

## The Establishment of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission to the Conversion of the Constantinople Jews in the 19th Century

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Recent studies and dissertations have explored the history of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) in the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, research on the religious missionary work of Scottish Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman lands is still lacking. This article describes the history of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission in Constantinople after the famous Kirk Disruption of 1843 with the Established Church of Scotland. This investigation presents both the origin of the main two stations, located in Galata and Hasköy, devoted to the conversion of Constantinople Jews, mainly Sephardim, as well as the missionaries' strategies for proselytization and the results of their work. Finally, this study will present the results of the mission in terms of possible conversions and their outreach in the Jewish community.

KEYWORDS: Protestant missionaries; Ottoman Empire; Sephardic Jews; Alexander Thomson; proselytism.

EL ESTABLECIMIENTO DE LA MISIÓN DE LA IGLESIA LIBRE DE ESCOCIA PARA LA CONVERSIÓN DE LOS JUDÍOS DE CONSTANTINOPLA EN EL S. XIX.— Investigaciones recientes han revelado la historia de la Junta Americana de Comisionados para las Misiones Extranjeras en el Imperio otomano en el s. XIX, escaseando la investigación de sus coetáneos escoceses en estas tierras. Este artículo explora la historia de la misión de la Iglesia Libre de Escocia establecida en Constantinopla tras el famoso cisma *Kirk* de 1843 con la Iglesia Nacional de Escocia. Este estudio presenta tanto el origen de las dos principales estaciones de esta iglesia, localizadas en Gálata y Hasköy, dedicadas a la conversión de los judíos de Constantinopla, principalmente sefardíes, así como también las estrategias de proselitismo de los misioneros y los resultados de su obra religiosa. Finalmente, este estudio nos presentará el alcance de la misión en cuanto al número de posibles conversiones y su recepción en la comunidad judía.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Misioneros protestantes; Imperio otomano; Judíos sefardíes; Alexander Thomson; proselitismo.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Free Church of Scotland was a Presbyterian Protestant movement initiated in 1843 due to the Kirk Disruption between the national Church of Scotland and the new Evangelical movement. The latter group mainly opposed the national policy due to the selection of local ministers, who were being chosen by landowners. As a result, a few less than 500 pastors, a third of the church's members, left the national church, thus leaving all their money behind.<sup>1</sup> However, the 1843 schism lasted only until 1929, when most believers from the new church would rejoin the former church integrating the United Church of Scotland.

The Evangelical movement that originated the Free Church of Scotland nurtured both from the Scottish revivals starting in Cambuslang in 1742,<sup>2</sup> which were meant to fight Scottish Enlightenment in the 1750s and the 1790s, as well as from the religious awakenings taking place in America. Social activism thus grew, leading to the foundations of several Protestant organizations such as the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (henceforward, ABCFM) (1810), which was the first Evangelical movement derived from the Second Great Awakening to attempt converting Jews in the Ottoman Empire. Most of the studies dealing with Protestant missions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Constantinople have solely focused on the labor of American missionaries, without emphasizing enough the fact that the Free Church of Scotland took over the work of their American counterparts in 1842. In fact, the ABCFM totally discontinued their mission to Istanbul Jews in 1856, transferring all its missionaries to the nominal Christians. In the following pages, the

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<sup>1</sup> As money was needed, many different actions were taken to secure the mission's funds. In the mid-1840s, the Free Church of Scotland accepted around 3,000 pounds in donations made by American slave supporters, which was already criticized by famous slave abolitionists at the time like Frederick Douglass on his well-known speech in Arbroath (Scotland) on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1846. Nevertheless, missionaries were key in the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807; see Roberto CATALANO "Missionary Societies in the Evangelical Churches: Origins and Characteristics," *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses* 19:5 (2014) pp. 107-135: 123.

<sup>2</sup> See Esther BREITENBACH, *Empire, Religion and National Identity: Scottish Christian Imperialism in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, 2005) p. 78.

origins of the Free Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews in Constantinople will be described, focusing on the two stations established by these Evangelical missionaries. Afterward, we will shed light on the success of the mission in both Galata and Hasköy among Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews.

## 2. THE FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND'S MISSION TO THE CONSTANTINOPLE JEWS

The Established Church of Scotland was faithful to the missionary concern among Anglo-Saxon Protestant churches to bring forth the millennium by converting Jews all over the world as soon as 1838, a feeling that was later shared by the Free Church missionaries. Evangelicals felt it was glorious how “devout and an intelligent interest in prophetic study”<sup>3</sup> the Free Church of Scotland was committed to:

This Church, in all her various branches, has had her attention turned more earnestly to the predicted events of the latter times, and the circumstances connected with that second coming of her great Head and Lord [...]. But, brethren, the time is short; the Lord is at hand [...]. Should any one of our own readers be at a loss to understand, how this subject of the second coming of the Son of Man is connected with Jewish interests, we beg to remind, that nearly all who believe, as the Free Church of Scotland believes, in the premillennial advent of Christ, believe in it as the means appointed by God for the deliverance of Israel out of all his troubles, and as the immediate precursor of Zion's glory. “When the Lord shall build up Zion, He shall appear in his glory.” Ps. cii.16.<sup>4</sup>

The Free Church of Scotland's mission nurtured from subjective reports written by several ministers sent by the Church before the disruption in 1843. Afterward, “when the Disruption came, all the missionaries

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<sup>3</sup> See John LILLIE, *The Jewish Chronicle, Published under the Direction of the American Society, for Meliorating the Condition of the Jews; and Edited by John Lillie* (New York: Society's Office, 1846) p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> See LILLIE, *The Jewish Chronicle*, p. 148.

without exception joined the Free Church.”<sup>5</sup> The zeal of this new mission was remarkable, receiving “more than twice as much in 1848-9 from the Free Church than they had done in 1842 from the undivided Church of Scotland.”<sup>6</sup>

## 2.1. *The missionaries’ strategy*

Murre-van den Berg distinguishes six main activities developed by missionaries in Turkey: (1) formal or public preaching, (2) informal preaching or teaching (conversation), (3) caring for children of the local population, (4) education, (5) translating and printing, and (6) health care.<sup>7</sup>

### 2.1.1. Formal or public preaching

Scottish missionaries still found it difficult to preach in public after almost 10 years in the region due to many reasons but mainly because of the community’s fear to rabbis and bans.

The fear of man is so great, the number of those disposed to hear the gospel is still so small, the organisation of the Jewish community is so complete and so restrictive, the rabbis are so numerous and so vigilant, that, for the present, were not flatter ourselves with the hope of soon opening a service.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Norman Lockhart WALKER, *Chapter from the History of the Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh–London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1895) p. 170.

<sup>6</sup> See BREITENBACH, *Empire, Religion and National Identity*, p. 80.

<sup>7</sup> See Heleen MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, “Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Middle Eastern Women: An Overview,” in *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East*, eds. Inger Marie OKKENKAU and Ingvild FLASKERUD (Oxford–New York: Berg, 2005) pp. 103-122: 116.

<sup>8</sup> See *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, August 1852-July 1853* (Vol. III. Old Series) (Edinburgh: James Nichol – London: James Nisbet, 1853) [hereafter *THFRFCS* (1853)] p. 179.

### 2.1.2. Informal preaching or teaching

This strategy, also known as conversational preaching, chiefly consisted of private meetings at home, also carried out by women, since they were not so occupied with writing. Scottish missionaries found these meetings “opposed to their [referring to Jews] whole habits and feelings.”<sup>9</sup> Other missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland preferred public preaching to private conversations since the latter implied many disputes.

The profane and old wives’ fables, the questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, and railing. But in public preaching, we may rightly divide the word of truth, and be heard respectfully and attentively. Still more, it reaches the right class, ‘to the poor the gospel is preached.’<sup>10</sup>

### 2.1.3. Caring for children of the local population, both the missionaries’ and the locals’ children

According to Bornstein-Makovetsky, “these types of altruistic activities were a useful tactic for becoming intimate with the Jewish community and winning its trust.”<sup>11</sup>

### 2.1.4. Education

Missionaries published schoolbooks, Bibles, and pamphlets in the vernacular languages to fight against high rates of illiteracy among Ottoman subjects, as missionaries believed literacy was required to the

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<sup>9</sup> See *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, August 1853-July 1854* (Vol. IV. Old Series) (Edinburgh: James Nichol – London: James Nisbet, 1854) [hereafter *THFRFCS* (1854)] p. 127.

<sup>10</sup> See *The Missionary Herald: Containing the Proceedings at Large of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with a View of Other Benevolent Operations, for the Year 1851* (Boston: Theophilus Rogers Marvin, 1851) [hereafter *TMH* (1851)] p. 113.

