

DAVID H. NUTTING VE İKİ OSMANLI KENTİ: DİYARBAKIR, BİTLİS (1854-1864)

DAVID H. NUTTING AND TWO OTTOMAN CITIES: DİYARBAKIR, BİTLİS (1854-1864)

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Abstract

This article aims to portray the sociological and urban conditions as well as the geographical features of the two Ottoman cities, Diyarbakır and Bitlis, through the eyes of American missionary physician David H. Nutting and his working conditions in the third quarter of the nineteenth century (1854-1860). This testimony, with its high level of education, watchful eyes and narratives is particularly noteworthy. Indeed, due to the missionary physician's medical knowledge and the needs of the society for this, he could meet people from quite different social classes and wrote down his observations in great detail. This study, first of all, endeavours to describe the process of Dr. Nutting and his family's departure from America and their arrival in the Ottoman Empire briefly. Afterwards, the letters which he started to write in Diyarbakır are examined for certain themes aside from detailed transfers on medical science. These themes shaped by the relationships that he had with the Muslim and especially the Armenian community and its leaders, as a physician and protestant, the geographical and architectural features of the cities and their reflections on human health. Finally, it should be noted that his observations and thoughts about Bitlis are handled more limitedly, since he was in Bitlis for a much shorter time than in Diyarbakır.

Öz

Bu makale, Amerikalı misyoner hekim David H. Nutting'in on dokuzuncu yüzyılın üçüncü çeyreğindeki (1854-1860) gözlemleri ve çalışma koşulları üzerinden iki Osmanlı kentini fiziksel ve sosyolojik koşullarıyla görünür kılmayı amaçlamaktadır. Yüksek öğrenim düzeyi ve dikkatli gözleri ile bu tanıklık tahlil düzeyindeki aktarımları ile özellikle kayda değerdir. Nitekim, Osmanlı Devleti'nde donanımlı hekime duyulan ihtiyaç kendisinin oldukça farklı sınıflardaki kişilerle görüşmesine imkân tanımış ve gözlemleri de bu ölçüde zenginleşmiştir. Çalışmada, öncelikle David H. Nutting'in ülkesinden ayrılış ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na geliş süreci kısaca somutlaştırılmaya çalışılmıştır. Ardından Diyarbakır kentinde kendisine duyulan ilk ihtiyaç üzerinden kaleme aldığı mektupları tıp bilimine ilişkin ayrıntılı aktarımları dışında belirli temalar üzerinden işlenmiştir. Bu temalar, bir hekim ve protestan olarak özellikle Ermeni ve Müslüman toplum ve liderleri ile yaşadığı ilişkiler, kentin coğrafi ve mimari özellikleri ve bunların insan sağlığına yansımaları üzerinden şekillenmiştir. Son olarak, Dr. Nutting'in Bitlis'te Diyarbakır'a oranla daha az sürede bulunması nedeniyle Bitlis'e ilişkin aktarımların daha sınırlı düzeyde işlendiği belirtilmelidir.

Keywords
David H. Nutting Missionary
Physician, Diyarbakır, Bitlis, City
History, Ottoman, Turkey, America

Anahtar Kelimeler
David H. Nutting Misyoner hekim,
Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Şehir tarihi,
Osmanlı, Türkiye, Amerika

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Gönderim Tarihi: 31/08/2021
Kabul Tarihi: 28/11/2021

1. TOWARDS A NEW LIFE

Dr. David Hubbard Nutting¹, who was continuing his professional work in New York for six months, was sharing about his leaving America to go to the Ottoman Empire and the preparation process with Rufus Anderson² via his letter, dated May 12, 1854. A week later, he stated that his plan was to return to his native place of Vermont³ for the purpose of arranging some business for paying his debts, visiting his relatives and friends before leaving America⁴.

Nutting and his wife left Boston on August 8, 1854 and arrived in İzmir, on September 25 1854 after a comfortable sea voyage⁵. Two days later, he wrote the first of a series of letters and reports from the Ottoman Empire. The tone of his letter was quite positive, except for the sad news of the death of his brother George Barrett Nutting's wife. He also did not neglect to ask Dr. Pomeroy if he could hand his umbrella to Mr. Jenkinson for bring it back to himself⁶.

