

# MISSIONARY SCHOOLS AND ACTIVITIES IN TURKEY DURING THE TURKISH NATIONAL STRUGGLE

Serdar Sakin\*

## Özet

Eğitim ve öğretim kurumları bir ülkenin siyasi, sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik değişim ve gelişiminde etkili bir yere sahiptir. Bu açıdan eğitim ve öğretim kurumları misyonerlik faaliyetinin en önemli aracı olmuşlardır. Bu bağlamda Türkiye’de açılan yabancı okullar Batı zihniyetinin yerleştirilmeye çalışıldığı kaleler olarak kullanılmıştır.

Bununla birlikte Osmanlı Devleti’nin yıkılmasında etkili olan misyoner okullarına karşı Türkiye, titiz bir yaklaşım tercih etmiştir. Millî bir politika takip ederek bunu kararlı bir biçimde okullara da yansıtmıştır. Özellikle bu okulların varlığı Türkiye’nin menfaatlerine ters düşmemek şartıyla kabul edilmiştir. Ayrıca okulların faaliyetlerinin tamamen kesilmesi yerine Türkiye’nin lehine dönüştürülmeye çalışılmıştır. Esasen Türkiye kendi ilke ve esaslarını uygulamıştır. Böylece kendi topraklarında gerçekleştirilmeye çalışılan zararlı faaliyetleri engelleme yoluna gitmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Misyonerlik, Misyonerlik Okulları, Milli Mücadele, Türkiye, Amerikan Board Teşkilâtı.

## Abstract

Education and teaching institutes have a great influence on the political, social, cultural and economic development and changing of a country. In points of this view, these institutions have been the most important means of missionary work. In this sense foreign schools in Turkey have been used as places where the Western mentality exists.

In addition Turkey’s approach to these schools was very critical as they were effective on the collapse of Ottoman Empire. Turkey followed a nationalistic political line and reflected this behaviour to foreign schools. Existence of these schools was accepted providing that they were not contradictory to the benefits of Turkey. Also the activities of these schools were turned to be an advantage for Turkey. As a conclusion, it was seen that Turkey became determined against the missionary schools, applied her own policy and began to make her presence as a state.

**Keywords:** Missionary Activities, Missionary Schools, Turkish National Struggle, Turkey, American Board.

---

\* Assist. Prof. Dr., Erciyes University Faculty of Letters, Department of History. 38039 Melikgazi Kayseri. serdar.sakin@gmail.com

## INTRODUCTION

The role of educational institutions in determining the future of a country is very important. These institutions also play a significant role in transferring the civilization and culture to the next generations as well as in preparing the citizens for constantly changing life conditions and in development of the country. The influence of education in the change and development of political, social, cultural and economical structure of a society is an unquestionable fact.<sup>1</sup> For the reasons stated above it could be stated that the education has a special place and importance in missionary work. Hence the education has been an indispensable vehicle since it is the most appropriate means of accessing to the young generation, permeating through the societies, and reaching the desired goals and the ideals.<sup>2</sup> Since the schools are the most important institutions for socializing of the people after the family, they particularly have become sine qua non institutions for both commercial and cultural imperialism and also missionary activities.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, it is not possible to consider the educational institutions apart from the missionary activities as the statement will be acknowledged better when the meanings of missionary concepts are correctly analyzed.

19<sup>th</sup> century and the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are the times in which capitalism turned into imperialism and missionary works have been one of the means for this transformation.<sup>4</sup> The 'Mission' concept forming the root of 'missionary' word has been derived from the word of 'missio' which means 'to send' that was derived from Latin word 'mittere'.<sup>5</sup> in its literal meaning it could be interpreted as a "special mission" with a divine and high purposes given to a person, a commission or a community in religious, scientific, or political fields.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore the term of 'mission' has denoted for the meaning of sending the clergy endowed with the authority to preach and govern the Christian belief since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and also it has been used to mean for sending emissaries to a foreign country with commercial and political aims since the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>7</sup>

The concept of missionary means a person who went through a special education process given by the official church organization or any of

---

<sup>1</sup> Ayten Sezer, *Atatürk Döneminde Yabancı Okullar (1923-1938)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1999, p.1.

<sup>2</sup> M. Metin Hülagü, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Misyoner, Ermeni, Terör ve Amerika Dörtgeninde Türkiye", *Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, S. 10 (2001), p.57.

<sup>3</sup> Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, "Bir Misyoner Faaliyeti Olarak Yabancı Okullar", *Devrimci Cumhuriyet'in Eğitim Politikaları*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul 1998, p.31-32.

<sup>4</sup> Kocabaşoğlu; *Anadolu'daki Amerika Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara 2000, p.14.

<sup>5</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, "Bir Misyoner Faaliyeti Olarak Yabancı Okullar", p.29.

<sup>6</sup> İlhan Ayverdi; *Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*, C. 2 (H-N), Kubbealtı Neşriyat, İstanbul 2005, p.2086.

<sup>7</sup> Kocabaşoğlu; *Anadolu'daki Amerika...*, p.13.

