionary Effort upon the Non-Protestant Communities," *Mission Studies*, November 1906, 335.

¹⁴³ Bushnell, "Result of Missionary Effort upon the Non-Protestant Communities," 334-6.

Protestant teachers, allowing the freest use of the Bible, and the opening and closing of their schools with prayer.¹⁴⁴ In February 1875, Albert Hubbard noted that the Armenian schools of Sivas had adopted the ABCFM's translation of the New Testament as the main text due to its 'superior style of language and print.'¹⁴⁵ Despite the existence of religious rivalry, Armenian schools were also known to use modern teaching techniques and sometimes even the teaching of English similar to that of mission schools. A *Mission Studies* report from 1906 posits that:

New methods of teaching, the introduction of English into their [the Armenian] school and other changes followed. Graduates from our school [in Smyrna] were and are employed to teach for them, and the two schools which at first were antagonistic have become more and more friendly with the years ... That some rivalry still exists cannot be denied, and the Armenians while approving and adopting our methods of education, are still warned by their bishop to beware of our religious teaching.¹⁴⁶

In addition to rivalry between mission and common schools, there was also intra-communal competition between nearby towns and cities vis-à-vis the establishment of common schools.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report*, 50

¹⁴⁵ Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 97.

¹⁴⁶ Anonymous, "Indirect Influence of Protestant Missions upon Schools in Turkey," *Mission Studies*, November 1906, 331-2. The Hadjin Home was opened by two American educator-missionaries in 1880. See Anonymous, "What the WBMI is Doing in the Land of the Crescent," *Mission Studies*, January 1905, 298. In 1897, one hundred and fifty-seven names were enrolled there, fifty-four of them boarders, and one hundred day pupils representing fourteen different towns and villages. By 1902, it had enrolled 260 girls ranging from seven to seventeen years in age in its primary, intermediate and high schools. Sixty-nine were boarders mostly from nearby villages and outstations. The graduates of American educational institutions such as the Hadjin Home School often worked in Armenian girls' schools in the surrounding villages. See Mary E. Brewer, "Notes from a Letter," *Mission Studies*, March 1897, 88. See also Anonymous, "The Lesson: The Hadjin Home," *Mission Studies*, May 1902, 151-3.

¹⁴⁷ "Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life." *Harput (kaza) – Schools (Part I)*.

<http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetofmamuratulazizharput/harputkaza/education-and-sport/schools-part-i.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).

The female students and graduates of Euphrates College¹⁴⁸ in Harpoot (a majority of whom were Armenian) were engaged in teaching in Protestant and Gregorian schools. The high demand for teachers educated in mission schools and colleges could potentially facilitate higher earnings. As noted by President Gates of Euphrates College in 1899, ‘The Gregorians pay larger salaries than we do in order to get our graduates for teachers.’¹⁴⁹

5.2 Missionaries’ Response to Armenian Schools

¹⁴⁸ Euphrates College was established as Armenia College by Crosby Howard Wheeler in 1878. He was president of the college from 1878-1893. The first principal of the girls’ college was Emily Wheeler, who was succeeded by Mary Daniels. The college was the largest co-educational higher institution in the mission field. In addition to the primary, secondary, preparatory and collegiate departments, it housed a normal (pedagogical) school to train female teachers, a male and female seminary, an orphanage and a hospital. Armenian language and literature occupied a central part of its curriculum. By the turn of the century, it was owned by the evangelical union of the Eastern Turkey Mission, largely supported by local revenues and with a largely Armenian staff of teachers. See M.B. Norton, “Harpoot Female Seminary,” *Life and Light for Woman*, August 1876, 227. Between 1889-1896, the college had its own printing press which was able to produce publications in both Armenian and Latin script. Subjects taught in the girls’ collegiate department of Euphrates College included Ancient history, Armenian, Astronomy, Bible, Botany, Chemistry, Church history, Domestic science, Drawing, Dressmaking, English, Fundamental Doctrines, Geology, History of Religion, Logic and Ethics, Medieval and Modern History, Needlework, Pedagogy, Physics, Physiology, Geometry, Psychology, Public speaking, Roman and Early Medieval History, Singing, Turkish and Zoology. Subjects taught in the girls’ high school of Euphrates College included Algebra, Arithmetic, Modern Armenian, Bible, Classical Armenian, Drawing, Elocution, English, General History, Geography, Hygiene, Ottoman and Armenian history, Physics, Geography, Natural sciences, Sewing and Singing. See “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life,” *Harput (kaza) – Schools (Part I)*,

<http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetofmamuratulazizharput/harputkaza/education-and-sport/schools-part-i.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018). By the turn of the century, the female department of Euphrates College had graduated twenty-one classes (numbering ninety-three students) of whom thirty were engaged in teaching and twenty-two were the wives of preachers and teachers. See American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board*, 14. During the thirty-five years of its operation (until 1915), there were approximately 600 graduates of both sexes. See Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 170. Some of the female Armenian students and graduates of Euphrates College can be seen in Appendix D (Figures 1 and 2).

¹⁴⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), 533.

Missionaries were conflicted in their opinions on the establishment of Gregorian Armenian schools. On one hand, they were an encouraging sign of progress, a sign of a growing ‘spirit of inquiry’ geared toward the promotion of female education. An ABCFM report from 1868 optimistically noted the proliferation of local schools and the increased receptivity to female education in Armenian communities: ‘The Armenian schools ... have greatly multiplied and improved. Female education, formerly entirely neglected, is now securing attention in almost every community.’¹⁵⁰ Another report from 1877 posited that Armenians were increasingly willing make investments to support initiatives in female education by way of money and labor: ‘In many of the larger towns and villages, the people are calling for separate schools for their daughters, and declare themselves ready to give liberally according to their means, both in money and in labor, for the erection of suitable school buildings as well as for the support of the teachers.’¹⁵¹ By 1892, it was estimated that for every dollar that the ABCFM spent for the support of schools in Harpoot, Armenians paid more than two dollars towards the erection of the necessary buildings and for general administrative purposes.¹⁵²

However, missionaries expressed concern regarding the religious underpinnings of Armenian schools on the basis that they lacked the moral and religious instruction of mission schools. The establishment of Protestant schools capable of providing a superior level of education to those run by rival religious groups was expected prevent a loss of students to those schools as well as to expand

¹⁵⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 17.

¹⁵¹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Seventh Annual Report*, 31.

¹⁵² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1892), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kww;view=1up;seq=7> 147.

Protestant communities by attracting new adherents of the faith. In 1846, an ABCFM report claimed that,

The existence of schools among the Protestants is a motive to Armenian parents to join the Protestant community. It has already worked in this way in some cases that have come to our knowledge; and doubtless this motive will be more and more operative, particularly when it comes to be generally known ... that the Protestant schools are far superior in every respect to all other schools in the country.¹⁵³

Nevertheless, in the 1890s, there were even some instances of mutual cooperation among Protestant and Gregorian Armenians. For example, the Protestant girls' and boy's schools in Oorfa established by the female educator-missionary, Corinna Shattuck, eventually led to the establishment of a combined school system run by a committee of representatives from both the Protestant and Armenian churches.¹⁵⁴

5.3 Changes in Popular Attitudes to Female Education

The growing interest in educational and religious reform spurred by the publication and distribution of religious literature in conjunction with the establishment of a network of educational institutions was not easily measured in purely numerical or statistical terms. Missionary accounts pointed to the changing perceptions of local people who began to attach a greater value to education.

According to James Levi Barton, 'The great value of the educational work done in

¹⁵³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Thirty-Seventh Annual Meeting Held in New Haven* (Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1846), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264643> 151.

¹⁵⁴ Shrikian, *Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance*, 174.

Turkey ... appears in the thirst for education, which manifests itself in independent village, parochial and city schools.¹⁵⁵ The Female Seminary at Aintab was said to have made considerable advances in inspiring greater tolerance and acceptance of female education in the local community. According to an ABCFM report from 1863, the institution had ‘overcome much prejudice against female education and the regulations deemed necessary in such an institution.’¹⁵⁶ The Female Seminary at Aintab saw an increase in the number of pupils from 25 in 1868 to 65 in 1886. Also, in 1879, it was reported that a class of seven had graduated that year, three of whom were already engaged in teaching.¹⁵⁷

Indeed, missionary literature regularly contains lamentations regarding the challenge of investing sufficient human and material resources to keep up with demand. For instance, an ABCFM report points out that the girls’ school and kindergarten in Erzroom had secured a good reputation with a larger attendance which in turn made adjustments necessary: ‘The numbers were so great that during the session of 1893 and 1894, a second school became necessary, with higher tuition, and to this second school were transferred some of the older pupils. Now even the second room has been crowded beyond all expectation.’¹⁵⁸ Despite the financial and logistical challenges associated with educational work, the schools, colleges and

¹⁵⁵ Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 194.

¹⁵⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Third Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Rochester* (Boston: T.R. Marvin and Son, 1863), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429092> 74.

¹⁵⁷ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 35. See also American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Des Moines* (Boston: Stanley and Usher, 1886),

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429050> 41. See also American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report Presented at the Meeting Held at Syracuse* (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1879),

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264916;view=lup;seq=377> 34.

¹⁵⁸ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Third Annual Report*, 44.

seminaries which received greater financial support from local populations were often the first to be moved into larger buildings with better facilities. The struggle to meet the heightened interest in female education as illustrated by rising student numbers, schools and the demand for more educators was widely noted in missionary literature across all the mission fields. An article from *Life and Light for Woman* published in 1891 notes that, ‘The gratifying increase of interest in female education is shown by the good number of young ladies in the college proper [Euphrates College at Harpoot], as well as by the increasing calls in our own and other mission fields for lady teachers, the demand exceeding the supply.’¹⁵⁹ Similarly, the educator-missionary, Ellen Blakely lamented that, ‘The demand for teachers is constantly increasing as the number of schools in the city [Marash] increases and the supply is altogether inadequate.’¹⁶⁰

Notwithstanding times of hardship due to economic, social or political disturbances, Armenians, both Gregorian and Protestant, began to attach greater value to education with parents willing to make greater contributions for the education of their daughters. According to Anderson, ‘[In Harpoot], the mission was much encouraged by a growing interest in education, especially among the women. Parents who a few years before thought it wholly unnecessary if not a disgrace for their daughters to read, and who could hardly be induced to allow them to attend school, now gladly paid considerable sums for their tuition.’¹⁶¹ Although the cost of tuition and board generally increased over time in all the mission stations, so too did

¹⁵⁹ Anonymous, “Life and Light for Woman,” *Life and Light for Woman*, May 1891, 200.

¹⁶⁰ Ellen M. Blakely, “Report of the Central Turkey Girls’ College for 1896-7,” *Mission Studies*, October 1897, 310.

¹⁶¹ Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 249.

student numbers.¹⁶² In 1894, an ABCFM report noted the greater acceptance of and interest in female education among not just Protestant, but Gregorian Armenian communities, reflected in a proliferation of schools for both sexes. It noted that in addition to higher numbers of students, Armenians families were prepared to make greater economic sacrifices to secure the education of girls and young women:

The true progress of any people may be pretty accurately measured by noticing the change in the social position of its women, and in Turkey this change is most marked. More than twenty years ago when we organized a girls' boarding school in Talas, near Cesarea, it was with much difficulty that we were able to secure six girls, paying all their expenses for board, clothing, and books; now that same school has from sixty to seventy boarding pupils, in good part paying their own expenses. Many schools in all parts of Turkey have had a similar history. This progress is by no means confined to the Protestant communities; it is seen also among non-Protestants, both Greek and Armenian, whose schools of various grades, and for both sexes are found in all the larger towns and cities.¹⁶³

Missionaries generally sought to expand their educational facilities to keep pace with the changing intellectual atmosphere and desire for education among local populations. According to an ABCFM report of 1868, 'It has been our desire to maintain the proper equality between supply and demand ... to keep our hands upon the intellectual pulse of the field, and furnish facilities for higher education, just so fast as there is a craving for it.'¹⁶⁴ However, the development of educational facilities, as well as the number of educator-missionaries on the field, particularly, in regions where educational initiatives had begun relatively late, were often too slow or inadequate to meet demand. By the 1880s, reports from resident missionaries regularly contained open requests for greater support from the home office.