After staying in İzmir for five days, Nutting and his family set out for Diyarbakır⁷, the place where they would be work in. On their voyage, they realized more than they had before that they were in the East, as they could only speak English with an engineer who was an Englishman. Passing North of Cyprus they arrived at İskenderun in the morning of the 5th October. After that, the land journey began. Finally, David Nutting and his friends arrived in Diyarbakır on the last day of november. Here, Some influential patients were waiting for him. The first of those was the British Consul, who had arrived in the city four weeks earlier and had been ill for several days. The other was a Defterdar, the sultan's subtreasurer and a third one was Diarbekir Pasha who had a special place in David Nutting's memories⁸.

¹ David Hubbard Nutting was a well known physician of Randolph Center. He was born in Randolph Center, Vermont, May 17, 1829. He was the son of William Nutting Esq., and grandson of William Nutting, Sr. who was immigrant ancestor of the branch of the Nutting family, had come from Groton, Suffolk county, England about 1639-42 and settled in Groton, Massachusetts, where his descendants lived for many generations (Carleton, 1903, p. 609). Also he was the brother of George Barrett Nutting, who worked as a missionary for ABCFM in the Ottoman Empire (Nutting, 1908, p. 117-120).

² (Anderson,1862, p. III- IV). Rufus Anderson was a prominent figure and witness at the center of correspondence as he served as senior secretary of ABCFM for 38 years. It is known that a rich archive resource, different research studies and memories have been created due to the functioning of the ABCFM organizational structure and the interest in the said organization. Therefore, the structure of the organization and the its working process in the Ottoman Empire will not be re-entered by avoiding a literature repetition here. For some examples of primary sources and studies, see. <https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/24/resources/2708>; (Anderson,1872; Bliss, 1910; Kocabaşoğlu, 2000; Grundmann 2008, pp. 185-188).

³ Vermont is one of the prominent states in New England lying in the northwestern part of the United States (Thompson, 1858, p. 9). Also see. (Hall, 1868).

⁴ (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 157, 159, 161).

⁵ (<http://www.dlir.org/archive/orc-exhibit/items/show/collection/12/id/17314>; (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 163).

⁶ (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 163).

⁷ With regard to the the urban history of Diyarbakır, located in southeastern Anatolia region of Turkey, see. (Yılmazçelik, 1998).

⁸ (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,164), (Nutting, 1912 pp. 58- 62).

Hamdi Pasha, who was the governor general of the province was dangerously ill. He previously learned that the native doctors had declared his case was hopeless. For two or three weeks David Nutting and Mr. Walker had to go to the palace once, and sometimes twice everyday to examine him. As a result of David Nutting's treatment, while Hamdi Pasha regained his health, David Nutting earned Pasha's respect and trust also. Besides, the closeness of Pasha to him later provided the respect and trust of the city dignitaries. So, David Nutting and his friends were able to find a peaceful living space in Diyarbakır⁹. The following statements are relevant to the subject:

" ... We have reason to be grateful that, now instead of having to report incessant stonings in the streets, and no redress from the civil authorities, we are able to say that we can walk or ride through the streets without any fear of being stoned or even hooted at. It being known, that our good counsel would immediately punish anyone who should insult or inquire of us and that Pasha and principal mussulmans are our friends, scarcely any one would dare to treat us disrespectfully..." (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 164).

2. DİYARBAKIR: CITY AND HEALTH

"... You are well aware that Diyarbekir has the reputation of being one the most unhealthy cities of Turkey. From careful observation during the residency here of nearly two years, and from comparing it with thirteen other cities of this country which I have visited, and concerning which I have obtained reliable information, I am fully satisfied that it deserves the reputation it has acquired. In a formal letter I have given you briefly what I consider to be causes of its insalubrity. The two principals are the high wall with which the city is surrounded, and which greatly hinders the circulation of the air through the filthy streets much more filthy than Aleppo, and Aintab..." (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 167).

