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HENRY MARTYN'S PERSONAL EFFECTS AND HIS GRAVE IN TOKAT

HENRY MARTYN'IN MADDİ MİRASI VE TOKAT'TAKİ MEZARI

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Abstract: Henry Martyn was overcome by fever in Tokat where he breathed his last on the 16th of October 1812. He was recorded as an Englishman named Mister Martyn in the court records of Tokat. However, he was remembered in both England and America as the first modern missionary sent to the lands of the Prophet Mohammad. In addition, he became famous because he translated the New Testament into Urdu, Persian and Arabic. This article is not about Henry Martyn's missionary role. This study has two aims. One of these is to address the real identity of Henry Martyn about who there is almost nothing written in Turkey. The other aim has been to fill a gap related to him in the relevant literature through publishing the unpublished evidence and the inventory of his possessions. Our finds concerning his grave are recorded in this study. The main sources for this study have been the Tokat court register number 16, documents provided by the center of Henry Martyn in Cambridge, a book on his grave published in the USA and the books written by travellers and missionaries who had passed through Tokat.

Keywords: Henry Martyn • Tokat • Death and Inheritance • Missionary

Öz: Henry Martyn yüksek ateş nedeniyle son nefesini verdiği yer olan Tokat'a 16 Ekim 1812'de gelmiştir. Henry Martyn gerek İngiltere'de ve gerekse Amerika'da Hz. Muhammed'in topraklarına gönderilen ilk modern misyoner olarak anılmıştır. Ayrıca İncil'i Urduca, Farsça ve Arapça dillerine çeviren büyük bir İncil çevirmeni olarak ün yapmıştır. Bu çalışma, Henry Martyn'in misyoner kimliği üzerine değildir. Çalışmada sırasıyla onun yaşamı, Tokat'a gelişi, bu şehirde ölümü, ölümünden sonra yaşananlar ve onun hakkında yazılanlar verilmiştir. Çalışmanın temelde iki amacı bulunmaktadır. Birincisi Türkiye'de neredeyse hakkında hiçbir yayın bulunmayan Henry Martyn'in gerçek kimliğini ortaya koymaktır. İkincisi ise dünyada hakkında çokça yazılan Henry Martyn'in şu ana kadar yayımlanmamış miras belgesini yayımlayarak onunla ilgili literatürdeki bir boşluğun doldurulmasıdır. Bu çalışma Henry Martyn'in mirasını, bu mirasla ilgili ayrıntıları, Henry Martyn'in şu ana kadar bilinmeyen mezar yeri ile ilgili bazı yeni bulguları içermektedir. Çalışmanın ana kaynakları 16 numaralı Tokat Şeriye Sicili, Cambridge'de bulunan Henry Martyn Merkezi'nden temin edilen belgeler, ABD'de onun mezarı üzerine basılan bir kitap ve Tokat'a uğrayan seyyah ve misyonerlerin kitaplarıdır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Henry Martyn • Tokat • Ölüm ve Miras • Misyoner

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A Brief Introduction

Most of us have read the novel "*Jane Eyre*" by Charlotte Bronte, the first edition of which was printed on the 16th of October 1847 and it was translated into many languages. In the last part of *Jane Eyre*, St. John Rivers goes to India and cannot convince Jane to accompany and marry him. In fact, this dramatic scene is the effective adaptation made by Charlotte Bronte of the events that Henry Martyn lived through with Lydia Grenfell. Henry Martyn, whose life became subject of many books and novels, was born in England in 1781 and died in Tokat in his thirtieth year, when he was returning from India to England. He dedicated himself to missionary activities, writing sermons and making translations of religious texts in the course of his short life. Below, I review the life of this missionary, his arrival in Tokat and his grave.

I. Early Years and His Labours in India and Persia



Fig. 1. *Henry Martyn*
(Provided by the Henry Martyn Center)

He was born in Truro, Cornwall of England, on the 18th of Febuary 1781[1]. His father was a miner. Later, his miner-father developed his skills in mathematic and arithmetic, and became a clerk in the commercial center of Truro. Henry's mother died probably from tuberculosis short time after his younger sister Sally was born. His brothers and sisters became infected with tuberculosis from their mother and all of them died at a young age. Likewise, Henry also had health problems throughout his childhood. First, Henry was enrolled in the Truro Grammer School whose headmaster was Dr. Saint Cornelius Cardew. Later, in 1797, he was registered in St. John's College. This was the first place he exhibited his accademic talents[2].

In 1801, Henry Martyn graduated with the highest honour from Cambridge University and became the first possessor of Smith's prize. Martyn had written in his diary that he would continue to work as an academician in Cambridge or he would become a jurist[3].

In April 1802, he was chosen as an academic member for the St. John's College. This membership gave him the opportunity to set aside time for the study of the classics that he considered his first love. He gained a Middle Bachelors Prize through his article written in Latin. There can be no doubt that if he had preferred to stay in academia, he would have had the opportunity to realize a successful academic life within the immediate future[4]. Charles Simeon (1759-1836), who was an Anglican clergyman and biblical commentator, led the Evangelical (or Low Church) movement, in reaction to the liturgically and episcopally oriented High Church Party[5] -was encouraging Martyn to enter Holy Orders. During a speech, he had pointed to Simeon William Carey's sucess in India. This gave a new direction to Martyn's life. From this pont, Henry Martyn was attracted to the idea of becoming a missionary and he accepted David Brainerd as an example, who carried out missinary activities amongst the American natives and had died aged 29[6].

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1 Sargent 1836, 61-102; Carlyon 1856, 1-10; Smith 1892, 1-100.
2 Bennett 1997, 46.
3 Carlyon 1856, 7; Bennett 1997, 50.
4 Bennett 1997, 50.
5 Williamson 1848, 6.
6 Bennett 1997, 51.

Henry Martyn's circle of academic friends and his teachers were opposed to his decision to become a missionary and they thought that someone else should do this work. However, he accepted Simeon's suggestion of becoming a vice-priest, and began to this work at Ely Cathedral on the 22nd of October 1803[7].

> *In St. John's College, he came under the influence of Charles Simeon, fellow of King's college and Vicar of Holy Trinity Church in central Cambridge. Simeon had been instrumental in founding the Society for Missions to Africa and the East (later CMS) in 1799. The first collections taken on behalf of CMS were at Holy Trinity in 1804. Martyn became a regular worshipper at the church in 1799 and was encouraged by Simeon to train for the priesthood. In the summer of 1802, just after becoming a fellow of St. John's College, he was ordained in Ely Cathedral, and the following year served as curate of Lolworth, a satellite parish of Holy Trinity. He began working on Persian and Arabic texts as well as studying Hindustani and Bengali and began to feel a calling for missionary work and offered himself to the Society for Mission as the first Englishman prepared to serve abroad but (the) loss of his family income after the death of his father, forced him to reconsider. He heard that chaplains were being recruited to work under the East India Company in Bengal for substantial salaries which would enable him to support himself and his unmarried sister, Sally.*

As noted above, he also began working on Persian and Arabic texts as well as studying Hindustani and Bengali and began to feel a call for missionary work and offered himself to the Society for Mission as the first Englishman prepared to serve abroad but loss of his family income after the death of his father, forced him to reconsider this decision. He heard that chaplains were being recruited to work under the East India Company in Bengal for substantial salaries which would enable him to support himself and his unmarried sister, Sally. Charles Simeon nominated him to the consul. Simeon's friend, Charles Grant was starting a campaign to get permission for missionaries to work in the regions of India administered by the East Indian Company and assigning qualified preachers to the service of the company. This because, most of the preachers were people who did not have the sense of reponsibility for India and for Indians and were not conservative or they were only interested in earning money rather than in saving souls. Any company servant aimed to earn enough money to retire comfortably within a comparatively short period of time. However, Grant tried to collect those persons who had an evangelistic view of missionary work, evangelist preachers such as Claudius Buchanan (1766-1815), David Brown (1763-1812) and Thomas Thomason (1774-1829) who Henry Martyn used to work with, who possessed thev required skills and abilities[8].

