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**A KEY TO UNDERSTANDING THE ANATOLIAN DEMOGRAPHY:
THE MISSIONARY REVIEW OF THE WORLD (1878-1922)**

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(ANADOLU DEMOGRAFİSİNİ ANLAMAK İÇİN BİR ANAHTAR:
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ABSTRACT

Starting from the early 19th century, American missionaries travelled around the World in order to carry the ‘light of the gospel to heathen lands’, where they believed Christianity needed to be introduced or restored. The work of the missionaries, their motives and the effect they did to the countries they visited have been an object of interest to many researchers. Their written documents such as letters, conference notes, reports and journals shed light not only to the specifics of the mission work but also to demographical information, political developments and cultural shifts of the country as well as the daily life practices of the local people. The Protestant American missionaries supported by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions collected and published the mission work they carried out around the world in the monthly journal of the Missionary Review of the World between the years 1878 and 1939. The journal, providing a large number of articles and information on the final era of the Ottoman Empire and the path that leads to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, stands as an important resource to the Anatolian demography of late 19th and early 20th centuries. The following study focused on 38 volumes of the journal, published between the years 1878 and 1922. Throughout the study, articles and notes regarding Anatolia was located in order to form a table of contents as a source for future research.

Key Words: Missionary Work, American Missionaries, Modernization, Ottoman Empire, Young Turks, Non-Muslim Minorities, Armenian Deportations

ÖZET

19. Yüzyıldan itibaren Amerikan misyonerleri Hristiyanlığın yayılması veya onarılması gerektiğine inandıkları yerlere gitmiş ve bu amaç uğruna çalışmışlardır. Misyonerlerin gittikleri ülkelerdeki çalışma motivasyonları ve yaptıkları işler, birçok araştırmacının ilgi odağı olmuştur. Misyonlarla ilgili yazılı belgeler, mektuplar, konferans notları, raporlar ve dergiler, misyonerlerin yaptıkları işin ötesinde, gittikleri ülkelerdeki demografik yapı, politik gelişmeler, kültürel değişimler ve yerel nüfusun gündelik hayat pratikleri üzerine önemli bilgiler aktarmakta, bu konulara ışık tutmaktadır. *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* tarafından desteklenen Protestan Amerikan misyonerleri, dünyanın farklı bölgelerinde sürdürdükleri misyonerlik faaliyetlerini toparlayıp 1878-1939 yılları arasında basılan *The Missionary Review of the World* adlı dergide yayımlamışlardır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun son dönemi ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşuna giden yolda geçirilen süreçle ilgili önemli sayıda makale ve bilgi içeren dergi, 19. Yüzyıl sonu ve 20. Yüzyıl başı Anadolu demografisine dair değerli bir kaynak görevi görmektedir. Bu çalışma *The Missionary Review of the World* dergisinin 1878-1922 yılları arasında yayımlanan 38 sayısına odaklanmaktadır. Çalışma boyunca dergide Anadolu coğrafyası ile ilgili bilgi içeren makale ve notlar tespit edilmiş ve gelecek çalışmalara kaynak olabilmesi üzere bir içerik tablosu oluşturulmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Misyonerlik, Amerikan Misyonerleri, Modernleştirme, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Jön Türkler, Gayrimüslim Azınlıklar, Ermeni Tehciri

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Introduction

Starting from the early 19th century, American missionaries travelled around the World in order to carry the ‘light of the gospel to heathen lands’, where they believed Christianity needed to be introduced or restored. For this holy purpose, missionaries left their home country and spent their lives in foreign lands, bonding with the local people especially through schools and hospitals they built. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM or *American Board* as referred) was the largest Protestant missionary organization that worked for the purpose around the globe (Kocabasoglu: 2000).

The work of the missionaries, their motives and the effect they did to the countries they visited have been an object of interest to many researchers. Their written documents such as letters, conference notes, reports and journals shed light not only to the specifics of the mission work but also to demographical information, political developments and cultural shifts of the country as well as the daily life practices of people. Taking this into consideration, The Missionary Review of the World (MRW), an Evangelical missionary journal supported by the American Board stands as an important source of information for researchers.

A major focus of the American missionaries and naturally of the MRW appears as the Muslim countries or the ‘*Mohammedan World*’ in their words.

“As a missionary land Turkey commands unusual attention because of its Mohammedan Government. It is practically the only country where Christian missionaries labor to-day that is openly and constitutionally Mohammedan. It possesses a great variety of divergent Moslem sects and races besides being the home of some of the most ancient and historical Christian races and churches. ... In no other field conspicuously successful Christian institutions been established than those in Turkey. These include, beside strong, aggressive Protestant churches, a notable list of colleges and seminaries, other schools of all grades, hospitals and dispensaries, printing establishments, industrial enterprises, and many other activities related to organized missionary operations ” (March 1915: 178).

In this angle, the journal of the Missionary Review of the World, provides a large number of articles and information on the final era of the Ottoman Empire and the path that leads to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey.

Methodology

The monthly journal of the American Missionary Review of the World was published between the years of 1878 and 1939 in New York and London. The 62 volumes of the journal gives a vast information of the American missionary work carried out around the world. The following study was focused on the first 45 volumes of the journal, starting with 1878 and ending with 1922, aiming to extract articles and passages about the last 45 years of the Ottoman Empire, specifically about Anatolia, or the land mentioned as *Asia Minor* in the journal, which was the stage for some of the most crucial events of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Each volume of the first 10 years of MRW published between 1878 and 1887 consisted of 6 issues. Every issue covered a 2 month time period, in around 500 pages. Although the copies of the first 4 volumes were announced not to be remaining in the sixth volume of the journal (1883), the first volume was still attainable and was included in the study. However the following 3 volumes and the volumes between 1884 and 1887 were not to be found therefore were excluded from the study for the time being. In 1888 the journal adapted a new format and expanded its content, publishing over 1000 pages every year, parted 12 issues for every month of the year. Together with the 3 volumes of the old format and 35 volumes of the new format, 38 volumes of the journal was examined under 7 categories, detecting the articles and passages

concerning the land that refers to today's Republic of Turkey, as in *Misak-ı Milli*.

As an important outcome of the study, a table of contents with over 700 entries was formed in order to create a source ground for possible future researches on or related to the subject. While studying further on this journal, one needs to realize that the entries chosen for this study were large articles or short passages, paragraphs and notes focusing on the mentioned geographical borders. More information on the *Turkish Government* -referring to the Ottoman and Young Turk governments in the journal-, or Turkey, -referring to Ottoman Turkey- can be found in several more articles considering the borders and influence of the Ottoman Empire throughout the region and the world. Such pieces of information were not the focus of this study. Another point to keep in mind while examining pieces from the MRW is that the information transferred through this journal is not a closed correspondence among the missionaries of Turkey and United States of America. It was a monthly journal for American public to read and therefore it should be evaluated as a media component of its time period. For a further research, the ABCFM Project of Bilkent University's History Department holds a record microfilms of a more detailed and private communication within ABCFM missionaries of Turkey and United States.

Statistical and Demographical Data

*“Turkey is the key to Asia, in the
name of the missionary work”*

ABCFM Bartlett Report – 1880

1820 was the year when the first missionaries set foot in Anatolia, to open the doors to the missionary work in Asia (Kocabasoglu 2000: 23). After a time of discovering the land and its people, they settled mainly in Istanbul and partly in Izmir, Bursa, Trabzon, and a little later in Erzurum starting the first missionary stations. Istanbul was the favorable base as it consisted a more intellectual Armenian population and it presented a safer environment for foreigners. Between 1850 and 1860 many small stations were found within Anatolia, preparing the ground for its long term division of mission centers. In 1860 the mission work in Anatolia was decided to be divided and managed in 3 parts: Eastern, Western and Central which would continue to exist for the coming hundred years (Kocabasoglu, 2008: 69). This time period can be seen as the maturity age of the mission work in Turkey, as by this time the missionaries were well aware of the insights and dynamics of the land and the people they were interested in. The 38 volumes of the journal contains a

valuable number of statistical and demographical information on Anatolia. Some highlighting pieces will be shared in the following pages.

A passage from 1892 marks the territory of *Asiatic Turkey* about 330,000 square miles, including a population of 20,000,000 with one third being Armenian and Greek, and the rest Muslims (March 1892: 232). Another piece from the same year gives numbers from Trabzon, mentioning out of 750,000 people living in the region, 600,000 were Muslims while there were 120,000 Greeks and 30,000 Armenians (August 1892: 633). Reverend Barton of Harput reports in 1889 that there was over one and a quarter million habitants in the area where the Eastern mission covers and only about sixteen thousand declared Protestants, with 2686 of them being church members (August 1889: 609).

In 1909 the population of the Ottoman Empire was reported to have a land of 1,500,000 square miles, with a population of 29,00,000, two third being Muslims, while Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Copts, Bulgarians, Protestants and Roman Catholics were the Christian sects among the total population (August 1909: 625). In all towns of Asia Minor, Turks were the majority, however there were so many races and tongues living in these lands as *Osmanlis*, so it would be wrong to call them all Turks. Turkish was the common language in Anatolia, while Greek in Aegean and Mediterranean, and Armenian and Kurdish in the Eastern parts, especially near the Persian frontier as well as in the streets of Istanbul, were largely spoken (March 1909: 167).

The territorial losses of the Ottoman Empire starting with the Balkan Wars, had serious effects on the population and the demography of the land. Even before the long and continuous period of wars started, the situation of the people in Anatolia were not very bright. A passage from 1891 states as follows;

“Military service is compulsory for Muslim population, while Christians are prohibited from bearing arms. This causes a constant drain on the Moslems, which is felt increasingly year by year.”

The same piece also mentions that Muslim marriages are lower in villages and it is mainly because of poverty and that Muslim population suffers most from the government oppression and there is nobody to speak up for them (December, 1891: 933). Non-Muslim minorities also were facing outrages besides the heavy burden of taxes that was causing poverty and famine among them (January, 1896: 69).

The railroads in Anatolia were an important aspect of missionary life and mission work, considering the multiple stations and the feasibility of travelling in the rough lands of Anatolia. Therefore there are some articles in MRW, mentioning the situation of the railroads and the future projects on them. An article published in 1908 reports 2,750 miles of railroads in Turkey, and with 890 miles more through Europe. The journeys that took weeks before the railroads now take a couple of days only which was underlined as a great value to mission work (July, 1908: 520).



Railroads in Asia Minor (July, 1908: 521)

“The important position of the Near East, ‘crossroads of the world’, is being accentuated with the establishment of every new railroad and aerial route that intersects it (February, 1921: 114).

