

ROBERT COLLEGE OF CONSTANTINOPLE:
CROSSROADS OF FAITHS, CULTURES AND EMPIRES, 1863 - 1913

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Division of Religion
Drew University in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree,
Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

Robert College of Constantinople:
Crossroads of Faiths, Cultures and Empires, 1863 – 1913

Ph.D. dissertation by

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May 2017

The history of Robert College cannot be told without attending to the rich and diverse arrays of intersecting histories from this important region of the world. The purpose of this dissertation is to consider the larger influence of American founders on Robert College. The problem will be addressed from multiple angles, the most significant of which are the influence of American educational models, and a consideration of the missionary and native interactions in the context of the Ottoman Empire. The thesis argues that despite its establishment as a Christian missionary institution, Robert College did not fully progress and reach its goals until the school developed a broader curriculum gradually shifting away from an exclusively Christian theological curriculum.

Robert College reached its goals by minimizing its explicitly evangelical dimensions by becoming, what the founders claimed, a school that “does not teach theology,” but would meet the broader needs of the society, which at many capacities was a different mission strategy.

Conflicts between the goals of the school and the objectives of American church authorities were frequent, especially in regard to several issues, such as, using of English

as the official language of the classrooms, it's continued evolution toward a modern and independent American-styled school, as well as partisan engagements in regional politics. Were the establishment and work of Robert College, as parts of the larger Protestant foreign mission enterprise, tools of nationalism, and, by extension abroad, imperialism? The educators and missionaries attempted multiple approaches to achieve their goals--even accepting serendipitous gunboat diplomacy. To simply call the work done at and by Robert College "cultural imperialism" is to ignore the more complex role it played in a quickly changing part of the world--sometimes representing an external power, sometimes pushing back against it.

The purpose of this thesis is threefold. First, the thesis attempts to provide an adequate assessment of the Protestant ideology and functioning of Robert College as a missionary educational institution. Second, it intends to communicate a concise history of Robert College. The third purpose is to examine the cross-cultural interactions in Constantinople. Orthodox Christians adapted the missionaries' ideology of democracy and freedom in their embrace of nationalism that pushed Ottomans to radical actions, such as massacres and atrocities to extinguish growing separatism. What questions do these interactions prompt about the consequences of Protestant cultural projection into the wider world? The dissertation will explain the distinctly American dimensions of these missionary encounters, the cultural influences they exerted through Bible translations and print culture, and the consequences for nationalism in the Christian provinces of the Empire.

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DEDICATION

To Professor Morris Davis – finer mentor I will never have

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CHAPTER 1.

INTRODUCTION: THE OTTOMAN AND PROTESTANT EMPIRES

Through the education of succeeding generations of students, Robert College has assisted the economic and social progress in the Near East. It has also brought direct benefits to several generations of Americans—faculty members, trustees, students, contributors, and other friends of the College. Their close association with the heroic and hospitable people of Turkey has led to a greater appreciation of Turkish life and culture and the strong foundations on which the Republic of Turkey, our close friend and partner in peace, has been built. I send my cordial congratulations to the officers and friends of Robert College on the century of service you are so deservedly celebrating.¹ *John F. Kennedy, President of the United States.*

Robert College stands as a token of the close cooperation between Turkey and the USA. It is an institution which has made important contributions to the cultural life of this country and will continue to play a valuable part in the promotion of culture and education.² *Cemal Guersel, President of the Republic of Turkey.*

An urban legend of Constantinople tells the story of a prosperous American merchant, who visited the capital of the Ottoman Empire during the last days of the Crimean War. Strolling on the Bosphorus shore he noticed a boat laden with delicious bread, freshly baked by a missionary. The appearance and aroma of the bread drew the

¹ John F. Kennedy, President of the United States, *Message for the Centennial Celebrations of Robert College*, “Robert College Celebrates 100th Anniversary,” (Robert College, Istanbul, 1963).

² *RC Quarterly*, “Robert College Celebrates 140th Year,” Robert College Alumni Magazine, Fall 2003, Issue 23, Special Commemorative Issue, (Robert College, Istanbul, 2003).

curiosity of the young merchant.³ On that day a friendship was made between the merchant and the missionary. The baker of the bread was Cyrus Hamlin, an American missionary from a prominent family in Maine. The merchant was Christopher Robert, a wealthy businessman and philanthropist from New York. That friendship led to the founding of Robert College in 1863, an institution that holds “the distinction of being the pioneer American college abroad.”⁴

The establishment of Robert College in Constantinople is more than a legend of bread upon the waters. It is a useful account for examining the influence of United States foreign affairs and culture on various aspects of society in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ottoman Empire. This influence included politics, economics, the arts, and religion. Seen by its founders as America’s true cultural embassy to the Ottoman Empire, the institution was initially planned to be a school established on Christian values, but it would not teach theology and would only provide religious based education for the Christian citizens of the Empire. However, it eventually turned to offer a broader curriculum, including, engineering, science and liberal arts, and then finally a "non-religious" education in 1923, reaching people of all faiths and cultures. Despite opposition, the shift toward such curriculum occurred and Robert College became the center of intellectual and political development for the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey, the Balkan nations and the Middle East. Today, Robert College is one of the finest schools in the Middle East.

³ Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (American Tract Society, Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1877), 284; Caleb Gates, *Not To Me Only*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1940).

⁴ Lewis V. Thomas, Richard N. Frye, *The United States and Turkey and Iran*, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1951), 140.

The 150-year-old institution has a long list of notable alumni, including two prime ministers of Bulgaria, two prime ministers of Turkey, and one Nobel prize recipient, along with many other students who became leading figures in their countries in engineering, finance, business, arts, sciences, education, social work, industry, journalism and politics.

In 1963, during the *Centennial Celebrations of Robert College*, President John F. Kennedy addressed the faculty of Robert College by praising the work of the College as an institution that assisted the economic and social progress in the Near East, which led to a greater appreciation of Turkish life and culture, and the strong foundations on which the Republic of Turkey, a close friend and partner in peace to the United States, has been built. To that letter of Kennedy, the President of the Republic of Turkey, Cemal Guersel, responded enthusiastically that Robert College is a symbol of the close cooperation between Turkey and the United States of America and will continue to play a valuable part in the promotion of culture and education. The conversation that unfolded during the *Centennial Celebrations of Robert College* in 1963 between President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, and the President of the Republic of Turkey, Cemal Guersel, captured the significance of the religious and educational activism of the Protestant mission in the Ottoman Empire and illustrated the American cultural ventures in the establishments of schools.