<sup>11</sup> See Leah BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, *Protestant Missionaries to the Jewish Communities of Istanbul, Salonika and Izmir, 1820-1914* (Istanbul: Libra, 2019) p. 50.

spread of Gospel,<sup>12</sup> making use of “science, technological progress, and historical opportunities.”<sup>13</sup> In the missionaries’ eyes, “the mission schools offered a better education than the local schools and thus attracted Christian and non-Christians alike.”<sup>14</sup> By 1877, the Free Church of Scotland registered around 500-600 Jewish boys and girls in their missionary schools all over the world. These children would use vernacular languages like Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish as their language of instruction, but also modern European language such as French, Italian, or English. It seems that Scottish missionaries did not follow their American counterparts’ efforts at converting Jews from a more educational standpoint,<sup>15</sup> who promoted an Anglo-American way of thinking rather than just fostering proselytism.<sup>16</sup>

Education was the most visible work from missionaries. In fact, “the missionaries saw evangelism and education as going together.”<sup>17</sup> Boarding schools were the center of missionary educational work. They represented the beginning of their work, taken over by single female teachers with some training in teaching. Overall, apart from secular knowledge, children were tested on their knowledge of the Scriptures and the catechism, which was a well-used method employed by Evangelicals since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Protestant schools targeted both boys and girls, as the former were mostly educated in

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<sup>12</sup> See Betül BAŞARAN, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence in the Ottoman Empire: American Schools and the Evolution of Ottoman Educational Policies (1820-1908)* (Master Thesis. Bilkent University, 1997) p. 11.

<sup>13</sup> See Cengiz SİSMAN, “Failed Proselytizers or Modernizers? Protestant Missionaries among the Jews and Sabbateans/Dönmes in the Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Empire,” *Middle Eastern Studies* 51:6 (2015) pp. 932-949: 941.

<sup>14</sup> See Cengiz SİSMAN, “Christian Missionary Schools in the Ottoman Empire,” in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. Norman Arthur STILLMAN (Leiden: Brill, 2010) pp. 609-610: 609.

<sup>15</sup> See Bruce MASTERS, “American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor ÁGOSTON and Bruce MASTERS (New York: Facts on File, 2009) p. 39.

<sup>16</sup> See Mehmet Ali DOĞAN, “Missionary Schools,” in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor ÁGOSTON and Bruce MASTERS (New York: Facts on File, 2009) pp. 385-388: 387.

<sup>17</sup> See BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, *Protestant Missionaries*, p. 181.

Talmudic and Torah knowledge plus “some knowledge of reading and writing in Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew,”<sup>18</sup> whereas the latter were neglected of education whatsoever. In missionary schools, girls learned to read and write,<sup>19</sup> plus subjects such as geography, philosophy, history, moral philosophy, singing, and sometimes English. Girls were also trained in domestic skills such as sewing and needlework that could warrant a future job in the community.

The small school for girls in Beirut initiated by Goodell and Bird in 1824 was probably the first school for girls initiated by Protestant missionaries.<sup>20</sup> The Committee of the Free Church of Scotland thought high of the female department in Constantinople, as “the hands of our faithful missionaries would be greatly paralyzed without this [referring to the female department] branch of the work.”<sup>21</sup> Jewish females could not be directly reached by Christian missionaries but through their children, who were better accessed by female teachers, and hence their importance for the Committee. Poor Jewish families were also closely targeted by missionaries, who were willing to send their children to missionary schools despite the *herem* (ban) of rabbis, as education of-

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<sup>18</sup> See Esther BENBASSA, “Education for Jewish Girls in the East: A Portrait of the Galata School in Istanbul, 1879-1912,” *Studies in Contemporary Jewry* 9 (1993) pp. 163-173: 165. The number of religious Jewish schools before the arrival of missionaries has not been determined yet. Aron RODRIGUE (*French Jews, Turkish Jews: The Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Politics of Jewish Schooling in Turkey 1860-1925* [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990] p. 37) mentions the existence of one school in Salonika with 1,000 students, Smyrna another one built in 1847, and the main Jewish quarters of Istanbul, namely, Hasköy and Balat, had each one a large Jewish school. By 1858, “the Archives Israélites reported that there were 44 Jewish schools in Istanbul with 2,552 students and 3 Karaite schools with 100 students.”

<sup>19</sup> The Committee of the Free Church of Scotland estimated 34,000 women were not able to read or write, hence they were also ignorant of the Divine truth; see *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, August 1856-July 1857* (Vol. I. New Series) (Edinburgh: James Nichol – London: James Nisbet, 1857) [hereafter *THFRFCS* (1857)] p. 11. Protestant drew the attention of poor girls to their school by means of giving them gifts or goods to their parents; see BENBASSA, “Education for Jewish Girls,” p. 165.

<sup>20</sup> See MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, “Nineteenth-Century Protestant Mission,” p. 104.

<sup>21</sup> See *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Glasgow, May 1855* (Edinburgh: John Greig & Son – Glasgow: Glass and Duncan – London: James Nisbet and co, 1855) [hereafter *PGAFCS* (1855)] p. 84.

ferred by missionaries was sometimes free and they were provided with clothes and food.<sup>22</sup>

Schools were the basis for operations among adults since they allowed missionaries to have access to their homes to discuss school affairs but also strictly religious conversations.<sup>23</sup> Missionaries considered “school examinations another valuable tool for spreading the Gospel,”<sup>24</sup> as this showed schools were open to the public, including parents, and clergymen of other denominations.

### 2.1.5. Translating and printing

The Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) established a center to print Bibles and Christian literature in Malta<sup>25</sup> to avoid confiscation from the Turkish Supreme Porte, as “foreigners needed permits to work and reside within the Ottoman Empire.”<sup>26</sup> For example, Alexander Thomson (1820-1899), leader of the Free Church of Scotland’s Hasköy station, reminds us that his church was its own bookseller and publisher in Judeo-Spanish in 1853,<sup>27</sup> as they also faced repression from other Christian groups in the Ottoman land.<sup>28</sup> The choice of using the student’s vernacular languages rather than English “is seen by many historians as contributing to a nationalist consciousness among those the missionaries

<sup>22</sup> See SISMAN, “Failed Proselytizers or Modernizers?,” p. 943.

<sup>23</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 245.

<sup>24</sup> See Charlotte VAN DER LEEST, *Conversion and Conflict in Palestine. The Missions of the Church Missionary Society and the Protestant Bishop Samuel Gobat* (Doctoral Thesis. Leiden University, 2008) p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> Established in 1822, this press was later transferred to Izmir in the 1830s, which was active until 1853. This change was possible due to the new diplomatic relations between the United States and the Ottoman Empire in 1831.

<sup>26</sup> See Chris ROYER, “Anglicanism in Smyrna (1815-1923),” *Global Missiology English* 2:15 (2018) pp. 1-15: 3.

<sup>27</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Missionary publications turned up to become problematic between Catholics and Protestants, as the former group was opposed to introducing the new Bible translations to laypersons.



taught.”<sup>29</sup> International Bible Societies such as the one Alexander Thomson would eventually work for were established from the end of the 1850s in the stations abroad to promote “directly and indirectly, the translation, printing, or distribution of the Sacred Scriptures, in whole or in part, in 144 languages, through 166 versions, of which 114 are translations never printed before in 46 years.”<sup>30</sup> The American missionary enterprise in Istanbul between the years 1830 and 1850 often dealt with printing and distributing books, psalms, and pamphlets as they firmly believed that the Gospel truth could be spread through written sources in native languages. After the sources were translated into native and vernacular Jewish languages, missionaries thought they could better contact the locals and preach to them more convincingly.<sup>31</sup> Churches at home would also publish missionary catalogs and magazines displaying conversionist literature (translations of Anglo-Saxon evangelical books and tracts). Apparently, the sale of those “tended to float along Mr. De Castro’s Jewish newspaper.”<sup>32</sup>

#### 2.1.6. Health care, as seen in dispensaries

Protestants saw health as an excuse to approach Jews and convert them. As Bornstein-Makovetsky points out, “Even the first missionaries in Istanbul observed the egregious suffering of the Jews [...] partly due to the absence of hospitals [for them].”<sup>33</sup> Therefore, missionaries would report that before Dr. Leitner’s (a converted Jew working for the Free Church of Scotland) arrival at the dispensary in Constantinople, there were no physicians in the area, but some “quack doctors, who them-

<sup>29</sup> See Bruce MASTERS, “Missionaries,” in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor ÁGOSTON and Bruce MASTERS (New York: Facts on File, 2009) pp. 384-385: 385.

<sup>30</sup> See *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, August 1854-July 1855* (Vol. V. Old Series) (Edinburgh: James Nichol – London: James Nisbet, 1855) [hereafter *THFRFCS* (1855)] pp. 210-211.

<sup>31</sup> See Emrah ŞAHİN, *Errand into the East: A History of Evangelical American Protestant Missionaries and their Missions to Ottoman Istanbul during the Nineteenth Century* (Bilkent University, Master thesis, 2004) p. 47.

<sup>32</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1854) p. 40.

<sup>33</sup> BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, *Protestant Missionaries*, p. 270.

selves fabricate their drugs – which together with their medical advice, they proffer for one or two piasters.”<sup>34</sup> Thus, Dr. Leitner found opposition and was accused of planning to convert his patients, although these accusations did not stop *Hahams* (‘learned Rabbis’)<sup>35</sup> from attending Dr. Leitner’s dispensary for medical advice.