The aftermath of the wars and Armenian deportations had heavy consequences. With the Armenians gone, Turkey killed its own work force as now there is no shoemaker, tailor, dentist, baker, banker and artisans left in the towns and cities (August 1916: 625). By the year 1917, the lands of the Ottoman Empire was diminished about 183.250 square miles and population shrink to 14.750.000 from 22.000.000 (November: 868).

Schools and Education

“Education must be the watchword for New Turkey.”

MRW, October 1914

When Sultan Abdulhamid II inherited the Ottoman throne, there were 3 different school systems in the empire; traditional religious schools, modern secular schools and private schools run by the missionaries or local Christians and Jews (Gencer, 2010: 82). Facing some reforms and regulations under the rule of Abdulhamid II and the Young Turk governments, the 3 legged education system continued to exist throughout the 19th century Ottoman Empire until the foundation of the Republic of Turkey. The following chapter of the study will focus on the extracts of the Missionary Review of the World, regarding the missionary schools and their functionality in Anatolia.

The leading tool of the American Board to establish the desired change in the mission countries was clearly education. Depending on their numbers, Anatolia was a key location for missionary education as %25 of the theology schools, %45 of boarding schools for girls and %44 of all mission primary schools in the world were located in Asia Minor (Kocabasoglu, 61:2000). There were two wings to the education movement of the American Board in Turkey. One wing focused on religious primary and common school education targeting

mostly Armenian children in Anatolia while the other wing focused on a more secular college education, based in larger cities and mission stations. Robert College and American College for Girls – later also known as Robert College – were the most famous and influential examples of these colleges witnessing almost 150 years of these lands.

The intention of the mission schools in Turkey was to shape new identities (Gencer, 2010: 85). A letter sent to the American Board in 1832 by Mr. Goodell and Mr. Dwight, who were among the first missionaries set foot in Anatolia, state the importance of the schools for missionaries saying that ‘leaving traces on a youngster’s mind is much easier comparing to an adult therefore we need to start with opening primary schools for Armenian children in order to penetrate Asia Minor’ (Kocabasoglu, 48: 2000). October 1890 of the monthly mentions 16 colleges and high schools for boys and 13 boarding schools for girls in Turkey, as well as 235 primary schools with a total number of 11,000 students of all grades. The passage continues with the following information;

“Two generations of Christians have spread their influence far and near, and it would be scarcely too much to say that the whole Armenian race has been awakened to new life. The work of the American Board in Turkey cannot be measured by statistics. Education has achieved a tremendous influence, whether we estimate it from the standpoint of Robert’s College in Constantinople and the other flourishing institutions in the interior, or from that of the widely scattered primary school, each one of which becomes an

object-lesson and a powerful stimulus to a whole community” (August 1889: 609).

American missionary schools were institutions which essentially Protestant Armenians chose to study, however families from other Christian sects also did send their children to these schools. Muslim families on the other hand, very exceptionally sent their children to American schools until after the constitutional revolution of the Young Turks in 1908 (Kocabasoglu, 2000: 134).

There was a great interest towards missionary schools from the local Christian communities by the 1880's. For instance the tuition fee of the Euphrates College, formerly known as the Armenian College, was around 16 liras in the beginning of the 1880's and 350 liras at the end. While the tuition fee of the school was multiplied by 20, the registration numbers also raised three hundred percent, showing the substantial demand of the people for education (Kocabasoglu, 2000: 120). As can be realized from the extracts of the monthly and missionary memoirs, the college level institutions were the most precious fruits of the mission work. The Central Turkey College in Gaziantep, Euphrates College in Harput, Anatolian College in Merzifon, St. Paul Institute in Tarsus, International College in Izmir and Robert College and American College for Girls in Istanbul can be listed as the most influential institutions in Anatolia. -Although Robert College was not officially funded by the ABCFM, it was referred as a mission school in the MRW and mentioned frequently.-The

students of the Robert College, as representatives of a different type of individuals to the Eastern commonality, gained utmost respect and popularity which leads the school to a success story (Washburn, 2011: 321). The graduates of Robert College have been in significant positions in which ever profession they chose. The second principle of the school, George Washburn also admits that as the best college of Europe, they are known for the impact they did for the foundations of a new country in the Balkan Peninsula, Bulgaria (2011: 322). The December 1888 issue of the monthly also holds an extract supporting Dr. Washburn's claim;

“We are not surprised at the statement of those resident in Bulgaria, that the rapid development of that people into a compact nation, ‘with destiny in its eye’, is due to the education of so many young Bulgarians at the American College on the Bosphorus. These men have returned to their homes to assume positions of control in every department of life. They are the advisors of the nation and the executors of its will” (December 1888: 907).

Besides Robert College, Central Turkey College established in 1876, as the 3rd college in the Ottoman lands had about 60 of its alumni classified as ministers in the Ottoman Empire (April 1915: 307). However the most promising enterprise of all was mentioned as the American College for Girls located in Uskudar, Istanbul (September 1893: 713). As precious as it was to the missionaries, the school was also under the spotlight of the Turkish government throughout its existence. In 1895 through the most sacred

document possible to attain, the Sultan's *irade*, the school received certain privileges and the special protection of the government (May 1895: 396). In 1901, the first Muslim woman, Halide Edip, graduated from the American College for Girls, after a series of difficulties as Muslim girls were not allowed to study in foreign schools at the end of the 19th century. Halide Edip was also the first woman in the empire to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree and she was already a recognized writer of the Turkish press by the time she graduated (March 1902: 232). More information about the American College for Girls will be shared in the following chapters of the study.

The majority of all missionaries in the empire were connected with educational work and the number of the common schools in 1909 was more than 500 (March 1909: 170). The importance attributed to mission schools and especially higher education institutions can be read clearly throughout the issues of the monthly. A piece as early as June 1887 states that the strongest foes of Mohammedanism in the Orient are the 3 colleges of the region, which are far more dangerous than an army of 50.000 soldier; the Robert College at Constantinople, the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut and the Training College of the United Presbyterian Church in Egypt. Another paragraph from 1909 support the previous one as follows;

“Christian institutions of higher learning is found the secret of New Turkey. To the American Christian colleges in the country due the fact not only that a revolution of sweeping proportions has taken place, but that it has

been almost without bloodshed. Accepting this historical statement, we must recognize that these institutions have even yet a greater work to do in training the men who will lead wisely and well in all that pertains to the new life of the new empire. These institutions must be prepared to provide the directing force that will be demanded for the new educational system already being inaugurated” (April 1909: 306).

The journey and the struggle of existence of the Christian-American mission schools under a Muslim government, was yet a challenging one. Especially following the withdrawal of the Capitulations by the Young Turk government, a new order was issued in 1915 -*Mekatib-iHususiye*-, with firm regulations such as setting Turkish language compulsory in all mission schools and cancelling religious exercises for Non-Christians (April 1915: 5). Such regulations would mean that these schools could not continue their existence as for simply they would lose all their teaching faculty for not knowing Turkish. In order to discuss the terms and soften this *firman*, representatives of the schools met the officials in Istanbul. As a result a temporary agreement was in process giving Non-Christians the option of not participating in religious exercises – which was compulsory before – and teaching Turkish to all Ottoman students in their first year.

During World War I, especially with the deportations of the Armenians, mission schools faced many difficulties that was mentioned in several extracts in the *Missionary Review of the World*. While a piece in January 1915 delivers

that the missions in Turkey are safe as if there is no war (January 1915:67), another piece in August 1915 mentions Turkish authorities seizing mission schools and hospitals and that some missionaries are leaving the country (August 1915: 624). Most school buildings were reported as being used for military purposes, some were attacked and burnt down during the deportations, with all student were cast away. While some mission schools were not able to restore during and after the war, some of them such as Tarsus, Robert and Anatolian Colleges were reported doing well both with their registration numbers and daily school life. In September 1916, Robert College had 500 students from 20 different nationalities most of whom were fighting each other, studying in peace (September 1916: 709).

After the Armenian massacres, missionary education in Turkey had a large ground to work for; the Armenian orphans. According to many extracts of the journal, there were hundreds of thousands of Armenian orphans after the deportations, to be cared for, and missionaries put great effort to provide simple care, and in the following years, education for these children. By the year 1921, the Armenian children were without schools for 5 years and missionaries started an educational program aiming to raise them as shoemakers, tailors and carpenters, hoping to save the future of the Armenians (February 1921: 156).

The extracts on schools and education in the Missionary Review of the World proves us the importance and effectiveness of the American mission schools, maybe throughout the most critical periods of the land of Turkey.

Close to the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, in February 1921, a missionary who visited Istanbul, met over a 600 students of American schools. For the schools, which primarily were found to raise devoted Christians, the missionary admits that he wasn't sure how many had found Christ and he adds as follows;

“But one thing is evident: the Near East is wide open for a great advance to a friendly approach to Mohammedans. The war marks the end of an old epoch and the beginning of a new era. A new day has dawned. In the Imperial Ottoman University and in the Turkish meetings we found that the large majority of Turkish students, by the very process of modern education, have lost their old faith and are almost without vital religion. Some are atheists, some agnostics, and a large number have fallen helpless victims to sin. A new day of hope has dawned and a new day of reaping has come for the entire Near East” (February 1921: 125).

With the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, the regulations of *Mekatib-i Hususiye* which was put forward by the Young Turk government, was implemented under the new national school system (Sezer, 1999: 12). Some of the American schools mentioned in this chapter still operates in today's Turkey.

Medical and Other Mission Work

In an article from 1905 of the *Missionary Review of the World*, an American missionary Charles C. Tracey defines the evangelization methods that are being used in Turkey in four categories: Preaching, The School, Medical Work and Industrial Self-help (May 1905: 330). During the study, depending on the dispersion of the journal entries for these topics, schools and education were categorized separately while preaching and medical work will be categorized and focused on as one. Extracts on industrial self-help will be briefly touch upon in the last chapter of the study, under the category of finance and fund raising.

Primarily focus of the American missionaries coming into Turkey was surely to spread Protestantism in the Muslim lands. Their first point of contact with the local people were through Armenians and although having difficulties at first, the mission mainly grew with Armenians for most of its existence in Anatolia. The missionaries referred to the Armenians as the ‘Anglo-Saxons of the East’ (February 1896: 130). However they were also hoping to reach the other Christian groups and the Christian sects in Turkey were hostile towards each other. Therefore American missionaries started a Young Men’s Society in order to reach Christians of different sects (July 1983: 533). The work of the churches and preachers continued heavily in Anatolia, with seldom entries of *awakenings* meaning multiple converts of Christianity and regular news from mission works of active stations.