After his visit to Cornwall in 1804, Henry Martyn returned Cambridge in October 1804. In his diary, he gave space to his pleasant memories of what was to prove this last visit to his home and also expressed his love for Lydia.

> *Marazion, one of the most ancient, warmest and boring towns of England, located 26 miles to the south-west of Truro, was where Lydia Grenfell's house existed. Grenfell was the only love of Henry Martyn in his life. Lydia Grenfell, who was born in 1775 in Marazion, was 6 years older than Henry Martyn. They were acquainted with each other because Henry*

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[7] Henyr Martyn Center ("Henry Martyn: A Brief Life" unpublished and a short life story prepared for us by Henry Martyn Center in 2012) 2012, 1-2.

[8] Bennett 1997, 52-53.

Martyn's cousin married Grenfell's sister. The fact that her fiancé preferred another woman and Lydia's marriage could not be realized, made her a toucy woman. She corresponded with Henry Martyn for long years. Henry Martyn wanted to take her to India but he could not convince her. This impossible love became subject of many publications in England. At the same time, the diaries and writings of Lydia Grenfell, who lived until 1829, also became popular in England[9].

While he waited for an order to go out of London, he worked as the assistant to Saint Richard Cecil at St. James' Chapel and was then appointed as a priest for Bedford Row which was a strong fortrest of St. James' Chapel. In the same period, after a short time, Henry Martyn was accepted into the faculty of theology at the University of Cambridge. Martyn began to take courses from John Gilchrist to learn Urdu. Gilchrist had travelled around the continent of India in Indian costume and had prepared a dictionary and a book of Urdu grammar (in 1787-1790). Henry Martyn was aware that knowing very well the language of any region was an important instrument in communicating with the people of that region. In choosing to learn Urdu, the use of this language by the Muslims of India played an important role, as through the use of this language, he could concentrate his missionary activities on the Muslims[10].

He started his journey lasting 305 days on the 17th of July 1805. The journey by ship began from the harbor of Cork in Ireland on the Eastern side of the Atlantic Ocean reaching San Salvador on the shore of South America and from there, crossed over the Atlantic to the Cape of Good Hope and thence to India. Martyn was the preacher of the ship during its voyage. He continued his language studies and also added Bengali, Persian and Arabic to his linguistic studies. Martyn paid attention to everything and everywhere when the ship docked he went ashore[11].

Martyn reached Calcutta in April 1806. During his journey to India Martyn had the chance to learn and develop his linguist skills in Bengali, Urdu, Persian and Arabic. For a few weeks after his arrival in India, he waited to obtain a preachership. He had expected to obtain a job where there was a large Indian population. His main aim in this was to direct Indians to Christianity and also to develop his language skills among them. While waiting for a preachership, he visited the preachers in Serampore in order to continued to learn the local languages. Serampore was the place where he began to translate the New Testament for the first time. Here he had helped those preachers who were trying to translate the New Testament. Henry Martyn was sent to Dinapor as a preacher between October 1806 and 1809 and he continued this work in Cawnpore between1809 and 1810. While was in Cawnpore, he translated the New Testament, a few hymns and the text of sermons into Urdu. The fact that he became acquainted with someone named Sabat who was a convert to Christianity encouraged him to translate the New Testament into Persian and Arabic[12]. However, the four years of had work in India caused his health to become get worse and he became weak. In consequence, he was given a vacation for an indefinite period of time. When he took his vacation from the Eastern Indian Company, he had two projects on his mind: the first one was to return England and to marry Lydia Grenfell, the second was to visit Persia and Arabia. He thought that the climate of these countries

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9 Smith 1892, 43-100.

10 Bennett 1997, 54-55.

11 Sargent 1836, 102-305; Carlyon 1856, 24-26; Smith 1892, 101-339.

12 Henry Martyn Center 2012, 1-2.

would be beneficial for his health[13]. Moreover, if he went to these two countries it would provide him with possibility of taking a chance with his Persian and Arabic Bibles. For example, the official view of Persia on this matter was, to some extent, important and Martyn was considering Shah's view on the translation of the Bible into Persian. At the end, Henry Martyn finished his translation of the Bible into Persian on the 14th of February 1811[14].

Martyn travelled from Bombay to Muscat in March 1811 and departed for the Persian Gulf by ship. His journey to Persia was to some extent exiting as he would be the first Protestant Missionary to go to Persia. Therefore, before his departure for Persia, he had grown a beard and wore local costume. While he was in Persia, he had the opportunity of talking with the English ambassador, with the son of the Shah and a number of notables. In Persia, he improved his translation of the Bible into Persian he completed this work of redation on his translation at the beginning of March 1812[15].

When he reached Basra from India, Martyn showed his Persian and Arabic translations of the Bible to the local nobles. While finding that his Persian translation was acceptable and sufficient, they found his Arabic translation unacceptable and insufficient. Martyn journeyed from Basra to Shiraz where his friend Sir Malcolm had been. In Shiraz, he debated with Mullah Mirza İbrahim and Muhammed Rıza ibn-i Hamedani, and recorded information concerning his discussion with them.

> *Martyn had three basic views of Islam: In the first, he discusses the quality of miracles in the Islamic faith. He tries to show that the belief that the Quran was an eternal miracle and a unique book was groundless. In the second, he attacked Muhammadism (Islam). He criticised the paradoxes in the Quran and the quality of the prizes in the Quran. He attempted to prove that the founder of this religion was selfish and had a untrustworthy character, targeting the Prophet Muhammad. From his own point of view, he compares the clear, heavenly and holy doctrines of Bible with Muhammadism. In the third, he stated thatsufism was worthless, and explained that Moses and Christ were honest. (For Martyn's point of view on Islam, see Sargent 1836, 441-443).*

Martyn's next stop after Shiraz was Tehran. When he was in Tehran, he did not receive the respect that he had expected from Shah's men. One of his missions in Persia was to present the Bible that he had translated into Persian to the Shah, but in this he was not successful. Instead, he met with the Shah's vizier. During this period of intense activity, Henry Martyn came down with a fiery disease. He stayed in the house of the English ambassador in Tebriz for a while and recovered from this illness. Although he was recommended not to travel, he preferred to travel by land through Armenia and Anatolia to İstanbul[16]. However, subsequently, the Shah his Persian translation of the Bible and evaluated it as being understandable and easy. Through the help of Oueseley his Persian translation of the Bible was printed in St. Petersburg in 1815 and in Calcutta in 1816. Henry Martyn suffering from tuberculosis died in Tokat in 1812 in the course of his return journey to England[17].