Finally, we can distinguish different phases in the process of establishing missionary stations abroad.<sup>36</sup> On the first stage, missionaries would settle down in an area which had been previously explored by the church and well-informed to the committees through reports written by missionaries established on those regions. A second stage would consist of reaching a targeted audience and expand it by means of some, if not all, of the six methods above. A third stage was establishing more advanced schools and theological seminaries and high schools, such as the Bebek Seminary set up by American missionaries in Constantinople.

## 2.2. *Stations in Constantinople*

The number of Sephardic Jews in Turkey was estimated in between 120,000-150,000 souls by missionaries. Therefore, the Assembly of the recently born Free Church of Scotland unanimously agreed to set the Mission to the Constantinople Jews on May 24, 1843, supported by missionaries abroad who had pled adherence to the new mission, and starting with 3,400 pounds as funding.<sup>37</sup>

Scottish missionaries in Constantinople mainly worked among both Ashkenazi and Sephardic Jews by means of opening schools, distributing

<sup>34</sup> LILLIE, *The Jewish Chronicle*, pág. 286.

<sup>35</sup> The office of the chief rabbi was established for the Ottoman Jewry in 1835; see Avigdor LEVY, “Millet Politics: The Appointment of a Chief Rabbi in 1835,” in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Avigdor LEVY (Pinceton–New Jersey: The Darwin Press, 1994) pp. 425-438: 425. The Jewish community elected among them two superiors, the *hahams*, that is, “one of whom is chosen from the foremost rabbis in Constantinople, the other from the chief rabbis in Jerusalem;” see Julius RICHTER, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (Edinburgh–London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910) p. 393.

<sup>36</sup> See BAŞARAN, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence*, p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> See *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Glasgow, October 17, 1843* (Glasgow: William Collins, 1843) p. 105.

Bibles and tracts (sometimes gratuitously), preaching the gospel to congregations, families, and individuals, and by house visitations.<sup>38</sup> However, their work was not easy, as they faced several difficulties common to all missionaries in the area, namely, overburden, bad weather, fires (sometimes thought to be caused by Catholic believers),<sup>39</sup> exorbitant rent payments, and economic debt.<sup>40</sup> One of the main problems missionaries faced was the opposition of the Muslim authorities to any kind of conversion. They had prohibited the baptisms of Muslims into other religions, but the Ottoman authorities became open to foreign countries influence such as the British and American ones in the so-called Tanzimat period (1839-1876). During this time, Protestants became a *millet* (a non-Muslim community that was officially recognized by the Sublime Porte) in 1847, thus allowing more missionary work among the Turkish citizens. However, the conversion of Muslims meant numerous headaches for missionaries, and therefore, they normally avoided targeting these citizens when preaching.

Missions to the Jews were organized into stations, which were chosen in terms of the population of Jews in different geographical areas. The first Mission properly devoted to the conversion of Jews founded by the Established National Church of Scotland was established in Jassy (Moldavia) in 1838 by Daniel Edward (1815-1896).<sup>41</sup> Before the Disruption of 1843, another Mission to the Jews was set up in Pest, followed by Constantinople, Amsterdam, Lemberg, Breslau, and Prague among others.<sup>42</sup> However, for the scope of this article, we will only describe the

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<sup>38</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1854) p. 124.

<sup>39</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> In 1850, the Mission's income was 5,671 pounds, its expenditure only 4,646 pounds, but its debt amounted to 3,263 pounds; see *TMH* (1851) p. 311. By 1852, the Mission's income was reduced to 4,436 pounds but reducing its debt to 3,068 pounds. The expulsion of missionaries of Pest in 1852 implied more expenditure, as money was required to transfer those missionaries from that land. The Mission to the Jews' debt would be finally paid off in 1854 – see *THFRFCS* (1854) p. 282 –, and it was not until 1854 when the Mission would proudly announce a balance in favor of 1,602 pounds – see *THFRFCS* (1855) p. 282.

<sup>41</sup> See John Ross, "An Introduction to Two Thousand Years of Jewish Evangelism," *Haddington House Journal* 5 (2003) pp. 53-65: 61.

<sup>42</sup> See *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Glasgow, May 1877* (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & co – London: James Nisbet and co, 1877) p. 32.

stations of Constantinople, namely, Galata and Hasköy, which were the only ones that specifically targeted Sephardic Jews.

### 2.2.1. Galata

The historical district of Galata, formerly known as Sykai, located on the northern side of the Golden horn and located in today's Karaköy neighborhood, had 237,293 inhabitants by 1862, of whom one-tenth were Jews.<sup>43</sup> Their work there was defined by missionaries as “the most prosperous, perhaps, of any existing station of Jewish mission, in proportion to its Jewish population.”<sup>44</sup> The Galata station was the direct heir of the mission carried by Charles Schwartz (1817-1870) and Wilhelm Gottlieb Schauffler (1798-1883) among the German Jews<sup>45</sup> since 1842. When Schwartz was sent out to Amsterdam in 1843 by the London Jews Society, Schauffler was left alone in the station but paid by the Free Church, which at the time did not have missionaries ready to embrace the mission. Finally, in 1845 they sent Mr. Allan, who became the leader of the station until the arrival of Alexander Thomson (1820-1899)<sup>46</sup> in

<sup>43</sup> See BENBASSA, “Education for Jewish Girls,” p. 163.

<sup>44</sup> *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 245.

<sup>45</sup> Apparently, their main rival in proselytizing Jews in Galata was the Catholic church, which had 4 churches in Galata, two convents, and various schools which were attended by 300 Jewish children in one of their boarding schools and an orphanage in 1854; see *THFRFCS* (1855) pp. 283-284.

<sup>46</sup> Alexander Thomson was the main missionary of the Free Church among the Sephardic Jews in Hasköy between the years 1847-1860, when he later became the Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society until his death. His literary production in Judeo-Spanish written in Hebrew letters has been studied in detail by Aitor GARCÍA MORENO (“¿Ante el primer diccionario monolingüe judeoespañol?,” *Sefarad* 73:2 [2013] pp. 371-408; “Poemas castellanos en textos sefardíes: ejemplos en *La escalera a la anyezadura* (Constantinopla, 1853 y 1888),” *Sefarad* 78:1 [2018] pp. 149-200, and “Los vocabularios de *La escalera* (Constantinopla, 1888),” *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos* 68 [2019] pp. 73-97), and Daniel MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ (“Hidden vs. Overt Protestant Propaganda in an Educational Book in Judeo-Spanish: Alexander Thomson's *Silabario*,” *Caderno de Estudios Sefarditas* 21 [2019] pp. 29-47; “Convergencias y divergencias lingüísticas con el judeoespañol castizo de un traductor nativo de inglés. El caso del *Ele Toledot Bené Yisrael* (Constantinopla, 1854 y 1886) del rev. Alexander Thomson,” *Sefarad* 80 [2020] pp. 173-202, and “An Ethnolinguistic Study of Sephardic Jews and their

1847, which marks the final discontinuance of the American mission to the Jews of Salonika in detriment to the Scottish mission. In words of Schauffler himself,

The German Jews were now under the care of the Scotch missionaries, and I was still hoping to see something efficient done for the Sefardee Jews of Constantinople and of Turkey; but when Mr. (now Dr.) A. Thomson came, and there was no more doubt of the readiness and intention of our Scotch brethren to occupy the Sefardee field, I saw that Constantinople was lost to us.<sup>47</sup>

By 1852, Scottish missionaries were involved in many different activities in the station such as church services on Sabbath (one conducted in English by Mr. Turner and two in Yiddish), a Sabbath class for English children taught by Mr. Turner, a congregational prayer-meeting on Wednesday night (substituted by a meeting dealing with missionary intelligence the first Wednesday of each month),<sup>48</sup> instruction for inquirers on Tuesday and Thursday evenings, a prayer-meeting for members of the mission on Friday afternoon,<sup>49</sup> whereas Jews in their first stage of inquiry were instructed on the Old Testament on Saturday afternoons, a prayer-meeting for converts on Sabbath evening conducted by Mr. Bissenbruck, a Bible lesson at the mixed school every Thursday, and school duties,<sup>50</sup> and house visitations on Saturdays since the arrival of Alexander Tomory<sup>51</sup> in May 1854.

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Language in the Ottoman Empire in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century in the Eyes of Scottish Protestant Missionaries” *Darom* 3 [2021] pp. 55-79).

<sup>47</sup> See Edwards A. PARK, (ed.), *Autobiography of William. G. Schauffler, for Forty-Nine Years a Missionary in the Orient* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company, 1887) p. 197.

<sup>48</sup> Missionaries collected money for the Indian mission in this event.

<sup>49</sup> This meeting’s date was changed to Thursday afternoon two years from then; see *THFRFCS* (1855) pp. 283-284.