As mentioned in the statistical and demographical data chapter, The ABCFM was reported to have four large mission stations in the Ottoman Empire, 3 of them being covering Anatolia: Western, Central and Eastern Missions. By the year 1906, there were 130 evangelical churches within these missions (December 1906: 944). The church work was very strong in Anatolia stations comparing to the larger cities such as Istanbul and Izmir. Abandoned churches of Eastern Turkey was coming back to the gospel light by the work of the missionaries (September 1894: 690). For instance by the year 1905, in Marash, which was a middle size station, there were 3 churches in with 1400 members, while the first ever evangelical church in Istanbul was reported to be opened only in the same year (January 1905: 71, 310). Missionaries were also working hard for the translations and printing of the Bible or journals. Their two large publication centers located in Istanbul and Beirut, were described as *great lights in a dark land* and they were answering to all the printing need of several stations (August 1895: 608). A smaller press was set up in Harput but was sealed up by Sultan's order in 1880's (March 1909: 174). The Bible was translated into Kurdish by the year 1894 and the Bible Shop in Antep was described as the busiest shop of the city (September: 690). In 1895, the holy book of the Christians was translated into 11 languages including Arabic and copies being distributed to all Muslim world (August 1895: 608). During the year 1911, American missionaries printed and distributed the record number of Bibles, in 28 different languages (March 1909: 227).

Hospitals on the other hand, had a different angle of building communication with the people and had immense value within missionary work. As Kocabasoglu mentions in his book on the missionary work in Anatolia, being the followers of a Prophet who used his holy powers to heal people, it would only be natural for the missionaries to value medical care as mission work. In addition to this, hospitals were the best way of getting involved with the Turkish community as they wouldn't go to churches or send their children to Christian schools (2000: 96). Although depending on the journal extracts, we know that Muslim families did start sending their children to American schools after the 1908 revolution, Kocabasoglu's statement can be read as correct for a long period of the missionary work in Turkey. Meanwhile the attitude of the Muslims towards mission hospitals and doctors were quite different. For instance a missionary doctor reports more than half of his patients being Turkish\Muslim women, they even show their *deeply veiled* faces to the doctor and may invite him to their houses for further treatment (August 1888: 593). There were more to the hospitals than being center for reaching the Muslim population. The hospitals were defined as *Life and Light* by the missionaries and were the places where Turk, Armenian, Kurd, Jew, Arab, Greek and rich and poor were treated equally, obeying the same regulations;

“Turks become accustomed to eating and sleeping with Christians and Jews, and all learn to help one another and to sympathize with each other in a very friendly way. There is no democracy like that of trouble and suffering” (June 1894: 477).

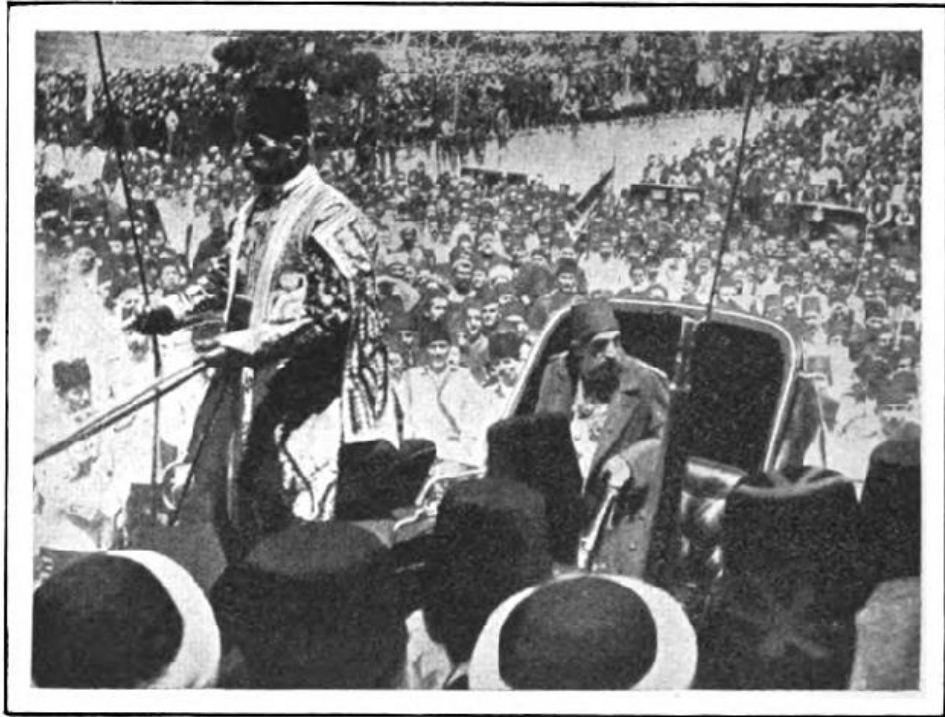
August 1909 extract of the journal reports a number of 65 hospitals and dispensaries in the Empire, with near 200,000 patients annually (August: 625). Considering the 3 out of 4 mission centers in the Empire being located in Anatolia, we can easily say that an important number of these hospitals were operating in Anatolian mission stations. Almost all large stations in Anatolia such as Merzifon, Sivas, Adana, Antep, Mardin, Harput, Bitlis and Van, had a well-equipped and active hospital serving large communities of their regions (March 1908: 230). American hospitals were frequently reported to be filled with patients and constantly growing while the hospitals of the government were empty (January 1908: 4). In 1919, American Board was working on a project for constructing or remodeling 15 new hospitals in Turkey, mostly for relief work in Anatolia (March: 229).

Young Turks, Military and Reforms

January 1894 of the monthly for the first time speaks of a liberal movement, not yet quite a party, called the Young Turks (1894: 76). Between the years 1894 to 1896, under the name of the Committee of Union and Progress, the Young Turks showed a significant growth, gathering their first congress in Paris, in 1902, with the representation of all ethnic groups of the Ottoman Empire including the revolutionary Hunchagists (Zürcher, 2011). In the following congress in 1907, a collaboration between the Young Turks and the Hunchagists was established (Tekin, 2011: 69). The 1908 revolution was the success of the opposing powers of the empire along with the Armenians (Akçam, 2001: 151). By the year 1908, more than half of the extracts in the monthly about Turkey were directly related to Young Turks and their revolution which was welcomed with great enthusiasm by the American missionaries. Many articles of hope and trust towards the leaders of 'New' Turkey and the positive results of constitutional revolution started following one another every other month.

A couple of days after the constitutional government was announced, The Imam of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul preached a sermon focused on the freedom and fraternity achieved with the revolution. The sermon carried open messages about the situation of the non-Muslim citizens:

“There are non-Moslems among us – Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Jews. They are God’s trust to us. We will try to keep their rights even more than our own. Our religion commands us to do so” (January 1909: 128).



THE SULTAN DRIVING TO THE MOSQUE AFTER THE PROCLAMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION
For the first time in three years (since the attempted assassination), an immense crowd witnessed the ceremony

The emphasis made on the changes the revolution brought, takes a large place in the 1908-1909 issues of the monthly. The mission work in Turkey truly believed that the new regime committed itself to the policy of peace, that all classes and religions were now as equal before law, and that the leaders in *New Turkey* have committed themselves to the development of a modern education system (August 1914: 562). The lifted censorship created great excitement among the missionaries and among the people too, in their observations. A piece narrating the acquisitions of free speech in the country mentions the

formerly forbidden words such as ‘Armenia’, as it could not be an official piece of land, ‘Murad’, as the Sultan deposed his brother with the same name, ‘Youth’, as it reminded of the Young Turks, ‘Society’ or ‘Freedom’, as they sounded like ‘Constitution’ (February 1909: 147).

The new parliament had a body of 14 different nationalities, representing 12,500,000 electors from all around the Empire with 250 elected Chamber of Deputies and 80 appointed Senates by the Sultan (March 1909: 231). With such a diverse group of participants and with so many different languages and interests in the new parliament, the necessity of the Young Turks’ leadership was emphasized; and on the other hand, seeing Turkey struggling with this diversity, missionaries proudly admit that they did a good job in their country assimilating their own immigrants so they do not have such problems in their hands right now (February 1909: 147).



A NEW UNITED TURKEY: TURKS, ALBANIANS, BULGARIANS, ARMENIANS AND GREEKS
Formerly at enmity, now on friendly terms

Although the festive atmosphere of the 1908 revolution was cut off by the horrid events in Adana in 1909 (see next chapter); following the deposition of Sultan Abdulhamid II, peace and constitution was restored by the Young Turks swiftly, putting an end to the killings. Furthermore, the issue of February 1910 of the monthly was announcing the public executions of 41 Muslims who participated in the Adana massacres with the title of ‘Young Turks Avenging the Adana Massacre’ (1910: 147), building trust and raising the hopes of security and justice among Christians. However it was not enough to ease the triggered fear and mistrust among Armenians against the new government (Tekin, 2011: 69). Mostly the local Christians did not find neither the new constitution nor the favorable moves of the Young Turks as sincere as they

appeared. The Patriarch of the Armenian Catholic Church underlined this fact with the following statement;

“The declaration of the lofty principles may for a time deceive Europe as they have in the past, but they will never inspire confidence on the part of those who know from past experiences that Western Civilization is inapplicable to Turkish society so long as the Mohammedan Canon Law remains as a tenet of the so-called constitution” (October 1908: 722).

In spite of the insecurity among the native Christians, the positive atmosphere continued for the missionaries. In his book ‘Fifty Years In Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College’, the famous missionary and the second principal to the school George Washburn, inked in a 1909 Boston that there was no reason for Americans to doubt the honesty and sincerity of the Young Turk party, in this revolution that adopts the principles of equality, freedom, justice and fraternity (2011: 31).

In July 1909, military service was made mandatory for all Ottoman subjects regarding of religion and ethnicity, and the recruitment started accordingly in October of the same year. The reform of Non-Muslims now being a part of the Turkish Army, received utmost attention from the missionaries. Sevket Pasha’s contact with the ecumenical patriarch informing him that %25 of the army will now be composed of Christians would not only calm the Armenian and Bulgarian communities but also minimize the danger of attacks towards Christians (August 1909: 625). At this time the leaders and the

majority of the Christian communities were ready to cooperate with the Young Turks although they had fundamentally different views of practice such as the placement of the Non-Muslim soldiers and officers in the army, and on the other hand, the enthusiasm of joining the army in the Christian population was very low and most children of the bourgeoisie left the country during the time of recruitments (Zürcher, 2010: 70). However still, in the eyes of the missionaries, this reform was an historic moment as it would change the ancient discourse of Muslim war completely;

“Under the new regime Christians are to be given a fair share in the government of the empire as Ottoman subjects. If they are also drafted and received into the Turkish army, then the possibility of that army ever again being employed in a Moslem holy war is past forever. Truly this marks an era in human history” (April 1909: 242).