II. His Death in Tokat

Tokat in 1812 was a district attached to the province of Sivas. The person who was responsible for the

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13 Bennett 1992, 126-129.
14 Hallihan 2003, 16.
15 Henry Martyn Center 2012, 1-2.
16 Henry Martyn Center 2012, 1-2.
17 Bennett 1992, 126-129.

administrative and financial affairs of the city was the Voivode Salih Agha. There existed a court of law in the city and the chairman of the court was the judge Sheikh Mustafa. The great majority of the city's residents were Muslim Turks. Apart from Muslims within the population, there were Armenians, Greeks and a few Jews and Gypsies. The city in the Ottoman period was an important industrial town processing the copper extracted from Ergani mines and the copper was sent to internal markets. There was also the manufacture and merchandising of printed cloth and silk and there was a leather industry and dyehouses in the city. The city stood at the crossroads of roads from the West to the East and from the North to the South, and the Ottoman Empire had established a customs office in the city[18]. The overland road from Persia to İstanbul passed through this city and Tokat was one of the important stops on the journey of Henry Martyn, who had departed from Tebriz on the 2nd of September 1812 and wanted to go to İstanbul. But Henry Martyn never imagined he would fall into infinite sleep in th city of Tokat.



Fig. 2. *General Wiev From Tokat* (1930's)
(Hasan Erdem's Archive)

In the evening of the 2nd of September 1812, Henry Martyn departed from Tebriz for İstanbul, who described this journey as his long voyage of 1300 miles. His route was drawn by British ambassador Sir Gore Ouseley in Tebriz and he was given letters written to the Turkish administrators in Yerevan, Kars and Erzurum, to the British ambassador in İstanbul and the Armenian patriarch in Etchmiatzin (*James Morrier had drawn the course of the roads from Bombay to England in 1808-1809 and published it in 1816*)[19]. One host provided by the Persian Prince accompanied him to Yerevan. He reached Etchmiatzin on the 12th of September and on the next day he met with the Armenian patriarch. After a stay of 5 days, he left Etchmiatzin on the 17th of September in the company of one host and some persons assigned by the Armenian patriarch and he reached at Kars on the 21st of September. On the 22nd of September, he left Kars and following his route, arrived at Erzurum on the 25th of September. He stayed in this city for 4 days and left Erzurum in the company of a post rider and his son who had been assigned by the governor of Erzurum, on the 29th of September. They departed from Erzurum at midday and their first stop was a village between Erzurum and Aşkale. In this village, Martyn caught a fever, and the post rider's son also became ill and the latter had to return to Erzurum. On the 30th of September, changing their horses in Aşkale, Henry Martyn and the post rider went on their way and spent the night in a place named Burnukapan which is located between Bayburt and Aşkale. Henry Martyn had not eaten or drunk anything apart from butter and tea, and had a strong headache, and, on this day, he was mentally depressed and in low-spirits.

On the 1st of October, he had written in his diary that he heard from Sir Ouseley's men that "*in these lands the plague caused people to die and every day thousands of people died*". He had heard that the people of Tokat had also started to leave the city for this reason. He was afraid of being infected with this disease and was begging God to save him from the plague. After the post rider Hasan

18 Beşirli 2005, 11-356.
19 Morrier 1816.

changed the horses on the 2nd of October, he acted to convey Henry Martyn to Tokat as fast as possible, although it rained all day long throughout the 3rd and 4th of October, and they slept only 2 or 3 hours a day. On the 6th of October, Henry Maryn would write his last note in his diary, it reads as follows:

"*October 6-No horses to be had, I had an unexpected repose. I sat in the orchard and thought with sweet comfort and peace of my God, in solitude my Company, my Friend, and Comforter. Oh, when shall time give place to eternity! When shall appear that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness! There, there shall in no wise enter in anything that defileth: none of that wickedness which has made men worse than wild beasts, none of those corruptions which add still more to the miseries of mortality, shall be seen or heard of any more*". Probably, he should have arrived at Tokat on the 10th or 11th of October. When he arrived in Tokat, he was a guest in the posthouse[20].

III. His Material Inheritance

To date a considerable number of publications have been made concerning Henry Martyn's life and spiritual inheritance[21]. But there has been no study of the list of his properties that the court at Tokat prepared upon his request two days before he died. This document was prepared on the 14th of October and was recorded in the court register numbered 16 with the date of 10 Şevval 1227 (Hegira) / 17th of October 1812 (A.D.), one day after his demise (See Appendix-1). A copy of this document in French was sent to the French consulate in İstanbul (See Appendix-3). This document carries the title "*The record of the list of the goods of the English unbeliever who died in the posthouse*". In the document, it is recorded that the English unbeliever Mr. Martyn came from the Shah of Persia and arrived in Tokat in the company of the post rider Hasan Agha who had been assigned to this duty by the governor of Erzurum, Emin Pasha, and that Mr. Martyn had had his possessions recorded in the Islamic court, on his request and with the approval of the city administrator Voivode Salih Agha. In addition, it was explained that two days after the preparation of the document Martyn had died and his record of death, the bill of exchange of 2800 piasters and his personal belongings were given to the post rider Hasan Agha (TŞS-Tokat Court Register 16-register number, 124-page number/2-document number).

> *The French version of this document exists at the Henry Martyn Center and English Archives. On the 5th of November 1812, Sir Isaac Morier in İstanbul wrote a letter to the English embassador, Sir Gore Ouseley in Tebriz and informed him of the death of Henry Martyn. In the appendix to this letter, there exists the document including a list of possessions recorded by the court of Tokat and signed by the judge Sheikh Mustafa. There also exists records explaining that Henry Martyn's bill of exchange was cashed through an Armenian merchant and the received money was expended on his funeral expenses. In addition, there are the the documents concerning news of his death being given to Henry Martyn's brother's wife Harriet, and concerning the lost of some of his possessions (for example, one sword) are recorded. The documents that Henry Martyn Center supplied us with, greatly helped us in their French translations, are founded in English National Archive as*

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[20] Smith 1892, 492-514.

[21] Lee 1824; Bell 1881; Wilberforce 1889; Padwick 1922; Bentley-Taylor 1975; Stacey 1980; Finnie 1988; Powell 1993; Isaac 1999; Henry 2003; Bell 2010; Rhea 2014; Fleming 2015.

follows: National Archives, London Foreign Office, Embassy and Consulates, Iran. Correspondence of Sir Gore Ouseley. F.O. 248/30 pp.81-84.O. 248/30 pp. 89-93 National Archives, London FO 248/30 pp. 89-90, 93. The French letter used by us is found on pages 91and 92.

Goods listed as belonging to Henry Martyn when he was in Tokat comprise 54 entries, most of which were clothes and accessories. 11 entries of clothes were overdresses, most of which were shirts (3 entries). The nearly all the 11 shirts recorded in these 3 entries were made of fabrics, only one was of Tokat fabric. Apart from shirts, 5 loose robes were recorded in 3 entries. Three of these loose robes were short robes of black camlet. The other two were made in Persia, one of printed cotton cloth, the other sew of cotton-wool fabric. In addition to these, one black woolen gown, five waistcoats made of black camlet, one tiger skin and one used cloak of lamb's wool were among the clothes of Henry Martyn.

4 entries of dress in Henry Martyn's list of clothes consisted of clothes worn for the legs (8 clothes). All of these were trousers, termed potur in Turkish. Six of these were black, one was blue and the other white. Two of the black-ones were made of fabric, one of broadcloth. The foot-wear amongst the goods left behind by Henry Martyn were recorded in 7 entries. When we looked at these, we see that Henry Maryn had 16 pairs of sock, 8 foot fabrics (in Turkish *ayak bezi*), 11 black woolen gaiters, a pair of boots and two pairs of shoes.