Christian congregation in order to spread Christian message and religion especially in non-Christian communities.<sup>8</sup> To reach their goals, missionaries tried to establish the church of their congregation and gather the people around these churches wherever they went. For this purpose, they were active in various regions of the world notably in Asia and Africa.<sup>9</sup>

Missionary activities and their methods of application were not always the same. They adapted their activities according to the conditions of the country they were in. For instance, the Jesuits who were sent in India and China in 17<sup>th</sup> century left their European background and adapted to Asian lifestyle and combine the Christian Philosophy with Asian traditions.<sup>10</sup> Also the head of England Mission Society, Mr. Botingres, completed his education in India, lived with the local people and learned Indian language and Gucerat dialect very well. He had traveled a lot throughout India since 1810 and wrote up some essays.<sup>11</sup>

In 19<sup>th</sup> century, Christian missions failed in the countries which had strong religious traditions such as India, China, Japan and Middle East since they were be able Christianized only 1% - 2% of the population. On the other hand, it should be noted that they were successful in educational and cultural expansionism and commercial interests in the aforementioned countries.<sup>12</sup>

The word of 'missionary' has also been used in broad sense as being sent to the other societies for the purpose of commercial, political and cultural aims as well as an effort to show the right way to the communities which are believed in depravity and deviance.<sup>13</sup>

The missionary activity formed by all these concepts defined is also a kind of tool with its economical, social and cultural dimensions to influence. In the meantime, missionary has become a tool for World Powers' attempts to create economical, social and cultural living space for them in Middle East especially in Turkey.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Bayram Küçükoğlu, *Türk Dünyasında Misyoner Faaliyetleri (Dünü-Bugünü ve Yarını)*, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul 2005.

<sup>9</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Bey; *İslâm Âlemi ve İngiliz Misyonerler*, Yeditepe Yayınları, İstanbul 2007, p.7.

<sup>10</sup> George Edward White; *Bir Amerikan Misyonerinin Merzifon Amerikan Koleji Hatıraları*, çev. Cem Tarık Yüksel, Enderun Kitabevi, İstanbul 1995, p.9.

<sup>11</sup> Ahmet Hamdi Bey; *ibid*, p.37.

<sup>12</sup> White; *ibid*, p.11.

<sup>13</sup> Hülâgü, *ibid*, p.57-58.

<sup>14</sup> Kocabaşoğlu; *Anadolu'daki Amerika...*, p.21. The Catholics in Turkey were usually protected by France, Italy and Austria, the protestants were protected by England, Germany and USA and the Orthodox were protected by Russia. Thus, The Christian minorities were divided by these states for the secret purposes of World Powers. Salahi Ramadan Sonyel; "Büyük Devletlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğunu Parçalama Çabalarında Hıristiyan Azınlıkların Rolü", *Belleten*, S. 195 Ankara (Aralık 1985), p.651-652.

## THE ROLE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

Missionary schools are reflected in scientific literature published in Turkish as one of the most powerful effecting tools of Western Countries to fulfill their imperialist wishes. The imperialist powers had an influence through their schools in the furthest settlements of Turkey even in the villages. As a result of being imposed to anti-Muslim and anti-Turkish thesis, the communities which have lived in peace for ages and developed a lot of values in terms of socio-cultural aspects were provoked and were made hostile to each other by the help of ethnic nationalism.<sup>15</sup> Thus, in reaction to this imperialist provocativeness, the Ottoman Empire was dragged into a tumbledown panorama in which the minorities under the aegis of Western powers could easily revolt wherever and whenever they desired.

The great powers wanted to accelerate the breaking up of Turkey by insulting and humiliating her prestige in international area by the help of missionaries.<sup>16</sup> Hence, Everett P. Wheeler; *we open school, hospital for Christians and Christianity in Turkey; we bring drugs and establish modern medicine and education. The Turkish people may not want us, but they are not the owner of the land*<sup>17</sup> says in his work that is a kind of memory-study titled *The Duty of United States of America to American Citizens in Turkey* revealing his opinion of sovereignty towards Turkey.

The missionaries who had a role in disintegration idea of Turkey used especially educational institutions in their intermediary roles. James L. Barton having a doctorate degree in Theology served as the foreign affairs secretary of American Board for many years which conducted the missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire expressed in his book titled *Daybreak In Turkey (1908)* about the relationships between missionary activities and the schools as follows: *These modern educational institutions in Turkey are very important powers to re-form the people's living, thinking, tradition and habits. West's products and machinery can enter to this part of East through these modern-minded guys in growing ranges. It would be correct to say that the money sent from America to support and establish the American Colleges in Turkey has been exceedingly paid back with its high interest thanks to the growing trade with this country.*<sup>18</sup>

Missionaries taught not only their own history, language and literature to the minorities in Turkey but also they inspired them with liberal and

---

<sup>15</sup> Küçüköğlü, *ibid*, p.91.

<sup>16</sup> Bayram Bayraktar; "Rus General Mayevski'nin Gözlem ve Tespitleri Işığında Büyük Güçler ve Türkiye: Büyük Oyunun Aracı Olarak Ermeni Sorunu", *BAL-TAM Türklük Bilgisi*, S. 5, Eylül 2006, p.44, 51.

<sup>17</sup> İlber Ortaylı; *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisadî ve Sosyal Değişim Makaleler 1*, Turhan Kitabevi, Ankara 2000, p.325.