In David Nutting's correspondences, Diyarbakır became synonymous with the unhealthy urban identity. Indeed, it is seen that in addition to the conditions causing the diseases and the need to evaluate them, the effort to create opportunities to protect themselves from these circumstances had a significant place in his letters during his tenure in Diyarbakır. In this respect, his evaluations of why Diyarbakır is an unhealthy

⁹ (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 164), Nutting, 1912, pp. 60- 61). David Nutting gave more detail on Pasha's treatment process in his book chapter than his letters. Accordingly, Pasha had been treated for several days by an Armenian doctor named Hâkim Stipan who had evidently mistaken the nature of his disease. Then, Dr. Nutting prescribed some medicines and told Pasha's attendants that if they followed all his directions, he could recover. But upon his next visit, he found that the cares continued to give the medicine prescribed by the Armenian doctor. Also, a dervish according to the custom of Islam Religious, wrote two sentences taken from the Koran, placed them in a bowl of water, from which the Pasha had to drink from time to time. Dr. Nutting did not object on it and watched the process on Pasha's health during his morning and evening visits. In the end, he did not see any good results. It at last occurred to him that, perhaps, the Pasha, did not really swallow his medicines. Then, Dr. Nutting made some strict inquiries with the Pasha's son and attendants, and learned that the Pasha disinclined to take the medicine and they dared not use of any force. Finally, David Nutting saying them " I will show you" he seized Pasha's nose, and turned the contents of the spoon into his mouth. Following days he was decidedly better.

city is especially noteworthy. For example, the famous watermelons were eaten disrespectfully within the city walls for about six months each year; vegetable and animal wastes remained in the streets for a long time, and the large gardens in the city caused diseases when they were irrigated (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 164, 165, 167).

However, we should add that the walls of Diyarbakır could be the subject of David Nutting's pen with an element of appreciation as well, as in this phrase " *I suppose this is the best specimen of an ancient walled city now extend* " (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 167).

At the same time, Nutting evinced an interest in hammams (baths) as places of health, hygiene, offering great facilities for leisure and pleasure. Thus, all classes of people had a routine of going to the hammams once a week. They were considered to have great remedial value especially in some chronic diseases of the skin, in rheumatism, in jaundice, and in dropsy. Also, we should add that some wealthy Turkish families had private baths in their houses as well. In Diyarbakır there were about a dozen very capacious baths, built of hewn stones. David Nutting also had the opportunity to visit the largest bath in the city called *Deve Hamamı* " Camel Bath". And, we can read his experiences about this bath in his memoirs which he penned after years (Nutting 1912, pp. 64-65).

As health in Diyarbakır was also delicate in the summer, David Nutting did not find it right to stay inside the city walls in extreme heat. Indeed, the people mostly went to the villages in that season and they were coming to the city only for business during the day. Also, the British Consul rented a summer house pleasantly situated on the high bank overlooking the gardens and river. He planned to spend half of the year here. And the Pasha went out to the village a mile west of the city, where there were fine buildings for his accommodation built by another Pasha ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,164).

Ultimately, David Nutting and Mr Walker were able to rent a Kiosk in summer, about a mile and a half away from the city in the West bank of Dicle River and about one third of a mile below the British Consul. They lived here for about sixteen weeks. Even so, no single family member could escape having attacks of intermittent or remittent fever¹⁰. In fact, he heard that that year was an unusually sickly season, but at the same time, as the British Consul and his family were already acclimated in Turkey their health were uneffected (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 165).

¹⁰ For the spread and the treatment process of malaria, see the study (2004: 31- 42). Bollet states that malaria and yellow fever virus, are two devastating diseases spread by the bite of specific species of mosquitoes. For ages, malaria was thought to have been caused by toxic emanations from decaying organic material, or miasmas. The observations that the worst such emanations arose from swampy areas and wetlands. Also, until the late nineteenth century, the sporadic and recurring fever and chills of malaria were considered a disease, rather than a symptom, and so it was called intermittent fever. As for Sallares, he pointed out that the region where the term malaria was introduced into the literature was Italy. Gilberto Corbellini and Lorenza Merzagora found that the first attested use of the term malaria was by Marco Cornaro in his book, *Scritture della laguna*, which was published in Venice in 1440. This name was derived from the theory of the miasmatic nature of the disease which prevailed until Laveran's discovery of malarial parasites in human blood in 1880 (Sallares, 2002).