There are four white stockings recorded in one entry in the list of Henry Martyn's effects. Among the accessories to Henry Martyn's clothes, there were a small silver belt, 20 neckties, a Persian wrist-watch, a white shawl embroidered with flowers made in Persia, and a hat, all of these were recorded in a single entry. It is possible to find some house linens recorded in the above-mentioned list. Three bed sheets, one quilt covered with fabric, one mattress filled with Russian flax, one small pillow filled with feathers were among the bedding recorded in his effects. One table cloth, two glasses made in Kütahya, three small spoons, two dishes of Saxony, a sugar holder of tin, two trays of copper, one washbowl, one long-spouted ewer, one copper teapot, one cafetiere were among his eating and drinking effects. He was using one long carpet bag and one worn long bag made of pileless carpet to carry or store such items as rugs. In addition to these, Henry Martyn had two sugar loaves, and one reed/rush mat, one white rug and one pileless carpet to spread on the ground. He also had an English riding saddle and harrness and a sword. Six entries of his effects comprised some exercise books, some Franc bank notes and English pounds.

An exercise book and a bill of exchange for 2800 piasters added at the bottom of the list of Henry Martyn's goods was entrusted to the above-named post rider (Tatar) Hasan and he was sent to İstanbul (TŞS 16, 124/3). According to the document sent to the French consulate in İstanbul by the judge of Tokat, Sheikh Mustafa, 25 piasters were spent on the burial of the said traveller. Of this amount of money, 30 piasters seems to have remained and this money was also handed to post rider (Tatar) Hasan.

IV. His Mausoleum in Tokat and its Visitors

Henry Martyn's mausoleum was included in the inventory of ethnographic works of the Tokat Museum of Tokat, No. 435/1 and dated of 31.01.1926. In this inventory, there is no record on the place where the mausoleum was found, nor of the place from where it was brought. According to the inventory, the mausoleum measures as follows: floor measurement of the first level: 55x59 cm, height: 20.5 cm; floor measurement of the second level: 47x61 cm, height: 34.5 cm; floor measurement of the

third level 60x82 cm; height: 130 cm; floor measurment of the fourth level: 37.5x43 cm, height: 130 cm. The place of exhibition of the mausoleum is shown as in the garden of the museum. The following information is recorded in the part describing the work: it is a mausoleum composed of four levels. The base is made of black marble with white veins. The corners of the rectangle forms are cut and thus obtained to an octagonal form. Its upper part has a concave profile. Again the second level is of rectanglular tanbur-shape. The corners of this are also cut to form an octagon. Henry Martyn's biography is recorded in four different languages (Turkish, English, Persian and Armenian) on the four wide sides of this monument. The Turkish and the Armenian inscriptions have been erased but the English and Persian inscriptions remain. The third level is also of black marble with white veins. It has been shaped to form a composite head. There is one volute at each corner. Concave bottom ionic slides are decorated and the upper part is of a light inclined form. It carries the form of an entablature on those parts with the inscriptions. The third part is made of white marble with green veins. It is an obelisk, it narrows towards the top and forms a square-pyramid at the top. An oval of wreath-from was carved on each face of the obelisk. The inscriptions in these wreaths are erased but the English inscription exits (*This inventory was written by Birsel Özcan, the assistant of Tokat Museum, on the 14th of March 1974*).



Fig. 3. *Henry Martyn's Tomb-stone in the Garden of Tokat Museum* (1955) (Hasan Erdem's Archive)

Although we have no information as to the place from where it was brought, the mausoleum of Henry Martyn, was kept, together with a number of Muslim gravestones, in the garden of the Gök Madrasah where the museum of Tokat has been for a long time. When the museum moved to the Bedesten building in Sulusokak in February 2012, the mausoleum was put on the viewable ground in front of this building. The present-day mausoleum, from our observations and information contained in the above-mentioned inventory, has lost some of its original characteristics. While formerly there existed Henry Martyn's biography written in four different languages (Turkish, English, Persian and Armenian) on the four wide sides of the original monument, today the Turkish and Armenian inscriptions have been erased. In addition, the inscriptions within the wreaths have also been erased.

When Henry Martyn died in the post-house of Tokat on the 16th of October 1812, his corpse was delivered to the Armenian church of Surp Karasoon Manoog. The Armenians buried his corpse in the Armenian graveyard, which is near to the church and in the neighboring area of the Gypsy quarter, outside and to the north-east of the city. From our excursions within the city, the only Armenian graveyard today is next to the quarter called Örtmeliönü. The grave stood well outside the city, according the former location of the city. From this information, the original graveyard that Henry Martyn was buried in does not seem to exist today.

Claudius James Rich, regarded as the political and economic representative of the English government in Bagdad, who was a charitable man, had this grave monument constructed one year after Henry Martyn's death. We can follow the remaining parts of the story from surviving record provided by a number of missionaries and travellers who visited Tokat:

Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight began to discover Eastern Anatolia, Armenia and Northern Persia



Fig. 4. *Henry Martyn's Tomb-stone*
(New Tokat Museum-Old Bedesten Building-2017)

for the Organization of American Missionary Board in 1830 and they published the results of their research in two books[22]. They also took a break in Tokat and visited Henry Martyn's grave. Eli Smith provides in his books the following information concerning Henry Martyns's grave[23]:

> *While at Tokat, we had the melancholy pleasure of visiting the tomb of the Rev. Henry Martyn, who died at this place in the year 1812, when on his way from Persia to England. His remains lie buried in the extensive cemetery of the Armenian church of Karasoon Manoog, and are covered by a monument, erected by Claudius James Rich, Esq. Late English resident at Bagdad. An appropriate Latin inscription is all that distinguishes his tomb from the Armenians who sleep by his side.*

When Mr. Smith was in Tokat, he wrote a letter to Rufus Anderson, a member of the American Board Missionary Organization. The date of the letter is the 1st of June 1830 . In this letter, he also remarked upon some interesting points relating to Henry Martyn. Touching on his journey from İstanbul to Tokat in the first part of the letter, Smith gives detailed information concerning his visit to the grave of Martyn in the remaining part of the letter (*For the letter written by Eli Smith to Rufus Anderson, see Sargent 1836, 446-448. Eli Smith, together with Rufus Anderson, had been to Greece, which has just obtained her independence from the Ottoman State in 1829.*):

> *…We have today visited the grave of that excellent and devoted missionary. From the manner in which his death is mentioned in his Memoir, we had anticipated some difficulty in finding even the place of his burial. But here we found that anyone could tell us that, and were immediately directed to the principal Armenian cemetery around the church of Carsun Manunk (od Câråsoon Mânoog, forty children) at the north east extremity of the town. Here the priest showed his tomb-stone, which is distinguished from those of the Armenians around, only by a Latin inscription.*
>
> *We had expected to obtain some information respecting his death from the parish priest who buried him; but he is dead, and the present incumbent could only refer us to two Armenian merchants, of whom he said some English gentlemen, who copied the inscription a year ago, had made inquiries. These gentlemen, however, we found on inquiry, knew no more than that he probably died in the post-house. We found the post-master to be a careless old Turk, little disposed to trouble himself with answering our inquiries, though he probably might have given us information had he been disposed, as, although the person who was then post-master has since died, he was then the clerk of the establishment. He professed to recollect only that he arrived sick, that some Armenians administered to him medicine, that he died after four or five days, that the Tartar with whom he travelled took his trunk on to Constantinople, and that, a year or two after, an Englishman, whom he supposed to be his brother, passed along*

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22 Shelton 2011.