<sup>18</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Bir Misyoner Faaliyeti Olarak Yabancı Okullar*, p.30-31.

revolutionary ideas. Western Christian World received information from these missionaries about the conditions in Turkey and observed Turkey through the their eyes.<sup>19</sup> According to the Dr. Cyrus Hamlin who was the first president of Robert College which is The Bosphorus University in Istanbul today, a propaganda office was founded in 1870s in London to spread all the news in the foreign countries against the Turks. Any unilateral or unreliable propaganda about any public provokes hostility and hatred that will not be easily resolved in a short time. Hamlin also added the following: *I always pray whenever I get a newspaper providing information about the East: My God, help me not to believe these news.*<sup>20</sup> The power of lobbying activities and advertising has a great importance in introducing a country to the World platform. Missionaries introduced Turkey to the World starting from the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century. As it was stated by Hamlin, this introduction was negative.

A serious and careful education policy has been implemented for many years against the local culture in the missionary schools that is one of the components of the missionary activities spreading negative opinion about Turkey. The policy was based on taking away the local people from their own cultural values and assimilates them in the foreign culture.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk the Founder of Modern Turkey stated that: *these are not schools but the castles under the enemy occupation*<sup>22</sup> and he considered that these missionary schools served as spies during the Turkish National Struggle.<sup>23</sup>

The importance and impact of these schools could be understood from their quantity in Turkey. Uygur Kocabaşoğlu stated in his review about missionary schools in Turkey that the number of primary schools within

---

<sup>19</sup> Sonyel; *ibid.*, p.651.

<sup>20</sup> Sonyel; *ibid.*, p.653-654.

<sup>21</sup> Necmettin Tozlu; *Kültür ve Eğitim Tarihimizde Yabancı Okullar*, Akçağ Yayınları, Ankara 1991, p.282.

<sup>22</sup> Süleyman Kocabaş; *Misyonerlik ve Misyonerler*, Vatan Yayınları, İstanbul 2002, p.169.

<sup>23</sup> Ergün Aybars; *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi I*, Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İzmir 1984, p.304. 17,260 Armenian, 3,802 Greek, 4,796 Turkish, 2,158 Jewish and 173 others, totally 28,189 orphans live in the American orphanages in Anatolia according to American National Archives Statistics in September 1921. 1009 of these adult orphans were employed in industrial workshops. Even they were trained on the subject of industry. 729 of these adult orphans were Armenian, 246 of them Greek, 11 of the Turkish and 23 of them others. *National Archives of Microfilm Publications (NAMP)*; File Number: 867.4016/433, Microcopy No (Mc): T-194, Roll-13, No: 41. Even in that period, 6 American doctors and 16 American nurses were serving in complete full 384 clinics with the capacity of 976 bed. Furthermore, they were regularly treating and checking the patients once in a month. *NAMP*; File Number: 867.4016/433, Microcopy No (Mc): T-194, Roll-13, No: 41. In addition, 137 missionaries were working in Turkey in 1922. Mustafa Numan Malkoç, *Türkiye'de Protestan Misyonerliği, Türkiye'de Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri*, (İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat, 2004), p.173. These information and statistics were the proof of the reason that the foreign schools seemed as spies.

the borders of Turkey was 378 at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the number of students studying in these schools was 14.414. The number of secondary and theological schools was 36 and the number of students was 2,622. The number of colleges was 3, and the number of students studying in these schools was over 500<sup>24</sup>; The colleges became the most popular schools of missionary training activities.<sup>25</sup>

The purpose of the establishment of the colleges reveals their relations and ties with the missionary activities. Indeed, the fundamental purpose of International Izmir College in Kızılçullu had been expressed as to provide “Christian” education. The religious education in this school was obligatory<sup>26</sup> and the prayers were carried out under the administration of an American missionary instructor.<sup>27</sup>

The missionary school<sup>28</sup> was opened in Merzifon in 1883 to train teachers for other missionary schools in Amasya, Tokat, Sivas, Yozgat and Kayseri and started its educational activities under the name of Anatolia

---

<sup>24</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Bir Misyoner Faaliyeti Olarak Yabancı Okullar...*, p.34-35.

<sup>25</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika...*, p.138.

<sup>26</sup> Tozlu, *ibid.*, p.82-83.

<sup>27</sup> Ayhan Öztürk, Özgür Yıldız, *Amerikan Protestan Misyonerlerinin Türkiye'deki Faaliyetleri (1820-1938)*, Arka Oda Yayınları, Kayseri 2007, p.72. Since the harmful activities of the college continued in the period of Republic as well, this condition activated Turkey. The college were closed because of tight control. In spite of that, The Chief of General Staff Fevzi Çakmak stated in his letter to the Prime Ministry dated 28 March 1935 that these schools should be bought by the government in order to prevent them captured by foreigners especially by Italians. *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 16204. Kazım Dirik, The Governor of Izmir, sent a cryptograph to the Prime Ministry. He wrote in this telegraph that his offer to buy Izmir College was discussed by America and they told that they can sell it for 150,000 liras in three installments. Additionally, Kazım Dirik expressed the necessity of buying this college by these words: “No matter whoever it is, but a foreign institution can not be next to our grat armoury.” *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, 18.145.110. Under these conditions, the calculations were made by the Prime Ministry and the current situation was stated by Samet Ağaolu, the Minister of Finance. Accordingly, Ministry of National Defense was able to allocate 40,000 Liras but each installment was 50,000 and totally 3 installments were there. And it was stated that 10.000 Liras payment would be possible to supply by the other Ministiries economizing and adding to the budget of The Ministry of National Defense. In the event of allocating 50,000 Liras for the other two years, Izmir College would be able to be bought. *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 4.4.1935 U. 7789, D. 4759, 7489/33. The purchase of Izmir College for 62,600 Liras by bargaining according to F clause of 46th article of 2490 numbered auction and tender act was approved by the decision of the Council of Ministers dated 1 February 1937. *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 68.