¹⁶² See appendix A for tabular information regarding numbers of students, educational facilities and teachers.

¹⁶³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1894), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6wgf.283>.

¹⁶⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 32.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS IMPACT OF EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS

As one listened to their [a committee of women regularly appointed deaconesses in the Gregorian Church at Oorfa] experiences in Christian work, it was impossible not to think that whatever their church name, or their errors in theological belief, they had caught much of the spirit of real Christianity.¹⁶⁵

Female education started and propagated by the American Mission in general, and especially female missionaries, brought an immense contribution towards the social improvement of the races involved and stimulated the educational enterprise through the influence in both family life and social surroundings.¹⁶⁶

6.1 The Civilizing Impulse

¹⁶⁵ E.S. Webb, "A Trip to Oorfa," *Mission Studies*, November 1906, 336.

¹⁶⁶ Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 195.

Missionaries displayed considerable interest in recording the social, cultural and religious lives of the people among whom they labored. They tended to be attentive to the changes occurring in the personal, interpersonal and communal lives of evangelical as well as Gregorian Armenians. In addition to statistical information, they relied on anecdotal evidence of the impact of their teachings and influence. Missionaries claimed that the positive results of mission work in the field of female education could partly be understood through observations of changes in the appearance, demeanour, skills and personal habits of the students, former students and alumnae of mission schools and colleges. For instance, Maria West described the transformation experienced by a student named Elmas, by comparing her state before and after entering the Boarding/Training School for Girls and Women at Harpoot:

Then so coarse, so stupid, and utterly ignorant, that she seemed by a moving breathing clod of clay, beside her wide-awake, intelligent-looking husband, and I almost queried if indeed it enshrined a soul, to be awakened from its lethargy! But even learning the alphabet appeared to inspire her with self-respect, and raise her a few degrees above the “donkey race,” as women are termed in the benighted region from which she came. And as the Summer wore away, a new light began to play over her face, the awakened soul shone from the eyes, her person and apparel received more attention, and by-and-by, when she came attired in a new print dress, to attend one of the more private and informal examinations of the school, her fresh, rosy face looked wholesome, if not handsome, and many marvelled at the change. We do not expect that Elmas will acquire much more of a book-learning than the ability to read her Bible, write her husband a letter when he is away from home, and keep their small household accounts, but even this much will cause her to be looked upon by the women of her native village, as highly educated at least for a few years until the standard is raised.¹⁶⁷

The personal and communal changes which missionaries perceived among Armenians were compared with positive stereotypical representations of the women

¹⁶⁷ West, *The Romance of Missions*, 417-8.

at home. The value attached to female education, moral conduct and the status of women were also points of comparison. According to a missionary account in *Mission Studies* published in 1895, ‘In centres where missionary schools exist, Protestants seem like Christians in our own land. Dress, manner of living, the value set on education, the estimate of womanhood, the standards of honesty and purity, if not just like those in New England, are at least so similar that I find nothing to say of them.’¹⁶⁸ Such descriptions and comparisons based on the physical appearance, demeanour and intellectual enlightenment of Armenian women were in part a product of missionaries’ ethnocentric assumptions and orientalist prejudices. At the same time, they were a prime illustration of their belief in the universality of the ideology of educated Protestant womanhood.

In line with the mission theory of Mount Holyoke, female educator-missionaries in particular displayed a tendency to blur the line between ‘civilizing’ and ‘evangelizing.’ The most prominent instance of this tension is illustrated by the premise that non-Christian religions led to the degradation of women, while Christianity provided not only salvation, but the possibility of social equality with Western women, and positions of respect within their own societies. This sentiment is reflected by the following remark by Helen Fowle, an educator-missionary at the Central Turkey Girls’ College at Marash:

How glad I am that I was born in America, a Christian country, a free country where woman holds her future in her own hands! Who among us has not had this thought, even if the thought never found expression in words! The more strongly we appreciate our favored conditions, the more forcibly do we feel

¹⁶⁸ Anonymous, “WBMI: Thank-offering Meeting,” *Mission Studies*, September 1895, 303.

that we who are already lifted up should esteem it our God-given privilege as well as our duty to uplift woman in other lands.¹⁶⁹

What may be deemed progressive socio-cultural transformations among Armenians were often understood as a tacit acceptance of the civilizational tenets of the Protestant faith or as a means to affect a spirit of religious revivalism along evangelical lines. More importantly, it was precisely this fusion which gave force to the model of educated Christian womanhood within which missionaries justified their educational efforts among Armenian females.

6.2 'The Beginnings of a Civilization that has a Christian Aspect'

Missionary literature does not reflect high numbers of conversions among student bodies. Armenians' receptivity to evangelism through mission inspired educational work differed depending on factors such as the level of cooperation between local Ottoman officials and missionaries, the dynamic between the ABCFM missionaries and the local Gregorian Armenian and Roman Catholic educational institutions and the size of the local Protestant community. However, mission schools and colleges for both sexes were open to both Gregorian and evangelical Armenians, and many college students were graduates of Gregorian Armenian schools. Moreover, it is likely that most female Armenian students did not experience a religious conversion or seriously question their Orthodox Christian faith because conversion tended to be simultaneously interpreted as a rejection of ethnic

¹⁶⁹ Helen A. Fowle, "Marash College," *Mission Studies*, May 1902, 147.

status. As noted by the educator-missionary, Emma Hubbard, who was stationed in Sivas (in the Central Turkey Mission), ‘The majority of students were not Protestants, and although they were exposed to Protestant religious services, most of them never converted. A powerful reason for this was that under the millet system the Armenian Church was identified with Armenian nationalism and Armenian culture in a way the foreign missionary-supported Protestant Church could not be.’¹⁷⁰

By the 1870s a majority of students who attended and graduated from mission schools and colleges did not identify as Protestant. In an ABCFM report from 1868, it is noted that less than half of the students at the Girls’ Seminary at Aintab¹⁷¹ had given evidence of conversion to Protestantism: ‘The whole number of pupils last year was 25, of whom ten gave evidence of having become Christians.’¹⁷² In reference to the Boarding/Training School for Girls and Women at Harpoot (opened in 1863), West noted that the institution had started out with ninety pupils (a third of whom had remained connected with the institution during their education), with only three or four who had made a profession of piety when admitted.¹⁷³ In 1900, the Girls’ School at Adabazar (Adapazarı) reported ninety-seven pupils with more than half of both boarding and day pupils being non-Protestant (a class of seven graduated that year).¹⁷⁴ Nevertheless, modest clusters of evangelical communities were reported throughout mission fields.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Emma Hubbard quoted in Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 97.

¹⁷¹ The Girls’ Seminary at Aintab started with 20 students in 1860 and grew to 168 students (with 40 boarders) in 1909 and 205 students in 1912. See Shrikian, *Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission’s Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance*, 123.

¹⁷² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 35.

¹⁷³ West, *The Romance of Missions*, 476.

¹⁷⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Ninetieth Annual Report*, 47.

¹⁷⁵ See appendices B and C for tabular information about numbers of evangelical Christians and local helpers in all three mission fields.

Many of the missionaries working in the Ottoman Empire during the second half of the nineteenth century remained cautiously optimistic that a more widespread religious revival of the Armenian Orthodox Church, while slow in progress, would eventually come to fruition. They relied on statistics such as increases in the publication and dissemination of the Bible and religious tracts, increases in rates of literacy, increases in student enrolment, proliferation of schools and greater religious and educational demands pointing to an increasing 'spirit of inquiry' among the people to demonstrate the potential development of a Protestant Christian civilization. In 1872, Rufus Anderson argued that:

The extent, to which the Gospel has affected the communities not Protestant, cannot be appreciated by one not in actual contact with them. It manifests itself partly in the weakened power of superstition, the multiplication of schools, the number of adults who have learned to read, the increase in general intelligence and knowledge of the truth, the decrease of intemperance and vice, the promotion of enterprise and good order; and in short, the beginnings of a civilization that has a Christian aspect.¹⁷⁶

The dominant attitude among missionaries affiliated with the ABCFM reflected a harmony between the 'civilizing' and evangelizing tendencies of educational missions in the Ottoman Empire. According to an ABCFM report published in 1899:

Each [educational] institution is superior in its own field; each is decidedly Christian in its character and instruction, with an American at the head in every instance but one, and with Anglo-Saxon ideas of truth and righteousness dominating every department. These colleges ... form the solid basis for the steady and permanent progress of the Christian work as well as for the elevation and civilization of the people among whom they are established.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*, 468.

¹⁷⁷ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board* (Boston: The Board, 1899), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951002032301j;view=1up;seq=5> 3-4.

On the whole, the measure of success of educational mission work was not strictly defined by the number of converts, but rather, by the increase in social and religious activity among local populations.

6.3 Prayer Meetings and Mothers' Meetings

Educator-missionaries such as West advocated the establishment of women's organizations and associations to prepare students to embrace leadership roles within their communities. Tocqueville once expressed his amazement of what he perceived to be Americans' love of forming associations. He understood this tendency in terms which were conducive to a democratizing impulse: he believed it fostered a more vibrant and communitarian spirit in civil society and offset the potentially harmful effects of rampant individualism. But in the context of evangelical educational missions to women and girls, the prescription should be understood in the context of efforts to promote the model of the educated Protestant woman who embodied the values of social empowerment and intellectual enlightenment. West encouraged her students to organize regular meetings at which they could pray, discuss reading materials and educate each other. The women were taught the importance of being proactive in their intellectual and religious pursuits by proselytising among women and girls in their communities, teaching, networking and forming associations such as 'Sunday schools, children's meetings, mothers' meetings, prayer meetings, [and] soul-loving societies.'¹⁷⁸ In a book outlining her approach to teaching, West writes:

¹⁷⁸ West, *The Romance of Missions*, 612.

How to systematize and give permanency to their efforts in real Christian work? ... Organize a band for direct work for souls, and call it THE SOUL LOVING SOCIETY ... Every member of this society shall pledge herself to special Christian work for souls around her ... and moreover such member shall consider herself pledged to establish a similar society wherever in the future her lot may be cast. This was the simple pledge to which our pious pupils set their seal. And the next Sunday some of the women went with their husbands to the villages to gather the mothers around them for a Bible-reading.¹⁷⁹

Similarly, at the American College for Girls at Constantinople, educator-missionaries combined Bible study and preaching services with ‘an enterprising Christian Association [which] gives expression to the social, philanthropic and religious enthusiasm always found in the college.’ Students were expected ‘to take a prominent part in these meetings.’¹⁸⁰

Such meetings fostered a sense of communitarianism and provided opportunities for the promotion of the model of educated Christian womanhood. Female educator-missionaries often encouraged the formation of women’s religious and maternal associations in order to encourage young Armenian women (both Protestant and Gregorian Armenians) to discuss topics pertaining to homemaking and childcare. A report from *Life and Light for Woman* published in 1877 contains an account by Mrs. Montgomery of Marash about the increasing numbers of women in attendance at the ‘Armenian Mothers’ Meeting,’ established by local Armenian women (which held its first meeting in March 1875): ‘One hundred came out in a pouring rain, their hearts gently burdened for their little ones. In April, two hundred

¹⁷⁹ West, *The Romance of Missions*, 696-7.