23 Smith 1833, 100-101; Smith – Dwight 1834, 44.

and erected a monument on his grave. Whether he died in the post-house, and of the plague, which was then raging, he knew not. On leaving him, we were referred to another Armenian Merchant, as probably able to give us information. We found that he had not seen Martyn himself, but that his cousin had attended upon him in his sickness. This cousin, however, is now dead, and the Merchant himself could only inform us that, as the plague was then raging so terribly, that hundreds died in a day, it was not probable that any Armenian would admit him into his house, and he must have died in the post-house, and very probably of the plague. A year after, an English traveller from Bagdad wrote the inscription, and left money to erect the monument, with a person whom he appointed to see that it was done. This is all the information we have been able to obtain respecting the death of Martyn. Scanty as it is, we have taken no small interest in collecting it.

Starting his journey from England in 1835, William J. Hamilton on his way stopped in Tokat and provided the following brief information on Martyn in his work[24]:

The name of Tocat is endeared to the recollections of the Missionaries as the place where Henry Martyn breathed his last, on his return from Persia, his constitution having been worn out by his unremitted exertions…



Fig. 5. *Armenian Graveyard in Tokat* (Today it is the only Armenian graveyard and is located in the North-Eastern part of the old city. It is remembered as being an Orthodox graveyard among the local peoples.)

Horatio Southgate who was born in Portland, Maine, in the USA operated missionary works and conducted research in Ottoman lands for the USA. He passed through Tokat on the 2nd of August 1841 and provides the following information concerning Henry Martyn[25]:

One cannot pass by Tocat without being reminded of the man whose remains repose there in the hope of a joyful resurrection, and whose example has done so much to awaken a lively zeal on behalf of the pagan nations, both in England and America. On a former occasion one of my first visits was to the humble grave of HENRY MARTYN, which lies in one of the Armenian cemeteries, on the East side of the town, and quite beyond the limits of its population. It is a lowly grave, even among the thousands which surround it, and one who was not in search of it, might pass it without observing it. The stone which covers it is in no way distinguished from the others around it, excepting the inscription, and perhaps the more than ordinary meanness of its dimensions, being only about three and a half feet long, by one broad. It lies flat upon the ground after the manner of the Armenian grave stones, and bears the following inscription:

Rev . Vir .

Gug. Martino .

---

24 Hamilton 1842, 351.

25 Southgate 1844, 257-259.

Sacer . Ac . Miss . Anglo .
Quem . In . Patr . Redi .
Dominus
Hic . Berisae . Ad . Sb . Voc .
Pium . D . Fidel . Q . Ser .
A.D. MDCCCXII.
Hunc . Lap . Consac .
C. I. R.
A.D. MDCCCXIII

> *The burying-ground lies upon the slope of the hill which bounds the town on the East, and looks down upon the city. At the foot of the hill are extensive gardens; further to the right is a glimpse of the river, which runs through the valley on the Northern side of the town, while in the distance on all sides are the mountain heights which enclose the city. I made inquiries, but could learn nothing more of the sickness and death of the missionary than has already been given to the public. One, I remember, an old man, reported him to be the son of a Prince, who was returning to his own land. How little he knew of the bright gem of learning and piety that was mouldering beneath that humble stone!*
>
> *The remembrance of Martyn's labors for the Mussulmans of Persia, gave an uncommon interest to my inquiries among the Mohammedans of Tocat, among whom he died...*

In 1841, Geroge Fowler wrote the work "Three Years in Persia". One part of this work was dedicated to Henry Martyn. Fowler who devoted much space to Martyn's memories in Etchmiatzin and Persia provides only brief information concerning the situation in Tokat of Henry Martyn[26]:

> *At Erzurum, on my way to Persia, I had met with an Italian doctor, then in the Pasha's employ, from whom I heard many interesting particulars respecting Martyn. He was at Tocat at the time of our countryman's arrival and death, which occured on the 16th October, 1812; but whether occasioned by the plague, or from excessive fatigue by the brutal treatment of the Tartar, he could not determine. His remains were decently interred in the Armenian burying ground, and for a time the circumstance was forgotten. Some years afterwards, a gentleman, at the request of the British ambassador in Constantinople, had a commemorative stone erected to his memory, and application was made to the Armenian bishop to seek the grave for that purpose. He seemed to have forgotten altogether such an occurence, but referring to some memoranda which he had made of so remarkable a case as that of interring a Ferengee stranger, he was enabled to trace the humble tablet with which he had distinguished it. It is now ornamented with a white slab, stating merely the name, age, and time of death of the deceased…*

The preacher of Bombay, George Percy Badger, who was sent by Canterbury's archbishop and London's bishop to make a special work among the Christian tribes in Kurdish lands, visited Tokat in 1842. He was taken to the first tomb of Henry Martyn by the Armenian bishop who organized the

[26] Fowler 1841, 110-131.

funeral ceremonies of the Christians. While Mrs. Badger observed that the tomb-stone was surrounded by wild flowers, her husband begged God in order to give him courage and strength to go on working among the ignorant Muslims[27].

In 1830, the American Board in Boston gave importance to the missionaries' reports (Eli Smith and H. G. O. Dwight's) and sent Dr. Henry John van Lennep to Tokat 14 years after these two missionaries and 32 years after the death of Henry Martyn. Lennep's observations relating to Henry Martyn and his tomb and his activities are as follows:[28]

> *…At Tocat, on the 16th of October, 1812, either falling a sacrifice to the plague, which then raged there, or, sinking under that disorder which, when he penned his last words, had so greatly reduced him, he surrendered his soul into the hands of his Redeemer.*
>
> *My first visit to Tocat was in the year 1844, and one of the objects to which my earliest attention was directed on my arrival, was the grave of Henry Martyn. The Armenian burying ground, where he was laid, is situated just outside the town, and hard by the wretched Gypsy quarter, which forms its eastern extremity. It is a most barren and desolate spot, wedged in by lofty cliffs of clay slate. Its only verdure, besides the rank weeds that spring up between the thickly set graves, consists of two scraggy wild pear trees, nearly dead from lack of moisture.*
>
> *The late lamented Missionaries, Smith and Dwight, had found, in 1830, that the grave was known to many persons in Tocat. Not so after an interval of fourteen years, when I sought to identify the spot. The sexton of the church nearby could give me no information, so I undertook the search quite alone. Beginning with the graves lying at the outer edge of the ground nearest the road, I advanced toward the hill, examining each in its turn, until just at the foot of the overhanging cliffs, I came upon a slab of coarse limestone, some 40 inches by 20, bearing the following inscription:*
>
> *REV. VIR.*
> *GUG. MARTINO*
> *SACER. AC. MISS ANGLO*
> *QUEM IN PATR. REDI.*
> *DOMINUS.*
> *HIC BERISAE AD SB. VOC.*
> *PIUM D. FIDEL. G. SER.*
> *A.D. MDCCCXII.*
> *HUNC LAP. CONSAC.*
> *C.J.R.*
> *A.D. MDCCCXIII*
>
> *Just ten years elapsed after this, my first visit, when I found myself again in Tocat, not as a transient visitor, but with the purpose of making that city the permanent residence of myself and family. A little party of us, without delay, repaired to the hallowed spot. Guided by my*

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27 Smith 1892, 527.