The Armenian soldiers’ fighting in the Ottoman Army during World War I, holds a crucially important part in Turkish history. The issue will be discussed further in the next chapter of the study.

According to the missionaries, an important project of the Young Turks following the new constitution was the ‘New School’ project which *meant to develop the physical, moral, and intellectual faculties of the children by teaching them the art of enjoying themselves in a happy and useful manner* (October 1907: 781). Although there is not much information on the details of this new education system, a piece from 1911 states the following sentences;

“The new nationalism in Turkey, as fostered by the Young Turkish party, includes the modern school system. There will be about 65.000 elementary public schools in operation throughout the Turkish Empire before the end of the current year” (January 1911: 67).

The freedom of press is mentioned as the most important result of the 1908 Young Turk revolution, as it was impossible for the missionaries to make a statement about the Christian faith was impossible under the old regime. With the new constitution, the control on the books coming into the country was also abolished. New journals started to come out every other day and the readings got much more interesting with the lifted censorship (December 1908: 946).

The missionaries accepted Young Turks as liberal Muslims who had to appear as orthodox depending on the reality of their land, as Turkey was defined where the sword of religion rules. A writer of the monthly states as follows;

“There are those who says that because the Young Turks are non-religious men using, for their own ends, religious fanaticism of the kingdom, they are really more dangerous to civilization than genuine fanatics. This is not the case; the enlightened and tolerant leaders are merely paying what they believe to be necessary tribute to religious prejudices, in the exigencies of practical politics, in order to preserve their own existence. They honestly look forward to the day when real religious tolerance will be the rule throughout their complex land” (June 1910: 460).

Another extract of the same year admits that the Young Turks still haven't proven their ability rule. The courts in the country were still corrupt, no significant improvements applied to the education system and religious liberty was a symbolic discourse along with the continuation of the restrictions for women (September 1910: 641). There was strong debate among the old and the new regime in the parliament however social and political reforms were processing and it was not possible to go back to the past anymore. The positive intentions of the Young Turk government were also reinforced:

“It is encouraging to note that the minister of the interior has affirmed in parliament that the policy of the Government was not one of fusion nor of suppression of language or religion; that it was not meant to make all the inhabitants Turks, or to fill all offices with Turks, but to appoint capable officials and to seek patiently to adjust questions of dispute” (August 1910: 564).

It can be followed clearly in *Missionary Review of the World* that American missionaries sincerely believed the day of tolerance and peace in Turkey was just around the corner, and that with all the educational work that had been done by mission schools, the armed conflicts between Muslims and Christians would desert these lands.

Ottomanism was the ideology behind the restored constitution of 1908, which offered an equity to all ethnic and religious groups of the Empire in order to create an *Ottoman citizenry*, however as Erik J. Zürcher points out, it is

debatable if or how many of the revolutionarists actually believed in this ideal of Ottomanism (2010: 215). A piece published in September 1914 of the *Missionary Review of the World*, only 6 months before the start of the Armenian massacres, gives a dramatically ironic insight of the situation of the Armenians in the country. According to the piece, the most important result of the missionary work in Turkey have been the changed position of the Armenian race in a positive angle;

“Now the Armenians have made good their losses in numbers and in property, and today their friends are astonished to see them negotiating with the Turks concerning national questions on a basis of something like equality. Armenians now have their votes for members of Parliament under the constitution of the empire. Their young men do military service as do their Mohammedan neighbors, and serious as it is to be a soldier in the Turkish army in these years of war, when Armenians have borne their share of soldier service for a term of years massacre and pillage will be rendered impossible” (September 1914: 707).

However, by the time the long time executed capitulations were abolished in October 1st, 1914, the identity politics of the Young Turks, aiming to establish an Ottoman-Muslim nation had already overshadowed the economic and military rationality, which would eventually lead up to a destruction of financial and human resources (Zürcher, 2010: 71).

Government Oppression and Non-Muslim Minorities

During the time American missionaries carried on with their work in Turkey, they have faced with oppressions of different levels, in parallel to the many ruling Sultans and governments. As the time period of this study covers the years between 1882 and 1922, the dynasty of Ottoman Sultans Abdulhamid II., Mehmed V. and Mehmed VI. will be taken into consideration, along with the Young Turk governments.

Upon their arrivals in Anatolia with their holy purpose and the gospel in their hands, it did not take the missionaries long to see that it would be extremely difficult to convert Muslims to Christianity. Muslims not being in search of a new religion and being quite devoted to the one they had, the main focus of the mission work became the Non-Muslim population of the country, and specifically Armenians (Kocabasoglu: 2000).

Looking at the narratives of the American missionaries on field, through the notes and letters published on the Missionary Review of the World, the government oppressions during the final era of the Ottoman Empire can be evaluated under two topics; the bureaucratic oppressions and the extermination policies towards the Non-Muslim populations of the country. The role missionaries played in these two topics were also different. American missionaries were the first rank respondents to most bureaucratic oppressions, as it covered censorship of the press or the regulations on the mission schools and hospitals as well as some prohibitions and short term arrests especially

during the reign of Abdulhamid II. While it is mentioned that the mission work went through difficult times constantly, it can also be followed in the journal the missionaries negotiated most bureaucratic oppressions through the U.S. Ambassador in Turkey and carried on with their work until early 1920's. On the other hand, although some missionaries suffered deeply and some lost their lives during the tragic events in Anatolia, especially in the Adana Massacre (October 1922: 794), they were not the primary subjects of the racial extermination policies of the government. However their close relations to the Armenian population made them the first hand witness to the actions and results of the second type of oppressions. This chapter aims to follow the traces of such scenes through the testimonial evidences of the American missionaries that shed some light on one of the darkest times of the Anatolian history.

The extracts of the journal until 1892 mentions government oppressions largely on press and regulations to be followed at mission schools. News of the oppressions growing on Protestant missions and Armenians appear in January 1892 followed by a couple of minor events in May and November of the same year. These extracts were at a warning level for both missionaries and Armenians that the government's attitude was getting hostile towards these groups (March 1892: 232). The January 1894 issue marks the ideology of the government as '*Turkey for Turks*', and reports the openly changed policy of the government through a strong article by an anonymous returned missionary, directing criticism against the *so-called liberal* movements of the government

under the name of Hatti-Scherif and Hatti-Humaiyoun. The article claims the oppression and ill-treatment continues against American missionaries and other Christian, specifically Protestant, subjects of the empire, regardless of what the treaty rights offer and what the government promises (November 1894: 819).- The Marsovan College of the American mission was announced to be attacked and largely destroyed by fanatics, in the previous issue (October 1894: 784).- The last part of the article holds information about the Huntchagists, which was a movement with its center in Athens and branches in London, Paris and Massachusetts, and with an objective of establishing secret revolutionary formations among Ottoman Armenians, supported heavily by the Russian government. The missionary explains the Huntchagist plot as follows;

“There are about 2,500,000 Armenians in the empire. They are all scattered in small bodies over the empire; they are entirely unarmed; they are unused to arms; they are peaceable, industrious people; they could nowhere assemble a an armed force; the roads are all in hands of the Turks; they are all armed and used to war. The first attempt at a rising would be wiped out in blood. The more intelligent complotters admit this, but reply, The Turks, when thus excited, will commit such bloody outrages upon innocent, unarmed men and women and children, that Russia, in the name of humanity and with the approbation of the whole world, will march in and establish justice. So these complotters, by their own confession, do intend to excite the Turks to such a slaughter of the innocent Armenian people –among them their own fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters –as shall strike with horror the civilized world,

and call the armies of Russia into Asia Minor. Was ever a plot so insane and wicked? But the Turkish government is fully aware of the whole foolish scheme. In case of the least sigh of a revolutionary movement, those engaged in it will be very summarily dealt with, and many of the innocent will suffer with the guilty, but any general mob vengeance will be suppressed with an iron hand by the government” (November 1894:819, 820).

However one year after this statement, in the February 1896 issue of the monthly a 40.000 Armenians are reported to be killed, and many left without homes or anything to eat in cities and small towns of Asia Minor, and the missionary letter claim that the Sultan himself had the direct responsibility of these massacres;

“The most awful part of the story is that these deeds have been done not by a few isolated bands of outlaws, but *by the order of the Sultan*. I make this statement with abundant proof, and should like to have it made as public as possible, for the everlasting disgrace of Sultan Abdul Hamid II” (February 1896: 120).

The letter also mentions that the Sultan encouraged the Kurds on Eastern provinces to participate in the massacres by offering money and government positions, and arming them. In another piece, the famous missionary Cyrus Hamlin states that to reach his purpose quickly, the Sultan *formed the Kurdish tribes into cavalry armed with rifles and named after himself Hamidieh cavalry*. (June 1896:433). Dr. Hamlin also admits that the slaughter of so many women and children alarmed the Sultan and he proceeded with a total documental

clean-up of the massacres, preparing reports that only some rebellious Armenians were put back in order. The same article claims that France will not let the Ottomans touch the Catholic Armenians however is satisfied with the destruction of the Protestant and Gregorian Armenians alongside with Russia, who is in a more responsible situation with the support she is providing to the Hunchagists (June 1896: 434). After a year and a half, Dr. Hamlin writes about the Hunchagists in *The Independent*;

“Some weak-headed Armenian youth were doubtless induced to form a society of revolution. These revolutionists, ‘Hunchagists’, were desperate men. If a rich Armenian would not give what they demanded, they assassinated him. The Sultan knew perfectly well that the wealthy Armenians gave at the point of the dagger. The revolutionists did just what he wanted. He could now destroy them as rebels. The accusation of rebellion is so absurd that the Sultan must have laughed at the simplicity of the world being deceived by it! Who are the rebels? Two and a half million of loyal, unarmed people. The Sultan has an army of 250.000 trained soldiers. Yet he has been so frightened by the threats of these poor peasants, mechanics, and traders that he has slaughtered 100.000, often with the most horrible torture!” (February 1898: 126).

The reports of massacres continue until the end of 1896 and end with the news of a 5000 Armenians being killed in the very streets of Istanbul, after the seizure of the Ottoman Bank by a group of Armenian rebels (December 1896: 934). By 1897 the extracts continue with the reports from the last two years and

call for relief work for the survivors and around at least 50.000 Armenian orphans (January 1897: 77). By June 1909, relief fund calls still appear in the pages of the journal while another tragedy was around the corner.