David Nutting would continue to work in the city center and in the countryside during the summer. After his return from the countryside he would change the time of meeting with his patients from afternoons to one hour after the sunrise, on account of the danger of being out in the midday sun. But in August, he thought that closing the dispensary and only attending the more serious cases among the Protestants would be the best (ABCFM Archieves, Reel 552, 165).

Another area that makes Diyarbakır visible from David Nutting's eyes was that Mr Walker's house was not suitable for two families. It gives us the opportunity to see the city once again through the eyes of David Nutting. In last ten years, houses did not keep pace with the increase of the population, so finding a house in Diyarbakır was not easy. There was only a few houses to be rented, and their rents were very high. For example, the cost of these rentals were twice as high as in Musul and three times as high as in Antep. Furthermore, houses were built in few numbers and were small in size. As a matter of fact, the hardness of the stones increased the time and effort, which reflected in the cost. On the other hand, the construction plan and the comfort of the houses were another topics for consideration. For example, it was very difficult to find property with two rooms on the ground floor or one two with a door opening from one into the another. Generally in going from a sitting room to a dinning or bed room they had to cross the courtyard in order to be able to go up or down the stairs which was not very pleasant and comfortable at least in rainy and cold weather. Also, there were very few houses with second story rooms, which he thought more desirable, in that walled and malarious city, especially the bed rooms, as they had more access to cleaner and purer fresh air than rooms on the lower floors.

Another problem with the housing was related to Western and Protestant identities. As Muslims thought the Franks¹¹ were rich, quite often the former used to increase the price of rent. Also, the Armenian and Syrian house owners did not want to shelter Westerners because they were Protestants. Nutting thought that, they were the bitter enemies of Protestantism. Ultimately, in 1855 his housing problem was solved when the British Consul who was also a Protestant, rented a Muslim house for two years at about 1500 piasters a year (ABCFM Archieves, Reel 552, 165).

In the summer of 1856, the Kiosk, which was close to the British Consul summer house hosted the members of the mission except Mr. Williams and his family. However, all members suffered from febrile illnesses. In fact, the households of the British Consul, who had not had malaria the previous year also received treatment that year. So, apparently that the summer house rented outside the city in the hope of being healthy was insufficient. The permanent solution for the mission would be the construction of a summer house in Aliponna Village, one mile west of Diyarbakır. It

¹¹ In the East, Frenk term was used instead of the European. It was converted from French. In Ottoman, "Efrenc" was used for Western European (Pakalın, 1971, p. 635). The word Frank, (see FRANKS) generally means "Western European", and referred to the earlier Italians and French, with whom the Ottomans had more relations before. From the end of the XV. century onwards it referred to Germans and from the middle of the XVI. Century. It included other Western European people as well (Şakiroğlu, 1996, pp. 197-199).

was a plain village where lived fifty or sixty households, mostly Armenians, with small gardens and verdant in spring, and like a desert in summer. Also, it was possible to see the fine view of the city, Toros and Kara Mountains¹² from the village. Among the advantages of Aliponna were the gardens which were small, the roads were flat and they did not pass through the gardens. And it was easier to reach the city from all directions than the Kiosk. Besides, during the days its air was a little cooler and airier than in the Kiosk, at nights there was no dampness and chilliness in the village. And, life in the village was safer than the summer house owing to the latter's was in a more isolated location (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,167).

Ultimately, David Nutting would be associated with Diyarbakır Station until 1864, would also work in Adıyaman, Urfa, Harput and Arabkir. Among his remarkable statements regarding that period was the acquisition of the British Consul residence by ABCFM upon the assignment of the British Consul to Sarajevo, the slow but steady increase a number of the Protestant community and the addition of their little daughter Nelli, to the Nutting family in 1862 (ABCFM Archives, Reel 676, 61, 63) .