28 Van-Lennep 1863, 1-16; Van-Lennep 1870, 166-174.

own recollection, and the accurate drawing which I had made at my previous visit, we were soon at the place; but in the last few years it had undergone a remarkable change. Instead of the slab of stone with its inscription, which we expected to see, we found only a smooth surface of pebbly and sandy soil, overgrown with weeds, no vestige of stone or mound to indicate the presence of a grave, yet there remained the identical surroundings, too well remembered to be mistaken. Could it be that, as it frequently happens in these lawless regions, the stone had been removed by some ruthless hand, and incorporated in the wall of a neighboring building? I could not believe it; and calling the sexton, I directed him to dig in a spot I pointed out. It was at a depth of two feet from the surface that a corner of the old Stone came into view. The soil and rubbish, the accumulated wash of ten successive winters were then thoroughly cleared off, and we hoped the place would in future need little attention. But to my great surprise, when I visited the grave the next spring, I found it covered again to nearly the same depth as before. It would seem that, from the present direction of the watercourses above, this evil would be of difficult removal. Were a wall to be built of sufficient dimensions to turn aside the winter torrents, it would be looked upon as a mark of distinction too great for a heretic, and the Gypsy boys would soon demolish it.

Some time after this period I was writing to my excellent friend, the late Rev. Mr. Young, the originator of the Turkish Missions' Aid Society, respecting the labors of some of our native theological students in the neighboring villages, and incidentally mentioned the condition in which we had found the grave of the noble Missionary martyr, whose name had made Tocat a hallowed city in view of all Christendom. Mr. Young soon after replied, saying that he had been deeply interested by my account, and had consulted with the principal Chaplain of the Hon. East India Company's Board of Directors; that a liberal sum had been appropriated by them for the erection of a suitable monument, and that I was desired to remove the remains to the burying ground on the Mission premises, and to suggest a model for a monument. I wrote in reply that fine marble could be obtained near by, and that, although the workmen were unskillful, yet, I was confident they might be so directed as to insure success, thus saving the expense and risk of sending a monument all the way from England to our inland town. I forwarded a drawing of the proposed structure, which was adopted. It was to have four faces, with the same inscription upon each, but in a different language, that all might read the honorable record. The inscription itself was furnished by them.

The cutting of the monument was found to be no easy task. A small model was first cut out in wood for the direction of the workmen, but they could not be made to comprehend it. No way remained but to take the rule in hand and direct them where to cut. After much time and labor, however, I had the satisfaction of seeing it completed and meeting the approbation of all who saw it.

The next step was to remove the remains. Dr. Jewett; who lately finished his course by a most sudden death at Liverpool, while on his way back to his Mission, was then my associate, and we went in company to the place of the dead, having previously obtained the authorization of the city governor and the Armenian Bishop. After removing the stone from its place, we dug down about two feet before we came upon any remains. Being aware that the people here bury their dead one after another in the same grave until a stone is laid upon

the top of it, we were prepared to find in this grave the bones of persons buried there during the interval of about a year which elapsed from the period of Martyn's death to the time of the laying of his tombstone. And so it proved; for the relics first found were identified by my medical colleague as belonging to women and children. These were carefully removed, and we continued on, removing the earth, which was now unmixed with any remains for the depth of about one foot. Having reached this point, however, we found parts of a human skeleton of a different character. There was no coffin, for Orientals never use them. Henry Martyn was of course buried uncoffined, in immediate contact with the mother soil-literally " dust to dust." There now lay bones in a state of decomposition, namely, several of the long bones, the right side of the skull, and most of the lower jaw. These, doubtless, were the real objects of our search. We carefully laid them aside, and on we dug through another layer of earth, underneath which appeared a mixed mass of human bones, evidently of remote date. These in like manner having removed, we continued digging until the lowest depth yet stirred by the sexton's spade was reached.

There we paused and mused as follows: Long years ago a grave was needed for the corpse of a lonely stranger. They chose this spot, and all remains of former inmates, found in process of digging were collected according to custom, and placed en masse at the bottom. These being covered with a considerable bed of earth, the sacred relics of one of England's noblest sons were laid upon it and the grave was filled up. For a year it remained unmarked, and just within its bosom were thrown some poor outcasts –a friendless widow- a neglected orphan, who alone thus appropriately shared the Missionary's resting place!

The precious remains were then reverently taken up, conveyed to the Mission premises, buried in a vault, and the monument erected over them. The name, encircled by a carved wreath, is cut severally in English, Armenian, Persian and Turkish, on four faces of the obelisk. On the four sides of the base is the following inscription in the corresponding languages:

CHAPLAIN OF THE HON. EAST INDIA COMPANY,
BORN AT TRURO, ENGLAND, FEBRUARY 18, 1781,
DIED AT TOKAT, OCTOBER 16, 1812.
HE LABOURED FOR MANY YEARS IN THE EAST, STRIVING TO
BENEFIT MANKIND BOTH IN THIS WORLD AND THAT TO COME.
HE TRANSLATED THE HOLY SCRIPTURES INTO HINDOSTANEE
AND PERSIAN,
AND PREACHED THE GOD AND SAVIOUR OF WHOM THEY TESTIFY.
HE WILL LONG BE REMEMBERED IN THE EAST, WHERE HE WAS
KNOWN AS A MAN OF GOD.

W. J. Childs passed through Tokat after a century had elapsed since the death of Henry Martyn. His information and collection concerning Henry Martyn are inadequate in comparison with former

travellers. Childs wrote these sentences on Henry Martyn[29]:

> *For some English people Tokat may possess a scarcely expected interest. In a garden of the town lies buried Henry Martyn, whose missionary labours in India during the earlier part of the last century are well known. He died here on his way back to England. So much I had heard, and did not suppose that anything more was to be known; but at Sivas I fell in with a pamphlet giving further particulars. He died, it seems, unknown and unfriended, and his body was thrown out unburied on the hills above the town. Thence his whitened bones were recovered eventually by an early pastor of the Tokat Protestant Church and buried in the garden of the church house, where a monument to him may now be seen.*

Conclusion

It is understood that Henry Martyn had two graves and two tomb-stones. One of these was established just after his death, the other was built in c. 1855 nearly 43 years after his death. Firstly he was buried in the Armenian graveyard and later his grave was transferred to the garden of the American Missionary in Tokat. Although his bones stayed in the earth of Tokat, his mausoleum was firstly transferred to the garden of the Gök Madrasah and from there on the 3rd of March 2012 to the old Bedesten Building, today the new museum of the city.