<sup>28</sup> Küçüköğlü, *ibid.*, p.95. Although Merzifon College started education in 1883, Sublime Porte approved it as “American School” in 1889. Küçüköğlü, *ibid.*, p.95-96. A striking feature of Anatolia College at first glance is that it was open to national minorities and Muslim-Turk students. 160 Armenian, 200 Greek, 40 Russian and 25 Turkish students were studying in this schools by the year 1913. Kocabaşoğlu; *Anadolu'daki Amerika...*, p.154.

College on 8 September 1886.<sup>29</sup> The most important feature of this college was that it was open to all students.<sup>30</sup> The main objective of that college was to spread American culture. Because of that, they initially tried to impose their religious understandings among the minorities.<sup>31</sup>

Anatolia College will be a good example for the missionary activities during the Turkish National Struggle. Hence, as pointed out in Russian General Mayevski's reports; Merzifon Anatolia College has been a good application field for the revolution and rebellion thoughts planned in London.<sup>32</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk expressed his opinions for this matter as follows: *After the Mondros Armistice, all Greeks became spoilt with National Greek action. The Greeks in Samsun region desired to found an independent Pontus state as a result of the spiritual support of American organizations in Merzifon and propagandists of Etniki Eterya Association as well as being armed with the help of foreign governments.*<sup>33</sup>

There were 218 registered students in Merzifon Anatolia College in 1920–1921 educational years. Two Muslim Turks (Zeki Ketani and İsmail Şevket) joined to the education staff of the school. Zeki Ketani was killed on the evening of 12 February 1921 while he was going his home after the meeting of College's Ottoman Literature Club of Turkish students. Afterwards, a search in the school was carried out by the armed forces upon the order of Turkish Grand National Assembly.<sup>34</sup> During the search some important documentary were captured and people were arrested. After this event, The Turkish General Staff realized that American educational institutions in Turkey were not beneficial for Turkish nation and also expressed that these shoos filled with Armenian youngsters should not be left as they were.<sup>35</sup> On the same days, an article entitled "*Not a school but a den of mischief*" was published in the newspaper of *Anadolu'da Yenigün*. In this article, it was expressed that a lot of documentary of Pontus organization was captured in the search carried out in the Anatolia College. In addition, the article mentioned that the school was a den of mischief. After that incident, three Greek educational staff members of the school

---

<sup>29</sup> White; *ibid.*, p.124.

<sup>30</sup> White; *ibid.*, p.87-88.

<sup>31</sup> Gülbadi Alan; *Merzifon Amerikan Koleji ve Anadolu'daki Etkileri*, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kayseri 2002, p.200, 327 (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi).

<sup>32</sup> Bayraktar; *ibid.*, p.50.

<sup>33</sup> Mustafa Kemal Atatürk; *Nutuk 1919-1927*, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara 2000, p.424.

<sup>34</sup> White; *ibid.*, p.94. In order to understand National Assembly's perspective to this event look up the following. Serdar Sakin; "TBMM'nin Pontus Meselesi'ne Bakışı ve Çözüm Arayışları (1922)", *Askeri Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, S. 11, Şubat 2008, p.109-120.

<sup>35</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 248/2M.

were executed in August of 1921 with the accusation of preparing a rebellion.<sup>36</sup>

The Turkish National Assembly Government declared in an official writing sent to Amasya District governor (Mutasarrıf) on 15 March 1921 that the college was to be closed. Following the order, American missionaries and their assistants left the Anatolia College campus by the 2 trucks and 6 little carts in the morning of 22 March 1921.<sup>37</sup> There are two important points in this event. The first one is that the activity of missionary schools went to the extremes causing some harm to the country and the second one is that the aforesaid country should take the initiative.

## **TURKEY'S POLICY AGAINST THE MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES**

The missionary schools encouraged the idea of American Mandate as a survival strategy after the World War I in Turkey. At the same time they were effective in the adoption of American Mandate idea by the majority of the local population.<sup>38</sup> Bekir Sami Bey sent a telegraph about his views in this matter to General Mustafa Kemal. In this telegraph, Bekir Sami Bey

---

<sup>36</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu'daki Amerika...*, p.157-158. The following information is important in terms of reflecting the schools' perspective and the Pontus maps. There remained the Question of political matters. In this respect, our attitude toward the Turkish Government had been correct. We always recognized our obligations to the Government in authority, and our American Officials in Constantinople frequently reminded us of our duty to maintain a loyal attitude toward the existing Government and a neutral attitude as between contending parties with a spirit of friendliness for all. Our domineering visitors seemed eager to find some incriminating evidence, something that would implicate or compromise the Americans. This was the strong impression received by one of our number who was held in the President's Office while the search was being continued there. At one time when I was present the General and the Judge compared notes in my Office over two College maps on which they read the word, "Pontus". The maps were printed in Chicago some years ago to illustrate the Roman provinces in the time of Paul. But afterwards Turkish papers published statements to the effect that charts had been found in the College on which was outlined the province of Pontus which revolutionists connected with the College planned should be annexed to the Hellenic kingdom. Pictures taken years ago and showing Greek students in athletic costume were charged to represent soldier organizations formed for purposes of rebellion. *National Archives of Microfilm Publications (NAMP)*; File Number: 867.4016/433, Microcopy No (Mc): T-194, Roll-13, No: 9. (A copy of these archive documents are available in my private library). This information justified the school itself and accused the Turkish Government with being quite biased. However, the incorrectness and partisanship of the information revealed in the attitude of Turkey against missionary schools.