¹⁸⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board*, 26.

and fifty were present, and in May, four hundred.¹⁸¹ Similarly, an 1893 report from the ABCFM noted that:

The Young Women's Christian Association [in Marash] ... has three branches connected with the three churches. This Association holds many meetings during the year, and also supported a school for girls in an otherwise neglected portion of the city. These branches have systematic visiting from house to house, besides holding meetings for Bible study. Mothers' meetings have been held in the three churches, where subjects hearing upon the home have been discussed from a practical standpoint. The mothers of the mission have here found ample scope for useful service.¹⁸²

In 1893, the Sunday-school at Gedik Pasha (Gedikpaşa) in Constantinople had an average of 290 pupils from all nationalities and was thought to have 'stimulated the Armenian and Greek ecclesiastics to more evangelical instruction.'¹⁸³ The attendees of Sunday Schools across all three mission stations in the 1880s and 1890s was often estimated to be in the hundreds.¹⁸⁴ Like the growing interest in Sunday schools, weekly prayer meetings held from house to house became increasingly popular among women in cities such as Marash, Aintab, Oorfa and Marsovan. Students and graduates of mission schools were known to lead or take part in such gatherings.¹⁸⁵ The social and religious activity among Armenian women was spurred by the interest in mothers' meetings, prayer meetings and Sunday schools.

6.4 Armenian Bible Women

¹⁸¹ Anonymous, "Our Work at Home: Annual Meeting," *Life and Light for Woman*, January 1877, 78.

¹⁸² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Third Annual Report*, 40.

¹⁸³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Third Annual Report*, 35.

¹⁸⁴ See appendix C for more information on Sunday school membership.

¹⁸⁵ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1868), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kwx;view=1up;seq=725>.

Lessons in mission schools were intended to demonstrate the superiority of Protestant civilization, in particular, the exalted place of women in Protestant society. In *Romance of Missions* (1875), Maria West presents an illuminating portrait of life as a female educator-missionary in the Eastern Turkey mission. Referring to the Marsovan Girls' Training School, she recounts her experiences with the local populations and the methods she employed to communicate with potential converts and reformers. According to West, students were presented with 'Missionary Lectures' once a week during which time they were taught about peoples in 'heathen nations' in order to 'bring home to their hearts the true condition of those who were far below themselves in ignorance and degradation.'¹⁸⁶ West encouraged her students to compare images of non-Christian women in parts of the world deemed most bereft of the civilizing impact of evangelical Christianity such as India, China and the Hawaiian Islands with the treatment of women in their own society. The ignorance, superstition and immorality which seemed to characterize non-Christian nations was associated with the degraded and benighted status of woman in those lands. The latter concept was in turn associated with national stagnation (lack of social progress and prosperity). Students were provided with articles from American evangelical periodicals which regularly published graphic illustrations of alleged heathen practices to illustrate the victimization of women and children. Stereotypical representations of women in missionary teachings were based on the intersection of religion and gender and tied evangelism with civilizational progress.

¹⁸⁶ West, *The Romance of Missions*, 608.

West's 'Missionary Lectures' inculcated ideas about divine benevolence and instilled a sense of missionary zeal. Lessons were geared toward motivating female Armenian students to embark upon evangelical work among their own communities. Women were encouraged to consider the not just their own spiritual development, but how they could contribute to the spiritual development of their local communities. According to Annie Marshall, at missionary meetings held by 'The Missionary Society of the Marash College for Girls,' students were taught about the nature of mission work in other parts of the world to inspire them to engage in leadership roles within their communities including through women's meetings and philanthropy:

By this means the girls sympathies are aroused, their ideas of life broadened and ways by which their Christian love to their fellow men can be expressed are suggested to them. They hear of people whose conditions of life are darker and more cruel than their own and of what the Gospel has done to purify and elevate them, and they hear of orphanages, asylum homes for the infirm and helpless and general home mission work which Christian love has established in Christian lands. They receive a training which is useful to them afterward in reorganizing and leading women's and children meetings in church and school.¹⁸⁷

The Female Seminary of Euphrates College at Harpoot like many others was established with the main intention of educating married women to become the wives of Protestant pastors and preachers trained at male seminaries. By the 1870s, the increasing desire of Armenian women to conduct evangelical work contributed to the decision to expand the target group of students increasingly to single women. According to an ABCFM report of 1868, 'A considerable addition has been, and is soon to be made, to the number of unmarried ladies employed. These seek the evangelization of their sex by religious intercourse with women at their houses, or

¹⁸⁷ Annie C. Marshall, "Muneverre Menzelet," *Mission Studies*, January 1901, 248-9.

who call as visitors, and especially by training girls and women to be laborers for Christ.¹⁸⁸ Educated girls and women were able to engage in the work of evangelism after their training at mission schools and colleges. Some former students and graduates served as Bible women at home and in distant lands, as advocates of female education and in philanthropy. According to E.S. Webb:

A large committee of women, regularly appointed deaconesses in this Gregorian church [at Oorfa], called upon us. Their faces lighted up as they told of their joy in work for Christ. They described their house-to-house calling, their efforts for the poor, for illiterate women and children and for those in prison ... All said the change in them had come within the past ten years and ascribed it largely to Miss [Corinna] Shattuck's [educator-missionary in Oorfa] teaching and influence.¹⁸⁹

Some of the Armenian women who came into contact with mission-run educational institutions described their experiences as personally transformative and were heartened by the potential for religious and intellectual elevation among their sex. Missionary literature occasionally contains translations of letters written by former female Armenian students of mission schools and colleges. A letter written by 'the [Armenian] Women of the Church in Oorfa' addressed to 'the Aintab missionaries' in 1877 appeals to the ABCFM to continue their educational work by pointing to the inspirational impact of American female educator-missionaries vis-à-vis influencing young Armenian women to engage in the work of evangelism. The students express their gratitude to the contributions of educator-missionaries such as Shattuck for aiding the educational, social and religious work conducted within their communities:

¹⁸⁸ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 14.

¹⁸⁹ E.S. Webb, "A Trip to Oorfa," 336.

We are seeing to the holy fruits of missionary women in our midst; especially we are very grateful and we desire to express our thanks for Miss Shattuck coming and labouring these four months with us. We see in an unexpected degree the result in our girls' advancement in learning, wisdom, and refinement. What could have been expected only from a year's instruction, is manifest from these four months of labor. Particularly, the girls' examination of March 30, - at which more than 400 men, women, and children were present - filled our hearts with joy and we all first express our thanks to God, secondly to you, dear friends, and thirdly to our dear teachers, Miss Shattuck and Horeck Varshoohee, who labored with her. The labors, too, of Miss S. among us women are worthy of praise; her coming to our houses and visiting our weak and sick sisters, and persuading our girls, fifteen or sixteen years of age, to attend school has caused us exceeding great joy and by her efforts we, too, have had a spirit of earnestness and labor roused; and through the appointment of women to go two by two, from house to house, especially among Armenians, for reading the Bible and talking with them about their spiritual condition ... the work is advancing in our midst.¹⁹⁰

As Bible women, educator-missionaries and students promoted female education via house visitations. One such educator-missionary, Myra Proctor, provides a brief overview of the significance of house-to-house visitation both in terms of proselytising and attracting more students to nearby mission schools: 'A week after the close of our school, Mariam Varzhoohee [an Armenian student] and myself started for a month's tour in the mountains west of Aintab. Our object was fourfold – to examine the various schools, and secure girls for the next term of our boarding school ... to look after the work among the women in all the villages; and to labor directly for the conversion of the young.'¹⁹¹ Similarly, an excerpt from Miss Marshall's letter from Oorfa dated May 23, 1899 refers to her efforts to promote female literacy and education while touring with Bible women:

I have been going out with Miss Chambers in her rounds with the Bible women into the homes of the people ... There are sixteen Bible women belonging both to the Gregorian and Protestant community. Five of them are

¹⁹⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1877), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kx7;view=1up;seq=5> 249.

¹⁹¹ M.A. Proctor, "Turkey: A Tour in the Mountains," *Life and Light for Heathen Woman*, February 1874, 33.

devoted to evangelistic work, visiting the women in their homes, and holding religious meetings frequently in the houses of the people. Eleven of the Bible women take up educational work, teaching women and girls to read the Bible. Wherever possible, influence is used to persuade the parents to send their daughters to school ... Each teacher has an average of forty pupils, making a total of about 450. It is estimated that during the last three years over 1,000 women have learned to read the Bible in this way and many also to write. Each pupil pays the small sum of one-half penny per week for tuition.¹⁹²

During their winter vacations, students, sometimes accompanied by their teachers, were known to preach and teach in towns and villages where church and school facilities were unavailable. House visitations for the purposes of promoting female education and conducting evangelism were employed by both missionaries as well as former female students and graduates.

¹⁹² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), 417.

CHAPTER VII

REINVENTING THE HOMEMAKER

*What an interesting field to train the future wives and mothers of the Armenian nation. It is for this that we go to Constantinople.*¹⁹³

*It is delightful to note the change in public opinion. "Educated wives" are esteemed the more highly from the very fact of their scarcity and choiceness. The people have sometimes said, "You missionaries have angels for wives!" "Very well," was the reply. "Christianize and educate the daughters of the land, and you also can have 'angels for wives!'" And the mothers, even of the Old Church Armenians, are now anxious to secure Protestant husbands for their daughters, "because," they say, "they are kind to their wives."*¹⁹⁴

One of the main objectives cited for the establishment of educational institutions for females was that male theological students studying to become pastors needed literate wives capable of assisting them as educated and pious partners. Male seminary students often had young wives' due to the widespread cultural practice of early marriage. The AEU held that no unmarried man who

¹⁹³ Louisa Fisher Hawes, *Memoir of Mrs. Mary E. van Lennep: Only Daughter of the Rev. Joel Hawes and wife of the Rev. Henry J. van Lennep* (Hartford: Belknap and Hamersley, 1848), 270.

¹⁹⁴ West, *The Romance of Missions*, 638.

graduated from the theological seminaries could be ordained until he wed. This attitude aligned with missionaries' strong belief in the centrality of marriage to the cultivation of well-functioning evangelical communities. In other words, the importance of working among women centered around their role as enlightened homemakers. According to Fensham et al, 'It was not long before those in America who were interested in the progress of work for men in foreign countries saw that whatever might be attempted would be severely crippled if there were not an equal effort made for the education and evangelization of the women ... [whose] influence must always be felt in the home and in the training of children.'¹⁹⁵ At the Girls School at Anatolia College (1887) in Marsovan, females were admitted to a three-year program at age fourteen, but could enter a preparatory section as young as twelve. As graduates, they were expected to be mentally and morally prepared to assist their current or future pastor husbands in their ministerial duties and to embody the model of educated Christian womanhood in their role as wives and mothers.¹⁹⁶ According to Greene, 'Many pupils became wives of pastors, teachers, and other important men. The influence of these educated women in their homes, in training their children, and in the churches, was greatly appreciated.'¹⁹⁷ Missionaries pressured men who were already married to bring their wives to be educated and opened nurseries for their children to make their attendance practicable. According to Norton, 'Soon after the training of young men for teachers and native pastors began, in the early history of the mission, it was felt that their wives might also receive the benefits of instruction in order to become suitable helpmeets, and companions in the

¹⁹⁵ Fensham et al, *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire*, 37.

¹⁹⁶ McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 34.