<sup>50</sup> See *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Glasgow, May 1852* (Edinburgh: John Greig & Son – Glasgow: Glass and Duncan – London: James Nisbet and co, 1852) [hereafter *PGAFCS* (1852)] p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> “Born in Moravia on May 23<sup>rd</sup> 1818, as the eldest son of a well-to-do family. One of the first fruits of the missionary work in Pest, converted and baptized by the Free Church mission in 1843 in Wingate, where he was a medical student. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh in the fall of 1847 and ordained in 1858. He studied

The school teaching was the most important of these activities, fostered by students' regular and increasing attendance,<sup>52</sup> leading to the establishment of two schools in the city, a mixed school for Ashkenazi boys and girls and a female one for Italian girls. However, schools, also in Hasköy,

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theology with Alfred Edersheim and Saphir at the New College under Chalmers, where he met Dr. Duncan. He became then a missionary for the Free Church of Scotland in Constantinople in Christmas of 1847, making use of all the languages he was acquainted with (German, English, Spanish, Italian, and French). He worked for both Hasköy and Galata for the following decades, in Hasköy until 1863, in Galata until his death on July 16<sup>th</sup>, 1895. He got married in 1859 to Miss Caroline Kay, the teacher sent out by the Ladies' Association to Hasköy in 1856. They had three children, one of them was a missionary of the Free Church in Calcutta. Regarding his death, taking place on Galata on July 16<sup>th</sup>, "there was no real sickness but pure physical exhaustion;" see *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Edinburgh–London: Nelson & sons, 1895) p. 213. He is now buried at the Protestant cemetery of Feriköy in Turkey.

<sup>52</sup> The mixed school had 62 students by 1845 (25 boys from ages from 4 to 14 and 37 girls) – see *The Herald of the Churches 1846* (Edinburgh: John Johnston – London: Richard Groombridge and sons, 1846) [hereafter *THC* (1846)] pp 116-117 –, reduced to 50 children by March 31<sup>st</sup> 1852 – see *PGAFCS* (1852) p. 12 –, increased again back to 60-70 pupils in 1855 – see *THFRFCS* (1855) pp. 283-284 –, 80-90 students in 1858 – see *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, August 1857-July 1858* (Vol. II. New Series) (Edinburgh: James Nichol – London: James Nisbet, 1858) [hereafter *THFRFCS* (1858)] p. 243 –, 110 pupils in 1859 – see *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, August 1858-July 1859* (Vol. III. New Series) (Edinburgh: James Nichol – London: James Nisbet, 1859) [hereafter *THFRFCS* (1859)] p. 246 –, 100 children in 1865 – see *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Edinburgh – London: Nelson & sons, 1866) [hereafter *TFCSMR* (1866)] p. 7 –, and around 130 pupils in 1871 – see *The Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Free Church of Scotland, for 1871* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1871) [hereafter *THFMRFCS* (1871)] p. 12.

The Italian female school only had 10 students in 1848, 8 attending "the whole day, 2 grown-ups coming in the forenoon" – see *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Edinburgh, May 1856* (Edinburgh: John Greig & Son – London: James Nisbet and co. 1856) [hereafter *PGAFCS* (1856)] p. 18 –, 35 children in 1851 – see *PGAFCS* (1852) p. 13 –, 23 pupils in 1852, chiefly daughters of the wealthier Jews in the community – see *PGAFCS* (1852) p. 13 –, 1 English and 37 Jewish girls by July 21<sup>st</sup> 1853, similar numbers by 1855 and 1856 – see *THFRFCS* (1855) pp. 283-284 and *PGAFCS* (1856) p. 19, respectively –, between 44-47 pupils in 1858 – see *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 243 –, around 52 students in 1859 – see *THFRFCS* (1859) p. 246 –, which increased to 60-70 pupils in 1865 – see *TFCSMR* (1866) p. 7 – and 70 children in 1871 – see *THFMRFCS* (1871) p. 12. RICHTER (*A History of Protestant Missions*, p. 396) claims that the Free Church of Scotland had 500 pupils in their two schools. However, the dates are not given. Also, based on the numbers provided by the very same university, they seem very unlikely.

tended to be polyglot due to the different nationalities of the children, requiring instruction in Yiddish, Hebrew, Italian, English, and Judeo-Spanish.

Thanks to the examination<sup>53</sup> of the Italian girls' school performed on July 21, 1853, we can get to know about the subjects taught at schools,<sup>54</sup> always introduced by prayers, singing hymns, and a short Bible lesson. There was a beginner's class where children learned to read, spelling, gospel doctrines, and the basics of European geography. The junior class was taught in English by studying M'Culloch's *Third Reading Book* (1837).<sup>55</sup> There was also a section for elder girls which learned English grammar, parsing, spelling, and Barth's *Church History* (1842).<sup>56</sup> The senior group, apart from learning religious instruction, was learning Roman history, geography, history of Asiatic Turkey, Italian grammar, parsing, spelling, and reading in Italian, as well as arithmetic.<sup>57</sup> Among the teachers at the mixed schools, we find Mr. Neumann, Mr. Steffens,<sup>58</sup> Mr. Koenig, and Mr. Tomory.<sup>59</sup> While Miss Whittet was the main teacher

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<sup>53</sup> It seems that these examinations met their goals among Jewish parents of Galata. According to the church's proceedings, one parent stopped being hostile against the school after attending this examination and seeing how well his daughter was doing in arithmetic and English; see *THFRFCS* (1854) pp. 67-68.

<sup>54</sup> Since the beginning of the schools in 1845, students were taught: 1. Hebrew, from the alphabet up to an advanced stage in the grammar, embracing, of course, the vowel system, together with the elements of Hebrew composition. 2. German and reading grammar, including composition. 3. Writing Hebrew and German. 4. Arithmetic. 5. Bible history and geography. The elder girls are taught sewing and history by Mrs. Biesenbruch; see *THC* (1846) p. 116-117. Besides, some girls were introduced to sewing.

<sup>55</sup> John Murray McCULLOCH, *A Third Reading Book, for the Use of Schools; Containing Simple Pieces in Prose and Verse, with Exercises on the More Difficult Words and Sounds Occuring in them* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd – London: Simpkin, Marshall, & co, 1837).

<sup>56</sup> Christian Gottlob BARTH, *A Brief History of the Church of Christ, from the German* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed. London: The Religious Tract society, 1842).

<sup>57</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1854) pp. 67-68.

<sup>58</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1859) p. 246.

<sup>59</sup> See *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Edinburgh, May 1854* (Edinburgh: John Greig & Son – London: James Nisbet and co., 1854) p. 18. The missions account for several health absences and resignations throughout the years. Mr. Neumann resigned on account of his health in 1855. Mr. Tomory had to replace Mr. Steffens for months in 1859; see *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Glasgow, May 1860* (Edinburgh: James Nichol, 1860) [hereafter *PGAFCS* (1860)] p. 9. However, not all missionaries

throughout the years for the Italian female school, she was also helped at times by her own oldest pupils. Also, Miss Ewan, Pazzina, Miss Sutherland, and Miss Primrose<sup>60</sup> were sent out by the Ladies' Association,<sup>61</sup> and Mr. Hislop,<sup>62</sup> allowing her to make more domiciliary visitations among the parents of the children. Miss Whittet is probably one of the teachers who was mentioned the most in the church's proceedings, not just because she was the only female teacher who endured all the school's hindrances throughout decades, but also because she was the only teacher from the Free Church of Scotland who stirred up her pupil's mood for a real conversion. In 1852 we read in the church's proceedings that some girls supposedly came into tears when they heard "the confirmation of their teacher's testimony that Jesus of Nazareth, whom their fathers crucified, is the promised Messiah."<sup>63</sup>

Besides the two schools, the Galata station managed to establish there a trial orphanage, apart from the hospital and dispensary<sup>64</sup> managed by

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were lucky to survive. Mrs. Leonhardt, wife of the German teacher in Galata, died by diphtheria on December 19th, 1866; see *The Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Free Church of Scotland, for 1867* (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson, 1867) [hereafter *THFMRFC* (1867)] p. 34. Missionaries took every opportunity they could to blame their targets' hard access. "Others hardened themselves in their self-righteous Pharisaism, believing that they could propitiate an angry God, and to aver the attacks of cholera by vowing to live a strict and orthodox life of Judaism;" see *TFCSMR* (1866) p. 7.

<sup>60</sup> See *TFCSMR* (1866) p. 8.

<sup>61</sup> An Auxiliary Ladies' Association in connection with the mission was established in Galata in April 1855, maintaining an industrial school among Kerch Jews. It was constituted by 40 members of different Protestant denominations, including Jewish converts, for the sole purpose of promoting Christian education of Jewish females; see *PGAFCS* (1856) pp. 6-7. It cost 16 pounds to establish this school, which was open 4 days a week and was attended by two women, one of them was Miss Canning, Lord Stratford's eldest daughter. As in the other missionary schools, work was preceded by some prayer timer.