This dissertation aims to examine the convergence of the Protestant mission movement in the Empire of the Ottoman and the diverse tones of the American efforts to provide education and to assist the economic and social progress, as well as to

examine American educational activism in a broader Islamic setting. The project will offer an array of engagements with missionary efforts to deliver rich intercultural histories about the global expansion of American culture through American Protestantism. The most illustrative example of this phenomenon is demonstrated in the founding and functioning of the Protestant mission schools, which became crossroads of faiths, cultures and empires. The history of Robert College is opulent in paradigms of outside stimulus and foreign penetrations by diverse powers and elements. The complex impact on the Ottoman Empire from the American educators and missionaries, who established the oldest American school outside the United States, is one such element.

The purpose of the dissertation is to investigate the influence of the American educators and missionaries at Robert College on various cultures, faiths and nationalities in an attempt to define the outcomes of deliberate missionary activities to transform the religious and cultural outlook on entire people and nations. The problem is discussed from several aspects, the most significant of which are discussions of different areas of American educational involvement, an evaluation of the missionary and native perception of each other, and illustrations of the goals and accomplishments of Robert College in the Ottoman Empire. The method of exposition is topical-chronological, wherever possible. The exposition starts with the pre-college era, and continues in depth with the work of the school during the tenure of its first three presidents. Nevertheless, an effort is made to collect all statistical data related to the

work of Robert College in order to provide a more precise and complete argument in the thesis of the manuscript.

In this thesis, I will argue that despite being established as a religious institution with common ABCFM goals and aspirations, Robert College did not fully progress and reach its goals until the school switched to what they called a non-religious curriculum, or by what the founders meant, a school that “does not teach Theology.”⁵ The phrase non-religious reflects on the evidence of a gradual shift away from exclusively Christian theological curriculum, to a broader curriculum for an industrial education, including science, arts, etc. The educators and missionaries took various approaches to achieve their goals, even making use of a “gunboat diplomacy.” Robert College exclusively abandoned its Christian theological curriculum by minimizing its explicitly Christian or evangelical dimensions and by abandoning its New England roots. Conflicts between the goals of Robert College and the objectives of ABCFM and various church authorities arose, especially in regard to several issues, such as English teaching, further developments toward a modern and independent American styled school, as well as the partisan political participation of students and professors in Bulgarian and Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. These conflicts and developments provoked new ideas of a broader education held by both the missionaries themselves and the subjects of their conversion efforts, and pushed Robert College to evolve toward educational, ideological and structural autonomy. This dissertation argues that only through this so-called “switch to a broader curriculum” was Robert College able to achieve the freedom

⁵ George Washburn, *Robert College, Constantinople, Its Work and Its Needs*, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library, Robert College Records; Box 48, Folders 25.

to become crossroads of cultures, faiths and nationalities. It is now the oldest American school still in existence in its original location outside the borders of the United States of America.

The general needs of education in the Ottoman Empire presented the American missionaries and educators at Robert College with the question: How could they shift the purpose of their mission from Christianizing and religious education to providing a broader curriculum that would include a variety of fields of social science and humanities, including history, sociology, anthropology, biology, geology, economics? In many ways, the efforts of the American religious educators to switch from a Christian theological curriculum toward an industrial education in the Ottoman Empire was a testing ground for their successors. The movement for industrial education⁶ in the United States had its “roots in the manual training schools that opened in Europe in the late 1850s, when the expansion of the Industrial Revolution was hampered by a shortage of skilled workers.”⁷ It is intriguing if the founders of Robert College attempted to accommodate the school to this nineteenth century movement for developing vocational schools and programs for industrial education. Nevertheless, institution that

⁶ The theory of industrial education emphasized on education with student participation in instruction that would create good workers and good citizens. The emphasis on mass education and the need for trained workers made necessary for leaders in education to develop curricula for prospective workers. These types of schools started to emerge quickly in the United States with Hampton Institute in Virginia, being one the first of these school, founded by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong in 1868, following with New York Trade School, founded by Colonel Richard Tylden Auchtmut in 1881, New York Trade School, the Hebrew Technical Institute, founded in New York City in November 1883, the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades was organized in 1891 in Philadelphia, etc. The pioneering Hampton Institute was founded to provide both liberal and trade training to African Americans to improve character and social status. Booker T. Washington was one of Hampton Institute's most famous graduates. He later became principal at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

⁷ Harlow G. Unger, *Encyclopedia of American Education*, Volume II, F-Q, (Facts of File, Inc., Infobase Publishing, New York, 2001), 555.

adopted a manual training curriculum and sought to teach young man and women industrial skills and crafts “were seen as an answer for both youth and industry – and society generally.”⁸ The industrial education gained popularity as numerous schools across the United States introduced industrial wage work with classroom study, something that Hamlin already presented at Babek Seminary and envisioned for Robert College. According to Hamlin, the industry work was intended to enable students to earn money to pay tuition, which was also the intention for many school in the United States with a goal for industrial education in their curriculum. Among the different kinds of industrial work done in Babek Seminary as well as in the various schools adopting industrial education in the United States were sewing, knitting, wool spinning, wood joinery, wood carving, furniture making, among many other labors.⁹ Thus, it was not

⁸ Ibid. 555.

⁹ Melvin L. Barlow, *History of Industrial Education in the United States*, (Chas. A. Bennett, Peoria, 1967); Charles Bennett, *History of Manual and Industrial Education up to 1870*, (Manual Arts, Peoria, 1926); Charles Bennett, *History of Manual and Industrial Education 1870 to 1917*, (Manual Arts, Peoria, 1937); John Dewey, “On Industrial Education,” *Curriculum Inquiry*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Taylor & Francis, Ltd, Spring, 1977), pp. 53-60; Rupert N. Evans and Edwin L. Herr, *Foundations of Vocational Education*, (Charles E. Merrill Publishing, Columbus, 1978); Edwin L. Herr, *The Emerging History of Career Education*, (National Advisory Council, Washington, 1976); Howard R. D. Gordon, *The History and Growth of Vocational Education in America*, (Waveland Press, Prospect Heights, 2003); Clyde B. Knight, *Introduction to Trade and Industrial Education*, (Eddie Bowers Publishing Co., Peosta, 1984); Layton S. Hawkins, Charles A. Prosser, and John C. Wright. *Development of Vocational Education*, (Harper and Row, Chicago, 1951); Donald G. Lux and Willis E. Ray, *The World of Construction and the World of Manufacturing*, (McKnight Publishing Company, Peoria, 1971); C. A. Prosser, & T. H. Quigley, *Vocational Education in a Democracy*, (American Technical Society, Chicago, 1949); Roy W. Roberts, *Vocational and Practical Arts Education*, (Harper and Row, New York, 1956); John L. Scott and Michelle Sarkees-Wircenski, *Overview of Career and Technical Education*, (American Technical Publishers, Homewood, 2001); Grant Venn, *Man, Education and Work*, (American Council on Education, Washington, 1964). R. A. Walter, "Development of Vocational Education." In *Vocational Education in the 1990s II: A Sourcebook for Strategies, Methods, and Materials*, (Craig Anderson and Larry C. Rampp, Prakken, Ann Arbor, 1993; Harlow G. Unger, *Encyclopedia of American Education*, Volume II, F-Q, (Facts of File, Inc., Infobase Publishing, New York, 2001); Booker T. Washington, *Industrial Education for the Negro*, (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2013). Judy Whipps, “Learn to Earn: A Pragmatist Response to Contemporary Dialogues about Industrial Education.” *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*. Volume 22, Number 1, 2008.