<sup>37</sup> White; *ibid.*, p.98. Anatolia College closed after that event, then moved to nearby Salonika in Greece, and continued educational activities ironically. Kocabaşoğlu; *Anadolu'daki Amerika...*, p.158. A search was carried out in the Administrative headquarter of Greek Literature Association by Turkey at that time. Objectionable publications were obtained and harmful activities were revealed. Thus, three teachers and two students were arrested and subsequently removed to Amasya for a trial by court martial. *National Archives of Microfilm Publications (NAMP)*; File Number: 867.4016/433, Microcopy No (Mc): T-194, Roll-13, No: 9.

<sup>38</sup> Kocabaşoğlu, *Bir Misyoner Faaliyeti Olarak Yabancı Okullar...*, p.35.

requested American Mandate for Turkey and also stated to be able to apply to American Congress to demand a mandate under some conditions. These conditions are related to spreading and generalizing of educational activities and providing the freedom of religion. These two issues caused suspicion in Mustafa Kemal's mind. He sent a telegraph to Bekir Sami Bey and asked some questions to clarify his doubts. According to him; *what was the purpose of spreading and generalizing of education? The first thing coming to mind was to open the American schools all around the country. On the other hand they had already opened about 25 schools in Sivas and furthermore there were 1500 Armenian students in one school. How would this attempt be associated with the spreading and generalizing of Ottoman and Islamic education?* Moreover, What was the meaning of the expression of providing the freedom of religion while the privileges of patriarch were in effect?<sup>39</sup> By asking these questions Mustafa Kemal implied that he was definitely against to the mandate of any country. He also stated that he had a national view about the educational matters.

In this context, the activities in the period of Turkish National Struggle gives the first clues of National Education Policy for the missionary schools to be followed in new Turkey.<sup>40</sup> In August 1921, Mustafa Kemal expressed in a statement given to *Associated Press* that the aim of Turkish Nationalism was implicit in the expression of '*Turkey belongs to Turks*'.<sup>41</sup> Mustafa Kemal also made a speech while opening The National Education Congress in Ankara on 16 July 1921 of which, he particularly highlighted the fact that a National Education Curriculum should be meticulously and carefully prepared. He expressed that this curriculum should not contain the superstitions of the previous periods and the foreign ideas and influences not compatible with the innate qualities of Turkish people. He particularly stated the curriculum should be prepared based on the national Turkish culture.<sup>42</sup> The government of Turkish Grand National Assembly followed a national policy in almost every field as directly proportional to above statements of Mustafa Kemal. The national policy particularly about missionary schools was strictly implemented by the government.<sup>43</sup>

It was seen that the young people who did not get adequate level of religious and national ideals from their families severed all ties from their own values when they were educated in missionary schools. The families

---

<sup>39</sup> Atatürk; *ibid*, p.62-64. The aforesaid telegraph was read and discussed in the 4th session of Sivas Congress on Monday on 8 September 1919. For the speech scripts and discussions about this topic look up: Uluğ İğdemir; *Sivas Kongresi Tutanakları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1999, p.45-80.

<sup>40</sup> Sezer, *ibid.*, p.15.

<sup>41</sup> *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, C. 3, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara 1997, p.38.

<sup>42</sup> *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, C. 2, p.19-20.

<sup>43</sup> Sezer, *ibid.*, p.12.

were drawn attention for the issue of Missionary Schools by Government of National Assembly. Afterwards it was decided that Turkish schools should be spiritually and physically supported.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, Italian priest Fransuva Skandiyano in Burdur and the priest Celestino Dadesyo in Konya and Silifke applied to open schools in order to teach Italian language. However the Council of Ministers did not allow the opening of these schools in the meeting held on 2 January 1921.<sup>45</sup>

The government of Turkish Grand National Assembly retained '*The instructions of Private Schools*'<sup>46</sup> dated 1915 in effect.<sup>47</sup> For example, the American Missionary Board requested a permission to open schools in Turkey. However The Council of Ministers in the meeting dated 30 July 1922 rejected this demand based on the 4<sup>th</sup> article of Instructions of Private Schools. In addition, they made a decision about taking the control of existing schools by Turkey and not allowing new schools in any way.<sup>48</sup>

The rationality of Turkish Grand National Assembly's attitude about not allowing new missionary schools was proven as a result of the activities of these schools. The schools continued to be problem in the years of Turkish National Struggle during which extraordinary days were experienced. For example, missionary schools sent the Armenians living in Turkey to İstanbul and some coastal cities in groups. And they also armed population over 15 and make them attack to Muslims. This situation was determined by the Ministry of Interior and presented to the presidency of

---

<sup>44</sup> Tozlu, *ibid.*, p.286.

<sup>45</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 478.