<sup>62</sup> Mr. Hislop was sent out as an experienced missionary, as the Assembly was looking for. However, one of the problems with sending old missionaries was, as it happened with Mr. Hislop, that they would retire soon; see *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 243.

<sup>63</sup> See *PGAFCS* (1852) p. 13.

<sup>64</sup> By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this hospital and dispensary was allegedly attending 7,865 patients, mostly Jews, and had given 13,151 treatments; see James Sephard DENNIS, *Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions. A Statistical Supplement to "Christian Missions and Social Progress," Being a Conspectus of the Achievements and Results of*



the missionaries in the region. In fact, it was a boarding school under Koenig's roof<sup>65</sup> that helped to accommodate all Jewish children after their parents' request.<sup>66</sup> Another want of both stations in Constantinople was purchasing a property. Since 1856, due to the mission's enlargement, missionaries attempted to buy some premises to move their school to. They were about to purchase a building, but the plan did not work out due to "the fickleness and avarice of the native with whom the transaction was to have been entered into."<sup>67</sup> After some time, the Galata mixed school premises were sold in April 1857, leaving missionaries no choice but to join both schools, which had happened before in the summer of 1855.<sup>68</sup> Therefore, by the end of the 1850s, the station had two sets of premises, one for the school mission and one for the residence of both the missionaries and boarders.<sup>69</sup> However, no purchase had been accomplished and were renting for over a decade. Until 1871, both the mixed and the girls' schools were attended by 200 Jewish children in Galata and, again, a larger

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*Evangelical Missions in All Lands at the Close of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Fleming Hewitt Revell Company, 1902) p. 210.

<sup>65</sup> See *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, August 1860-July 1861* (Vol. V. New Series) (Edinburgh: James Nichol – London: James Nisbet, 1861) [hereafter *THFRFCS* (1861)] p.102.

<sup>66</sup> Among them, we have two interesting cases presented in the eyes of missionaries. First, a 6-year-old Spanish Jewish girl who belonged to a respectable family of Ballat, and who was sent by her father's request as a boarder to the school despite opposition in the Jewish community. Secondly, a 13-year old girl, adopted by a family baptized in the church, who was showing some behavior issues, and who was later sent to a reformatory institution in Düsseldorf on the Rhine (Germany). Two other students were offered by their parents, who once were very much opposed to Christian missionaries, as boarder students, but they were refused on the account of Koenig's health and Miss Whittet's busy schedule; see *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 176.

<sup>67</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 245. A situation which tempted Mr. Koenig of leaving the station.

<sup>68</sup> "The mingling of the two schools will be a serious impediment to the maintaining of discipline, besides other disadvantages;" see *PGAFCS* (1856) p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> As for dwelling places, a wooden house was inhabited by Mr. Koenig and his family, Misses Whittet and Sutherland, three boarders attending the Italian school, one church member. It was next to a stone building accommodating the female school, the chapel, and the bookstore. Another wooden building was used by the German school and for the residence of both Mr. and Mrs. Tomory, two boarders, and their school servant; see *PGAFCS* (1860) p. 9.

building was required, which led to the purchase of the 1030-square yard mission premises in a respectable quarter of Galata, surrounded by stone buildings that protected them from possible fires. The mission seems to have flourished in terms of students in the 1870s, although they had to face the competition of the Alliance Israélite Universelle school, which was set up by more progressive Jews motivated by teaching a more modern education to Constantinople Jews. This station lamented the death of the missionary and convert Alexander Tomory in 1895 as well as Alexander Thomson's death in 1899. These two events marked the end of an era, meaning a significant decline in the missionaries' efforts in the area. Finally, the Free Church of Scotland reunited with the mission of the Established Church of Scotland some decades later.

### 2.2.2. Hasköy

Hasköy was a quarter situated in Istanbul, also on the northern side of the Golden Horn, containing no less than 25,000 Sephardic Jews in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which was a similar number to the Jews located in Amsterdam at the time. However, the strong opposition of the community's rabbis withheld the success of these missionaries for the entire history of the station in this quarter (1844-1863).

In no part of the Jewish field does the missionary encounter greater difficulties than at the station of Hasskioy, where he finds a large Jewish population, in a compact body, difficult of access to Christian influences, and help captive under the spiritual despotism of the Rabbis.<sup>70</sup>

The Mission to the Jews in Hasköy started through some visits made by Dr. Leitner in 1844 as a physician in the dispensary already established by Schaufler. However, the mission in Hasköy for Sephardic Jews properly commenced in 1847, when Thomson, previously sent out by the mission to Pest and then Galata, arrived in June 1847 and started producing treatises on general science and literature in Judeo-Spanish while he was still learning the language himself. The beginning of the missionary work could be described as follows:

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<sup>70</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1859) p. 246.

The work, however, among these Spanish Jews was of a very laborious character. The habits of the Sephardim are entirely Oriental. Domiciliary visiting among them is therefore nearly impossible. Nor could schools be at once opened without offending their prejudices. And besides, school-books were entirely wanting.<sup>71</sup>

Thomson was firstly assisted by Mr. Denniston, but then Mr. Tomory, one of the first fruits of the mission in Pest, came to help in 1848, once the former assistant resigned in 1848 because of health issues. On that very year, the missionaries witnessed the first fruits of their work through the conversion and baptism of Rabbi Jacob Hayim on June 25, 1848. This year Thomson also opened the first school, entirely attended by Ashkenazi Jews at first, who were a bait for Sephardic Jews. In a short time, the school had between 45 to 50 Jews attending classes, besides 25 English pupils.<sup>72</sup> Regarding the school proceedings, as we mentioned before, missionary schools were annually examined by a commission of Protestant leaders while parents witnessed how their children performed their class duties. The examination of the Hasköy school of July 29, 1852, the second public examination<sup>73</sup> since 1848, revealed an important fact about the school, namely, its polyglot nature. They had 44 students, 10 English, 2 Greeks, 5 Yiddish-speaking Jews, and 27 Sephardic Jews, which was problematic for choosing a language of instruction for Thomson:

The enumeration of the pupils and of their nationalities given above, reveals at a glance the great difficulty with which we have had to contend—the variety of languages spoken by the pupils, and the consequent multiplication of classes, which, though irksome and laborious, have been the real means of sustaining our school; for, without instruction in

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<sup>71</sup> See *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Edinburgh–London: Nelson & sons, 1863) p. 325.

<sup>72</sup> However, they were not interested in English children and wanted to bring a teacher for them; see *THFRFCS* (1855) p. 292.

<sup>73</sup> The Hasköy school did not allow annual public examinations due to the irregular attendance of its students. However, thanks to the church's proceedings we now know that private examinations took place on a regular basis. For instance, in 1853, the private examination of the Hasköy school “concluded with a few prized to the more diligent pupils, needle-work to the girls;” see *THFRFCS* (1854) pp. 67-68.

their own languages, neither English,<sup>74</sup> nor German, nor Italian children would have attended, and the Spaniards would not have dared to come alone. Owing, however, to various causes, the German children are now so few, that we shall be able to dispense entirely with the German language and give a little more prominence to English; or, rather, to give that instruction in the English Bible in the ordinary hours, which Mr. Tomory's zeal led him, at the expense of great personal labour, to give at an extra hour.<sup>75</sup>

Thanks to this examination, we also learn that the school schedule started at around 8.45 am, when children would start by singing a few English hymns, reading the Bible, and praying in Judeo-Spanish, "in which all the children were able intelligently to join."<sup>76</sup> Among the course being taught at the school we find a Judeo-Spanish Bible lesson taught by Tomory, also taught in English at a different time; English Church History, attended by English, and Yiddish and Ladino speakers; German Church History; Italian geography, reading, translation and arithmetic; English grammar; Geography of England; and German Church History. As Thomson put it himself,

Four years ago, scarcely a single child was acquainted with the simplest elements of useful knowledge, far less knew anything of the plan of salvation, or the name and person of the blessed Redeemer, and where particularly not a single Jewess would even have been taught to read in any language.<sup>77</sup>

The missionary leader was proud of the mission's work to the extent he would even compare them to Scottish children's education at home. In his own words, "the amount and precision of their Scriptural knowledge would not easily be surpassed by any children of the same age, amidst all the advantages of Scottish education."<sup>78</sup> Thomson was even surprised that a Sephardic Jew could be the best student in the class. As he would put it,

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<sup>74</sup> However, children started learning in English and other languages some years afterward: "We are also informed by Mr. Thomson that the knowledge of English is becoming more common, and its value more highly appreciated;" see *THFRFCS* (1854) pp. 208-209.

<sup>75</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 60.

<sup>76</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 60.

<sup>77</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 60.