surprising that potential donors of Robert College raised objections that Hamlin's aim for industrial education would divert the young students toward worldly activities instead of them the values of the Bible. The mission schools increasingly switched toward a broader education by minimizing their explicitly Christian or evangelical dimensions in order to appease or reassure governments and religious authorities and thereby to bolster enrollments.¹⁰

Disagreements arose between the purposes of the missions and the objectives of church authorities that provoked new ideas of a broader education held by both the missionaries themselves and the subjects of their conversion efforts. In the end, the missionaries turned into educators and the religious schools turned into institutions for higher education. The American missionaries and educators in the Ottoman Empire not only equipped young men and women to meet a large variety of needs in their communities but also assisted them to visit the United States and to advertise the newly built churches, schools and organizations in the Ottoman Empire. In that way, Grabill argues, substantive relationships were established between America and the Islamic world, as Makdisi also observes.¹¹ Missionaries shaped notions of the American

¹⁰ See more on the subject in Betty S. Anderson, "Liberal Education at the American University of Beirut," in *Liberal Thought in the Eastern Mediterranean*, ed. Christoph Schuman (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 99-120.

¹¹ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY 2009); Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1971).

understanding of the Ottoman Empire as they helped define the studies of “Near East, and Middle East.”¹²

The fact that the mission schools abandoned their religious character is evident in the numerous ABCFM schools: the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut in 1866,¹³ the American College for Girls in Constantinople in 1871, the International College in Izmir in 1898. These schools were first established to serve the needs of the Christian population or Rum millet¹⁴ in the Empire but they eventually went through a transformational process and became some of the finest universities providing a large variety of education, first in the Ottoman Empire, and then in the young Turkish republic. The historiography on the mission in the Middle East needs to examine the fact that Protestant missionaries and educators were confronted with the problem of how to shift the purpose of their mission from simply converting people to Christianity to providing education that will meet a large and complex variety of needs.

¹²Heather J. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008), 2.

¹² On Elias Riggs’ biography and missionary efforts, see Elias Riggs, *Missionary to Turkey; Great Linguist and Translator*, in Charles Cole Creegan, *Pioneer Missionaries of the Church*, (American Tract Society, New York, 1903), 301-308; Mehmet Ali Doğan, *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and “Nominal Christians”: Elias Riggs (1810-1901) and American Missionary Activities in the Ottoman Empire*, (The University of Utah, Salt Lake City, 2013).

¹² See Martha Jane Riggs, *Psima za maiki ili rukovodstvo za maiki v dobroto otkhranvane na detsata im (Letters to Mothers, or A Manual for Mothers on the Good Nurturing of Their Children)*, (Tsarigrad: A. Minasian, 1870), quoted in see Barbara Reeves-Elington, “Petko Slaveykov, The Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism,” 219; in Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011), 95-96.

¹³ See Betty Anderson’s significant work, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 2011).

¹⁴ On the Millet and its implications in the Ottoman Empire see Dennis P. Hupchick, *Balkans: From Constantinople to Communism*, (Cox, Harold E., Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2001), 119-133; Emine Evered’s *Empire And Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform, and Resistance From The Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, (I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, New York, 2012), 5, 12-13, 25-39; This dissertation will further discuss the Millet system in chapter 1 and 2.

Why did this vivid change occur, first in the mindsets of the missionaries, and then in the curriculum of their schools? What was the impact of the industrial education on Orthodox Christians and Ottoman Muslims? What was the impact of the major cultures in late Ottoman Empire on each other? Were the students the only ones changed by these cross-cultural meetings? What motives and mentalities characterize the minds of American educators as they encountered Islam in the Ottoman Empire? How did Turks and Orthodox believers respond to their broader education? To engage these questions, this dissertation will examine the story of Robert College, starting in 1857, when the idea of James Dwight and William Dwight for founding a non-sectarian school, as they called it, and will finish with the tenure of the third president of Robert College, Caleb Frank Gates, and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in 1923.

The project predominantly deals with primary sources which are found in the Robert College Records, 1858-1986 at Columbia University Libraries Rare Book & Manuscript Library. The collection is 89 linear ft. (207 boxes). A valuable source is the Caleb Frank Gates collection in Princeton University, which consists of papers of Caleb Gates dating from part of his tenure as president of Robert College, including the years he was on leave (1922-1923) to served as adviser to the United States high commissioner at the peace conference on Near Eastern affairs in Lausanne, Switzerland. The archives of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions¹⁵ at Houghton Library of Harvard University are also a valuable source for research on the cultural, political and religious events in the Ottoman Empire. The collection also

¹⁵ ABCFM will be discussed in Chapter One.

contains the correspondence of Cyrus Hamlin and George Washburn with their families and relatives in the United States, as well as documentation about the politics and government of the United States, England, and the Ottoman Empire. Letters illustrate in detail the work of Robert College in Constantinople, including the idea to start a science school in Ottoman Empire, a business plan and outline, fund-raising for the college, and donations to the school. Also discussed is personal finance, daily life in the Empire, trips to Boston, and religion. Moreover, the collection included a financial statement of the college, a funeral address, and a biographical article about Cyrus Hamlin.

The first accounts of Robert College are found in the memoirs of its founders, Cyrus Hamlin, George Washburn, and Caleb Frank Gates, who served as the school's first, second and third presidents. In 1877, Hamlin published *Among the Turks*.¹⁶ In this part missionary, part travelogue and part basic history account, he narrates his days in the Ottoman Empire. After giving an overview of the history of the Ottoman Empire, Hamlin tells of his travels through traditionally Christian regions in the Empire. He describes the Crimean War, the political changes, and his struggle to establish churches and a seminary at Bebek. Here he gives a brief account of the beginning of Robert College. His second book, *My Life and Times*,¹⁷ was published in 1893 and has an autobiographical character. Hamlin gives a more detailed account of the establishment and early years of Robert College. The book provides an intriguing snapshot of the

¹⁶ Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (American Tract Society, Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1877).