¹⁹⁷ Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 183.

work. A school was opened for the wives, and every married student required to bring his wife to be educated.¹⁹⁸

Missionary accounts often note that the advocacy of female education did not fall on deaf ears as Armenian men came to prefer educated women as wives. Educated Protestant Armenian men were increasingly said to prefer intelligent and educated wives and encouraged the expansion of educational activities among females. Mary van Lennep noted that, ‘The Armenian gentlemen feel that a thorough reformation cannot take place in their nation, until those who will be the wives and mothers, shall come under Christian influence. And they take a deep interest in this enterprise [the establishment of an American missionary secondary school for girls in Constantinople].’¹⁹⁹ Put more simply by educator-missionary, Susan Anna Wheeler, ‘The young men came to our rescue when they woke up to the idea that they needed educated wives.’²⁰⁰ Missionary accounts also refer to the increasing receptivity toward female education among parents who were even prepared to delay early marriage in order to secure the education of their daughters. Missionaries such as Susan Anna Wheeler noted an increasing trend toward delaying marriage for girls to allow them to receive an education before marriage: ‘Few girls were now sought in marriage at eleven or fourteen. The old maids increased so fast that fathers as well as mothers were in earnest about sending their daughters to school.’²⁰¹ Nevertheless, while the attendance of female students was usually on the rise and the custom of early marriage was being challenged, the numbers of female graduates from mission-run schools and colleges generally remained lower than that of men.

¹⁹⁸ Norton, “Harpoot Female Seminary,” 226.

¹⁹⁹ Hawes, *Memoir of Mrs. Mary E. Van Lennep*, 276.

²⁰⁰ Wheeler, *Missions in Eden*, 81.

²⁰¹ Wheeler, *Missions in Eden*, 89.

The consequences flowing from the introduction of teachings based on the model of educated Christian womanhood which emphasised intellectual development, community leadership, domestic management and an ennobling concept of marriage and motherhood were intended to reshape notions of womanhood, gender relations and home life. Educator-missionaries promoted the reconceptualization of the role of women in marriage by emphasising the importance of mutual respect and guidance. According to Crosby Howard Wheeler, ‘Another effect which appears on every hand, but especially among those who are called Protestants, is the elevation of woman from a condition little better than slavery to her true place as the loved and honored companion of her husband.’²⁰² Similarly, as noted by Herman N. Barnum who was stationed in Harpoot, ‘One of the most marked and gratifying changes that I have witnessed has been in the regeneration of the homes of the people ... Now, especially among Protestant families, there are genuine homes, where love reigns, and where husband and wife and children render to one another the regard which the relation demands.’²⁰³

Advocating the model of educated Christian womanhood entailed the reconceptualization of women’s roles as good Christians, wives and mothers. Students were presented with American Protestant views on child-rearing emphasising three main themes: educated Christian women contribute to the national progress and prosperity of nations by shaping the character of future generations;

²⁰² Crosby Howard Wheeler, *Ten Years on the Euphrates* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1868), 230.

²⁰³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), 402. Rev. Herman N. Barnum was president of Euphrates College between 1893-1894 and 1902-1903.

educated Christian women understand that they are responsible for the physical nurture of their infants, and mothers are instrumental in shaping the early education of their children in terms of their intellectual, moral and spiritual development.²⁰⁴ Reflecting upon the effects of such missionary teachings, Ruth Bushnell argued, ‘We see the improvement in the respect paid to women and in the position which she occupies in the home. Women are considered more as helpers and companions for their husbands and there is a great improvement in the home life and in the training of the children.’²⁰⁵ Such a sentiment is echoed in an ABCFM report of 1863: ‘Parents have come to a better understanding of their duties towards their children ... The mutual duties of husband and wife are better understood and performed.’²⁰⁶

Missionary educational efforts directed towards young women were partly based on the premise that Protestant teachings and female empowerment had the potential transform both home and society vis-à-vis the reconceptualization of the traditional roles and duties of women. As well as taking personal responsibility for their individual religious, moral and intellectual development, former students and graduates were expected to embody the model of educated Christian womanhood as homemakers. In this context, missionary literature contains frequent references to the higher standard set by former female students and graduates.

²⁰⁴ Reeves-Ellington, “Embracing Domesticity,” 275-6.

²⁰⁵ Bushnell, “Result of Missionary Effort upon the Non-Protestant Communities,” 335.

²⁰⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Third Annual Report*, 80.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EMERGENCE OF FEMALE ARMENIAN TEACHERS

The power and influence which our educated girls have as they go out from us [at Euphrates College] as pastors', preachers' or teachers' wives or to have little schools of their own, can hardly be estimated. Many a preacher's wife can be found who, with her own little flock of children about her, can yet give a part or all of several days in the week and going from home to home to give lessons and hold religious conversation with other women.²⁰⁷

Female education ... is now so popular, that there are in Marash ten graded schools, nine of them taught by girls. Some of these girls have wonderful opportunity and power for good, and have gained access to, and have begun a work among women, where the missionary before them had failed.²⁰⁸

The educational institutions for girls and young women established by the ABCFM and/or the WBM created opportunities for Armenian women to enter the public sphere particularly as teachers. Prior to the formation of the WBM, it was rare for Armenian women to be given opportunities to gain employment in the missionary

²⁰⁷ C. E. Bush, "Female Department of Armenia College," *Life and Light for Woman*, October 1881, 364-5.

²⁰⁸ Ellen C. Parsons, "Woman's Life in Turkey," *Life and Light for Woman*, March 1877, 75.

field of operations. However, the female missionaries associated with the WBM and the ABCFM leadership that succeeded Anderson (namely secretaries Clark and Barton) promoted the expansion of the scope of work for Armenian women. By the turn of the century, they were fit to engage in community leadership in uncharted fields such as teaching, publishing and nursing. According to an ABCFM report published in 1899, ‘The graduates of the college [The American College for Girls at Constantinople] are leading women, both intellectually and morally, wherever they are found. Of out one hundred and fifty alumnae, over half have taught in Turkey and other lands and several have engaged in literary work.’²⁰⁹ In 1877, the high school for girls at Talas had an attendance of fifty pupils, twenty of whom were engaged in teaching in their villages. Of such students, an ABCFM report conveyed that, ‘The people are not unfrequently loud in their praises and wonder that one of their girls can be what she is or do what they see her do.’²¹⁰ In 1878, an ABCFM report touted the school as one of ‘the most important of the educational forces in this field.’²¹¹ More than twenty of its forty-eight pupils were said to be itinerant and permanent school teachers teaching at surrounding schools and villages most, if not all, year round. Former pupils and graduates who returned to their own villages often engaged in the work of teaching at home (mainly in Bible study). As West pointed out, ‘Our women soon find their appropriate sphere as teachers and leaders of their sex. One of the mothers whom we considered very backward, and rather weak-minded, in fact, has been very useful in the village where her husband labors ... she is now teaching sixteen girls and three women to read.’²¹² Such women were

²⁰⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board*, 26.

²¹⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Seventh Annual Report*, 30.

²¹¹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Eighth Annual Report*, 30.

²¹² West, *The Romance of Missions*, 477.

embodiments of the model of educated Christian womanhood and sparked the interest of local populations who were unaccustomed to the sight of female teachers.

Missionaries claimed that women who embodied the model of educated Christian womanhood furthered the cause of evangelism by virtue of the example they set for their communities. For Strong, it was vital that Armenian women helped spread ‘the intellectual and spiritual light which they had themselves found in the higher institutions of learning.’²¹³ Female graduates of mission schools and colleges were encouraged to lead and serve their communities so that their personal transformation could act as a positive example to others. They were expected to conduct women’s meetings, teach women and children in schools and set an example to others by raising the standard of home and family life. Similarly, referring to the Home School at Hadjin, an ABCFM report points out that, ‘Four out of five of these teachers are graduates from the Girl’s College at Marash, and thus they are able readily to enter into the spirit of the school, and in themselves are inspiring examples of what the school does for its pupils.’²¹⁴ Such women were seen as exemplars of the model of educated Christian womanhood that missionaries believed impelled calls for greater advancement in female education including calls for female educators among Armenian communities.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, teaching had been viewed as an unsuitable job for an Armenian woman, but eventually became the most popular profession among Armenians educated in mission schools and colleges. In 1864, the

²¹³ Strong, *The Story of the American Board*, 389.

²¹⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Third Annual Report*, 49.

educator-missionary, Josephine Coffing,²¹⁵ described the difficulties experienced by a young Armenian woman graduate of the mission school when she attempted to administer a school for girls in the town of Marash: ‘The men called her a brazen-faced thing for trying to teach, a thing no woman could do. The women called her crazy, because she did not improve her opportunities for matrimony. Some called her proud; some accused her of wishing to turn a ‘Frank;’ and all turned from her with scorn and cutting indifference.’²¹⁶ However, Coffing notes that by 1878, there were ten schools in Marash taught by Armenian women and that the atmosphere was considerably different: ‘So rapid had been the change in public sentiment that the people thought they [the Armenian women] excelled men in teaching.’²¹⁷ Between 1885 and 1892, thirty-one students graduated from the College for Girls at Marash in Central Turkey.²¹⁸ Graduates were in demand as teachers in places such as Adana, Hadjin, Aintab and Marsovan. One graduate, Anna Bedrosian-Felician, was described as the most influential native woman in Marsovan for her work as teacher and counsellor at Anatolia Girls’ School, a post she held for fifty years.²¹⁹ In 1893, it was reported that the Girls’ School at Adabazar (Adapazarı) had seventy-nine students, eleven of whom had graduated, and ten of whom were engaged in teaching.²²⁰ In 1897, the Central Turkey College for Girls at Marash had forty-five pupils (twenty-six in the collegiate department and nineteen in the preparatory

²¹⁵ Josephine Coffing was an educator in Marash for fourteen years. She moved to the predominantly Armenian city of Hadjin in 1880.

²¹⁶ Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women’s Writing*, 167.

²¹⁷ Rowe, *A History of Armenian Women’s Writing*, 167.

²¹⁸ Helen A. Fowle, “Marash College,” *Mission Studies*, May 1902, 148.

²¹⁹ McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 64. In the 1913-1914 academic year, Anatolia Girls’ School listed 189 Armenian, 73 Greek and seven Turkish students for a total of 269 pupils. There were four American, seven Greek and fourteen Armenian instructors who taught at the school. See Anatolia College, “The Anatolian,” American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #11079,

<http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11079> (accessed January 17, 2018).

²²⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Third Annual Report*, 42.

department) and graduated three pupils that year. Among the instructors were four Armenians, three of whom were women (Miss Karageozian, Miss Hohannesyan and Miss Hegnian) and two Americans (Miss Hess and Miss Blakely).²²¹ In 1900, the total number of graduates in the sixteen years since the establishment of the Central Turkey Girls' College was sixty-eight (thirty-four of whom were married and twenty-four of whom were engaged in teaching). Many of the pupils who did not complete the course were also engaged in teaching in the Central Turkey Mission field. Moreover, it was reported that a total of nine students were in America and England to pursue higher education.²²² The shortage of female American educator-missionaries was a problem which was in part alleviated by staffing female Armenian students and graduates as assistants or instructors.

Armenian teachers of common, village and mission schools made great contributions to the success of educational mission work. In his summary of the operational principles of the WBM, Fred Field Goodsell noted that missionaries pledged to 'employ competent native women as helpers under the supervision of our missionaries.'²²³ Similarly, Secretary Barton upheld the policy of employing 'as many thoroughly equipped native teachers and professors as can be secured consistent with maintaining the high intellectual and moral tone of the schools.'²²⁴ The notion that female colleges were expected to produce not just educated wives, but educated teachers who were needed to staff mission schools gained ground among missionaries in the 1870s.²²⁵ The lack of American teachers increasingly

²²¹ Blakely, "Report of the Central Turkey Girls' College for 1896-7," 309.

²²² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Ninetieth Annual Report*, 57.