<sup>46</sup> These regulations were issued on 20 August 1915, and it was put into force after reorganizing by Ankara government on 30 July 1922. Tozlu, *ibid.*, p.284. Here are the important articles of Private Schools Regulations: 1<sup>st</sup> Article: Private schools are the schools which are opened by being gathered their expenses from the persons by the societies, the communities and companies that were recognized by the government. The courses founded especially for a few sciences, language or engineering trainings are also seemed in the status of private school. 2<sup>nd</sup> Article: It is forbidden for foreign societies, communities and companies to open schools on their behalf or in the way of collusion. 4<sup>th</sup> Article: Foreign National people must have The Turkish Government approval for the population of their nation in the place where they want to open a school is enough. At the same time, Turkish Nation people must also have the same right to open a school in the foreign nation people's country 6<sup>th</sup> Article:: It is obligatory that Turkish, Turkish History and Geography lessons must be taught in Turkish language and by Turkish teachers in the private schools where the education is in the official language. Turkish lessons can not be less than 4 hours in primary schools, and 2 hours in secondary schools. 10<sup>th</sup> Article: The private schools are dependent on the civilian authority, the director and inspectors of national education, sanitation department and officers in the place where they are. Primary schools can be inspected by the officers and councilors mentioned in the primary education law except the persons mentioned above. Hasan Ali Koçer; *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)*, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul 1992, p.207, 209.

<sup>47</sup> Sezer, *ibid.*, p.14.

<sup>48</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 1718.

Turkish Grand National Assembly on 14 June 1920. Hence, the Council of Ministers decided in the meeting dated 18 June 1920 that Armenians were not allowed to travel freely and all provinces were notified with this decision.<sup>49</sup> And it was also determined that there were some activities against to Turkey in American schools in Samsun, Merzifon, Sivas and other places. Meeting of Council of Ministers dated 22 March 1921 argued the situation and decided to notify the American representation Office that no activities would be allowed.<sup>50</sup> These schools kept Armenian girls and boys over 15 who would not be accepted as orphans, and the documents showing the ages of students were manipulated to keep them.<sup>51</sup> This case was detected and it was realized that the children were kept in the school for a particular purpose. It was decided on 23 November 1921 that the ages of children to be corrected and the ones who were at the age of military service to be sent to Military Recruitment Service.<sup>52</sup>

In another example, Fevzi Pahas (Çakmak), the Chief of General Staff, informed the prime ministry on 2 December 1922 that American Board Near East Relief made the children from the Armenian orphanage board into the ferries and among them there were about 1000 Muslim children who were abducted from their houses. Upon this warning, the Council of Ministers sent a letter in 3 December 1922 and ordered Fevzi Pasha to rescue the Muslim children immediately.<sup>53</sup>

American missionary schools in Turkey performed missionary activities with newspapers and literary, religious and scientific booklets. Upon this, the Council of Ministers decided in the meeting dated 20 February 1922 that these publishings could be sent to the schools after censoring.<sup>54</sup> As can be seen, Turkey dealt the matter as an internal problem. And did not let the intervention of foreign countries as far as possible, and tried to produce solutions pertaing to National Education Policy.<sup>55</sup>

In another example, the American schools and orphanages took under protection for the Christian people. They secretly sent Armenian youngsters to the front lines in order to corporate with the enemies and also tried to make propaganda among the Armenians and Greeks by delivering the newspapers brought by American torpedoes. This situation was detected by Turkish Grand National Assembly and informed Mr. Coms, the general director of American Board Near East Relief, to announce the incident to the

---

<sup>49</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 68.

<sup>50</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 248/2.

<sup>51</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 1434.

<sup>52</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 1209.

<sup>53</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 248/5.

<sup>54</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 1410.

<sup>55</sup> Sezer, *ibid.*, p.1-2.

institutions and dismiss and deport the people who were engaged with damaging activities.<sup>56</sup>

Turkey maintained her decisive attitude against missionary schools. Sometimes she tried to turn the activities of the schools in favour of herself. In connection with the above situation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed its opinion to commandership of the Eastern Front Line. The opinion was *Instead of putting an end to the activities of American schools in Turkey, turning them in favour of Turkey in such a way that they would not harm Turkey.*<sup>57</sup>

At this point, Mustafa Kemal mentioned the following statements in relation to the future of the missionary schools: *All educational activities are free under the control of the government and within the limits of the law. All educational institutions in Turkey depend to the Ministry of National Education.*<sup>58</sup> In the same subject, Prime Minister Huseyin Rauf Bey (Mr. Orbay) stated his opinions about the French schools sending a telegraph dated 27 November 1922 to the chief representative Ismet Bey (Mr. İnönü) who was in Lausanne. Accordingly, he expressed that he accepted their existence on condition that the French schools would not attempt any propaganda and acts against the Turkish law and benefits. And also he stated that Turkish should be included in the curriculum of these schools and history and geography of Turkey should be thought by Turkish teachers.<sup>59</sup>

In addition, stated Colonel Mougins requested that a solution to be found to reopen the French schools in Adana. In response to this request, Prime Minister Rauf Bey declared that he could help to resolve the issue on condition that Mougins admits to obey the Turkish Law in the French schools.<sup>60</sup> In this respect, a memorandum related to inspection of the French schools by Turkish officials was given to the Ministry of National Education on 19 March 1923 by Colonel Mougins.<sup>61</sup> After the memorandum the matter of inspection to be done by Turkey in French schools was reevaluated. According to this, it was reported that an inspection should be carried out by Turkish officials on the topics of health protection, morality, religion, decency and education. And also it was stated that, the malicious programs and books in French schools should be open to the inspection.

---

<sup>56</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 248/2M.

<sup>57</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 2890.

<sup>58</sup> Afet İnan; *Medenî Bilgiler ve M. Kemal Atatürk'ün El Yazıları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1998, p.64.

<sup>59</sup> Bilal N. Şimşir, *Lozan Telgrafları I (1922-1923)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1990, p.135.