¹⁷ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893).

landscape of Constantinople and weaves together themes of religions and faiths, wars and politics, the ends and beginnings of empires and world powers.

George Washburn's *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*,¹⁸ was the first monograph that attempted to tell the story of the college from its establishment to its fortieth year of existence. Washburn joined the Protestant mission work in the Empire in 1858 as a local treasurer of the ABCFM. He married Hamlin's daughter Henrietta Hamlin and later became a professor at Robert College. He served as the president of the school for 27 years and witnessed the rapidly decaying Ottoman Empire and the rapidly ascending American Empire. The book vibrantly observes main events in the college, political changes and intrigues in Constantinople, and in various parts of the Ottoman Empire, which occurred during his long tenure. Washburn handpicked his successor, Frank Caled Gates, who, in 1940, published his autobiography *Not To Me Only*.¹⁹ Gates' primary source gives an account of Robert College during a very dynamic time in the Ottoman Empire, Asia-Minor, and Europe. It was a time of transition for the school and a time of tremendous change for the modern world.

Historians have largely ignored the story of Robert College, despite its significance. In 1963, Keith M. Greenwood submitted a Ph.D. thesis to the Department of History of Johns Hopkins University *Robert College, The American Founders* at Johns Hopkins University, which was printed by the Bogazici University Press in the Republic of

¹⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909).

¹⁹ Caleb Gates, *Not to Me Only*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1940).

Turkey in 2000 and reprinted in 2003. Greenwood was a professor of American Literature at Robert College and tells the story, as the title describes, from the perspective of the "American Founders" of Robert College, which is the predecessor to the present Bogazici University. The author first and foremost investigates the work and the personality of Cyrus Hamlin, who was the driving force behind the establishment of the college. He pays attention to the complex relationship between Hamlin and the other two significant personalities who contributed to the realization of the educational project, George Washburn and Christopher Robert, as well to their interactions with the Ottoman authorities, the ABCFM and other religious representatives. Greenwood traces the establishment of the school, first, from an institution providing education for the needs of the Christian population, the Rum millet,²⁰ in the Empire, to an institution open for people of every religion and every race. For Greenwood, the story of the American school in the Ottoman Empire is a harmony of United States' diplomacy and mutual forbearance.

More recent publications are John Freely's accounts of the college *A History of Robert College, the American College for Girls, and Bogaziçi University (Bosphorus University)*²¹, a two-volume work that was published in 2000. Freely was also a faculty member of Robert College for many years. In his monographs he focuses on the transition of two schools, Robert College, a boy's school, and the American college for Girls, as both of them were institutions with American styled curriculum. The transition

²⁰ The implications of Rum millet for the work of the missionaries will be discussed in Chapters One and Two.

²¹ John Freely, *A History of Robert College: The American College for Girls, and Boğaziçi University (Bosphorus University)*, (Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2000).

from an American to an indigenous Turkish school is the main focus of Freely's work. As the author describes, "at the time of the transition Robert College had two divisions: a secondary school and so-called *yuksekokul*, which under Turkish law had the status of a university. When the transition took place the *yuksekokul* became the new *Bogaziçi Universit*."²² Nevertheless, the new university was housed in the old Robert College facilities at Rumeli Hisari on the Bosphorus and thus for the author, continued to carry the legacy of the college.

A decade later, Freely published a second account of the school, *A Bridge of Culture: Robert College, Bogaziçi University: How an American College in Istanbul Became a Turkish University*, in which Freely is more concerned about "what those of us who have been part of both Robert College and Bogaziçi University see as the continuity of culture through the transition from an American school to a Turkish university."²³ Freely concentrates on the figures who have been part of the scholastic endeavor and who shaped the school as a beacon of multiculturalism²⁴ and education through the last years of the Ottoman Empire. Among these figures were not only faculty members but also prominent graduates such as Bulent Ecevit, prime minister of Turkey, Tansu Ciller, first female Turkish prime minister, Ivan Geshov and Kostadin Muraviev, prime ministers of Bulgaria. Besides these two works, the story of the College remains untold. Both studies of Freely and Greenwood, however, focus on the dramatic importance of the

²² John Freely, *A Bridge of Culture: Robert College, Bogaziçi University: How an American College in Istanbul Became a Turkish University*, (Bogaziçi Universitesi Yayinevi, Istanbul, 2009), 2.

²³ John Freely, *A Bridge of Culture: Robert College, Bogaziçi University: How an American College in Istanbul Became a Turkish University*, (Bogaziçi Universitesi Yayinevi, Istanbul, 2009), 3.

²⁴ Under *multiculturalism* I mean the presence and support of several distinct cultural and ethnic groups within Robert College's faculty and student body.

school in regard to the American Turkish cross-cultural encounters in the latte Ottoman Empire.

Numerous publications and scholarly articles trace various aspects of the work of Robert College, such as, centennials, important mergers, significant faculty changes, educational milestones, campus enlargements, and many others. Most of these publications focus in whole or in part on the school's cultural and scholastic significance in the Ottoman Empire and in the recent history of the Republic of Turkey and the region. In addition to the three published monographs and the numerous scholarly articles, a few edited volumes grew out of symposiums and seminars centered on the compound story of Western missionary work in the Middle East. These monographs have emerged in recent years to cover multiple aspects of the mission and educational work of the American Protestants in the Ottoman Empire. Among them are *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, edited by Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East* edited by Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* edited by Heleen Murre-van den Berg, *Christian Witness between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East* edited by Martin Tamcke and Michael Marten, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters* edited by Mehmet Ali Doğan and Heather J. Sharkey. These volumes trace the missionary activities of numerous American denominations and organizations and the establishment of American missions in the

Ottoman Empire during the first decades of United States. For the people in the Ottoman Empire, at the time, the United States of America was an unknown land.