As mentioned earlier, with the revolution in 1908, American missionaries were carried away with the positive and progressive environment of the country. The leaders of the Non-Muslim population were also eager to keep their hopes high regarding the new constitution. However during the unrest of the counter revolution in 1909 in Istanbul, ending in Young Turks overthrowing Abdulhamid II., a rather opposite incident took place in the Adana region, where the Armenian revolutionists and Moslem fanatics started fighting each other. As a result, over 20.000 Armenians and 2 American missionaries reported killed in the journal, another 20.000 left without homes and 2 mission center properties being destroyed (June 1909: 441). Missionary Rev. Stephen Van R. Trowbridge who was the only surviving American/European witness of the massacres, narrates the events leading to the bloodshed as follows;

“It is not surprising that among people who for thirty years had not been allowed to use the word liberty, the very nature of the liberty suddenly awarded them should be misunderstood. ... Some of the more harebrained Armenians took advantage of the opportunity to urge on their compatriots the reestablishment of the ancient kingdom of Armenia, with its capital at the ancient city of Sis. This revolutionary feeling was especially strong in the

region of Adana and Aintab, it showed itself in such an aggravated form- in the insistence of the students on carrying firearms into the classrooms- that finally the college had to be cleared of these students by Government troops, at the request of the missionaries in charge, and was temporarily closed. Throughout the region, Armenians were arming themselves, and openly boasting that they were going to reestablish their kingdom. Incensed at this, the Turks were with some difficulty held back from attacking these men. For some weeks the situation apparently improved; but when Abd-ul-Hamid made his desperate effort to regain his power, by letting loose the fanaticism of his Moslem subjects, the crisis offered the best opportunity for displaying the spirit of the green flag, and the Sultan sent word to Adana to kill. The evident intention of the orders and of those who carried them out was to exterminate the male population of Armenians. In several villages this was actually accomplished” (June 1909: 444, 445).

Another missionary’s investigations carried right after the events also gives the number of 20.000 to 25.000 Armenians being killed in the Adana and Tarsus region, with all towns being destroyed. The report also holds the certain information that the Turkish army was partly involved in the mobs and that there is no certain proof but strong suspicion that Sultan Abdulhamid himself gave the order of the massacre (January 1910: 67).

The following couple of years of the journal publish many –mostly positive- articles on the Young Turk government and the results of their infamous revolution. However the raising worrisome atmosphere among the

minorities and missionaries with the Ottoman defeat in the Balkan Wars, reached its highest point when the Ottoman Empire allied with Germany in World War I:

“... letters from Asia Minor describe an attitude on the parts of the Turks in authority that looks very threatening towards Christians of any race aside from the Germans. Many Greeks, Armenians, and Protestants are in terror because of threats and daily outrages. Greeks in one city were imprisoned simply for using the Greek language. Pictures of bloody massacres and outrage are posted in Turkish classrooms” (April 1915: 323).

Around the same time the previous passage was published, the deportation order for the Armenians in Anatolia was already being executed (Dündar, 2010: 276). While the issue in August 1915 reports some events in Anatolia, a month later, more detailed information begin to appear on the first pages of the journal:

“... both Armenians and Greeks, the two native Christian races of Turkey, are being systematically uprooted from their homes *en masse* and driven forth summarily to distant provinces, where they are scattered in small groups among Turkish villages and given the choice between the immediate acceptance of Islam or death by the sword or starvation. Their homes and property meanwhile are being immediately taken possession of by their Turkish neighbors or by immigrants from Macedonia. Through the Vilayets of Erzerum, Van, Bitlis, Diarbekir, Harput, Sivas and Adana the Armenians have been pitilessly evicted by tens of thousands and driven off to die in the

dessert near Konia or Upper Mesopotamia or the Iberian desert. These figures do not include thousands massacred by the Kurds or hanged without trial by the Turkish authorities all over Armenia. Greeks are faring little better except that they are not being massacred” (September 1915: 2).

The articles and passages found on the second half of 1915 and of 1916, largely mentions the deportations and massacres happening in Anatolia, mostly through the missionaries located in the Eastern stations, who were first hand witnesses and sometimes actors of the events. As their school or hospital buildings were either claimed by the Turkish military to be used as bases, or sheltered Armenian refugees, mostly orphan children, American missionaries were right in the middle of it all. The situation in Van was narrated in details after a year. According to this narration, in April 2015, 2500 people of the largest village of Van were called to the government center and shot down as a clear execution of the government’s extermination policy. After this event the Armenians of Van organized themselves for self-defense. Following, the Russian troops came into the city and Armenians claimed the land for a while. During this time the American school took in Muslim refugees who were the families of the fleeing Turkish soldiers. The American mission in Van came to an end when the Russian army had to evacuate the district later the same year, and so the missionaries left with the Armenians for a long on foot journey through the mountains to reach Tiflis (March 1916: 174-180).

One striking situation during the deportations were the position of the Armenian soldiers in the Ottoman Army. It was reported in the March 1915 issue of the journal that all men from the ages of 24 to 45, Christians and Muslims, were called to the army at once (1915: 230). Considering the possible delays in communication between Turkey and United States during a period of war, this passage was probably mentioning the general mobilization that was applied through the end of 1914, recruiting hundreds of thousands men, including the Armenians to the army (Aktar, 2015: 35).September 1915 reports the following sentences;

“Christian male population of Marash are to be called as soldiers and their families then deported, the first levy having already been made. This is regarded as a plan for breaking down the Christian population without bloodshed and with the color of legality” (1915: 710).

Being a recent topic of discussion through the story of Sarkis Torosyan who was a successful Armenian captain in the Ottoman army, however left his troop and went over to the Arab side and started fighting against the Ottomans when he found out that most of his family were annihilated through deportations in Anatolia (Aktar, 2012); Armenian soldiers serving in the Ottoman army while their families were sent to death marches was also reported in the volume 1916 of the MRW.

“The men of the families of many of the exiles are still serving in the Turkish army” (July 1916: 484).

While the families of the Armenian soldiers were facing the horrible consequences of deportations, the news coming from the missionaries were reporting similar scenes from the Ottoman army;

“Since the present war broke out, the Armenians have not given, so far as I can learn, any just case for the ill-treatment they have received. They responded to the government’s call to arms as obediently as any other class, and discharged their duties faithfully. But the most unreasonable and exhausting levies were made upon them for feeding, clothing and equipping the army. Armenian soldiers were also discriminated against by their officers and were inadequately provided with food and clothing. They were told that they must obtain their own food from their homes, tho their children were starving. Soon their arms were taken away from them and they were treated as slaves. Not infrequently soldiers were taken from the ranks and shot, no better reason being assigned than that ‘they might try to desert’ (March 1916: 176).

As Ayhan Aktar emphasizes, the existence of the Armenian or Jewish soldiers in the Ottoman army, fighting for the land and taking part in the victory, does not fit well with the Turkification attempt of the wars and victories (2015: 37). Additionally, stories of Armenian traitors both among soldiers and civilians were much needed in order to justify the Armenian holocaust and nourish the heavily nationalist discourse of the Young Turk government and its successors.

A missionary eye witness to several massacres of 19th century Eastern Turkey, narrates his analyses of the land and the missionary effect on its tragic

events in the March 1916 issue of the monthly. He puts forward that when the missionaries began their work in Turkey a century ago, Armenian people were poor, ignorant and heavily oppressed by the Moslem ruling class, making them an easy to govern population. Missionaries brought the Bible to them in spoken language and educated them through mission schools. The education they received created higher demands which the ruling class refused to offer. Inevitably a rebellious spirit aroused and certain revolutionary movements emerged although not encouraged by the missionaries. Sultan Abdulhamid was determined to get rid of the Armenians but it was too great of a task and he only partly took action. 1908 revolution and the Young Turks flourished hope among the Non-Muslim Ottoman population however instead it brought an extermination act towards the Armenian race. The article continues as follows:

“Were the Armenians responsible for such persecution? Have they been justified in the revolutionary measures which they have adopted? If the Armenians had remained in the condition of apathetic ignorance, which prevailed when the American missionaries began their work among them, these massacres would probably not have occurred. But when education had aroused the nation, this apathy could not continue, and it was inevitable that some effort to obtain relief should come. Opinions may differ as to whether their movements took the wisest form. ... Certainly a race oppressed and outraged as the Armenians were had a right to seek relief. It is equally certain that the Turks might have transformed discontented revolutionists into loyal

and useful citizens. No reasonable excuse can be framed for the Turkish government, for failing to do this” (March 1916: 175).

The alliance between the Turkish government and Germany continued to exist in their approach to the Armenian matter; a German missionary in Turkey writes: “Before the explosion of the bomb the Turks spoke well of the Armenians, and I am thoroughly convinced nothing would have happened to them had the Armenians not let themselves be persuaded by the enemies of Turkey to revolt against their own government.” The editors of the monthly criticize this comment by repeating and underlining the fact that there is no excuse for causing such suffering to women and children as well as pointing out the responsibility of the Turks for the unwanted behavior of Armenians (April 1916: 305). However clearly, the mindset of the Young Turk government and its leaders were somewhat completely different;

“More than half a million Armenians had been killed, outside of the army, and that Talaat Bey boasts of it even to the American Ambassador. He cynically and shamelessly declares that he means to get rid of the Armenian question by getting rid of the Armenians” (February 1916: 148).

A passage from 1917, explains how the missionaries read the attitude of the Turkish government towards Armenians;

“It was not religious fanaticism that led the present rulers of Turkey to seek to root out Christianity. So far from being fanatics most of these men, though nominally Mohammedans, have no religion whatever. Their aim was

political. They wanted to make the whole Turkish Empire Mohammedan in order to make it uniform, with only one creed and no differences between one class of subjects and another” (April 1917: 268).

In order to reach this aim, the Young Turk government followed certain policies one of which was education. A passage from 1916, reveals the extent of the hatred discourse that were transferring to youngsters through schools. *“Let us wipe these dirty spots off our clothes, let us swim up to our necks in their blood. Revenge, revenge, revenge”* was a regular chant sang by the Turkish students in most schools in the early 20th century;

“During the past two years I have not seen a single Turkish school-room whose walls were unpolluted by such scenes of degradation. But in the pictures it is always Christians killing, slaying, outraging Moslem, and underneath there is always some sentiment, some little verse with a serpent’s sting, awakening in the reader hatred and the spirit of revenge” (September 1916: 667).

The government policies that the Non-Muslim populations and specifically Armenians were exposed to in late 19th and early 20th defines the final era of the Ottoman Empire as a land of severe oppression and massacres. The extermination policies of Abdulhamid II, starting in early 1890’s, were followed by the Young Turk government in 1915, who were originally claiming to build a peaceful land for all peoples to live in. However what they ended up with was a mutilated people on one hand and an infected people on the other.

“We Turks were ordered to kill all Armenians but we did not finish the job. The result is that there are many thousands left. Our motto is “No Armenian shall be left alive, no Christian shall remain in Turkey” (October 1922: 843).