²²³ Goodsell, *You Shall Be My Witnesses*, 162.

²²⁴ Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 191.

²²⁵ Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 111.

required missionaries to rely on trained Armenian educators. According to Wheeler, ‘The missionaries had ... [made] a rule that every pupil educated at the expense of the Board, should teach for two years after finishing her course of study.’²²⁶ In a *Mission Studies* report from 1901, a former teacher at the school, Annie Marshall describes an Armenian teacher at Marash College as well-educated as she had graduated from the American College for Girls at Constantinople. However, Marshall laments the fact that this teacher was due to leave to be married to a local pastor just as she was becoming a proficient teacher at the school and after the investment made in her education by the WBM.²²⁷ Similarly, Euphrates College graduated its first female students from the Girls’ High School and College departments in 1883; out of the seven graduates, six were already engaged to Protestant pastors or preachers.²²⁸ The low number of female graduates was due to the fact that many female students often left their studies to teach or to get married. This made it difficult for missionaries to gauge the impact of mission-run educational institutions in general. As explained by an ABCFM report in 1899, ‘The influence of the college [American College for Girls at Constantinople] cannot be estimated, furthermore, by the graduates alone, for many leave to teach or to marry, before completing the course of study.’²²⁹ Nevertheless, some women continued to teach even after marriage. In 1874, the educator-missionary in Aintab, Myra Proctor noted that, ‘Two missionary teachers, while on a tour, came, unexpectedly to the home of

²²⁶ Wilmot Henry Wheeler, *Self-supporting Churches and How to Plant Them Illustrated by the Life and Teachings Rev. C. H. Wheeler* (Grinnell: Better Way Publishing, 1899), 348. See also West, *The Romance of Missions*, 638.

²²⁷ Marshall, “Muneverre Menzelet,” 248.

²²⁸ “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life,” *Harput (kaza) – Schools (Part I)*, <http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetofmamuratulazizharput/harputkaza/education-and-sport/schools-part-i.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).

²²⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board*, 26.

an old scholar (now a pastor's wife), and found her large room full of women gathered for their weekly reading and Bible-lesson.²³⁰ Educated Armenian women furthered the cause of female education by becoming teaching in homes and schools.

The teaching staff of mission-run colleges, seminaries and boarding schools sometimes consisted of its own graduates. Moreover, in the 1890s, the teaching staff of seminaries such as the Girls' Seminary of Adana, the Girls' Seminary at Aintab, the Girls' Boarding School at Marsovan,²³¹ Central Turkey Girls' College or Euphrates College in Harpoot²³² mainly employed its own graduates and others who had graduated from mission colleges such as those at Constantinople and Smyrna.²³³ The Girls' Training School (Normal School) at Aintab began in a rented room with less than a dozen students in 1859. As the number students steadily increased, it soon grew to occupy its own building in 1866. Its founder, Myra Proctor, claimed that over two hundred girls had graduated from the school by 1891, three-fourths of whom had engaged in both formal and informal teaching upon the completion of their studies. Female graduates were occasionally able to serve as faculty members in one of the girls' high schools or colleges (for instance, Mary Kupelian taught at the mission school in Smyrna and Magdalena Savaidon taught at the American College for Girls in Constantinople). Hence, by the 1890s, female graduates could marry a

²³⁰ M.A. Proctor, "Turkey: A Tour in the Mountains," 33.

²³¹ Over the span of fifty years, the Girl's Boarding School at Marsovan graduated 276 students and more than 1,000 attended its course of study for a year or more. Half of the teaching staff consisted of Armenian professors, most of them former graduates of the school. See Shrikian, *Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance*, 174.

²³² According to Stone, 1,129 boys, 573 girls and 855 adults were being taught in the mission schools in and around Harpoot during 1866-7. See Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 123.

²³³ Shrikian, *Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance*, 174. See Appendix D (Figures 3 and 4) for the female Armenian teachers of Euphrates College and Central Turkey Girls' College.

²³³ Barton, *Daybreak in Turkey*, 184.

preacher or college professor, continue with their studies, engage in evangelical work or become teachers across various levels of schooling. An excerpt from a report in *Life and Light for Woman* in 1893 reviews the personal and occupational paths chosen by some of the graduates of Marash College thus:

The graduates of Marash College number thirty-one, representing eight classes from 1885 to 1892 ... Of the twelve who have married, six married preachers and one a college professor. Of those unmarried one is studying in Constantinople College, two are in responsible positions as Bible readers, and all others are engaged in teaching in connection with mission work. Some have continued several years in one or other of the several schools of our Mission which prepare for college. One has been head teacher in the Erzroom school, and two of our married graduates have served efficiently in work in the Eastern Turkey Mission, while one is in an important position in the Western Turkey Mission. One each is at the head of kindergarten work in Marash and Aintab.²³⁴

In 1877, it was reported that in many of the larger towns and villages in Cesarea, there was an increased demand for separate schools for girls and greater willingness to invest money and labor for the erection of suitable school buildings and the support of teachers.²³⁵ Similarly, by 1902, Marshall reported that, ‘an earnest desire has been aroused among the people [of Zeitoon] for ... more enlightenment, and the women especially, are asking and praying ... that better schools may be opened.’²³⁶

By initiating the establishment of village schools and assuming teaching responsibilities in Protestant and Gregorian Armenian schools across the three mission fields, the female students and graduates of mission schools and colleges

²³⁴ Anonymous, “Marash College,” *Life and Light for Woman*, March 1893, 391.

²³⁵ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Seventh Annual Report*, 31. The Girls’ Boarding School at Cesarea had a total attendance of seventy-nine pupils in 1900 (five pupils had graduated the previous year). See American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Ninetieth Annual Report*, 45.

²³⁶ Annie C. Marshall, “Easter Visit to Zeitoon,” *Mission Studies*, May 1902, 137-9.

became embodiments of the model of educated Christian womanhood. In their capacity as teachers and instructors, they generated interest in and contributed to the cause of female education. Furthermore, as Armenian national consciousness began to rise at the turn of the century, teaching was increasingly seen as a patriotic profession for both Armenian men and women.



CHAPTER IX

SHIFTS IN EDUCATIONAL MISSION POLICY AND TOWARDS SELF-SUPPORT

9.1 The Secularization of Curricula

American missionaries adopted two major changes with respect to female education which came into effect with the arrival of the generation of missionaries who succeeded the pioneers. Secretary Anderson (whose approach remained influential until the mid-1860s) advocated limiting educational activities to the preaching of the Gospel, providing only enough education for local populations to read the Scriptures, and teaching strictly in local vernaculars. His approach contrasted with a small minority of ABCFM missionaries, most notably, Cyrus Hamlin. Hamlin stressed the importance of secular education (in predominantly

scientific and technical fields) and in foreign languages; an approach which more closely aligned with American colleges.²³⁷

The administrative and teaching approaches of New England seminaries such as Mount Holyoke served as a useful blueprint for educational missions to females. The Mount Holyoke curriculum was focused on Bible studies, character-building, domesticity (household management) and later, the addition of a secular program of education.²³⁸ For instance, an ABCFM report of 1868 notes the object of study at the Girls' Boarding School at Marsovan (which had thirty-five scholars, eighteen of whom were boarders): 'A large portion of the time is given to the study of the Bible. They are taught in Arithmetic, Geography, Astronomy, Physiology, Moral Science and History. Half a day each week is given to needle-work [embroidery] and ... they do their own housework under the constant supervision of Miss [Eliza] Fritcher.'²³⁹ While some schools had offered a slightly more expansive curriculum from the 1840s (such as subjects in the natural sciences and non-sectarian Christian ethics), the curricula of a majority of mission schools were largely restricted to Bible reading.²⁴⁰ By the 1870s, the ABCFM increasingly began to authorize and finance educational institutions for both sexes which combined elements of a religious and secular education. The expansion of the curriculum was often informed by the desire to accommodate the interests of local populations.²⁴¹ Writing in 1869, Anderson

²³⁷ Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 179-180.

²³⁸ Wollons, "Travelling for God and Adventure," 57.

²³⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report*, 24.

²⁴⁰ The policy position of the ABCFM under Foreign Secretary Rufus Anderson advocated limiting missionary work to direct evangelism and the promotion of literacy to facilitate Bible reading. On this view, missionaries were not to interfere with established socio-cultural norms. According to Anderson, 'the proper test of success in missions, is not the progress of civilization, but the evidence of a religious life.' See Anderson, *Foreign Missions*, 118. See also McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 36.

²⁴¹ McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 37.

noted that, ‘There is a stage of advancement – where a portion of the native mind demands a broader, higher culture even than the mission can give; where it is a part of wisdom to afford it though a college, distinct from the mission, and deriving its support from other sources.’²⁴² The average curriculum of mission high schools in the 1890s included subjects such as Armenian, Turkish, English, Scriptures, Armenian and Ottoman history and culture, physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography and bookkeeping. For example, at the American High School for Girls at Bursa,²⁴³ English was the main language and subjects ranged from algebra, physics, astronomy, physiology, zoology, history, English literature, Bible study, embroidery and music. While the high/boarding schools in cities like Harpoot had already begun to implement a mixed secular and religious education by the 1870s where Armenian, English, Holy Bible, mathematics, history, religion and ethics were taught, the establishment of colleges (in this case, Euphrates College) allowed for a greater variety of subjects as well as higher academic standards.²⁴⁴ By the end of the century, subjects at the College for Girls at Marash, included algebra, geometry, astronomy, history, botany, physiology, geology, natural philosophy and moral philosophy.²⁴⁵ Finally, while the Girls’ Boarding School at Talas had a modest student body, it was touted as the center of learning for girls in the district of Cesarea, where young women could ‘obtain any education beyond reading, writing and geography, imbued

²⁴² Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 17.

²⁴³ The school had about 140 Armenian children from kindergarten to senior classes with 52 boarders and 11 teaching staff. 49 girls graduated between 1894-1911.

²⁴⁴ Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 171.

²⁴⁵ In 1901, the College for Girls at Marash had a study body numbering eighty-three, of whom fifty-four were in the College department, and twenty-nine in preparatory school. Twenty-three of its boarding pupils came from surrounding areas such as Aintab, Adana and Hadjin. The students were of Protestant, Gregorian and Catholic faith. See American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Boston* (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1885), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264742;view=1up;seq=184> 43.

with the modern idea of training hands as well as minds,' such as learning how to use looms to make Turkish rugs through which to earn a living.²⁴⁶

9.2 The Inclusion of Foreign Languages

The reassessment of missionary policy on vernacular education was also an issue which indirectly concerned the secularization of education. Missionary policy under Secretary Anderson did not advocate English language instruction to be given at mission-run schools and colleges. Missionaries such as Wheeler had expressed fears that teaching in languages other than the local vernacular would encourage Armenians to pursue 'political and financial ambitions' and temptations' which were likely to be harmful to their communities.²⁴⁷ The Prudential Committee (home office) of the ABCFM only became more receptive to the idea of English-language education when communities were judged to have achieved an adequate level of religious enlightenment. According to Wheeler, 'When at last the religious work was well established and he found himself surrounded by a goodly number of vigorous earnest churches and saw the community well impregnated with Christian sentiment and Christian ideals, then he [the missionary] consented to gratify the natural, though dangerous, craving for English.'²⁴⁸

²⁴⁶ Mrs. Seelye, "Cesarea: Mrs. Seelye," *Mission Studies*, March 1898, 85-6.

²⁴⁷ Barbara Merguerian, "Missions in Eden," in *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, ed. Heleen Murre-van den Berg (Boston: Brill, 2006), 249. See also Wheeler, *Self-supporting Churches and How to Plant Them*, 322.

²⁴⁸ Wheeler, *Self-supporting Churches and How to Plant Them*, 322.