As the editors suggest, throughout the essays, the American missionaries carry significant roles not only by spreading Protestantism among the people of the Ottoman Empire and introducing American culture but also through their efforts to understand the society that they sought to influence.²⁵ In doing so, the missionaries soon identified deeper needs, such as the need for broader education. Rightly, some authors question whether education was not a pure tool of Christianizing. In *After Merchants, Before Ambassadors: Protestant Missionaries and Early American Experience in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860*, Cemal Yetkiner argues that the missionaries strongly considered education as an “integral function of evangelizing.”²⁶ Examining Hamlin’s journey in the Ottoman Empire, Ted Widmer agrees with Hamlin’s zeal for mission and evangelizing, but suggests that “‘missionary’ may be too small a word to describe his long sojourn.”²⁷ Widmer’s *Cyrus Hamlin in Turkey* describes Hamlin as one the most colorful nineteenth-century American missionary personalities anywhere in the world.²⁸ Widmer investigates Hamlin’s struggle with Rufus Anderson over how heavily to Christianize his curriculum. For Widmer, the account of Robert College is cross-cultural and serves as a

²⁵ Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholarship Publishing, 2011), 9.

²⁶ Cemal Yetkiner, “After Merchants, Before Ambassadors: Protestant Missionaries and Early American Experience in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860,” in Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholarship Publishing, Cambridge, 2011), 22.

²⁷ Ted Widmer’s, “The Long Journey of Cyrus Hamlin,” in Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989* , (Cambridge Scholarship Publishing, Cambridge, 2011), 61.

²⁸ Ted Widmer, “Cyrus Hamlin in Turkey,” in Daniel Bays, Ellen Widmer, *China’s Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2009), 268.

catalyst for both “social change and political articulation of minority grievances within the Ottoman Empire in the last decades of the nineteenth century.”²⁹ Nevertheless, the contribution of the American founders of Robert College for the liberation and independence of Armenia and Bulgaria, and their involvement in the Western press by denouncing the barbarous suppression and continuous massacres toward Armenians and Bulgarians are largely neglected by the modern historiography and completely ignored by Turkish scholars.³⁰

While the Turkish denial of the atrocities and massacres in the Armenian and Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire could be based on the lack of official documentation, it is false to call the Armenian efforts for liberation as “terrorism.”³¹ The so-called Hamidian massacres in 1896 and the continuing tragic events from 1915 to 1923 are also completely ignored in the histories of Robert College. Asli Gür sees Robert

²⁹ Ibid, 269.

³⁰ Some Turkish scholars denoted the American contribution toward the Armenian and Bulgarian independence as involvement in separatist’s activities.

³¹ See John Freely, *A History of Robert College: The American College for Girls, and Boğaziçi University (Bosphorus University)*, (Yapi Kredi Yayinlari, Istanbul, 2000), 133. Freely calls the Armenian revolutionaries terrorists and completely ignores the Turkish massacres that occurred at this point. For more on the seizing of the Ottoman Bank by the Armenian Revolutionary Federation on August, 26 1896, that led to Hamidian massacres in 1896 and the continuing tragic events from 1915 to 1923, see Taner Akcam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*. Metropolitan Books, New York, 2006; Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of The Ottoman Armenians*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005); Pascal Carmont, *The Amiral: Lords of Ottoman Empire*, Gomidas Institute Books, London, 2012), Lerna Ekmekcioglu, *Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging in Post-Genocide Turkey*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2016); Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014); Vakhan N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide*, (Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2003); A. J. Hacikyan, *The Heritage of Armenian Literature: From the Oral Tradition to the Golden Age* (Heritage of Armenian Literature, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 2000); Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians, 1878–1896*, (Frank Cass, London, 1993); Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties Through the Nineteenth Century*, (University of California Press, Oakland, 1963).

College as a laboratory for religion and a shrine for science, but claims that for the founders, the school was “America’s true cultural embassy.”³² Similarly to Widmer, Gül also analyzes Hamlin’s confrontation with the ABCFM over educational policy, which pushed Robert College toward financial and structural autonomy.

For most authors, Robert College stands as a symbol for cross-cultural affairs that embrace not only religious but also social, political and scholarly dimensions. Several essays explore the complex story of American educators and missionaries who were objects of repeated indictments of being heralds of foreign religion and separatism. The authors observe the cultural background of the early missionary movement with a vigilant study of the Protestant ideology and scholarly concept of the missionaries in the perspective of cross-cultural encounters and religious confrontation. While the scholars have different opinions on questions like culture, religion and education, they all agree that the American-Turkish encounters have had a profound effect on both American and Ottoman sides. This is clearly seen in Gül’s essays from his book, *Turkish- American Relations from the Perspective of Local History*, which show that early American Ottoman encounters also produced a local history filled with numerous fairy tale-like stories and poetry, which created the archetypal view of the American Protestant missionary. The essays also convey Ottoman opinions of America as a land of hope and riches in the history of early Turkish emigrants to the United States of America. The essays do raise some intriguing questions: Why did Protestant

³² Asli Gür, “Robert College; Laboratory for Religion, Shrine for Science – Transculturation of Evangelical College Model in Constantinople”, in Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2009), 48.

Christians enter mission work but transformed to educators? What were the characteristics of the first educators in the Ottoman Empire? What was the local response? What were the implications for the shift to a broader education at the American institutions in the Middle East?

Several authors such as Dogan, Fortna, Aksin Somel, Evered,³³ et al., discuss the educational efforts of the missionaries in the Middle and Near East in broader context. The ABCFM founded its first school in Beirut in 1824. In the following decades, American missionaries established an extensive network of schools at all levels in the Empire. Besides schooling literacy, empirical science and humanities were included in their school. Frank Stone's pioneering book about the educational institutions of the ABCFM in Anatolia entitled *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980* shows that the missionaries regarded these schools as significant means of increasing their opportunities of making a greater impact on children, young peoples, their friends, and families. Frank Stone and Heather Sharkey have similar observation in their seminal books on the educational institutions of the ABCFM in Ottoman Empire, *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980*, and *American Evangelicals in Egypt, Missionary Encounters in an age of Empire*.

³³ See Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, The State, And Education In The Late Ottoman Empire*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2002); Selcuk Aksin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 2001); Emine Onhan Evered, *Empire And Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform, and Resistance From The Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, (Published by I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, New York, 2012).

The annual reports of the ABCFM and Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions in 1914 stated that the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire directed 472 elementary, 54 secondary, and 4 theological schools, as well as 11 colleges, teaching a total of 32,252 students.³⁴ It is evident that by the end of the Ottoman Empire the mission schools developed curriculums to would meet the broader needs in the Ottoman society. The new directions were established by reducing the Protestant dimensions, satisfying government authorities, religious powers, which thereby helped to increase enrollments. Was that one of the reasons for the shift at Robert College from a Christian based school to an institution that would not teach Theology but would offer a higher education with a variety of fields of social science and humanities, including history, sociology, anthropology, biology, geology, economics, or was there something else? Makdisi claims that American missionaries and educators understood themselves as the saviors of the “religiously mingled peoples of the East,”³⁵ and their efforts to convert the natives might be understood as proselytism, cultural clash or cultural imperialism. This dissertation will not speak of cultural clash or clash of Empires as well will not denounce the Protestant missionaries as cultural imperialist. In 1994 Dana L. Robert published an influential essay, “From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II,” in which she claims that “by 1960s most works on American Protestant missions focused

³⁴ see Milton A. George, Sergio Scatolini, *Language, Culture, and Education, A Collection of Papers in Applied Linguistics, Cultural Anthropology, and Educational Studies*, (Euro-Khaleeji Research and Publishing House, Sultanate of Oman, Oman, 2015), 65.