<sup>78</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 60.

the dux of the school was, beyond all question, David Clinton,<sup>79</sup> a Spanish Jewish boy, who even in those classes in which English was the medium of communication, outdid his English competitors.<sup>80</sup>

Among other activities carried out by missionaries at this station, there was an English Sabbath evening service, an English week-day evening lecture, which was substituted once a month for a missionary meeting; Sabbath classes for the young, especially for young women.<sup>81</sup> The visitation of families in their own houses was also a most important means of preaching the gospel, which was made possible by Mr. Newman's arrival and assistance in the school, which allowed Thomson more free time to work on other enterprises. The church describes these meetings as coming "in contact with the prejudices, misconceptions, ignorance, and blasphemous misrepresentations of the Jews than for a whole year before."<sup>82</sup> All this work motivated Thomson to start working

with an energy, a wisdom, a devotedness, which, we fondly believe, will yet yield fruits far exceeding what have hitherto been reaped. Finding that the great wants of the Spanish Jews were education and literature, he set it from the outset as his task to create both, preaching, at the same time, on the Lord's day to the English and Scotch residents in his own language.<sup>83</sup>

The Scottish missionary was joined by Mr. Tomory,<sup>84</sup> Mr. Turner in 1851, also accompanied by Mrs. Günberg and her lately baptized son. The mission in Constantinople flourished in the winter and throughout 1853, leading to several needs<sup>85</sup> at the station, namely, the extension of

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<sup>79</sup> Missionaries would regret the following year his death "from the effects of a sun-stroke at the age of 13;" see *THFRFCS* (1854) p. 151.

<sup>80</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 60.

<sup>81</sup> See *PGAFCS* (1852) p. 15.

<sup>82</sup> See *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Held at Glasgow, May 1853* (Edinburgh: John Greig & Son – Glasgow: Glass and Duncan – London: James Nisbet and co, 1853) p. 15.

<sup>83</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1855) p. 284.

<sup>84</sup> One of the first fruits of the work in Pesth, who would be later transferred to Galata in May 1854.

<sup>85</sup> In Thomson words, they needed a female teacher as Miss Whittet in Galata for their school, an orphanage "that should present a model of domestic, as well as literary

their school, an additional colportage,<sup>86</sup> an increased supply of publications, and a ragged school for the poorer classes.<sup>87</sup>

Mr. M' Kutcheon joined the station in 1854 to relieve missionaries from some of their school duties by taking up the English classes while he was still learning Judeo-Spanish.<sup>88</sup> However, two years afterward, we witness the *annus horribilis* of the Hasköy mission. First of all, the school premises were sold, and missionaries were left out with neither a church nor a school, and the latter had to be discontinued. Secondly, Mr. Turner, his wife, and Mr. M'Kutcheon resigned and went back to Scotland, leaving Thomson alone in Hasköy,<sup>89</sup> which leads to the Ladies' Association sending out a new teacher, namely, Miss Caroline Kay.<sup>90</sup> Thirdly, Thomson felt overburdened after the arrival of more population to the quarter as the Crimean War (1853-1856) just finished.

Thomson sets up his school again in a small upper flat in early 1857.<sup>91</sup> By July of this year, Miss Caroline Kay had Jewish 40-50 students in at-

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and industrial training," and being released from "the drudgery of teaching several hours every day (... in order to) seek out channels for the sale of the Christian literature they have been so long engaged," and more agents to push the sale of books among Jewish families; see *THFRFCS* (1855) p. 284.

<sup>86</sup> Mr. Conacher was the only colporteur at the time for this mission, but he also supported the Yiddish speaking classes when missionaries were absent, as it happened in 1855 when he substituted Mr. Neumann; see *PGAFCS* (1856) pp. 6-7.

<sup>87</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1855) p. 292.

<sup>88</sup> See *PGAFCS* (1855) p. 18. 35 children in 1851; see *PGAFCS* (1852) p. 76.

<sup>89</sup> In the words of the Assembly, "the building where their educational labours were for years conducted, has been sold; one of your missionaries has resigned his connexion with that field of labour; the teacher sent out from this country to conduct the educational department has done the same; and one missionary only remains there, without either school-house or school, waiting to see how his services for the future may be made most available in that field on whose Christian culture he has for so many years set his heart;" see *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 245.

<sup>90</sup> Miss Caroline Kay sailed from Liverpool on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1856 – see *PGAFCS* (1856) p. 18 –, to take care of the industrial department of the school, which was before taken care of by Mrs. Turner. Miss Kay had studied at the Glasgow Normal Seminary "acquiring the methods of teaching" practice while studying Spanish to become a teacher – see *PGAFCS* (1856) p. 10.

<sup>91</sup> Unlike 1863, the Committee this time resolved to continue working at the station despite all the inconveniences; see *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 176.

tendance.<sup>92</sup> Thomson, who had been released from some school duties, had more time to continue his home visitations (among 200 families on his roll were prone to receiving him).<sup>93</sup> Thus, after 7 years at the station, the school could only

be regarded as only in its infancy, for though in existence now for about seven years, it has during this period passed through so many vicissitudes, having been subjected to so many changes of teachers, that no steady plan of operations has been brought for a sufficient length of time to bear upon it [...] Some progress is being made in Scripture knowledge. We have lessons in the Old and New Testament on alternate days, and the Shorter Catechism, in Judeo-Spanish, is taken, once a-week; and of all this the parents were aware.<sup>94</sup>

At the end of 1857, when the school was still struggling with around 40 students in attendance, and when they were even receiving numerous applications to open a school for boys only,<sup>95</sup> the station received another stroke. On December 18, 1857, the school was fallen under the rabbi's *herem* (curse) denounced in all Hasköy synagogues, reducing the attendance in Miss Caroline Kay's class from 40 to 20,<sup>96</sup> even decreasing to 12 students,<sup>97</sup> chiefly Polish and Italian Jews who were "beyond the tem-

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<sup>92</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 47. Thomson already asked the Assembly to open a school in Ballat for the English children. Although the Assembly denied such request at the beginning – see *PGAFCS* (1856) p. 19 –, the English pupils would end up leaving the school to be attended by another teacher so that the missionaries' solely focus were Jews – see *PGAFCS* (1856) p. 10.

<sup>93</sup> Among these families we find not just Sephardic Jews but also Ashkenazim. As Ashkenazi Jews had been used as the bait for Spanish Jews to open schools, now Thomson wanted to do the same for visitations. Although Ashkenazi Jews were not the target of Thomson, they were out of the reach of Mr. Koenig in Galata; see *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 47.

<sup>94</sup> See *PGAFCS* (1856) p. 10.

<sup>95</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 129.

<sup>96</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 155.

<sup>97</sup> Attendance in the school was always irregular among Sephardic Jews, sometimes because of these *herems* which threatened parents with excommunication if they insisted on taking their children to missionary schools, or sometimes because of Jewish feasts. Another famous rabbi's curse had reduced the attendance of Sephardic Jews to only 1 or 2 students; see *PGAFCS* (1852) p. 15. Overall, the school attendance was among 40-50 Jewish pupils: 54 Jewish children in 1850, 44 out of the 60 alumni enrolled in 1853, 40 in 1857 before the *herem*; see *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 129.

poral, authority of the Spanish” rabbi.<sup>98</sup> The mission was losing its audience in 1857, even the recently published New Testament Stories copies given gratuitously were rejected.<sup>99</sup> In the words of Thomson himself,

superstitious fear still strongly binds the Spanish Jew, and the infliction of misfortune, sickness, or death, is still supposed to be within the limits of Rabbinical power.<sup>100</sup>

Thus, the restrictions lifted by rabbis in 1853, when the community seemed to have stood slightly against the rabbis’ curses and reduced the opposition against missionary schools was finally over.

For every boy given to us is withheld from the rabbinical schools, and it is an indication of their belief that we have really something valuable to communicate, when they not only send us their girls, whom their own rabbis refuse to take, [...] but their boys, whom the Jewish parent is taught to regard with extraordinary value.<sup>101</sup>

The year 1858 was no better than the previous two years, although the Committee thought that there were “no difficulties at Hasskioy but such as arise from the intense Jewishness of its people [...] the committee are of one mind in concluding that this station ought on no account to be either abandoned or weakened.”<sup>102</sup> Thomson was the only missionary there and Miss Caroline Kay was the only teacher. Proceedings from 1858 do not show any news from the station but Thomson visiting around 90 families.<sup>103</sup>

Finally, several events starting in 1859 will lead to the end of the station. First of all, Thomson’s house had been burnt down and his

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<sup>98</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 177.

<sup>99</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 177.

<sup>100</sup> See *PGAFCS* (1852) p. 15.

<sup>101</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 204.

<sup>102</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 178.