2.1. Eğil:

The Eğil Town¹³, located twenty five miles north of the Tigris, was one of the geographies subject to David Nutting's observations. According to that, it was a large town containing about six hundred houses, one third of which were Armenians, and the remaining two thirds principally Kurds. It had never been visited by a missionary however a colporteur was sent there twice during the last year. Despite objections, he distributed Bibles, treatises and religious books for several weeks. David Nutting stayed at the colporteur's accomodation in the town. That was a two-bedroom house where a large family lived. During this time, Dr. Nutting would take care of twenty to forty patients a day, who had heard of a "Frank Doctor" coming around shortly, and also visited seriously ill patients who could not come to him at their homes. That period gave him an opportunity not only to make friends among all classes, but also to tell them that many of the diseases were caused by sin, which would certainly work death in them if they did not apply the Great Physician and if they didn't come to Christ that they might have life. Among Dr. Nutting's notes on Eğil, the sabbath ritual and church he attended are also noteworthy:

"... It is an old stone building rudely built, about twenty by 30 feet, and ten feet-high. It contains the usual paintings of the Virgin Marry holding the child Jesus in her arms and of several saints; and is lighted not by Windows but by candles. The room was crowded full... My being present and not joining with them in making the cross, worshipping the picture, and attracted much attention, and I hope led some to think that perhaps after all they were being led wrong way by blind guides"¹⁴.

¹² I believe that by using the phrase "Black Mountains" he referred to Karacadağ.

¹³ In the XIX. century, Eğil had the "kaza: town" status in Diyarbakır (Yılmazçelik, 1995, p.223).

¹⁴ For other notable observations in David Nutting's letter, see : " ... In a little room above the church are two idols, made of cloth in the shape of men and ornamented with silver. The largest is about two feet high, and is named "Soorp Nishan" (Holy Sign) and the other is one and a half feet high and named "Pegich" (Savior). These

At that point, David Nutting returned to the people of Eğil and stated that people were easily deceived by the priests as they were quite ignorant. There was no school in the town and except priests only three or four people could read. A few people already were willing to open a school and if a Protestant teacher came, they would send their children to these schools (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,168).

2.2. The Request for Change of Place and a Comparison: Diyarbakır and Bitlis

David Nutting penned his letter dated February 10, 1859 because of his request to leave Diyarbakır and he shared what stages of thoughts had passed through his mind regarding his appointment. Firstly, he had inclined to work in Urfa or one of its out stations, such as Adıyaman or Siverek. However, after considering the issue more carefully, he came to conclusion that it would be better to go east than west. The place where he wanted to work was Bitlis. There had already been a missionary family, and then he would attend to call from Van, Muş (Moosh) and Erzurum, where soon they hoped missionary families would be located. For the appointment in question, first of all, the Board had to appoint a missionary to Diyarbakır instead of him.

At that point, David Nutting recalled his negative observations about Diyarbakır. And he did not want those problems to prevent the appointment of a new missionary. In fact, not only an unhealthy city awaited the missionary candidate to be appointed. Diyarbakır also had advantages. For example, Diyarbakır had a weekly post to and from İstanbul, and fortnightly to and from Aleppo, Beirut, Mosul and Bagdad whereas in Bitlis there was no post from any direction. And, the telegraph laid from İstanbul to Bagdad would pass through Diyarbakır. Besides, Diyarbakır was the center of the western consulates, a crossing point for the travellers and home to employees from different professions. However, there was probably not a single westerner in Bitlis except Mr. Knapp and it was extremely rare to see any foreign travelers. Again, since Diyarbakır was an old station, the missionary who came here would not face serious of

are worshipped by the deluded people, especially when sick, and wonderful cures are said to be wrought by them. My servant a native of Egil, but who for several years has lived in Diarbekir, and become a protestants told me that when he was a boy after having suffered with pain for forty days, he was carried by his parents to this room and approached the idols on bended knees, kissed and worshipped them and prayed them to save him from his sickness. He says he went away cured...." (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,168). Nutting's comments on the paintings and rituals in the Armenian Church are quite significant in the Christian church history. For a comprehensive study on this subject, see. (Eire, 1986, pp. 18-73). In this study, it is handled that material expressions of devotion, such as the cult of images, had been a source of controversy long before the late middle age and that the use of religious art as church decoration began in the third century, then rapidly developed as a devotional aid by the fourth century. The author also states that the cult of images was principally an extension of the cult of the saints and it was dramatically expanded, especially in the Eastern Church, after the sixth century. The process would continue with the early Christian theologians expressing their for and against opinions. The violent and prolonged Iconoclastic controversy of the eighth and ninth centuries showed the depth of anger and the eventual triumph of the iconodules fixed the icon as a central part of Eastern Christian worship. On the other hand, Protestantism tended to resist the beatification of images as cult objects. Eire, started Protestant criticism on Catholic "idolary" with Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstad – not Luther-, who was Luther's colleague from University of Wittenberg.

problems that might be encountered in the new stations (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,170).