The passage above cited through a dialog between a Danish missionary and a Turkish man in 1922, can be read as a summary of the newly forming Republic of Turkey, carrying and transferring this discourse of hatred for many years to come. As the focus of the study was until 1922, further articles concerning the Republic of Turkey was not a part of this study. However strong traces of the ideological background of the early years of the Republic of Turkey can already be located in many extracts of MRW until 1922. As Zürcher states that, in order to understand the Kemalist policies of the Republic of Turkey, we need to look at the final years of the Ottoman Empire and see their shared past; both the *material circumstances* and the *ideological toolkit* available to the Kemalist regime was available in the period of 1908 to 1922 (2010: 136).

Women and Gender Dimension

There are around twenty extracts in the *Missionary Review of the World* that refers to the women and gender dimension of the empire between the years 1882 and 1922. American missionaries in Turkey have paid special interest especially to the education of women in the region and they started several girl's schools and colleges. Therefore the topic of gender dimension is closely tied to education. Besides the juridical reforms of the late 19th century, the real shift in the country happened in the educational scope, with first high schools and medical schools opening for girls (Denman, 2009: 37). In 1888 the journal highlights the fact that 80 years ago it was forbidden for women to get an education in the Ottoman Empire, while now the Sultan was encouraging women's education, opening girls' schools himself. The missionaries attribute this change of approach to the impact of Christianity in the country (March 1888: 231).

The gem of the women's education in the empire was clearly the American College for Girls, founded in 1875 and started operating as a college in 1890 with the remarkable effort of its famous principle Mary Mills Patrick. As a modern and Western institute directly funded by the American Board and closely watched both by the Board and the Turkish Government, the school was designed to address to students from all ethnic groups and religions of the Ottoman Empire and achieved its purpose of doing so (Jenkins, 2008: 11).

The Young Turk revolution of 1908 was welcomed as a time of *honeymoon* in the mission schools of Turkey, especially in the American College for Girls, as now Turkish girls were free to enroll into foreign school. Turkish mothers were at the doorstep of the College, the very next day following the new constitution. The Young Turk government was also very helpful in allowing school supplies getting through customs and reaching the school during this new era (Jenkins, 2008). In 1910, 26 new Muslim girls were enrolled in the school, 5 of them being supported directly by the Turkish Government. The school was also one of the few institutions that received large financial support and bureaucratic help from the business world and the government (May 1910: 389). By 1917, there were 63 Turkish girls studying in the American College for Girls, 14 being supported by the government to be teachers as they graduate (January 1917: 74). The first Turkish woman graduate of the college was Halide Edip *Adıvar*. During the times she studied at the college, Muslim girls were not allowed to attend foreign schools. However, despite the government forcing her to quit, Halide Edip graduated from the American College for Girls with distinguish success in 1901 (Jenkins, 2008: 135).

Halide Edip already had a career by the time she graduated from the college, however with the freedom of press after the revolution, she became one of the most popular writers for newspapers and journals (June 1909: 472). The revolution has brought a new life to Halide, releasing her from the government

oppression and breaking free her pen. She wrote many critical papers on education of women, ill treatment of the government to the minorities in the country, as well as teaching at a school, writing to several newspapers and working at multiple associations. From June 1908 to April 1909, there was no woman in the world, happier or busier than Halide and a very few had the power of influence in her hands as she did (Jenkins, 2008: 152).

November 1910 issue of the monthly shares an extract on the changing status of the women in the empire, as a part of the ‘spirit of the times’, claiming that it really is the result of the Christian propaganda that has been going on. The same extract mentions that Turkish women had an important role in provoking and helping with the revolution and did everything they could (November 1910: 869). In 1914, the Young Turk government decides to admit women to universities where *a special course of lectures on hygiene, domestic economy, and the rights of women would be delivered for their benefit* (April 1914: 320). The 1922 October issue announces the freedom that the Turkish women is claiming, insisting on being the only wife, taking part in the business world, working at stores or as translators in newspapers, banks and governmental departments (October 1922: 830).

“In Turkey, the veil is being laid aside freely and a woman, Halideh Edib Hanoum, is said to exert the most powerful influence next to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. She is a writer, educator and soldier and is leading her sisters out bondage.” (December 1922: 936).

The Kemalist regime that was next in line, was going to adopt the ‘progressive male’ mindset of the Young Turks for the salvation of the women as an important element of the modernist state tradition (Durakbaşı, 2000: 119).

Finance and Fund Raising

Many passages in MRW states the importance and greatness of the mission in the Turkish Empire, also mentioning that the largest budget the ABCFM was distributing was also for these lands;

“The Turkish Empire is largely given up to the care of the American Board, and constitutes its most important mission. ... It receives one third of all money received; it contributes one third of all money given on mission ground” (March 1892: 232).

Besides the regular budget that was directed to the mission stations by the ABCFM of New York, the primary aim of budgeting for both the Board and the missionaries on field was to make the stations self-supported as soon as possible. Industrial self-funding, which was one of the four evangelization methods the missionaries used can also be considered under this topic. In a passage by Miss Wheeler of a mission station in Turkey, it is stated that the issue of self-funding is crucially important and must be thought at schools, mentioning orphans collecting bread for the poorer people than themselves (September: 688).

By the year of 1908, most churches in Turkey were reported as self-supporting (April: 318). Colleges in larger cities on the other hand, while receiving money from ABCFM for a start, most of them were able to self-support themselves in a short period of time. During the first years of the College the first principle Cyrus Hamlin had to make a couple of visits back to

United States in order to raise money for the school (Hamlin: 2011). However gaining its reputation in coming years, the college managed to raise its tuition fee even during war time and still kept registering more students every year (Washburn: 2011).

ABCFM budget and local self-funds were not the only source of money for the American missions. Most schools received random donations from philanthropists and prominent names of the country. For instance in 1910, Kennedy left 1.500.000 to Robert College in Istanbul, 50.000 to Anatolian College in Merzifon and 25.000 to American College in Smyrna. Also through the MRW monthly, passages were frequently published for necessary funds and relief work in mission stations, targeting to raise money from church communities in the United States. Especially fund raising for relief work on Turkey was an important topic in MRW for long years. From 1895 to 1897, more than 1.000.000 for Armenian relief and orphan-support money was distributed through ABCFM office in Turkey (March 1915: 183). A note in 1916 was emphasizing that, 5.000.000 dollars is the estimated number to save 1.000.000 lives who were suffering from the recent deportations in Turkey (June: 460).

Both the raising need for more funds in the environment of extreme poverty of war and deportations in Anatolia and the oppressions of the Young Turk government on mission work, fund raising and distribution got extremely difficult; A correspondent from Istanbul reports in MRW;

“The government will not allow any further work to be planned especially for the Armenians, and insists that any money to be used for relief work must be handled by the Turks themselves. The Armenians must be taught that they have no friends in the world and must bow to the will of their former masters” (January 1916: 67).

The aftermath of war and deportations for both Anatolia and the American missionary work in the region was destructive. As mentioned in the journal, all bread winners were mostly lost in the massacre, deportations, or in the army and the remaining people who were self-supporting once were know in need of serious support and even the funds in Istanbul were exhausted and could not respond anymore (September 1917: 709). However the Relief Committees were still working to raise money for food, clothing and shelter in Anatolia by the end of 1917 (November: 808).

Closing Comments

After a hundred-year of work and around a hundred million dollars of investment in Turkey, by the year 1922, American missionaries were almost completely removed from the country, only a few remaining and some entering for relief work.

“Work for the Christian minorities seems to be at an end. They may not return to Turkey and we may not be able in any large way to follow them in their places of exile. We are carrying on work among the deportees in Caucasus and Syria and Constantinople, but this will be secondary. Our primary object must be, in the future, the winning of the Turks” (September 1917: 709).

Following their journey through the journal of MRW, one can realize that the American missionaries played influential roles during final era of the Ottoman Empire and the early Republic of Turkey. They mark themselves responsible for most things, even the 1915 outrages at some point, discussing that if it wasn't for the education and vision they offered to the Armenians, they wouldn't be involved in activities of revolution that trigger the defensive reflexes of the Turkish government. This attitude, being somewhat naive and arrogant at the same time, it does emphasize the impact of their existence in these lands for over a hundred years.

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Abbreviations:

Dr.: Doctor

Ed.: Editor

Rev: Reverend

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XXIII.	1900	February	151-52	2	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia, The Sultan as an Educator	Presbyterian
XXIII.	1900	February	160	8	General Missionary Intelligence - Elias Riggs the Veteran Missionary	xxx
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XXIII.	1900	May	389-90	5	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia, A new Outrage in Turkey	xxx
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XXIII.	1900	October	788-89	2	Rev. Cyrus Hamlin, D.D., LL.D.	Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin
XXIII.	1900	October	806	2	General Missionary Intelligence - Tokens of Good in Turkey	xxx
XXIII.	1900	November	872-76	2	How Robert Collage Was Built	Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin
XXIII.	1900	December	966-67	2	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - Christian Education in Turkey	xxx
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XXIV.	1901	March	230	1	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia	xxx
XXIV.	1901	April	267	8	Elias Riggs, the Veteran Missionary to Turkey	Rev. Edward Riggs
XXIV.	1901	September	711	2	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - Light Spreading in Turkey	xxx
XXIV.	1901	September	711	5	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - Turkey Makes Payment at Last	xxx
XXIV.	1901	September	711	1	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - Deaconess Homes in Turkey	xxx
XXIV.	1901	October	746-755	1	Christian Forces at Work in the Turkish Empire	Rev. Edward Riggs
XXIV.	1901	November	839-480	1	Christian Forces in the Turkish Empire-II	Rev. Edward Riggs
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XXIV.	1901	December	920-926	1	Christian Forces in the Turkish Empire-III	Rev. Edward Riggs
XXIV.	1901	December	938-939	5	Editorials-The Case of Miss Stone	xxxx
XXV.	1902	January	20-21	8	Are Missions in Turkey Worth While?	Henry O. Dwight, D.D.
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XXV.	1902	April	311-312	2	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - What Robert College Has Done	W. T. Stead
XXV.	1902	June	490	8	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - Encouragement in Asia Minor	Melki Marina
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XXV.	1902	October	789	3	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - Good Cheer from Turkey	Missionary Herald
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XXVI.	1903	July	551	5	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - The Blood Shed by the Turks	xxx
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XXVI.	1903	September	709	2	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - Gospel Light on the Bosphorus	xxx
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XXVI.	1903	October	781-782	5	Editorials - The Turkish Problem	xxx
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XXVII.	1904	March	233	2	General Missionary Intelligence - Girls College at Erzurum Baunt	The Outlook
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XXVII.	1904	July	550	5	General Missionary Intelligence - Asia - More of the Armenians Massacred	Christian Work
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XXIX.	1906	October	776	1, 2, 3, 5	Fifty Years' Progress in Harput	Rev. Dr. H. N. Bannum
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XXXXVII	1914	February	152	4	World-Wide Missionary News - The New Turkey	xxx
XXXXVII	1914	February	152	1	World-Wide Missionary News - Mission Progress in Turkey	Baptist Missionary Review
XXXXVII	1914	March	176	1	The Fulness of Time in the Moslem World	Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer
XXXXVII	1914	March	177	1	The Fulness of Time in the Moslem World	Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer
XXXXVIII	1914	March	178	1	The Fulness of Time in the Moslem World	Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer