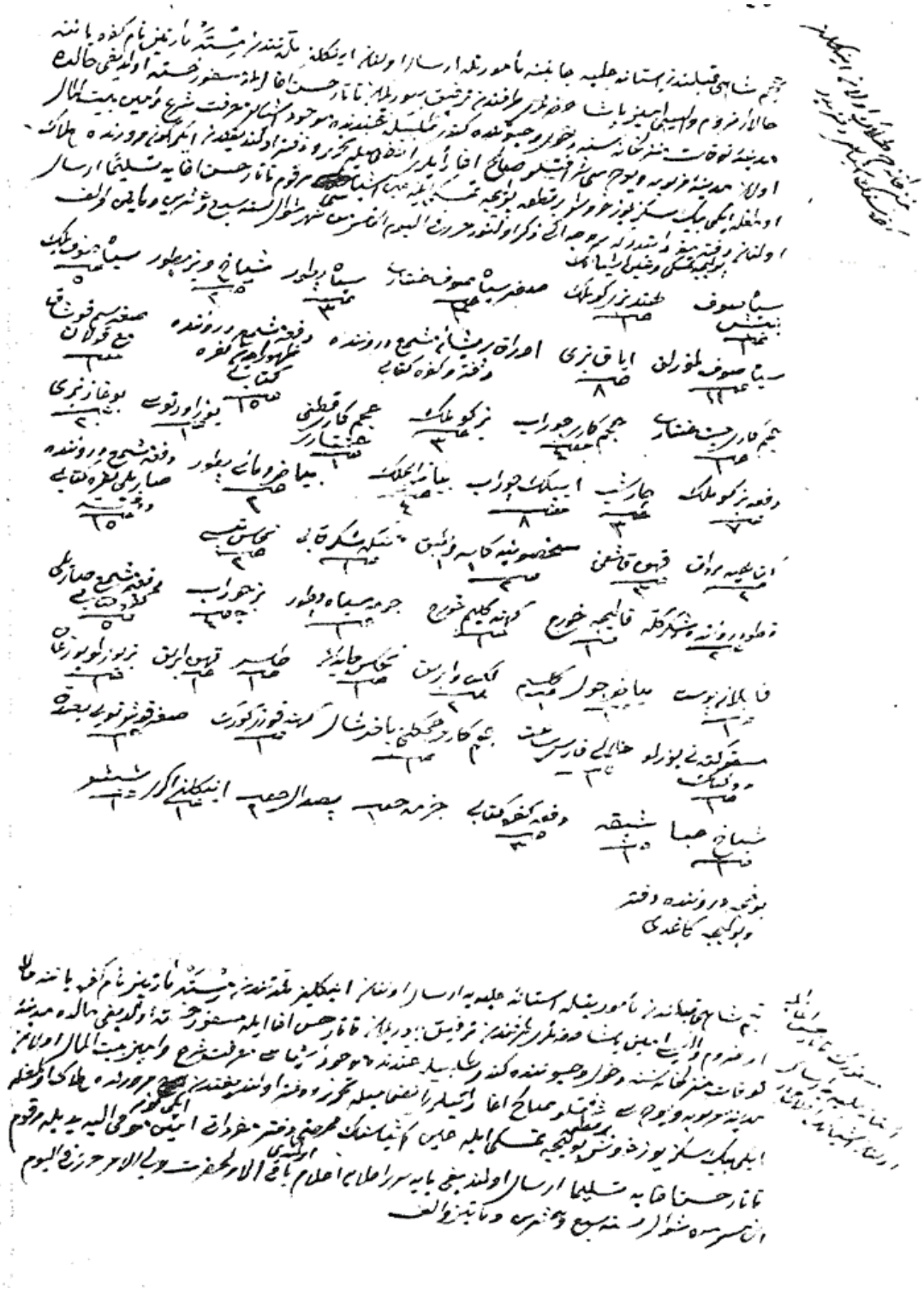
The Bibles translated by Henry Martyn, his draft copies and letters were published several times after his death. Christians who wrote books on him described him as the first modern missionary in Mohammedan lands.

Today Henry Martyn has been remembered through the construction of Henry Martyn Hall which is next to Holy Trinity Church in Cambridge and was built in the 1880's. This building and again the Henry Martyn Center inside the College of Westminster are rather important for missionaries. There is also a library dedicated to the name of Henry Martyn inside the University of Cambridge. In addition, in 1930, the Center for Islamic Studies of Henry Martyn was established at Lahore in India. This center has presently transferred to the city of Haydarabad and has an important place in the education of people to undertake missionary work. Thus, the name of Henry Martyn has been kept alive in both Europe and Asia.

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[29] Childs 1917, 117.