³⁵ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY 2009), 3.

only on their role in promoting imperialism."³⁶ In Dana Robert's *Christian Mission, How Christianity Became a World Religion*, the Protestant missionary is not seen as an actor who plays a role with a concealed agenda for cultural imperialism but is treated as a concrete person in specific historical situation, and as a participant in cross cultural relationships with indigenous peoples, who coexist in specific contexts in mutual influence and forbearance.

After the Civil War, there was a rise of American national self-confidence that led to territorial expansion in the 1890s, resulting in acquisition of an empire, with the campaigns in Hawaii and the Philippines. In this milieu, it is arguable that Protestant missionaries and educators did always carry the belief that the United States of America was a superior model of civic virtue and advanced education. Is this the case in the story of Robert College? The dissertation argues that examining the work of the American Protestant missions, and particularly the case of Robert College, and focusing only on their role in promoting imperialism is insufficient.³⁷ Like most other examples of Western Protestant mission work, the term cultural imperialism insufficiently describes the reciprocal relationships between the missionary educators and the people of the Balkans. To simply call the work done at and by Robert College "cultural imperialism" is to ignore the more complex role it played in a quickly changing part of the world-- sometimes representing an external power, sometimes pushing back against it.

³⁶ Dana L. Robert "From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II." *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 18.4 (1994), 146.

³⁷ For further exploration of Dana Robert's interpretation on the issue of cultural imperialism see Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission, How Christianity Became a World Religion*, (Wiley-Blackwell, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 2010), 51, 87-89, 93-94, 96-98, 127-128, 134.

While the college provides a unique recourse for analysis of how the school developed a curriculum with an English language American-styled education, undoubtedly there are some problems. As Reeves–Ellington observes, the local perspectives of the American Protestant encounters in the Ottoman Empire expand the debate about cultural imperialism and contribute to the endeavor to re-conceptualize the extension of American culture abroad.³⁸ In Reeves-Ellington’s work³⁹ it is clear that the objectives of the Protestant mission schools and publications reflected a perceived connection between education and environmental evolvments. Perhaps, the educators and missionaries at Robert College indeed believed that their school, printing, and Protestant culture were means of modernizing people unfamiliar with the American Christian views of modern life.

Andrew Porter notes in his essay “Cultural Imperialism and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914,” that surprisingly ease the concerns of the missionary projects are fitted into the “conceptualization of ‘cultural imperialism.’”⁴⁰ Robert argues that the idea of Protestant foreign missions as “a tool of nationalism and, by extension abroad, imperialism, proved to be an irresistible thesis that has generated numerous

³⁸ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010), 271.

³⁹ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Petko Slaveykov, The Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism, in Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Competing Kingdoms, Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010).

⁴⁰ Andrew Porter, “‘Cultural Imperialism’ and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 25, no. 3 (1997): 368-71, quoted in Andrew N. Porter, *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, (Eerdmans Publishing, Cambridge, 2003), 34.

monographs from the late 1950s until the present.”⁴¹ The term “imperialism” has indeed been featured very prominently in the studies of Protestant missions in the United States. A recent edited volume, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*,⁴² tries to reject the notion for understanding the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire only as agents of cultural imperialism. The authors examine some of the developments on the mission field and provide biographical sketches of prominent characters, both native and American, who had an important role in the cross-cultural encounters during the late Ottoman period.

Some young Turkish scholars, such as Ali Dogan, Ali Gull, Nur Criss, and Selcuk Esenbel, believe that the American missionaries in the Ottoman Empire were messengers of a nation that was still recovering from the wounds of the Civil War. Therefore, they were able to escape from the symbols of empire by trying to represent the benevolent, culturally and religiously enlightened aspect of the United States of America. Until recently, the United States’ interests in the world were not understood to be parallel to those of Europe, as we see in Jeffrey Cox and his valuable historiographical essay, “Master Narratives of Imperial Missions.”⁴³ However, Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey show that, unlike the image of European missionaries⁴⁴ and mission

⁴¹ Dana Robert, “From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of American Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, ISSN 0272-6122, 10/1994, Volume 18, Issue 4, 146.

⁴² Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011).

⁴³ Jeffrey Cox, “Master Narratives of Imperial Missions,” introduction to Jamie s. Scott and Gareth Griffiths, eds., *Mixed Messages: Materiality, Textuality, Missions*, (Palgrave MacMillan, New York, 2005), 3-18.

⁴⁴ On European mission and cultural imperialism see also Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Mission and British Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Apollos Publishing,

movements, the United States' missionaries of the mid-nineteenth centuries are not always to be understood as imperialistic.⁴⁵

Joseph Grabill argues that missionaries promoted internationalism and the protection of minorities in the Ottoman Empire,"⁴⁶ an argument that will be discussed in chapters three and four. This was the key to the educational curriculum, which intended to reach the Middle East world, rather than to represent the Protestant faith. Perhaps, this internationalism and respect for pluralism were characteristics of liberal and modernist wings of Protestantism in the United States. Nonetheless, the missionaries articulated these demands using the language of education that escapes the boundaries of religion, demanding that religious powers and state authorities to recognize their capability to govern the dynamics of their educational goals. In this sense, the shift toward an industrial education was tremendously important for the development of Robert College. The school's goal toward becoming an institution with a variety of fields that would involve empirical science, humanities and more is a significant factor for

Nottingham, 1990); Andrew N. Porter, *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, (Eerdmans Publishing, Cambridge, 2003), Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission, How Christianity Became a World Religion*, (Wiley-Blackwell, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 2010), 51.

⁴⁵ On American missionaries as promoters of imperialism see Ian Tyrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2010); Eleanor H. Tejirian, and Spector Simon Reeva, *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Mission in the Middle East*, (Middle East Institute, Columbia University, New York, 2002); William R. Hutchinson, "A Moral Equivalent for Imperialism," ch. 4 in Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

⁴⁶ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1971); Dana Robert, "From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of American Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, ISSN 0272-6122, 10/1994, Volume 18, Issue 4, 146.

understanding the impact of the United States' foreign affairs on culture and politics in the Ottoman Empire.