<sup>103</sup> Half of them more than once, and some of them thrice or more times. Visits could not be shorter than 10-15 minutes since Jews thought “a pretty long and familiar conversation is required before you can win their confidence or reach their understandings (...) Some of my most satisfactory visits have been an hour, or even two hours in length” talking about the prophets, the destruction of Jerusalem, the new covenant, the nature of the law, etc. He even read the New Testament with some for them to judge the doctrines of the gospel. The passage he read the most was Luke 15; see *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 202.



wife was compelled to retire to Scotland for the sake of her health. Secondly, Miss Caroline Kay left Hasköy to get married and the school had to be discontinued. Thirdly, Thomson received a work opportunity and became the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society of Constantinople. All these turns of events led to Tomory's removal from Galata to Hasköy to become the school superintendent (whose premises started renting from a Greek house at the end of 1859), assisted by Miss Hamilton<sup>104</sup> and Mr. Leonhardt.<sup>105</sup> In this last stage of the mission, the station mainly continued the educational department,<sup>106</sup> Christian instruction,<sup>107</sup> house visitations, and church meetings,<sup>108</sup> but it was not enough to put an end to their work there in 1863, as Tomory sadly regrets:

Haskioy – that stony ground – which proved to so many unyielding and unprofitable [...] Between duty and inclination, between our old sympathy for the place, and the natural desire our old sympathy for the place, and the natural desire to stay where one's lot is cast by Providence, and the demands of Galata, the struggle became more and more painful the longer it was permitted to last. Mrs Tomory and myself have originally come for Haskeioy. We both liked the place and the people, and the encouragement of the last two years enlisted still more our sympathies. I understand the necessities and requirements of Haaskeioy, and I felt very unwilling to interrupt that

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<sup>104</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1861) p. 174.

<sup>105</sup> See *THFMRFC*S (1867) p. 147.

<sup>106</sup> Tomory would work at the school from 9 A.M to 3 P.M. on the weekdays. They had around 21 pupils at the beginning of this new last stage, 12 Sephardic Jews and 6 English children who paid tuition fees; see *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, August 1859-July 1860* (Vol. IV. New Series) (Edinburgh: James Nichol – London: James Nisbet, 1860) pp. 199-200.

<sup>107</sup> These house visits took place in Sabbath evenings and led to more house visitations. 68 people were allegedly receiving instruction in 1861, and missionaries tell us that at least 5 Sephardic Jews were part of the church at that year; see *THFRFCS* (1861) p. 102. By the end of the mission in 1863, they still had Jews attending this instruction such as the colporteur's wife, Lazarus, the Corfu tailor, and a young man from Galata named Marco; see *The Free Church of Scotland Monthly Record* (Edinburgh–London: Nelson and sons, 1864) [hereafter *TFCSMR* (1864)] p. 469.

<sup>108</sup> For the first time since 1848, a Judeo-Spanish service was commenced on the second Sabbath of August of 1860; see *THFRFCS* (1861) p. 79.

work, and to forsake those friends among them whom the Lord has led to us.<sup>109</sup>

From Tomory's words we can extract that, even though the Free Church of Scotland removed to Galata, the feeling was the same than 10 years before.

There is encouragement in the aspect of the Jewish field in Constantinople. There, and elsewhere, the veil remains yet untaken away from the hearts of the mass of the ancient covenant people of God; but the time of Israel's redemption is drawing nigh. Under the faithful preaching of the gospel the blindness shall be removed, and his hardness of their hearts softened; and the branches broken off because of unbelief shall by faith be grafted in again, and with the Gentiles partake of the fatness of the one olive tree, whose life is perennial and divine.<sup>110</sup>

### 3. CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE RECEPTION OF MISSIONARIES BY CONSTANTINOPLE JEWS

This article has placed emphasis on the establishment of the Free Church of Scotland' mission to the Jews in Constantinople in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, since many studies on the missionary field have consistently avoided a further study on this specific mission (except from Bornstein-Makovetsky works in the last two decades). "Relations between Jews and Christians within the empire, however, were generally less amicable than those between Jews and Muslims."<sup>111</sup> Jewish authorities "soon recognized missionary activities as a form of cultural imperialism and a threat to their traditions and sacred language."<sup>112</sup> Not only that, but Protestant missionaries not only faced the wrath of Jews but also the opposition of Muslims,<sup>113</sup> other Chris-

<sup>109</sup> See *TFCSMR* (1864) pp. 469-470.

<sup>110</sup> See *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Forty-Fifth Annual Meeting, 1854* (Boston: Theophilus Rogers Marvin, 1854) p. 69.

<sup>111</sup> Bruce MASTERS, "Jews," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, eds. Gábor ÁGOSTON and Bruce MASTERS (New York: Facts on File, 2009) pp. 300-303: 303.

<sup>112</sup> See SISMAN, "Failed Proselytizers or Modernizers?," p. 938.

<sup>113</sup> As soon as 1824, the Sublime Porte had forbidden the distribution of tracts and Bibles printed in Europe. Besides, "many Ottoman officials thought that the missionary

tian denominations, like Armenians,<sup>114</sup> Greeks,<sup>115</sup> and Catholics<sup>116</sup> since the 1830s.<sup>117</sup> Armenians wrote books against the Protestant mission,<sup>118</sup> the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople had anathematized the Bible Societies in July 1844.<sup>119</sup> Armenians also anathematized<sup>120</sup> missionaries or any person in contact with them. Finally, over the years, Protestants had also to put up with harsh health conditions, plagues (smallpox, cholera, typhoid, and black measles), fires,<sup>121</sup> lack of financial support, or even death.<sup>122</sup>

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schools constituted a threat to the empire and implements measures to control and limit their activities;” see DOĞAN, “Missionary schools,” pp. 387-388.

<sup>114</sup> Before the establishment of the first Evangelical Armenian Church in 1846, missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland in Constantinople felt obliged to host Armenians interested in converting to the amount of 15 to 20; see *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Thirty-Seventh Annual Meeting, 1846* (Boston: Theophilus Rogers Marvin, 1846) p. 97; *THC* (1846) p. 76, as they lost their legal status by defying the Armenian *millet*, and Heleen MURRE-VAN DEN BERG, “Why Protestant Churches? The American Board and the Eastern Churches: Mission among ‘Nominal’ Christians (1820-1870),” in *Missions and Missionaries*, eds. Pieter Nanne HOLTROP and Hugh McLEOD (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000) pp. 98-111: 105.

<sup>115</sup> Greeks’ rejection was accused on the account of their alleged national pride; see *THFRFCS* (1855) p. 292.

<sup>116</sup> It seems that Protestants understood Catholic propaganda as the source of their oppositions, chiefly because Catholics disseminated fear among the other Christian communities due to the Protestants’ refusal to confession, adoration of the Virgin and prayers for the dead, which were elements also found in Orthodox religious practices; see BAŞARAN, *Reinterpreting American missionary presence*, p. 38.

<sup>117</sup> See BAŞARAN, *Reinterpreting American Missionary Presence*, p. 30.

<sup>118</sup> See *The Missionary Herald: Containing the Proceedings at Large of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, with a View of Other Benevolent Operations, for the Year 1845* (Boston: Theophilus Rogers Marvin, 1845) [hereafter *TMH* (1845)] p. 50.

<sup>119</sup> See *TMH* (1845) p. 51.

<sup>120</sup> “The anathema forbids any one to assist them or have intercourse with them, either in the way of kindness or business, and thus they are forced away from their houses, separated from their wives and children, and reduced from a state of comfort to the conditions of destitute outcasts;” see *THC* (1846) p. 77.

<sup>121</sup> Both Dwight’s and Schauffler’s houses suffered a big fire on June 17, 1848, burning their libraries together with the house; see *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Thirty-Ninth Annual Meeting, 1848* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1848) p. 153. The very same Thomson poses the problem of fires in his letters several times within the 1850s; see *THFRFCS* (1853) p. 6.

<sup>122</sup> Missionaries such as Dwight got married three times because of these deaths.

Apart from a direct opposition, the Free Church of Scotland's Mission to the Jews faced competition. The success of the missionary schools,<sup>123</sup> combined with an Orientalist view of Jews in the Ottoman Empire,<sup>124</sup> led to the establishment of non-religious Jewish schools on November 23, 1854 in Hasköy, organized by Abraham de Camondo,<sup>125</sup> the only wealthy Jewish banker left in Istanbul.<sup>126</sup> A decade later, the recently established Alliance Israélite Universelle set up a school in Constantinople. Both Jewish Westernized schools attempted to fight against the success of the Free Church of Scotland's schools, among other Protestant educational centers. However, they were not able to overtake the whole education of the Jews.<sup>127</sup>

Missionaries were not simply rejected altogether, but they also had access to students' parents, and they even converted some families or

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<sup>123</sup> One of the main aims of these schools was to take students out from missionary schools so that they would not convert to Protestantism. "Many of the Jews of the empire were still traditionalist in their outlook and wary of contact with outsiders, even Jewish outsiders. Another difficulty was that Christian schools were seen as offering ties to the Western powers;" see MASTERS, "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," p. 38. As Thomson would say, "It is a remarkable feature in recent Judaism, that its enlightened adherents have been roused by the efforts of Christian missionaries to take steps for introducing something like real education among the ignorant and degraded masses that inhabit the Jewish quarter of the principal European cities;" see *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 206.