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XXXXVII.	1914	March	183	3	The Fulness of Time in the Moslem World	Rev. Samuel M. Zwemer
XXXXVII.	1914	March	188	5	The Making of a Nation - The Rise of Albania and the Present Opportunity	Rev. C. Telford Erickson
XXXXVII.	1914	March	188	5	The Making of a Nation - A Remarkable Opportunity	Rev. C. Telford Erickson
XXXXVII.	1914	March	229	5	World-Wide Missionary News - Balkan Ideas of Religious Liberty	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	April	279	4	A Twice Born Turk - Part VII - Spiritual Backsliding	Translated by Arthur T.
XXXXVII.	1914	April	320	6	World-Wide Missionary News - From Harem to College	The Daily Telegraph
XXXXVII.	1914	April	318	8	World-Wide Missionary News - Obituary	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	May	388	3	World-Wide Missionary News - The Hospital at Urfa	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	May	398	8	Books on Missions and Mission Lands - With the Turks in Thrace by Elishahmend-Bartlett	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	June	404	4	Signs of the Times - The Outlook in Turkey	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	June	405	4	Signs of the Times - Popular Edition of the Koran	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	June	464	2	World-Wide Missionary News - Moslem Lands; Robert Wilder at Robert College	The Orient
XXXXVII.	1914	July	502	2	The Christian Message to Mohammedans - Riza Bey and a Missionary	Rev. George D. Herrick
XXXXVII.	1914	July	546	1	World-Wide Missionary News - Moslem Lands. The Bible Among Turkish Moslems	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	July	546	2	World-Wide Missionary News - Moslem Lands. Y.M.C.A. in Constantinople	Secretary in Constantinople
XXXXVII.	1914	July	552	3	World-Wide Missionary News - America. An Armenian's Bequests	Congregationalist
XXXXVII.	1914	August	564	2	Signs of the Times - Education for Girls in Turkey	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	August	565	3	Signs of the Times - United Evangelism in Constantinople	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	August	619	3	Department of Best Methods - All About Dolls	Belle M. Brian (Ed.)
XXXXVII.	1914	August	629	2	World-Wide Missionary News - Teachers Needed in Turkey	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	August	630	4	World-Wide Missionary News - Chaos in European Turkey'	xxx
XXXXVII.	1914	September	707	2, 4, 5	World-Wide Missionary News - New Status of Armenians	Congregationalist
XXXXVII.	1914	October	727	2	Constantinople College and the Women of the Near East	Mary Mills Patrick
XXXXVII.	1914	October	759	2	The Future of Mesopotamia - Signs of Progress in Turkish Arabia	Arthur K. Bennett
XXXXVII.	1914	October	782	6	World-Wide Missionary News - Turkish Women	The Orient
XXXXVII.	1914	November	801	4	Signs of the Times - The Influence of the War on Missions	xxx

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XXXXVII	1914	November	846	7	Practical Effects of the War on Missions - Work of American Societies	xxx
XXXXVII	1914	November	847	2	Practical Effects of the War on Missions - Work of American Societies	xxx
XXXXVII	1914	December	882	4	Signs of the Times - Turkey's Crises	xxx
XXXXVII	1914	December	903-908	5	What About the Turkish Capitulations and Missions?	George R. Montgomery
XXXXVII	1914	December	917	6	Bahaism and the Woman Question	Rev. Samuel G. Wilson
XXXXVII	1914	December	922	1	Turkish and Other Muslim Territory Now Involved in the World War	xxx
XXXXVII	1914	December	927	5	More About the War and Foreign Missions	xxx
XXXXVII	1914	December	947	3	World-Wide Missionary News - The Disintegration of Turkey	xxx
XXXXVII	1914	December	948	3	World-Wide Missionary News - American Interests in Turkey	xxx
XXXXVII	1914	December	949	2	World-Wide Missionary News - Gregorian Sunday-Schools in Turkey	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	January	2	5	Signs of the Times - Moslem Lands	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	January	3	5	Signs of the Times - The Association Movement in Turkey	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	January	13	5	Some Missionary Aspects of the Year 1914 - Interest in Mohammedans	Rev. Robert E. Speer
XXXXVIII	1915	January	26	5	Missions and Militarism	William C. Allen
XXXXVIII	1915	January	60	5	Editorials - Continental Mission Statistics	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	January	67	2	World-Wide Missionary News- Moslem Lands - Missionaries Safe In Turkey	Congregationalist
XXXXVIII	1915	March	183	7	A Key Man at Constantinople - William W. Peet, Treasurer of American Missions in Tr.	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	March	184	2	Euphrates College and Erzurum Girls's Mission School Photos	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	March	185-190	3, 4, 5	The War and Missions in Turkey	Rev. James L. Barton
XXXXVIII	1915	March	230	4	World-Wide Missionary News- Mobilization In Turkey	Missionary Letters
XXXXVIII	1915	March	235	2	World-Wide Missionary News- Africa - Egypt No Longer Turkish	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	April	245	5	Signs of the Times - Closing In On Turkey	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	April	306	3	World-Wide Missionary News- Mission Hospital Used by Turks	Missionary Herald
XXXXVIII	1915	April	307	2	World-Wide Missionary News- Schools for the Deaf in Turkey - Central Turkey College	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	April	323	5	Signs of the Times - Missionary Perils In Turkey	xxx
XXXXVIII	1915	April	324	2	Signs of the Times - Mission Schools In Turkey	xxx

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XXXVIII	1915	June	479	8	Books on Missions and Mission Lands - The Real Turk bu Stanwood Cobb	xxx
XXXVIII	1915	July	548	1	World-Wide Missionary News- Misery in Central Turkey	Mrs. John E. Merrill
XXXVIII	1915	August	562	5	Signs of the Times - In Turkish Battle Fields	xxx
XXXVIII	1915	August	624	5	World-Wide Missionary News- Mission Buildings Seized by Turks	Missionary Herald
XXXVIII	1915	September	709	5	World-Wide Missionary News- Turks Persecuting Native Christians	xxx
XXXVIII	1915	September	710	5	World-Wide Missionary News- Turkish Attacks on Christians	xxx
XXXVIII	1915	October	766	1, 5	Turkey and Islam	Rev. H. U. Webbecht
XXXVIII	1915	November	837	5	The Assassination of Armenia - The Turkish Program of Annihilation	Anonymous Eye-witness
XXXVIII	1915	December	947	5	World-Wide Missionary News- Later News from Turkey - A Missionary Heroine	xxx
XXXVIII	1915	December	958	8	World-Wide Missionary News- Missionary Deaths in Turkey	xxx
XXXIX	1916	January	67-68	5, 7	World-Wide Missionary News - Moslem Lands	xxx
XXXIX	1916	February	147	2	World-Wide Missionary News - Turkish Educational Laws Modified	xxx
XXXIX	1916	February	148	2	World-Wide Missionary News - Threats Against Robert College	xxx
XXXIX	1916	March	169-180	5	Thrilling Experiences in Van	Anonymous Eye-witness
XXXIX	1916	April	304	1, 5	World-Wide Missionary News - American Missionaries in Turkey - German View of the Armenian Problem	Dr. James L. Barton
XXXIX	1916	April	305	5	World-Wide Missionary News - Latest News of the Armenians	xxx
XXXIX	1916	May	388	5	World-Wide Missionary News - Amb. Morgenthau's Tribute - Armenians Under Persecution	xxx
XXXIX	1916	June	402	2, 5	Signs of the Times - Missions and War in Turkey	xxx
XXXIX	1916	June	460	7	Editorials - Five Million For Relief	xxx
XXXIX	1916	June	477	8	Books on Missions and Mission Lands - Modern Movements Among Moslems	xxx
XXXIX	1916	July	483	5	Signs of the Times - Recent Reports From Turkey	xxx
XXXIX	1916	July	548	5	World-Wide Missionary News - An Armenian's Hope	Record of Christian Work
XXXIX	1916	July	549	5	World-Wide Missionary News - American Schools not Closed - Awful Scenes in Erzurum	xxx
XXXIX	1916	August	563	2, 5	Signs of the Times - The Turks and American Missions	xxx
XXXIX	1916	August	625	5	World-Wide Missionary News - The Future of the Armenians	xxx
XXXIX	1916	September	668-674	2	The Revenge of Love in Turkey	S. Ralph Harlow

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XXXIX.	1916	September	709	2	World-Wide Missionary News - Graduates of Robert College	xxx
XXXIX.	1916	October	737-745	1, 5	Is the Turk Worth Saving?	Anonymous missionary
XXXIX.	1916	December	885	4	Signs of the Times - The Revolt of Moslems	xxx
XXXIX.	1916	December	914	1	3 maps of the Ottoman Empire	xxx
XXXIX.	1916	December	915-925	8	The Turkey of To-morrow	Anonymous missionary
XXXIX.	1916	December	948	7	News From Many Lands - Reconstruction Plans in Turkey	xxx
XXXIX.	1916	December	949	7	News From Many Lands - Misery in Armenia	xxx
XL.	1917	January	74	2	News From Many Lands - Constantinople College for Girls	xxx
XL.	1917	January	74	5	News From Many Lands - New Opening in Asia Minor	xxx
XL.	1917	February	149	2	News From Many Lands - Student Volunteers in Turkey	xxx
XL.	1917	February	149	5	News From Many Lands - Action Against the Armenian Patriarch	xxx
XL.	1917	February	150	5	News From Many Lands - Armenian Need Increasing	xxx
XL.	1917	February	182	1	A Woman's Escape From Turkey	xxx
XL.	1917	April	242	8	The War and Relief in Turkey	xxx
XL.	1917	April	268	5	The Armenian Situation	Lord Bryce
XL.	1917	April	308	5	News From Many Lands - Safety of Turkey Missionaries	xxx
XL.	1917	April	308	5	News From Many Lands - Bulletins from Turkey	xxx
XL.	1917	May	400	5	The Missionary Library - The Treatment of Armenians	xxx
XL.	1917	May	408	5	Missions and Relief in Turkey	xxx
XL.	1917	July	477	5	News From Many Lands - Status of Missionaries in Turkey	xxx
XL.	1917	July	520	1, 2, 5	What of the Night in Armenia	George White
XL.	1917	July	545	8	News From Many Lands - Americans Appreciated in Turkey	xxx
XL.	1917	July	545	2	News From Many Lands - Russian Students in Turkey	xxx
XL.	1917	July	545	2	News From Many Lands - Robert College - Past and Future	Congregationalist
XL.	1917	August	625	5	News From Many Lands - Armenian Relief Continues	xxx
XL.	1917	September	709	5, 7	News From Many Lands - Continued Appeals for Turkey	xxx