<sup>60</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 245.

<sup>61</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, (Tezkere) Nu: 6/754.

And finally, it was declared that the selection of books, organizing both religious and non-religious programs should be determined by a commission consisting of Turkish officials and French teachers.<sup>62</sup>

The French journalist Maurice Pernot interviewed with Mustafa Kemal about the French Schools on 29 October 1923. Mustafa Kemal stated his opinions as follows: *'The French schools rendered great services to Turkish nation. We, all, drank from culture source of France. I also attended to a French school for a while when I was a child. But sometimes we observed that the foreign schools, left their roles in education, followed unscientific propaganda aims and relied on the non-Turkish minorities for that'*. Then he added the followings to specify the policy of Turkish Government: *Most of the French schools are directed by priests and nurses. Therefore we are worried that they are making religious propaganda. But we want your schools to remain. Yet, it is impossible to think that the foreign schools have the privileges that the Turkish ones do not. For this reason, the French schools can continue their existence providing that they act upon the Turkish laws and regulations.*<sup>63</sup>

Shortly, Turkey started to allow the missionary schools to continue their existence in a condition that they depend on Turkish laws and regulations as well as not endangering the internal security of Turkey. For example, an official communication (tezkere) dated 9 February 1922 related to the reopening of Merzifon orphanage<sup>64</sup> was submitted to Council of Ministers on 26 February 1922.<sup>65</sup> The Council of Ministers made a decision that Merzifon orphanage can continue its educational activities on condition that the language of education and the nationality of the teachers should be Turkish on 8 May 1922.<sup>66</sup>

According to another example, Rauf Bey notified Ismet İnönü the required conditions for American Schools in order to continue their existence in a telegraph on 10/11 December 1922. In accordance with these conditions, the schools will always be ready for the inspection and controls of director of National Education and inspectors. The information and explanations required by the director and the inspectors will be given immediately. The history and geography lessons will be taught in Turkish and by the teachers suggested by Turkey. Salaries of the teachers will be paid from the school's own budget. And finally, the schools will promise

---

<sup>62</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 142/3.

<sup>63</sup> *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri*, Iss. 3, p.89-90.

<sup>64</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 6/295, (Tezkere) Nu: 2453/505.

<sup>65</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 3283/686, 4/525.

<sup>66</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 1581.

that they will obey all the decisions and laws issued or will be issued about the private schools.<sup>67</sup>

Accordingly, Prime Minister Rauf Bey stated that an application was filled for reopening the American School which was closed during the recapture of Izmir and it was allowed to open on condition to obey the laws.<sup>68</sup>

Turkish government evaluated the offers and reports coming from the provinces. But, the final decisions were decided by National Assembly. In this matter, Abdulkadir, the deputy governor of Elazığ, wrote a letter to the prime ministry to give information about the activities of American Board Near East Relief in Elazığ and asked opinion about a subject. Accordingly, a woman named Doctor Parmalı came to Elazığ with a missionary duty, and learnt a little Turkish. This woman spent all her time to spread the idea of Christianity among Turks and Muslims with the feelings of revenge. She easily indoctrinated the ideas of Christianity to Armenians by helping them more. Because of her activities, the governorship declared that it was administratively and politically not appropriate for Doctor Parmalı to stay in Elazığ where Armenian population was intensive and she should be relegated. But, the council of ministers did not deem necessary to relegate Doctor Parmalı out of Elazığ in the meeting dated 24 May 1921.<sup>69</sup>

The missionaries began to appeal to different ways against Turkey's strict and decisive attitude. Hereof, American Board Near East Relief applied to establish an orphanage where the Muslim orphans will be sheltered providing that the building will be supplied by the government but all the expenses will belong to them. Upon this application, the Government of Turkey stated in a reply dated 14 November 1921 that 500 children can be admitted to such an institution and this number might be increased to 2000 in future, but the director, clerks and janitors of the orphanage should be Turkish. However, it was also expressed that American Board Near East Relief can employ a nurse to be responsible from accountancy. Thus, The Turkish government decided that a secondary school and Gureba hospital buildings to be assigned to American Board Near East Relief as two separate orphanages to shelter 500 Muslim orphans.<sup>70</sup> Turkey achieved to turn this attempt in her favour by making the American Board Near East Relief accept that the school directors, clerks and janitors must be Turkish.

Moreover, some organizations applied to National Assembly to help the Christians in Anatolia. However, the Government decided in the meeting

---

<sup>67</sup> Şimşir, *ibid.*, C. I, p.194.

<sup>68</sup> Şimşir, *ibid.*, C. I, p.218.

<sup>69</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 248/3.

<sup>70</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 1736/27976, 4/2281.

dated 28 June 1922 that the foreign aids should be done by means of *the Red Crescent (Hilal-i Ahmer)* or American Board Near East Relief which were available in Turkey at that time.<sup>71</sup> In conclusion, Turkey started to procure acceptance as a state. Turkey prevented harmful activities in the country by applying her own principles and Fundamentals.

## CONCLUSION

The most important tool of Missionaries was educational institutions. In this sense, missionaries used the schools in order to adapt to the countries in which they were, and promulgated their own mentality, traditions and customs by means of these schools.

Missionaries using the same way in Turkey met an unexpected behavior from the government during the Turkish National Struggle. Such that, Turkey changed curriculum of all the schools within the frame of national education policy, and did not allow the schools not complied with them to continue education. Turkey paid special attention to any harmful activities against the national interests of Turkey. Hence the frequency of controls was increased within the country.