<sup>124</sup> The first contact of Eastern and Western Jewries came with the conquest of Algeria by France in 1830. A report shortly followed, describing them as "backward and superstitious," and a very similar account can be read in the reports of the 1840s and 1850s of the Jews of the Levant; see RODRIGUE, *French Jews, Turkish Jews*, pp. 8-9. "The Western Jew had begun to perceive the Eastern Jew as somehow inferior, and with this had come the desire to transform, to 'civilize', to 'regenerate' this less fortunate coreligionist, to remake him or her in the image of the emancipated, acculturated European Jew;" see ARON RODRIGUE, "The Beginnings of Westernization and Community Reform among Istanbul's Jewry, 1854-65," in *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire* (Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1994) pp. 439-456: 440.

<sup>125</sup> He was one of the Jews of Italian origin known within the Turkish Jewry as *francos*, very much involved in the westernization process of the community, including other families such as Allatini, Fernandez, Modiano, and Morpurgo; see RODRIGUE, "The Beginnings of Westernization," p. 439. They eventually seceded from the Istanbul community by establishing their own Italian Jewish community in 1862; see RODRIGUE, "The Beginnings of Westernization," p. 451.

<sup>126</sup> Three other Jewish bankers were executed by Mahmud II in 1826.

<sup>127</sup> See *TFCSMR* (1866) p. 8.

individuals. For instance, Alexander Thomson counted 200 families on his roll willing to receive his visits after only 7 years starting such program.<sup>128</sup> Counting the number of visitors was a common practice among Protestant missionaries, probably as common as Jewish inquirers giving up these visits.<sup>129</sup> Regarding conversions and baptism, literature seems to agree that they were not very successful, although their influence on society cannot be taken for granted, since Protestant missionaries must be acknowledged as the introducers of modern Westernized education to Ottoman Jews.

For several reasons many of the societies did not publish statistics of their successes. Converts themselves were in fact many times reluctant to publish their conversions attempting to avoid retaliation.<sup>130</sup> Even though real statistics of conversions are never provided by missionaries,<sup>131</sup> we can make an estimate based on primary and secondary sources. In general terms, Protestant sources register between 72,000<sup>132</sup> and 100,000 Jewish baptisms<sup>133</sup> all over the world throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless,

<sup>128</sup> See *PGAFCS* (1860) pp. 7-8.

<sup>129</sup> See BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, *Protestant Missionaries*, p. 88.

<sup>130</sup> See Leah BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, "Jewish converts to Islam and Christianity in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century" in *The Last Ottoman Century and Beyond: The Jews in Turkey and the Balkans 1808-1945*, ed. Minna ROZEN (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2002) pp. 83-127: 83-84. This is the description of a Jewish man regarding a plausible conversion, "at last admitted to me, that to visit me would be considered such a decided step towards Christianity and would bring upon all who did so such an amount of hatred and suspicion, that they could not stand it;" see *THFRFCS* (1858) p. 129.

<sup>131</sup> See Michael MARTEN, "Communicating Home: Scottish Missionary Publications in the 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries," in *Christian Witness between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East*, eds. Martin TAMCKE and Michael MARTEN (Hamburg: Lit verlag, 2006) pp. 81-98: 84.

<sup>132</sup> See Albert Edward THOMPSON, *A Century of Jewish Missions* (Chicago: Fleming Hewitt Revell Company, 1902) p. 273.

<sup>133</sup> See James Manning SHERWOOD and Arthur Tappan PIERSON, *The Missionary Review of the World. January to December, 1888* (New York-London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1888) p. 854.

<sup>134</sup> According to ROSS ("An Introduction," p. 62), these numbers produced their harvest in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, in the 1930s, Hungary had 100,000 Christians of Jewish descent, Austria had 17,000, Poland 37,000, Russia 60,000, and the USA 20,000. Regarding the Ottoman Empire, there were about 65,000 Protestants out of 18 million people by 1914. However, most of them were Armenian converts; see MASTERS, "Missionaries," p. 385.

Jewish experts claim that “in the modern era the overwhelming majority of Jews who converted to Christianity did so for social and economic reasons.”<sup>135</sup> According to Bornstein-Makovetsky, “religious conversion was a cause of concern for the Jewish community [...] but did not constitute a threat to the community’s very existence or its stability because of the small number of converts.”<sup>136</sup> Now, in terms of profile, most of these converts were men (as women were normally circumscribed to home tasks and thus less likely to give in to their religion), who were usually young and poor Jews interested in being provided passports to go to England or to obtain some type of livelihood.<sup>137</sup>

Regarding the specific success of the missionaries of the Free Church of Scotland among the Jews, records mention that, by 1851, “200 souls<sup>138</sup> had been introduced into the Christian church, through the labours of this mission [...]. Last year there were no fewer than 1200 Jewish children receiving such instruction in connections with the operations of the mission.”<sup>139</sup>

<sup>135</sup> BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, *Protestant Missionaries*, p. 84.

<sup>136</sup> Leah BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, “Jewish Conversion to Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire in the Communities of Istanbul and Izmir until 1856,” *Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica* 5 (2019) pp. 7-36: 30.

<sup>137</sup> BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, *Protestant Missionaries*, pp. 90-96.

<sup>138</sup> Jassy had 10 converts by 1846 – *THC* (1846) pp. 204-205 –, Pest amounted to 50 baptisms of Jews on that year – *THC* (1846) pp. 204-205 –, although it reached the number of 95 by 1864 – see *TFCSMR* (1864) p. 687. This number is also provided by BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY (“Jewish Converts,” p. 108) who claims they all were Jews living harsh life or economic conditions, immigrants, poor people or drunks. However, J. B. Creighton-Ginsberg “knew of only forty-five converts in the three societies together;” see RICHTER, *A History of Protestant Missions*, p. 396), referring to the Free Church of Scotland, the Church of Scotland, and the London Jews Society. Based on *Shavat Anim* (‘Cry of the Poor’), a text written anonymously by the poor Jews of the Smyrna community, 80 Jewish families had converted and other 2,000 families threatened to do so if the Jewish authorities did not lighten the heavy taxes imposed on them. However, this text is never mentioned in the missionaries’ proceedings; see SISMAN, “Failed Proselytizers or Modernizers?,” p. 948. Additionally, BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY (“Jewish Converts,” p. 106) thinks it is only a hyperbole employed by the writer to make a more fearful statement.

<sup>139</sup> See *PGAFC* (1852) p. 24. According to BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY (“Jewish Converts,” pp. 83-84), the British mission converted 129 people, including children, by the end of 1857 in Palestine, amounting to 450-550 by 1912. She provides a list of 142 converts from the centuries in the appendix from Smyrna, Salonika, and Istanbul, 17

By Galata, Istanbul,<sup>140</sup> itself, proceedings read for this period amount to 14 adults and 8 children converts from 1843 to 1857, of whom 11 were church members,<sup>141</sup> who were joined by 3 new members by 1859.<sup>142</sup> Thus, out of these inconsistent numbers, we could conclude that the number of conversions made by the Free Church of Scotland<sup>143</sup> in the years Alexander Thomson worked in Constantinople was, as Bornstein-Makovetsky had claimed, around 55 adults and an unknown number of children,<sup>144</sup> mostly Ashkenazim,<sup>145</sup> which was a significant number but probably did not fit neither the effort made by missionaries nor their expectations. Moreover, Bornstein-Makovetsky has recently claimed, some of these conversions might have ended up turning back to Judaism due to the converts' personal problems derived from these acts.<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, when comparing Protestant and Jewish accounts, the number of conversions varies. Some Jewish periodicals from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century point out that only 100 conversions were achieved by all Protestant missionaries in these Jewish communities.<sup>147</sup>

To conclude, missionaries' huge efforts did not correlate with the conversion results. Protestants benefited from the new regulations brought up by the Tanzimat period but at the same time kept facing numerous problems that could not be solved by any means. However, the economical

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converting to Islam and 56 to Christianity, the remaining are not specified; see BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, "Jewish Converts," pp. 113-127.

<sup>140</sup> According to BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY ("Jewish Converts," p. 106), by 1868, Tomory says all missionary societies in Istanbul combined only converted 41 Jews (25 adults and 16 children), not including baptisms of the Free Church of Scotland. However, Bornstein-Makovetsky attests 35 conversions of adults and an unknown number of children by the London Society up to 1888 in Smyrna and 90 Jews by the London Jews Society from 1820-1908.

<sup>141</sup> See *THFRFCS* (1857) p. 245.

<sup>142</sup> See *PGAFC* (1860) p. 9.

<sup>143</sup> Not the Church of Scotland as BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY ("Jewish Converts," p. 106) claims in her article.

<sup>144</sup> 15 children if WALKER (*Chapter from the History*, p. 174) is right. He accounted for only 70 Jews, most of them young men, baptized since the work began in 1842.

<sup>145</sup> See BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, "Jewish Converts," p. 106.

<sup>146</sup> See BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, "Jewish Converts," p. 106.

<sup>147</sup> See BORNSTEIN-MAKOVETSKY, "Jewish Converts," p. 113.

effort and the inversions made by the Scottish churchgoers and church committees at home had to be paid off somehow, and Protestant missionaries were very subjective when describing the reality of the conversion arena to keep funding the mission in Constantinople.

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