As the Assyrian Mission's approval was required for the appointment, David Nutting was sharing his different observations and evaluations with the Assyrian missionaries in the field. For instance, he thought that there was less mortality in Diyarbakır than in many other cities where the amount of sickness was not one half as widespread as in Diyarbakır. Especially, the fevers which were common in Diyarbakır were very seldom fatal, and generally more easily managed than other diseases. So, any missionary with a little experience could prescribe treatment for the people who were sick. The Assyrian Mission's voting result was positive ¹⁵.

But, Boston would not approve of his wish to change location. As David Nutting, on the other hand, did not expect any rejection in this direction, he rented a house for five years by paying one year in advance in Bitlis, where he went to spend the summer in the first stage, and carried out repairs such as plastering, whitewashing and putting in glass windows. He, even purchased a quantity of wood and coal for winter. Also, he packed up their things in Diyarbakır, where he returned in autumn, and sent off three of their most bulky loads.

Disappointed, David Nutting went to Bitlis just to spend the winter and did not neglect to share his observations and experiences regarding Bitlis with the Board while planning the new appointment place (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,173).

3. BİTLİS

Although David Nutting frequently touched on the unfavorable climate and health conditions of Diyarbakır, he highlighted the health value of Bitlis's climate and geographical features in his letters ¹⁶. The climate of Bitlis was cool in the summer and mild and dry in the winter. The heavy snowfall from mid-December to mid-March reminded him of Vermont. However, the falling snow did not stay as long as in Vermont. He did not know any places in Turkey which equals this in salubrity. Indeed, although fever was very common in many parts of Turkey, it was almost unknown in Bitlis. He encountered only two cases of acute illness at the dispensary and in patient visits at home. It was decisive in the formation of this health picture that Bitlis was located at an altitude of 5000 feet. It was situated among the mountains close to Lake Van containing salt water and therefore had a pure, refreshing and gentle air. Bitlis was established on both sides of the river. The houses were surrounded by gardens, which were constructed of brown sandstone, and they were very abundant and easily sculpted. Indeed, David Nutting, beside the city, expressed his positive impressions on

¹⁵ (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,170). Also, a missionary who was not a physician would not have to travel in the heat of noon or at night, as there would be no emergencies.

¹⁶ Bitlis is one of the historical cities of East Anatolia and is established at an altitude of 1400-1450 in a narrow and deep valley opened by Bitlis watercourse between Southeastern Mountains (Tuncel, 1992, p. 225-226). Also, for ABCFM work in Bitlis, see (Alan, 2019, p.423-443; On the history of Bitlis, see (Karaca, 2020).

the people of Bitlis. In fact, he said the people approached him with respect, not as fanatical as he feared¹⁷.

Nutting also gave information about his own missionary activities in Bitlis in his letter. For example, at the dispensary every four afternoons in the week, before examining patients he used to read some verses from the Gospel and made remarks to patients who were Armenians, Syrians and Turks. On the other hand, native Christians- especially clergymen- reacted to those who were interested in Protestantism. And the opening of a new chapel was also carried out. In concluding his letter, he added that Bitlis was important not only because it had good people, but also it was close to Muş and Van. Therefore, sending a missionary to support Mr. Knapp would be beneficial for both Bitlis and the missionary activities around it (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552, 174).

As for David Nutting's letter dated June 28 1860, regarding Bitlis, it is seen that the tensions with Armenian leaders constituted the main agenda. As a matter of fact, the intense interest of the Armenian community towards Protestantism led their religious leaders to impose sanctions such as ex-communication, cursing, and exclusion, which prevented them from participating in Protestant rites and meetings. However, all of those pressures could not prevent the people from coming to the dispensary for medical and surgical treatments like, cataract and dropsy even from distant villages and listening to the Bible from read by David Nutting, due to the health problems of the people and their need for trained physicians¹⁸.