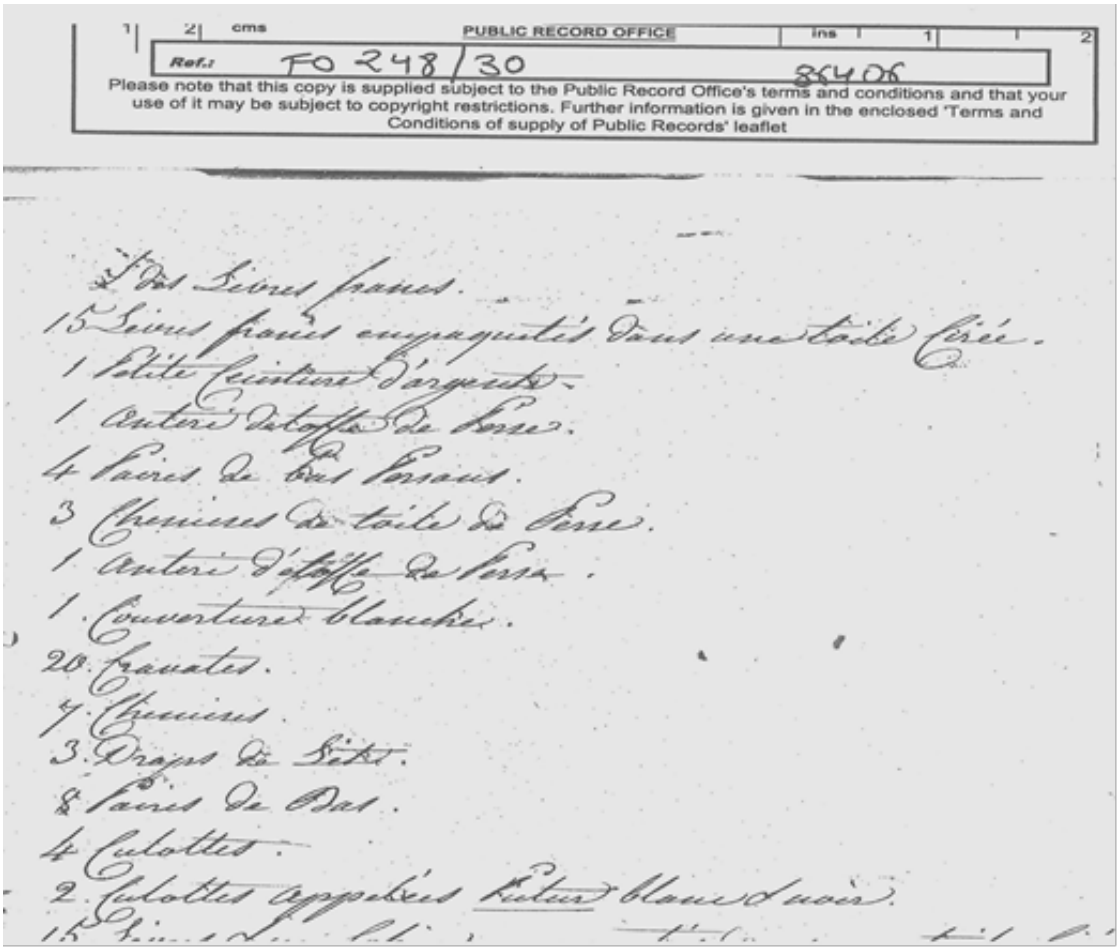
APPENDICES



Appendix 1. *Record of Henry Martyn's effects-Tokat court register 16, p. 124.*

EŞYALAR								
Nosu	Adedi	Adı	Nosu	Adedi	Adı	Nosu	Adedi	Adı
1	1	Siyah sof biniş	19	3	Çarşab	37	2	Leğen ve ibrik
2	1	Hind bezi gömlek	20	8 çift	İplik çorâb	38	1	Nühâs çaydanlık
3	3	Sagîr siyah sof entari	21	4	Beyaz içlik	39	1	Hasır
4	3	Siyah potur	22	2	Beyaz ve ma'i potur	40	1	Kahve ibrik
5	2	Siyah ve bez potur	23	15	Def'a muşamma derûnunda sarılı kefere kitâbı ve defter	41	1	Bez yüzlü yorgan
6	5	Siyah sof yelek	24	2	Kütahya bardak	42	1	Moskov keteni yüzlü döşek
7	11	Siyah sof tozluk	25	3	Kahve kaşığı	43	1	Halis fârisî sâ'at
8	8	Ayak bezi	26	1	Sahsonya kâse ve tabak	44	1	Acemkârî çiçekli beyaz şâl
9		Evrâk-ı perişân muşâmma derûnunda defâtir ve kefere kitâbı	27	1	Kelle şeker kâbı	45	1	Köhne kuzu kürk
10	15	Def'a muşâmma derûnunda zühûr iden kefere kitâbı	28	2	Nühâs tebsi	46	1	Sagîr kuş tüyü yasdık
11	1	Sagîr sim kuşak ma'a kolan	29	2	Kutu derûnunda kelle şeker	47	1	Siyah aba
12	1	Acemkârî çit entari	30	1	Kâliçe hûrc	48	1	Şabka
13	4 çift	Acemkârî çorâb	31	1	Köhne kilim hûrc	49	3	Def'a kefere kitâbı
14	3	Bez gömlek	32	1	Çuha siyah potur	50	1 çift	Cizme
15	1	Acemkârî kutnî entari	33	4 çift	Bez çorâb	51	2 çift	Postal
16	1	Yüz örtüsü	34	5	Def'a muşamma sarılı kefere kitâbı	52	1	İngiliz eğeri
17	20	Boğaz bezi	35	1	Kablân posu	53	1	Şimşir
18	7	Def'a bez gömlek	36	1	Beyaz çul ma'a kilim	54		Boğça derûnunda defter ve poliçe kâğıdı

Appendix 2. *Record of Henry Martyn's Effects in Turkish*


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Appendix 3. *A Part of the Copy of Henry Martyn's effects sent to the French consulate in İstanbul*

Goods								
Number	Unit	Name	Number	Unit	Name	Number	Unit	Name
1	1	Surtout de [Caucelot?] noir	19	3	Drapes de Lit	37	1	Aiguiere d'un Bassin
2	1	Chemise de toile de Tokat	20	8	Paires de Bas	38	1	Thieiere d'Etain
3	3	Autere Courts de [Caucelot?] noir	21	4	Culottes	39		
4	3	Culottes noires appelies en Turc [Potur]	22	2	Culottes appelies [Potur] blanc et noir	40	1	Cafetiere/kahve ibriği
5	2	Culottes noires	23	15	livres d'un Cahier empaquites dans une toile ciree	41	1	Couverture de toile blanche
6	5	Gilets de [Caucelot?] noir	24	2	Bardaes de Kutahia	42	1	Matelot de lin de Russie

7	11	Habits Courts de [Caucelot?] noir	25	3	Petits Cuilliers d'argent	43	1	Moutre de Paris
8			26	2	Plats de Saxogne	44	1	Shal blanc avec des fleures, fait en Perse
9	1	Petit sac de toile Ciree coutenat des Papiers, un cahier et des livres frances	27	1	Sucrier d'Etain	45	1	Pelisse usee, fourrure d'agneau
10	15	livres frances empaquites dans une toile ciree	28	2	plaque de cuivre	46	1	Orielle
11	1	Petite Ceinture d'argents	29	2	pains de sucre	47	1	Bas (gros surtout) noir
12	1	Autere d'etoffe de Perse	30	1	Besace [Beggar's Bag]	48	1	Chapeau
13	4 pair es	de bas Persant	31	1	Tapis use	49	3	Livres frances
14	3	Chemises de toile de Perse	32	1	Culotte de Drap noir	50	1	Paire de bottes uses/1 çift kullanılmış bot
15	1	Autere d'etoffe de Perse	33	4 paires	de Bas de toile	51	2	Paires de Souliers
16	1	couverture blanche	34	5	cinq Livres empaquites dans une toile ciree	52	1	Selle Anglaise
17	20	Cravates	35	1	peau de Tigre	53	1	1 Epee
18	7	Chemises	36	1	Houdre, tapis	54		Cahier d'une letter de change de 2800 Piastras empaquet Argent Comptant au Surdit Tartar Hassan: 55/Depense pour l'enterrement sudit voyageur: 25/ Solde:30

Appendix 4. *Record of Henry Martyn's Effects in French*

Goods								
Number	Unit	Name	Number	Unit	Name	Number	Unit	Name
1	1	black overcoat of black 'camlet'	19	3	bed sheets	37	1	jug for pouring into a basin
2	1	shirt of Tokat cloth	20	8 pairs	Stockings	38	1	tin teapot
3	3	more short shirts of black 'camlet'	21	8 pairs	Stockings	39		
4	3 pairs	black trousers called 'Potur' in Turkish	22	2 pairs	trousers of trousers called 'Potur' in white and black	40	1	Cafetiere
5	2	black pairs of trousers	23	15	pages from an exercise book wrapped in oilskin	41	1	table cloth of white canvas
6	5	waistcoats made of black 'camlet'	24	2	cup/glass? from [Kütahya]	42	1	mattress of Russian flax
7	11	short robes made of black 'camlet'	25	3	small silver spoons	43	1	Parisian [Persian] wrist-watch
8			26	2	dishes of Saxony	44	1	white shawl embroidered with flowers, made in Persia
9	1	small bag of waxed canvas containing papers, an exercise book and some bank notes in Francs	27	1	tin sugar holder	45	1	used cloak, made of lamb's wool
10	15	bank notes in Francs wrapped in oilskin	28	2	copper dishes	46	1	pillow
11	1	small silver belt/girdle	29	2	sugar loaves	47	1	large black overcoat (called an Aba)
12	1	other (belt) made of Persian stuff	30	1	beggar's bag	48	1	hat
13	4 pairs	Persian stockings	31	1	worn carpet	49	3	French francs in notes
14	3	shirts made of Persian cloth	32	1 pair	pair of black trousers	50	1 pair	worn boots
15	1	other made of Persian stuff	33	4	pairs of canvas stockings	51	2 pairs	Shoes
16	1	white table cloth	34	5	bank notes of £5 each wrapped in an oilskin	52	1	English saddle

17	20	ties / cravats	35	1	Tigerskin	53	1	Sword
18	7	shirts	36	1	dustcover 1 carpet	54		An exercise book and a bill of exchange for 2800 Piastres, wrapped up Silver, en-trusted to the above-named Tartar Hassan, to the value of: 55/ Cost of the burial of the said traveller : 25/ Small change: 30

Appendix 5. *Record of Henry Martyn's effects in English*

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