Nevertheless, the complicity of Protestant missionaries in perceived imperialism will remain a source of enduring controversy and historians will remain divided. It is impossible for historians to make a general conclusion on the contradictory issue of cultural imperialism and neither would this dissertation do so. Nevertheless, the theses of this dissertation tend to agree with Makdisi's claim that seeing the Protestant missionaries only as cultural imperialists would "misconstrue the resiliency of the Ottoman Arab world and the originality of the cultural spaces created by the intersection of American and Ottoman histories."⁴⁷ Therefore, the dissertation argues that the term cultural imperialism would imply limitation to the full concept of the extension of American culture abroad and the role of Robert College could be deemed as an ambiguous process.

Most of the professors at Robert College, as well the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire, were accompanied by their wives, who were the so-called "Bible-women."⁴⁸ Although not formally labeled "missionaries," these women assisted their

⁴⁷ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2009), 9.

⁴⁸ Especially helpful on the subject is Barbara Reeves Ellington's recent work: "Gender, Conversion, and Social Transformation: The American Discourse of Domesticity and the Origins of the Bulgarian Women's Movement, 1857-1876." In *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology and Transformations of Modernity*, edited by Dennis Washburn and A. Kevin Reinhart, 115-139. Brill, Leiden, 2007; "Embracing Domesticity: Women, Mission, and Nation Building in Ottoman Europe." In *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, edited by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo, 269-292. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010; "Petko Slaveykov, the Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism." In *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, edited by Mehmet Ali Doğan and Heather J. Sharkey, University of Utah Press, Salt Lake

husbands and ran model homes. They taught at home schools⁴⁹ and educated girls and women in order for them to become Christian mothers of Christian sons who would become leaders of their nations.⁵⁰ In their schools, the Protestant missionaries expanded learning prospects for women in the Ottoman Empire, not only for Christian but also for Muslim women. By including women in their schools, they redefined the established gender roles and relations. They mobilized Muslim and Christian women to pursue education.

Despite the fact that the major question of this project will be the shift toward industrial education, the complexities of the “Bible-women” will be discussed. With that said, numerous recent contributions deal with the cross-cultural perspectives on women and gender: Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Ingvild Flaskerud’s *Gender, Religion and Change in the Middle East: Two Hundred Years of History*, Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo’s *Competing Kingdoms, Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1916*, Barbara Reeves Ellington’s *Domestic Frontiers: Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East, 1831-1908*, and *Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, and Lisa Joy Pruitt’s “A Looking-Glass for the Ladies”:

City, 2011).

⁴⁹ Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge, 2011), 22.

⁵⁰ On the role of motherhood and the education of young girls in Ottoman Bulgaria see Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Petko Slaveykov, *The Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism*, 219; in Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011); Martha Jane Riggs, *Psima za maiki ili rukovodstvo za maiki v dobroto otkhranvane na detsata im (Letters to Mothers, or A Manual for Mothers on the Good Nurturing of Their Children)*, (A. Minasian, Tsarigrad, 1870).

American Protestant Women and the Orient in the Nineteenth Century; Jeremy Salt's *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians, 1878-1896*. These works and more examine the role of women and demonstrate that many questions and themes still remain open in the historiography of the American mission in the late Ottoman Empire. While Robert College was an all-male school, the institution is profoundly responsible for the establishing of the first female college in the Ottoman Empire in 1871, which opened independently from Robert College as the American College for Girls.

The impact of Robert College on mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Empire was more reciprocal than unidirectional. Perhaps, the missionaries and the educators might have seen themselves as vessels of a superior civilization, but the native peoples of the Ottoman Empire were at their best when interacting with American missionaries and their Protestant faith. Even the fact that the educators brought innovations and progress, the indigenous population remained faithful to their own values, culture, institutions and traditions. The examining of the efforts of spreading Protestant Christianity and education from the United States to cultures and contexts outside its borders is still maturing and will further reveal the global historical significance of American Protestant foreign missions in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East. Robert College has profoundly shaped the history of the Ottoman Empire in a variety of ways, but the historiography on missions in the Middle East has hardly even noticed its existence and the influence within that history. To reach its full potential, the school escaped the boundaries of an institution with a goal to Christianize, and shifted its

mission in order to meet the broader needs of the people in the Ottoman Empire. The failure of historiography on missions in the Ottoman Empire to recognize and investigate that potential is a significant weakness that needs to be corrected.

Chapter 1 will discuss the founding years of Robert College which is generally marked by the religious activism of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the work of the pioneer missionaries Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, the influence of other American missionaries and diplomats within the political, cultural and religious context in the Ottoman Empire. I will examine the work of Christopher Robert and Cyrus Hamlin for establishing the first American College outside the United States, as well as their aim to provide an education in the capital of the Ottoman Empire that is not bound by religious prejudice and would reach out to both Christians and Muslims. The undertaking of Hamlin and Robert was incomprehensible by the Mission board, fellow missionaries and potential donors, who preferred a seminary in Constantinople with the explicit purpose for educating native clergies, and these clergies would assist the missionaries in their main goal of "conversion of souls." The "disappointment" of the Mission board was marked by insufficient financial support.

On the contrary, Hamlin proposed variety of innovations for the curriculum toward an industrial education or self-help education, in which the students would learn practical skills that would help them to be self-sufficient. His revolutionary ideas shocked many religious leaders in the Ottoman Empire and in the United States, who furiously objected these "innovations" with the reasoning that they would "secularize the minds of the students" and would divert them to a "worldly life." Nevertheless,

since the school's establishment in 1863, its story of Robert College is an account of vibrant intersection between a dynamic changing Protestant missionary and educational activity in the Ottoman Empire.

Chapter 2 will examine the consolidation of Robert College as a Protestant School in the Ottoman Empire. As Grabill observed, since its beginning, the college was unusual as it had more faculty members than students. Since its early days, the existence of this "unusual" institution was surrounded by problems and conflicts. The chapter will analyze the problems and conflicts in the history of the early years such as, faculty between mission work and educational activism, further confrontations with the ABCFM, questions of identity and the beginning of the shift toward an industrial school with a variety of fields that would involve empirical science humanities, and more within the politics of the Tanzimat Reform. Despite the aim for a non-sectarian school, the American educators at Robert College, remained to be true sons of New England by starting the day with prayer and Bible study, expecting every student to attend their devotional morning hour and imposing disciplinary actions to those who did not participate in their religious activities. In this chapter, I will analyze the issue the official language of the school. The Ottoman Empire consisted of many nationalities, religions, cultures and even more languages and dialects. Armenians, Albanians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Kurds, Jews, Turks and Serbians all spoke different languages and dialects. Hamlin insisted that all students would need to learn a common language that according to him would naturally be English. Hamlin believed that learning English was an opportunity that would attract and united them, and would be beneficiary for their

future. The question of the official language of Robert College remained controversial for years. Objectives of church authorities arose to the issues of English as official language of teaching and the further developments toward a modern and independent American-styled school. Despite the criticism on the issues, Hamlin had included the English language as a vibrant part of his long-term vision for Robert College as a school for all nations, religions and cultures.