The policy reversal to expand the teaching of English came in the mid-1870s and was in part a product of direct and indirect pressure from Armenian students. Students in Marsovan, Marash and Harpoot successfully resisted and urged missionaries to reassess their approach to vernacular education.²⁴⁹ At Anatolia College at Marsovan (whose student body rose to 238 in 1897), classes were conducted in English, although pupils were expected to gain mastery of their vernacular and Turkish. In the 1890s, the primary language taught at the American High School for Girls at Bursa (which offered elementary and secondary level education) was English.²⁵⁰ A loss for mission institutions could in turn manifest as support for rival institutions as had occurred at the male and female seminaries in Constantinople. Hamlin advocated a secular liberal education and emphasised the teaching of English as a universal language throughout all mission schools and colleges. He critiqued the failure and sluggish approach of ABCFM policy-makers on this issue thus:

In the presence of half a dozen Catholic colleges and as many female seminaries, [the ABCFM] reduced all education to a miserable common-school basis in the vernacular ... This measure at first astounded the native brethren ... When it became demonstratively true, anger was mixed with disappointment. I was personally acquainted with some who in consequence went over to the Armeno-Catholics, giving as a reason that the Catholics had never practiced any such enormous deception as to pretend to be the friends of education and then become its real enemies. The choice was a hard one, but among the Catholics, their children could be educated in the two or three languages that were more important to them than their vernacular, which was nowhere the language of commerce, trade, industry, the market-place or public meeting.²⁵¹

²⁴⁹ The easing of the ABCFM's policy vis-à-vis the strict observance of vernacular education to allow English instruction for core subjects was also a means to attract students from different ethnic communities in order to diversify their student bodies.

²⁵⁰ Shrikian, "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance," 202.

²⁵¹ "Letter from Cyrus Hamlin to J. R. Bradford," January 3, 1880, in Minasian, *Correspondence and Other Documents Relating to the Troubles in the Turkish Missions of the American Board*, 27-28.

Therefore, American missionaries interested in advancing their educational activities were compelled to consider the competition posed by rival schools and meeting the needs and interests of local populations.

9.3 Armenian Contributions to Educational Missions

Secretary Anderson's policy had dictated that evangelical work was to become self-supporting as soon as possible. Not only were all educational and literary efforts peripheral to the speedy establishment and development of financially and religiously self-sustaining and self-propagating Armenian evangelical churches, but control over mission schools were to be handed over to the local people as soon as possible so that missionaries were free to pursue evangelizing efforts in other places.²⁵² In other words, the ABCFM was to underwrite school costs only long enough to produce conditions conducive to strengthening Protestant communities. Once a church or school was established, missionaries were expected to depart to resume the process in a new field, thus extending the evangelical outreach while conserving human and material resources.²⁵³ However, the process of turning schools over to Armenian communities took more time and the negotiation vis-à-vis power-sharing was not always smooth. Protestant Armenians were seen as 'babes in Christ' (a recurring phrase in missionary literature during the mid-nineteenth century) and most field missionaries were in fact torn between allowing Armenian communities to reach self-sufficiency where they could have a greater say in the running of schools,

²⁵² Anderson, *Foreign Missions*, 113.

²⁵³ McGrew, *Educating across Cultures*, 27.

versus maintaining their own control. Despite concerns over funding and resources, a strong belief in the altruistic and evangelical nature of such institutions often led missionaries to claim a sense of obligation to remain serving local communities for much longer than they had anticipated due to fears that the educational projects could not be properly maintained by local populations. An excerpt from the journal of Mr. Dwight referring to a school serving the Armenian population of Constantinople dated 1 August, 1840 reads thus:

I went today with the determination to withdraw from this school [at Constantinople] the support we have afforded it on account of the present low state of funds; but when I saw the bright and promising appearance of the children, heard some of them read from the word of God, and thought of the influence that twenty or thirty mothers, capable of reading, may exert on their children and on others in this place, I could not find it in my heart to say one word in regard to withholding the contribution ... for the furtherance of this object. No, rather would I live on coarser and scantier fare, than be the means of sending these children to their homes again, to grow up in ignorance and sin.²⁵⁴

Over time, Armenian communities generally displayed a greater willingness to make financial contributions in the running and expansion of mission schools and colleges.²⁵⁵ In addition to significant contributions by the ABCFM and the WBM, educational institutions were financed by student payments for tuition and board, endowment funds, gifts from local funds, real estate owned by the College, gifts from individual donors and donations from benevolent societies. According to a *Missionary Herald* report of 1899, ‘The people love their churches and their schools, and they are practicing great self-denial in supporting them, whereas forty years ago,

²⁵⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1841), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924097553840;view=1up;seq=7> 290.

²⁵⁵ See appendix D for tabular information regarding local financial contributions.

they had not begun to pay anything for any of these privileges.²⁵⁶ According to another ABCFM report of the same year, ‘The Woman’s Board contributes to the amount of one third of the annual expense of carrying on the institution [the American College for Girls at Constantinople]. The remaining two thirds are supplied by the income from the students.’²⁵⁷ For instance, the establishment of Central Turkey Girls’ College in Marash in 1882 owed a great deal to the close cooperation between American missionaries and the Armenian evangelical community, the latter having made generous financial contributions towards the project the previous year. By the late 1890s, the increasing donations of evangelical Armenian communities in some cities such as Constantinople and Aintab allowed them to gain equal representation on the administrative boards of colleges.²⁵⁸ For instance, at Central Turkey College at Aintab during the 1900-1901 academic year, the Local Board of Managers was evenly divided (five Armenians and five Americans). The Armenian members were elected for four year terms by the Armenian evangelical union of the Central Turkey Mission.²⁵⁹

Protestant Armenians became better prepared to challenge mission policy over time. As early as the 1850s, the ABCFM imposed tight restrictions on the Armenian evangelical churches and missionary collaborators by producing a set of

²⁵⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), 403.

²⁵⁷ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board*, 27.

²⁵⁸ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), 411. In 1908, Armenians contributed \$131,242 for education in missionary schools, the support of evangelical worship and benevolence. The expenditure of the ABCFM in the same year (save for the salaries of the missionaries) was \$70,392. See Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 123.

²⁵⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Catalogue of Central Turkey College at Aintab* (Constantinople: H. Matteosian, 1901).
<http://www.dlir.org/archive/orc-exhibit/items/show/collection/6/id/11283> (accessed 18 January 2018).

by-laws which dictated that all pastors, preachers, teachers and other church laborers were to be appointed by American missionaries. In 1864, the formation of the Union of Evangelical Armenian Churches of Bithynia in Bursa allowed Protestant Armenian pastors and community leaders to express existing disenchantments between the local churches and missionaries during annual meetings. Similar unions were soon formed among Protestant Armenians in the Central, Eastern and Western Turkey Missions. The aims of the Union of Evangelical Armenian Churches of Bithynia were summarized in its constitution as follows: ‘The closer fellowship and cooperation of the churches, the preservation among them of good order, the improvement of the spiritual condition of the churches, the promotion of education, the prevention of error and moral defection, and the mental and spiritual improvement of the ministers.’²⁶⁰

By the 1880s, Protestant Armenians were able to create a united front to successfully challenge ABCFM control at joint annual meetings held in Constantinople among a local Armenian committee, missionaries of the ABCFM, and occasionally, a deputation from the Prudential Committee in Boston.²⁶¹ For instance, during a three-day conference in 1882 attended by two ABCFM secretaries and one member of the Prudential Committee, it was decided that Armenian religious leaders and American missionaries would be given equal representation in decision-making, albeit, the missionaries would continue to control the purse strings. A *Missionary Herald* report of 1888 commented on the conference thus:

²⁶⁰ Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 124.

²⁶¹ Shrikian, “Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on Their Intellectual and Social Renaissance,” 159-167.

The result of the whole was the adoption by the [Armenian evangelical] churches, the missions, and the Board of a plan of cooperation by which the different departments of the work are placed under the direction of mixed committees, composed of equal numbers of missionaries and natives, and reserving to the churches their own rights, and to the missionaries, as representatives of the Board, the final decision respecting the use of foreign funds.²⁶²

Such meetings facilitated greater independence from missionary control. As noted by Greene, ‘The unions have been a strong bond both between the ministers and between the churches, and have raised the dignity and increased the sense of responsibility of pastors and churches.’²⁶³ Moreover, meetings which were attended by American missionaries, Armenian pastors, and even Armenians associated with the administrative boards of mission colleges contributed to ABCFM policy with respect to the shaping of policies and approaches toward education. As stated in a report from the *Missionary Herald* in 1899:

The tenth annual meeting [of the Central Turkey mission] was composed of fifty-five delegates. There were the meetings of the various boards, Aintab College, Marash Theological Seminary, Central Turkey Girls’ College, Aintab Girls’ Seminary, Marash Boys’ Academy, each board composed of a number of American missionaries and native pastors. They discussed matters of curriculum, entrance of students, salaries, endowments, etc. The whole sweep of policy is towards native management. Then there was the Cilicia Union, composed of the native pastors and laymen, which met alone: then the conference, which was composed of all the native pastors and all the American missionaries combined. But *the* feature of all the gatherings is the *conference*, comprising all the workers, native and foreign ... Here are presented reports from all the institutions, here the reports are discussed and criticized, here changes are suggested and voted upon; in fact, here is moulded the policy of the whole evangelical work in Central Turkey.²⁶⁴

²⁶² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1888), 298.

²⁶³ Greene, *Leavening the Levant*, 125.

²⁶⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *The Missionary Herald* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), 412.

It was reported that on March 8th 1906, Charlotte Willard, the principal of Anatolia Girls' School in Marsovan, wrote to express her wish that the upcoming 'annual meeting' of the ABCFM be held in in that town so that the missionaries of the ABCFM in the US 'might have the joy of seeing what they are accomplishing here.' She expressed pride in the students of the school including the Armenian men and women ('associates') who staffed the College, Girls' School and Theological Seminary, as well as the Hospital and Orphanage, as assistants and teachers.²⁶⁵



²⁶⁵ Myrtle M. Foote, "Digest of Recent Letters," *Mission Studies*, November 1906, 336.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The missionaries affiliated with the ABCFM furthered the cause of female education among the Armenian communities of the Ottoman Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century. They engaged in pioneering work by establishing the foundations for a Western educational system and further incentivized Gregorian Armenians to do the same. Improvements in the training of teachers, the introduction of new pedagogical methods and a mixed curriculum of secular and religious subjects were some of the modern features of these educational institutions. The girls' schools among the latter group multiplied significantly spurred in part by the increased value of female education and the religious competition with mission schools. They often relied on religious and educational literature published by the ABCFM in their classrooms and facilitated teaching and leadership opportunities for young female graduates of American mission schools, colleges and seminaries. The students and graduates of mission-run educational centres helped raise rates of female literacy and promoted female education through private instruction in their towns and villages, at Gregorian Armenian schools, and to a lesser extent, teaching or assisting educator-missionaries at mission schools, seminaries and normal schools.

As a gender-based mission theory, the model of educated Christian womanhood inculcated new ideas about the role of women in public and private life. It was used to legitimize the right of women to be educated, respected and to act as agents for positive social, intellectual and religious change in their homes and communities. The civic engagement of young women as teachers and evangelists, the growing numbers of women organizing and/or attending mothers' meetings, district prayer meetings (Bible study groups) and Sunday schools as well as changes in the personal and familial lives of students and graduates all represented the ability and willingness of some Armenian women to embody this vision. The model of educated Christian womanhood was also used as a yardstick of the success of mission schools vis-à-vis the civilizing impact of Protestant Christianity.