4. RETURN TO THE MOTHERLAND

David Nutting assigned to Urfa to work with his brother George Barrett Nutting, after leaving Diyarbakır. In fact, his brother George Barrett Nutting had followed this appointment process and conveyed his opinion and request to the Board for approval as well. However, the following years did not offer the two brothers the opportunity to work together because of an extraordinary agenda. This situation primarily stemmed from D. Nutting's desire to visit America, and then because of his brother George Barrett Nutting's disagreement with his colleagues at the station over a theological disagreement. Returning back to America in 1865, David Nutting and his family would remain until 1868 due to health problems and the possibility that he would be a party to theological discussions in Urfa. Ultimately, upon the assurance that he would

¹⁷ "...We have had occasion several times to go before the governor & council, and once they all came and spent several hours at our? home and they have uniformly showed us must respect and have seemed ready to do anything we have asked of them..." (ABCFM Archives, Reel 552,174).

¹⁸ (ABCFM Archives, Reel 642,32) For some references on the subject, see. "... But during the following week, the Vartabeds and priests, having learned that great numbers were coming to hear the Gospel, became exceedingly enraged, and determined to exert themselves to the uttermost to prevent their people from listening to the truth. Therefore the next Sabbath, at the early morning service in the four churches, a writing of the chief Vartabed was read, anathematizing in the strongest language, four men, who were supposed to be the leaders of those who came to our meetings, and threatening anathemas upon all others, who should attend the Protestant meeting, or send their children to Protestant school; and also upon all who should have any dealings with them. This had the effect which they desired to a considerable extent..."

remain neutral in the aforementioned debate his road to Turkey would be opened for him(ABCFM Archieves, Reel 642. 39, 41, 53, 54, 55, 62, 69).

Upon his return to Turkey in 1868 his new appointed place of work now Aleppo. However, during his stay there his health condition deteriorated rapidly and therefore in 1872 he decided to move to Antep Station (ABCFM Archieves, Reel 642, 62,63; Reel 643, 37; Reel 645, 162). But, as that change would not have a sufficient positive effect both on Nutting's and his family health, in 1874 with much sadness they decided that it was the right time to leave the field. Eventually, they returned back home in 1875 and Nutting retired in 1876. During his retirement he decided to live in a farmhouse in Randolph- the place of his birth- with the funds he received from the ABCFM until his death in 1916¹⁹.

CONCLUSION

The letters, which were part of the ABCFM organization's meticulousness in keeping records, allowed the missionaries to convey the living conditions in their fields by blending with their works, which gives the said documents a special and privileged place. However, since David Nutting worked in Diyarbakır for a longer period of time than Bitlis this study was mainly shaped by the former.

The letters also show us some interesting details about the inner world of the Armenian community, while shedding light on the relations of Protestant missionaries with Muslims and Armenians at the level of the public and administration. Again, it should be noted that the physical and social life details of the towns and villages, which could remain in the background in the different archival documents, have survived to the present day with the correspondences of David Nutting. From this point on, when we continue to look at the cities through the eyes of Dr. Nutting, we see that Diyarbakır stands out with its city walls, health problems, settlement preferences that change according to the seasons and to architectural features. On the other hand, although Bitlis did not have as favorable conditions as Diyarbakır in the context of communication, transportation, cultural opportunities and bureaucratic diversity, it differs positively with his emphasis that it was a healthy city.

Lastly, we can say that by reading the letters in the ABCFM records in detail, one can reach there are very different dimensions of life that might change the general opinions at the levels of the individual, society and institution²⁰.

¹⁹ For David H. Nutting's observations and activities concerning with Urfa and Haleb (Aleppo) and the process of leaving Turkey and settling back in America, see. (Kutkan, 2017, p. 1-34).

²⁰ I would like to thank Shaun McGuire, Dr. William Smiley and Dr. Evangelos Katafylys for their support and contributions in the writing of this article.

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Appendix I: (Nutting, 1908, p. 118).



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Appendix II: (David H. Nutting, Letter, Diyarbakır, Assyria, October 10th 1858, Reel 652).