Turkey approached the missionary schools seen as the pawns of World Powers as an internal problem, and did not let the other states interfere in this issue.

As a conclusion, it was seen that Turkey became determined against the missionary schools, applied her own policy and began to make her presence as a state.

## REFERENCES

### A. Archive Catalogues

*American National Archives of Microfilm Publications (NAMF)*; File Number: 867.4016/433, Microcopy No (Mc): T-194, Roll-13, No: 41.

*National Archives of Microfilm Publications (NAMF)*; File Number: 867.4016/433, Microcopy No (Mc): T-194, Roll-13, No: 9.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 16204.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Belge No: 18.145.110.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 4.4.1935 U. 7789, D. 4759, 7489/33.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 68.

---

<sup>71</sup> *Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları Kataloğu, Karar Nu: 1648.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 248/2M.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 478.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 1718.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 248/2.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 1434.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 1209.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 248/5.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 1410.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 2890.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 245.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Official Message (Tezkere) Nu: 6/754.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 142/3.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 6/295, Official Message (Tezkere) Nu: 2453/505.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 3283/686, 4/525.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 1581.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 248/3.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 1736/27976, 4/2281.

*Başbakanlık Cumhuriyet Arşivi (BCA)*, Bakanlar Kurulu Kararları, Karar Nu: 1648.

## **B. Memoirs**

AHMET Hamdi Bey, *İslâm Âlemi ve İngiliz Misyonerler*, (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2007).

ATATÜRK, Mustafa Kemal, *Nutuk 1919-1927*, (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, 2000).

WHITE, George Edward, *Bir Amerikan Misyonerinin Merzifon Amerikan Koleji Hatıraları*, çev. Cem Tarık Yüksel, (İstanbul: Enderun Kitabevi, 1995).

### C. Books, Articles and Thesis

- ALAN, Gülbadi, *Merzifon Amerikan Koleji ve Anadolu'daki Etkileri*, Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kayseri 2002 (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi).
- Atatürk'ün *Söylev ve Demeçleri*, Cilt. 2-3, Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara 1997.
- AYBARS, Ergün, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Tarihi I*, Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İzmir 1984.
- AYVERDİ, İlhan, *Misalli Büyük Türkçe Sözlük*, Cilt. 2 (H-N), Kubbealtı Neşriyat, İstanbul 2005.
- BAYRAKTAR, Bayram, "Rus General Mayevski'nin Gözlem ve Tespitleri Işığında Büyük Güçler ve Türkiye: Büyük Oyunun Aracı Olarak Ermeni Sorunu", *BAL-TAM Türklük Bilgisi*, Sayı. 5 (September 2006).
- HÜLAGÜ, M. Metin, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Misyoner, Ermeni, Terör ve Amerika Dörtgeninde Türkiye", Erciyes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Sayı. 10 (2001), 57-94.
- İĞDEMİR, Uluğ, *Sivas Kongresi Tutanakları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1999.
- İNAN, Afet, *Medenî Bilgiler ve M. Kemal Atatürk'ün El Yazıları*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1998.
- KOCABAŞ, Süleyman, *Misyonerlik ve Misyonerler*, Vatan Yayınları, İstanbul 2002.
- KOCABAŞOĞLU, Uygur, "Bir Misyoner Faaliyeti Olarak Yabancı Okullar", *Devrimci Cumhuriyet'in Eğitim Politikaları*, Kaynak Yayınları, İstanbul 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Anadolu'daki Amerika Kendi Belgeleriyle 19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Amerikan Misyoner Okulları*, İmge Kitabevi, Ankara 2000.
- KOÇER, Hasan Ali; *Türkiye'de Modern Eğitimin Doğuşu ve Gelişimi (1773-1923)*, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, İstanbul 1992.
- KÜÇÜKOĞLU, Bayram, *Türk Dünyasında Misyoner Faaliyetleri (Dünü-Bugünü ve Yarını)*, IQ Kültür Sanat Yayınları, İstanbul 2005.
- MALKOÇ, Mustafa Numan, *Türkiye'de Protestan Misyonerliği, Türkiye'de Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri*, Ensar Neşriyat, İstanbul 2004.
- ORTAYLI, İlber, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda İktisadî ve Sosyal Değişim Makaleler 1*, Turhan Kitabevi, Ankara 2000.
- ÖZTÜRK, Ayhan, Özgür Yıldız, *Amerikan Protestan Misyonerlerinin Türkiye'deki Faaliyetleri (1820-1938)*, Arka Oda Yayınları, Kayseri 2007.
- SAKİN, Serdar, "TBMM'nin Pontus Meselesi'ne Bakışı ve Çözüm Arayışları (1922)", *Askeri Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Sayı. 11 (2008).
- SEZER, Ayten, *Atatürk Döneminde Yabancı Okullar (1923-1938)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1999.
- SONYEL, Salahi Ramadan, "Büyük Devletlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğunu Parçalama Çabalarında Hıristiyan Azınlıkların Rolü", *Bellekten*, Sayı. 195 (Aralık 1985).
- ŞİMŞİR, Bilal N., *Lozan Telgrafları I (1922-1923)*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, Ankara 1990.
- TOZLU, Necmettin, *Kültür ve Eğitim Tarihimizde Yabancı Okullar*, Akçağ Yayınları, Ankara 1991.