The application of the label cultural imperialists to describe American missionaries involved in educational and literary work in Turkey is not entirely inaccurate given that the underlying premise of missionary activity was the superiority of Protestant Christian civilization. But despite their stated objectives of imposing their religious and cultural beliefs on others, missionaries were aware of the importance of achieving harmonious relations with Armenians. While the moral, intellectual and financial support provided by American missionaries considerably furthered the cause of female education, educational mission policy would not have progressed without the meaningful cooperation of local populations. An obvious indicator of this point is the growing awareness of missionaries' reliance upon Armenian women as assistants, teachers and Bible women.

Moreover, the label should not overshadow the ways in which mission policy was responsive to the calls of Armenians who negotiated missionary ideas and influences in pragmatic ways. The evolution of educational mission policy was in part necessitated by the need to adapt to local conditions. By the turn of the century, the Protestant Armenian churches in each of three mission fields were organized into evangelical unions. The representatives of these unions who took part in the annual meetings held by the ABCFM slowly began to challenge the ABCFM's policy of total control over churches and educational institutions. The greater measure of fiscal responsibility for mission schools by Armenian Protestant communities in many out-stations was accompanied by greater administrative responsibility. The establishment of institutions of higher learning developed both organically and in response to local requests for the emulation of Robert College.

American missionaries increasingly detected signs of a growing 'spirit of inquiry' which contained the seeds of a religious reformation. It was the growing interest in public and private educational initiatives among Armenian communities, particularly, Armenian females, which was provided as one of the main reasons for such a view. While, their religious influence may not be described as far-reaching, there certainly existed a synergy between the socially progressive and religious objectives of the ABCFM and its affiliates. In this light, the positive results of American missionaries' efforts in the area of female education was its own reward. The standard of female education would continue to be raised within many Armenian communities in the first decade of the twentieth century.

REFERENCES

A. Primary Sources

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1839.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433068288913>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1841.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924097553840;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Thirty-Seventh Annual Meeting Held in New Haven*. Boston: T.R. Marvin, 1846.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264643>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Fifty-Third Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Rochester*. Boston: T.R. Marvin and Son, 1863.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429092>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1867.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kww;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Fifty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Norwich*. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1868.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924081231890>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1868.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kwx;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Sixty-Third Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Minneapolis* (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1873),
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429159;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1877.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kx7;view=1up;seq=5>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Sixty-Seventh Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Providence*. Boston: The Riverside Press, 1877.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429159>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Milwaukee*. Boston: The Riverside Press, 1878.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429134;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report Presented at the Meeting Held at Syracuse* (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1879),
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264916;view=1up;seq=377>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Seventy-First Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at St. Louis*. Boston: The Riverside Press, 1881.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264908;view=1up;seq=9>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Seventy-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Portland*. Boston: The Riverside Press, 1882.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429134>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Boston*. Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1885.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264742;view=1up;seq=184>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Seventy-Sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Des Moines*. Boston: Stanley and Usher, 1886.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429050>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1888.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=wu.89066110529;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1889.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kwd;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at the City of New York*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1889.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264890>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1892.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kww;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Eighty-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Chicago*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1892.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429100>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1893.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6kwh;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Eighty-Third Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Worcester*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1893.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429241;view=1up;seq=9>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1894.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6wgf>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Toledo*. Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1896.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013160232;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Missionary Herald*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1899.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.ah6n9l;view=1up;seq=7>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at the Meeting Held at Providence*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1899.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429381>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Higher Educational Institutions of the American Board*. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1899.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951002032301j;view=1up;seq=5>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *The Ninetieth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Presented at*

the Meeting Held at St. Louis. Boston: Beacon Press, 1900.
<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013160315;view=1up;seq=9>

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *Catalogue of Central Turkey College at Aintab*. Constantinople: H. Matteosian, 1901.
<http://www.dlir.org/archive/orc-exhibit/items/show/collection/6/id/11283> (accessed 18 January 2018).

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

Anderson, Rufus. *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches Volume II*. Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1872.

Anonymous. "Home Department: Missionary-meetings in Chicago." *Life and Light for Heathen Women*, January 1874.

Anonymous. "Our Work at Home: Annual Meeting." *Life and Light for Woman*, January 1877.

Anonymous. "Life and Light for Woman." *Life and Light for Woman*, May 1891.

Anonymous. "Marash College." *Life and Light for Woman*, March 1893.

Anonymous. "WBMI: Thank-offering Meeting." *Mission Studies*, September 1895.

Anonymous. "Thank-offering Meeting." *Mission Studies*, September 1897.

Anonymous. "The Lesson: The Hadjin Home." *Mission Studies*, May 1902.

Anonymous. "Indirect Influence of Protestant Missions upon Schools in Turkey." *Mission Studies*, November 1906.

Anonymous. "Department of the Branches: Illinios Branch Meeting." *Mission Studies*, May 1910.

Anatolia College. "The Anatolian," American Research Institute in Turkey, Istanbul Center Library, online in Digital Library for International Research Archive, Item #11079, <http://www.dlir.org/archive/items/show/11079> (accessed January 17, 2018).

Barton, James L. *Daybreak in Turkey*. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1908.

Benjamin, Mary Gladding Wheeler. *The Missionary Sisters: A Memorial of Mrs. Seraphina Haynes Everett and Mrs. Harriet Martha Hamlin, Late Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Constantinople*. Boston: American Tract Society, 1860.

Blakely, Ellen M. "Report of the Central Turkey Girls' College for 1896-7." *Mission Studies*, October 1897.

Bush, C.E. "Female Department of Armenia College." *Life and Light for Woman*, October 1881.

Bushnell, Ruth M. "Result of Missionary Effort upon the Non-Protestant Communities." *Mission Studies*, November 1906.

Dwight, H.G.O. *Christianity in Turkey: A Narrative of the Protestant Reformation in the Armenian Church*. London: James Nisbet and Company, 1854.

Dwight, H.G.O. *Christianity Revived in the East or Narrative of the Work of God Among the Armenians of Turkey*. New York: Baker and Scribner, 1850.

Eddy, David Brewer. *What Next in Turkey: Glimpses of the American Board's Work in the Near East*. Boston: The Taylor Press, 1913.

Fensham, Florence A. and Lyman, Mary I. and Humphrey, Mrs. H. B. *A Modern Crusade in the Turkish Empire*. Chicago: Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior, 1908.

Foote, Myrtle M. "Digest of Recent Letters." *Mission Studies*, November 1906.

Fowle, Helen A. "Marash College." *Mission Studies*, May 1902.

Goodsell, Fred Field. *You Shall Be My Witnesses*. Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1959.

Greene, Joseph K. *Leavening the Levant*. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1916.

Hawes, Louisa Fisher. *Memoir of Mrs. Mary E. van Lennep: Only Daughter of the Rev. Joel Hawes and wife of the Rev. Henry J. van Lennep*. Hartford: Belknap and Hamersley, 1848.

"Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life." *Harput (kaza) – Schools (Part I)*.

<http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetofmamuratulazizharput/harputkaza/education-and-sport/schools-part-i.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).

"Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life." *Marash – Schools*.

<http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayetaleppo/sandjakofmarash/education-and-sport/schools.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).

Marshall, Annie C. "Muneverre Menzelet." *Mission Studies*, January 1901.

Marshall, Annie C. "Easter Visit to Zeitoon." *Mission Studies*, May 1902.

Minasian, S. M. *Correspondence and Other Documents Relating to the Troubles in the Turkish Missions of the American Board, C.F.M.* New York: Atkin and Prout, 1883.

Montgomery, Helen Barrett. *Western Woman in Eastern Lands: An Outline of Fifty Years of Woman's Work in Foreign Missions*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1910.

Montgomery, E.R. "Central Turkey: Evangelistic Work Among Women in Central Turkey (Women's Work at Oorfa)." *Life and Light for Woman*, June 1891.

Norton, M.B. "Harpoot Female Seminary." *Life and Light for Woman*, August 1876.

Parsons, Ellen C. "Woman's Life in Turkey." *Life and Light for Woman*, March 1877.

Proctor, M.A. "Turkey: A Tour in the Mountains." *Life and Light for Heathen Women*, February 1874.

Seelye. "Cesarea: Mrs. Seelye." *Mission Studies*, March 1898.

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, Volume I*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833.

Strong, William. *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1910.

Webb, E.S. "A Trip to Oorfa." *Mission Studies*, November 1906.

West, Maria A. *The Romance of Missions or Inside Views of Life and Labor in the Land of Ararat*. New York: Anson D.F. Randolph and Company, 1875.

Wheeler, Crosby Howard. *Ten Years on the Euphrates*. Boston: American Tract Society, 1868.

Wheeler, Wilmot Henry. *Self-supporting Churches and How to Plant Them Illustrated by the Life and Teachings Rev. C. H. Wheeler*. Grinnell: Better Way Publishing, 1899.

Wheeler, Susan Anna. *Missions in Eden: Glimpses of Life in the Valley of the Euphrates*. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1899.

B. Secondary Sources

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Amstutz, Mark. *Evangelicals and American Foreign Policy*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Fairbank, John King. *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Friedman, Lawrence and McGarvie, Mark. *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

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

Ishii, Noriko. *American Women Missionaries at Kobe College, 1873-1909: New Dimensions in Gender*. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Joseph, Suad. *Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures: Family, Law and Politics*. Boston: Brill, 2005.

Kerber, Linda. "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment-An American Perspective." *American Quarterly* 28 (1976): 187-205.

Makdisi, Ussama. *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2009.

McGrew, William. *Educating across Cultures: Anatolia College in Turkey and Greece*. London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015.

Merguerian, Barbara. "Missions in Eden." In *New Faith in Ancient Lands*, edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg, 252. Boston: Brill, 2006.

Noll, Mark A. *A History of Christianity in the United States and Canada*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1992.

Ozdalga, Elisabeth. *Late Ottoman Society: The Intellectual Legacy*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Payaslian, Simon. *United States Policy toward the Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

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

Pruitt, Lisa Joy. *A Looking-Glass for Ladies: American Protestant Women and the Orient in the Nineteenth Century*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 2005.

Putney, Clifford and Burlin, Paul. *The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010*. Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2012.

Reeves-Ellington, Barbara. "Embracing Domesticity: Women, Mission, and Nation Building in Ottoman Europe, 1832-1872." In *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, edited by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Sklar and Connie Shemo, 270. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010.

Robert, Dana L. *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their Thought and Practice*. Macon: Mercer University Press, 1997.

Rowe, Victoria. *A History of Armenian Women's Writing: 1880-1922*. London: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2003.

Schlesinger, Jr., Arthur. "The Missionary Enterprise and Theories of Imperialism." In *The Missionary Enterprise in China and America*, edited by John King Fairbank, 336-73. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Selles, Johanna, Maria. *The World Student Christian Federation, 1895-1825: Motives, Methods, and Influential Women*. Eugene: Pickwick Publication, 2011.

Shrenk, Wilbert. *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914, Theology, Theory, and Policy*. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2004.

Showalter, Douglas K. "The 1810 Formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions." In *The Role of the American Board in the World*, edited by Clifford Putney and Paul T. Burlin, 56. Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2012.

Shrikian, Gorun. "Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance." PhD diss., Faculty of Concordia Seminary, 1977.

Shrikian, Gorun. *Armenians Under the Ottoman Empire and the American Mission's Influence on their Intellectual and Social Renaissance*. Unknown: Ottawa, 2011.

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

Tamur, Esra Danacioglu. "Early Missions and Eastern Christianity in the Ottoman Empire: Cross-Cultural Encounter and Religious Confrontation, 1820-1856." In *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, edited by Selcuk Esenbel, Bilge Nur Criss, Tony Greenwood, 43. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011.

Tocqueville, Alexis. *Democracy in America*. New York: Library of America, 2004.