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XL	1917	October	785	5	News From Many Lands - Armenian Gratitude	xxx
XL	1917	November	808	5, 7	The Rescue Of Armenia	xxx
XL	1917	November	868	1	News From Many Lands - The Shrieking Turkish Empire	xxx
XL	1917	November	869	2	News From Many Lands - Constantinople College Closes On	xxx
XL	1918	January	11	4	Looking Through the War Clouds	Robert E. Speer
XL	1918	February	151	5	News From Many Lands - Africa, A Great Future for Egypt	Dr. Charles R. Watson
XL	1918	March	230-231	8	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, Turkish Propaganda in Persia	The Near East
XL	1918	April	308	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, Turkish Testimony to Mission Schools	xxx
XL	1918	May	386	3	Signs of the Times - A Call for Missionaries for Turkey	xxx
XL	1918	May	386	5	Signs of the Times - What Remains of Van Mission	The Missionary Herald
XL	1918	May	400	3	The Missionary Library - An American Physician in Turkey	Clarence D. Usher, Grace H. Knapp
XL	1918	June	474-475	4	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, Why Not War with Turkey	xxx
XL	1918	June	475	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, American College Relief Work	xxx
XL	1918	July	490-496	2	Ten million Dollars For Relief	James L. Barton
XL	1918	July	497	5	Glimpses of Relief Work in Turkey	Mary W. Riggs
XL	1918	July	549	8	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, Who is to Make Over Turkey	The Missionary Herald
XL	1918	July	549	2, 6	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, To Train Women in Turkey	xxx
XL	1918	August	625	3	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, News of Turkey Missionaries	xxx
XL	1918	August	624	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, Anatolia College After War	xxx
XL	1918	August	625	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, A German on Mission in Turkey	Dr. Julius Richter
XL	1918	October	724-725	4	Signs of the Times, Turkey and Pan-Turanism	xxx
XL	1918	November	868	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands, Turkey Proposes an Armenian Republic	xxx
XL	1918	December	882-883	4	Signs of the Times - After the War - What?	xxx
XLII	1919	January	4	1, 5	Signs of the Times - The Readjustments in Turkey	xxx
XLIII	1919	February	84-85	3	Signs of the Times - The Missionaries to Rejuvenate Turkey	xxx

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XLIH.	1919	March	229	3	News from Many Lands - Fifteen New Hospitals for Turkey	xxx
XLIH.	1919	June	472	5	News from Many Lands - Turkish Governor Hung for Armenian Massacres	xxx
XLIH.	1919	July	546-547	5	News from Many Lands - Turks Throw Women Out to Starve	xxx
XLIH.	1919	August	623	2	News from Many Lands - Mental and Spiritual Reconstruction in Turkey	Congregationalist
XLIH.	1919	September	707	5	News from Many Lands - Turkey Convinces its War Leaders	xxx
XLIH.	1919	September	708	3	News from Many Lands - A Christian Paper for the Turks	xxx
XLIH.	1919	December	949-952	8	A Red Crescent Nurse in Turkey	Isabel Trowbridge Merrill
XLIH.	1920	January	8	6	Sings of the Times - The Changing Mohammedan World	xxx
XLIH.	1920	January	18	1	The Challenge of the World's Needs	xxx
XLIH.	1920	January	21	5	The Missionary Outlook in Asia Minor	Rev. James L. Barton
XLIH.	1920	January	26	2	The Missionary Outlook in Asia Minor - Mohammedans in Asia Minor	xxx
XLIH.	1920	January	72	2	News From Many Lands - Constantinople During the War	xxx
XLIH.	1920	January	73	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Sunday Schools in Asia Minor	xxx
XLIH.	1920	February	148	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - A Missionary in Bonds	xxx
XLIH.	1920	April	244	5	Signs of the Times - Turkish Atrocities and Christian Forbearance	xxx
XLIH.	1920	April	307	4	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Turkey Loses Dardanelles	xxx
XLIH.	1920	April	307	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - The Year at Gedik Pasha School	The Orient
XLIH.	1920	April	307	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Training Center in Smyrna	xxx
XLIH.	1920	April	307	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Sartorial Service for Orphans	xxx
XLIH.	1920	April	316	8	Obituaries - Dr. Reynolds of Turkey	xxx
XLIH.	1920	May	321	4	Turkey in Turmoil	xxx
XLIH.	1920	May	353	3	Saving the Children of Moslem Lands	Stephan Van R. Trowbridge
XLIH.	1920	May	357	2	Saving the Children of Moslem Lands - Sunday School Membership	Stephan Van R. Trowbridge
XLIH.	1920	May	394	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Work Resumed at Marsovan	xxx
XLIH.	1920	May	398	8	News From Many Lands - Obituary Notes - Mrs. George F. Herrick of Turkey	xxx

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XLIII.	1920	June	560	3	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Bible Distribution in Turkey	Anonymous
XLIII.	1920	June	560	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Student Volunteers of Constantinople	Occident and Orient
XLIII.	1920	July	582	8	Mission and Politics in Armenia	xxx
XLIII.	1920	July	645	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Committee of Cooperation in Near East	xxx
XLIII.	1920	July	646	3	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - First Turkish Protestant Church	xxx
XLIII.	1920	July	646	3	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Christian Endeavor in Turkey	C. E. World
XLIII.	1920	August	740	3	News From Many Lands - Obituary Notes - Mrs. Shepard of Ainab	xxx
XLIII.	1920	September	828	7	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Stirrups From Church Bells	xxx
XLIII.	1920	October	885	8	Turkish Ideas of God	President George E. White
XLIII.	1920	October	905	2	Some Things Our Missionaries Need - In the Center of Asia Minor	Maby W. Riggs
XLIII.	1920	October	923	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Reconstruction Delayed in Turkey	xxx
XLIII.	1920	October	924	8	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Bolshevism in Asia Minor	xxx
XLIII.	1920	December	1074	2	Constantinople College for Women	Eveline A. Thompson
XLIV.	1921	January	34	2	A liberating force in Turkey	Rev. James L. Barton
XLIV.	1921	January	72	3	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Transfer of Mardin Mission	Missionary Herald
XLIV.	1921	January	72	2	News from Many Lands - American Boys' Orphanage	The Orient
XLIV.	1921	January	72	3	News from Many Lands - Takas Hospital Destroyed	Missionary Herald
XLIV.	1921	January	78	8	Obituaries - Mrs. W. W. Peet of Turkey	xxx
XLIV.	1921	February	103	1	The New Near East - Foundation of National Life	xxx
XLIV.	1921	February	107	5, 1	The Turkish Treaty and Missions - Changes in the Near East Resulting from the War and Their Influence upon Christian Missions	S. W. Boggs
XLIV.	1921	February	108	4, 5	The Turkish Treaty and Missions - The Treaty and Political Changes	S. W. Boggs
XLIV.	1921	February	110	1, 5	The Turkish Treaty and Missions - New Territorial Divisions	S. W. Boggs
XLIV.	1921	February	113	1	The Turkish Treaty and Missions - New Highway Constructed	S. W. Boggs
XLIV.	1921	February	115	5	The Turkish Treaty and Missions - Immediate Relief for Armenians Needed	S. W. Boggs
XLIV.	1921	February	155-156	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - America Educating Armenians	xxx

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XLI.V.	1921	May	412	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - "Y" Adopted by Turks	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	May	412	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Talat Pasha Assassinated	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	May	412	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Nicomedia Church Dedicated	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	June	489	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - The Y.M.C.A in Turkey	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	July	513	2	Editorial Comment - A Student Christian Conference at Smyrna	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	July	571	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - The Marcin Mission	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	August	590	5	Editorial Comment - 'Will Armenia Be Saved?'	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	September	729	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - A Turkish Orthodox Church	The Orient
XLI.V.	1921	September	736	8	News From Many Lands - Obituary Notes - A Christian Consul in Turkey	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	October	755	8	Re-Alignment in Asia Minor	Rev. John E. Merrill
XLI.V.	1921	October	758	1	Re-Alignment in Asia Minor - II Moslem Dissatisfaction	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	October	814	2	News From Many Lands - Europe - Russian Girls in Constantinople	xxx
XLI.V.	1921	November	890	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Moslem Student Perplexities	xxx
XLI.V.	1922	January	27	8	Signs of the Times in Moslem Lands	Anonymous
XLI.V.	1922	January	31	5	The Fight for Life in the Near East	William E. Doughty
XLI.V.	1922	February	146	5	News From Many Lands - Armenians Again in Danger	xxx
XLI.V.	1922	February	146	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Missionary Conditions in Turkey	xxx
XLI.V.	1922	March	230	5	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - The New Promises from the Turks	xxx
XLI.V.	1922	May	341	3, 5	Cloud and Sunshine on the The Turkish Horizon	xxx
XLI.V.	1922	June	499	4	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Restoration of Turkish Empire	The Continent
XLI.V.	1922	June	500	2, 3	News From Many Lands - Resuming Work in Aintab	xxx
XLI.V.	1922	June	511	8	The Missionary Library- Turkey - A World Problem of Today	Talcott Williams
XLI.V.	1922	July	522	5	Editorial Comments - Misgovernment in Turkey	xxx
XLI.V.	1922	July	585	2	News From Many Lands - Moslem Lands - Christian Preachers For Turkey	Missionary Herald

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XIV	1922	August	658	5	News From Many Lands - Turks Oppose Y.M.C.A.	The Continent
XIV	1922	October	788-797	2, 3, 5	Forty-three Years in Turkey	College Classmates
XIV	1922	October	830	6	News From Many Lands - The New Woman in Turkey	xxx
XIV	1922	October	830	4	News From Many Lands - Liberal Mohammedans	xxx
XIV	1922	October	843	5	Danish Women's Work	xxx
XIV	1922	November	853	3, 5	America and The Turks	xxx
XIV	1922	November	863	5	Holy Places - Moslem and Christian - Moslem Demands and the Responsibility for Disturbances in the Near East	Rev. S. Ralph Harlow
XIV	1922	December	936	6	Wanted - Christian Women Leaders in Asia	xxx

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