Tejirian, Eleanor H. and Simon, Reeva S. *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Walton, Andrea. *Women and Philanthropy in Education*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.

Westerkamp, Marilyn J. *Women and Religion in Early America, 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions*. New York: Routledge, 1999.

Wollons, Roberta. "Travelling for God and Adventure: Women Missionaries in the Late 19th Century," *Asian Journal of Social Science* 31, no. 1 (2003): 55-71.

APPENDIX A

EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS

FOR THE YEAR 1884-1885 ²⁶⁶			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Local Teachers	145	73	124
Colleges and High Schools	7	5	13
Pupils	357	245	378
Girls' Boarding Schools	9	3	5
Pupils	486	80	178
Primary Schools	122	70	142
Pupils	4,283	3,100	4,320
Total under instruction	5,559*	3,425	5,367*

FOR THE YEAR 1881-1882 ²⁶⁷			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Local Teachers	133	75	160
Colleges, High Schools and Seminaries	6	5	4
Pupils	283	205	580
Girls' High Schools	8	2	11
Pupils	323	87	398
Primary Schools	107	73	148
Pupils	4,531	3,360	5,475
Total under instruction	5,137	3,652	7,400*

*Including some under instruction, but not in reported schools

²⁶⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1882), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429134> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁶⁷ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1885), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264742;view=1up;seq=184> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS CONT.

THE YEAR 1888-1889 ²⁶⁸			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Local Teachers	190	110	170
Primary Schools	135	95	144
Scholars	5,138	4,157	5,261
Girls' Boarding Schools	7	4	5
Scholars	386	195	213
Colleges, Boys' High and Boarding Schools	7	2	14
Scholars	456	89	526
Theological schools	1	1	1
Scholars	14	7	8
Total under instruction	6,269	4,448	6,392

THE YEAR 1891-1892 ²⁶⁹			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Local Teachers	200	100	186
Primary Schools	128	100	150
Pupils	4,897	3,939	6,122
Colleges, High and Boarding Schools	For Boys	9	8
	Pupils	444	311
	For Girls	7	4
	Pupils	542	215
Theological Schools	1	1	2
Students	6	6	11
Total under instruction	5,791	4,562	7,767

²⁶⁸ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1889), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264890> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁶⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1892), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429100> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

EDUCATIONAL MISSIONS CONT.

FOR THE YEAR 1895-1896 ²⁷⁰				
Mission		Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Local Teachers		210	128	188
College, Boarding and High Schools	For Boys	9	7	12
	Pupils	558	473	364
	For Girls	9	5	7
	Pupils	859	335	220
Primary Schools		123	99	130
Pupils	Boys and Girls	5,027	4,472	6,232
Theological Schools		1	1	2
Students		6	9	...
Total Under Instruction		6,833	5,289	7,822

FOR THE YEAR 1898-1899 ²⁷¹				
Mission		Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Local Teachers		247	161	179
Boarding and High Schools		16	14	13
Pupils	Boys	801	366	460
	Girls	645	485	282
Primary Schools		125	131	101
Pupils	Boys and Girls	5,868	6,287	...
Theological Schools		1	1	1
Students for the Ministry		5	20	5
Total Under Instruction		7,666	7,109	7,577

²⁷⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1896), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013160232;view=1up;seq=7> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁷¹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429381> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

APPENDIX B

ABCFM MISSIONARIES AND LOCAL HELPERS

FOR THE YEAR 1881-1882 ²⁷³				
Mission		Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Missionaries	Ordained	21	7	15
	Physicians and Others	1	2	1
	Wives	22	7	14
	Other Women	22	10	13
	Total Missionaries	66	26	43
LocalHelpers	Pastors	20	15	31
	Preachers	23	14	31
	Teachers	133	75	160
	Other Helpers	35	10	54
	Total Local Helpers	211	114	276
Total Missionaries and Local Helpers		277	140	319

FOR THE YEAR 1884-1885 ²⁷²				
Mission		Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Missionaries	Ordained	21	7	14
	Physicians and Others	1	2	1
	Wives	17	6	15
	Other Women	25	10	10
	Total Missionaries	64	25	40
LocalHelpers	Pastors	19	15	27
	Preachers	34	13	31
	Teachers	145	73	124
	Other Helpers	34	15	50
	Total Local Helpers	232	116	232
Total Missionaries and Local Helpers		296	141	272

²⁷² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1885), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264742;view=1up;seq=184> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁷³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1882), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429134> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

ABCFM MISSIONARIES AND LOCAL HELPERS CONT.

FOR THE YEAR 1891-1892 ²⁷⁴				
Mission		Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Missionaries	Ordained	24	6	17
	Physicians and Others	1	1	1
	Wives	21	6	18
	Other Women	31	12	13
	Total Missionaries	77	25	49
Local Helpers	Pastors	31	18	22
	Other Preachers	44	26	63
	Teachers	200	100	186
	Other Helpers	24	4	41
	Total Local Helpers	299	148	312
Total Missionaries and Local Helpers		376	173	361

FOR THE YEAR 1888-1889 ²⁷⁵				
Mission		Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Missionaries	Ordained	22	7	14
	Physicians and Others	2	3	1
	Wives	19	7	15
	Other Women	21	9	11
	Total Missionaries	64	26	41
Local Helpers	Pastors	17	19	27
	Other Preachers	57	27	51
	Teachers	190	110	170
	Other Helpers	19	4	48
	Total Local Helpers	283	160	296
Total Missionaries and Local Helpers		347	186	337

²⁷⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1892), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429100> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁷⁵ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1889), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264890> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

ABCFM MISSIONARIES AND LOCAL HELPERS CONT.

FOR THE YEAR 1895-1896 ²⁷⁶				
Mission		Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Missionaries	Ordained	20	7	15
	Physicians and Others	1	...	1
	Wives	19	6	15
	Other Women	34	13	14
	Total Missionaries	74	26	45
Local Helpers	Pastors	32	21	31
	Preachers	48	19	38
	Teachers	210	128	188
	Other Helpers	19	8	38
	Total Local Helpers	309	176	295
Total Missionaries and Local Helpers		383	202	340

FOR THE YEAR 1898-1899 ²⁷⁷				
Mission		Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Missionaries	Ordained	18	8	10
	Physicians and Others	2	..	1
	Wives	18	5	10
	Other Women	28	15	13
	Total Missionaries	66	28	34
Local Helpers	Pastors	24	20	18
	Preachers	51	22	23
	Teachers	247	161	179
	Other Helpers	19	33	33
	Total Local Helpers	341	236	253
Total Missionaries and Local Helpers		407	264	287

²⁷⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1896), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013160232;view=1up;seq=7> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁷⁷ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429381> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

APPENDIX C

EVANGELICAL CHURCHES

FOR THE YEAR 1881-1882 ²⁷⁹			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Number of Churches	27	40	41
Members	1,938	2,973	2,579
Additions	159	180	206

FOR THE YEAR 1884-1885 ²⁷⁸			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Number of Churches	29	33	36
Members	2,196	3,400	2,219
Additions	199	226	115

²⁷⁸ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Fifth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Stanley and Usher, 1885), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264742;view=1up;seq=184> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁷⁹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1882), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429134> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

EVANGELICAL CHURCHES CONT.

FOR THE YEAR 1888-1889 ²⁸⁰			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Places for Stated Preaching	126	60	124
Number of Churches	29	33	41
Members	2,648	4,050	2,542
Received on Confession	244	229	151
Adherents	12,802	17,056	15,413
Average Congregation	10,588	10,000	11,010

FOR THE YEAR 1891-1892 ²⁸¹			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Places for Stated Preaching	124	53	133
Number of Churches	35	34	43
Members	3,538	5,091	2,879
Received on Confession	289	143	183
Adherents	13,996	15,596	16,545
Average Congregation	10,983	9,199	11,611
Sunday School Membership	7,255	8,196	8,717

²⁸⁰ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1889), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264890> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁸¹ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1892), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429100> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

EVANGELICAL CHURCHES CONT.

FOR THE YEAR 1895-1896 ²⁸²			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Places for Stated Preaching	122	51	111
Number of Churches	35	34	42
Members	3,604	5,178	3,107
Received on Confession	157	162	166
Adherents	14,198	15,374	16,775
Average Congregations	10,336	11,202	11,639
Sunday School Membership	8,709	10,059	6,302

FOR THE YEAR 1898-1899 ²⁸³			
Mission	Western Turkey	Central Turkey	Eastern Turkey
Places for Stated Preaching	114	60	97
Number of Churches	37	32	48
Members	3,905	5,890	2,515
Received on Confession	261	479	225
Adherents	14,214	18,990	14,182
Average Congregations	12,306	13,910	11,185
Sunday School Membership	8,949	13,074	6,713

²⁸² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1896), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013160232;view=1up;seq=7> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

²⁸³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429381> (accessed 18 Jan 2018).

APPENDIX D

LOCAL FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS FOR ALL PURPOSES (IN DOLLARS)

	1888-1889 ²⁸⁴	1891-1892 ²⁸⁵	1895-1896 ²⁸⁶	1898-1899 ²⁸⁷
Western Turkey	32,177	28,062	30,078	50,075
Central Turkey	7,955	9,202	9,125	11,771
Eastern Turkey	13,508	477	17,547	6,554

²⁸⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1889), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015073264890> (accessed 24 Jan 2018).

²⁸⁵ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1892), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429100> (accessed 24 Jan 2018).

²⁸⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Sixth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Press of Samuel Usher, 1896), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015013160232;view=1up;seq=7> (accessed 24 Jan 2018).

²⁸⁷ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Eighty-Ninth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1899), <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo.31924079429381> (accessed 24 Jan 2018).

APPENDIX E

ARMENIAN WOMEN OF EUPHRATES COLLEGE AND CENTRAL TURKEY GIRLS COLLEGE



Figure 1. Students at Euphrates College, Harpoot, 1890s. Source: “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life,” *Harput (kaza) – Schools (Part I)*, <http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapotto manempire/vilayetofmamuratulazizharput/harputkaza/education-and-sport/schools-part-i.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).



Figure 2. Graduates and teachers, Euphrates College, Harpoot, 1897. Seated, second from the left, Mary L. Daniels and third, Mary W. Riggs. Source: “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life,” *Harput (kaza) – Schools (Part I)*, <http://www.houshamadyan.org/map ottomanempire/vilayetofmamuratul azizharput/harputkaza/education-and-sport/schools-part-i.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).



Figure 3. Girl students and their two teachers, Euphrates College, Harpoot, 1900s. Source: “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life,” *Harput (kaza) – Schools (Part I)*, <http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapotomanempire/vilayetofmamuratulazizharput/harputkaza/education-and-sport/schools-part-i.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).



Figure 4. Central Turkey Girls' College, Marash, ca 1885: On the left, Central Turkey Girls' College; in the centre, the missionary, Henry Marden's house; on the right, the Cilician Theological Gymnasium. Source: “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life,” *Marash – Schools*, <http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapotomanempire/vilayetaleppo/sandjakofmarash/education-and-sport/schools.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).



Figure 5. Armenian teachers of Central Turkey Girls' College, Marash. Seated, left to right: Hermine Amiralian, Rahel Heghinian, Mary Heghinian. Standing, left to right: Giulenian Mumdjian (later Atamian), Yevnige Terzian (later Kasuni), Kayane Kradjian, Lusian Mikayelian, Feride Shamlan (later Hovagimian), Araksi Kuyumdjian. Source: “Houshamadyan: A Project to Reconstruct Ottoman Armenian Town and Village Life,” *Marash – Schools*, <http://www.houshamadyan.org/mapotomanempire/vilayetaleppo/sandjakofmarash/education-and-sport/schools.html> (accessed 11 January, 2018).