Chapter 3 will study the further developments of Robert College, materialized by the new building and the new president. In 1871, the school moved to its new campus. This was a time of transition and transformation as significant faculty changes occurred. George Washburn was elected as new presidents of the college and the school continued to grow in numbers and quality. The chapter will pay special attention to the political crisis in the Empire, the Russo – Turkish war, the massacres in Bulgaria, the turmoil in Constantinople as the Empire began to collapse, the emerging of Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece as independent nations and the impact of these events on the college, students and faculty. The American founders expressed dismay at the killing of non-combatants in the Russo-Turkish war and conveyed hope for a timely relief for the suffering citizens of the Empire. It was during these years, when the popularity of Robert College rapidly continued to grow and the school was reconsidered as an institution that provides an education for all races and faiths in the Ottoman Empire and beyond. The religious background of Hamlin Washburn and the early professors was the next problem. Hamlin and Washburn arrived in Constantinople as an ABCFM missionaries and their major task was to preach the gospel of salvation and to practice the teachings

of the Bible.

Why did Protestant Christians enter mission work but transformed to become educators? Did they truly become educators in a non-sectarian college, or remained to be true sons of New England, by starting the day with prayer and Bible study, expecting every student to attend their devotional morning hour? How had the New England background of Hamlin Washburn and the young tutors influenced their transformation as educators in the Middle East during this time of transition? This chapter will focus on the next important steps toward a industrial education, which are evident in the changes of the curriculum, the recruitment of new faculty members, and the growing enrolment of the Orthodox Greek and Armenian students, and the enrolment of the first Turkish students.

The chapter will also deal with the further decline of the Ottoman Empire, the political changes on the Balkan after the Russo – Turkish war, the Treaty of San Stefano and their interferences for the development of the school. During this time, there were occurrences of the Bulgarian and Armenian massacres, and this situation raised more problems for the school, as the American educators gave publicity in the Western press about the Ottoman atrocities toward Armenian and Bulgarian civilians. With Bulgarian rebels overrun, but the Armenian rebels yet to be attacked, the American educators continued to hope and advocate for a negotiated peace to prevent the spread of the conflict. This led to a successful outcome for the Armenians and Bulgarians; however, it created tension between the school and the Ottoman authorities. Unsuccessfully, the American educators continued to attempt to dissuade Armenian, Bulgarian and Greek

revolutionaries to disengage in combative actions against the Empire and to rely on diplomacy and negotiations.

Chapter 4 will discuss the end of the "Ottoman Empire - the sick man of Europe."⁵¹ The chapter approaches the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and traces a turbulent time period for Robert College's history by focusing on some previously ignored issues and problems related to the nature of evolving Protestant educational ideals in a Islamic settings and in a time of a decaying Empire, and by investigating the school's activities in a new period of transition. The college continued to move forward under the leadership of George Washburn, who was joined by Caleb F. Gates, who would become Robert College's third president. The chapter will investigate the continuing communications between the American Protestant Professors at Robert College and the young Bulgarian statesman, who graduated the school and was at leading positions in Orthodox Bulgaria. The dissertation ends with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the rise of Robert College as a leading academic institution in Middle East, and the birth of a new republic - Turkey. Tracing the history and development of Robert College at this period is indispensable for all those interested in educational history and reform in the Ottoman Empire. Although meant to be an institution that would not teach religion, the instructors at Robert College were mainly missionaries, who came to the Ottoman Empire to convert souls for the Protestant faith. The values and principles they sought to put into practice at the school were grounded on their experience of serving as missionaries. Their idea of what constituted a good Western

⁵¹ The leading Whig and Liberal politician, Lord John Russell quoted The Emperor of Russia Nicholas I, who had first announced that the Ottoman Empire was the sick man of Europe.

style education was based on the teachings of the Bible, religious exercises and fervent prayer.

Their attempt to influence and control the behavior of their students in creative and multifaceted ways led to new forms of political identity and a new understanding of the notion of home. Despite the fact that Robert College finally shifted toward a non-sectarian education, the Protestant component was still a significant element. The students were still obligated to participate in all religious activities, such as prayers, Bible study hours, and weekend worship services with preaching and communion. The Protestant spirit of the American founders was still influencing the routine of the school and the goal to serve to all faiths and nationalities was, by far, not reached.

The final chapter evaluates the history of Robert College in its early years of existents, which includes originality, innovations and astonishing developments, and its impacts on the history of Armenia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and the United States of America. The winds of change continued to blow not only through Europe but also through the Ottoman Empire and Asia-Minor, bringing change in the old and conservative Ottoman society with the liberal voices of the Young Turks, who called for modernization and reforms. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 marked the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the beginning of a new era. This concluding chapter evaluates the meaning of these historic events for the future of Robert College. With Gates becoming President in 1903, the college was still regarded with suspicion because of its idiosyncratically Christian origin. However, its reputation for academic excellence and its glamorous campus that continued to expand gave the school an immeasurable

benefit. It was during this time when the first Turkish student received diploma, and the first Turkish professor was hired. After that time, the Turkish period began with with rapid expansion of Turkish students and faculty. The concluding chapter will evaluate Constantinople, the only city in the world that stood upon two continents, as the place and space for educational and mission activism. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the imperial city became to be known as Istanbul⁵² but continued to beneficially host Robert College, and continued to shape its fate to become crossroads of faiths, cultures and empires.

The purpose of this thesis is threefold. First, to provide an adequate assessment to the understanding of the Protestant ideology and functioning of Robert College as a missionary educational institution in Constantinople, originally established to meet the needs of the Rum millet at the time of the Tanzimat reform. Second, to communicate a concise history of Robert College, from its establishments with the help of gunboat diplomacy, until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Once saluted as "the eternal state," the Empire was in decline at the advent of Robert College, finally collapsing under the forces of World War I and the Young Turks. Third, missionaries and educators at Robert College unfilled models of American culture to peoples from the Ottoman Empire, just as they portrayed the Orient for Americans in the United States. What questions these interactions prompt about the consequences of Protestant cultural projection into the

⁵² Istanbul derives from a Greek phrase that means "In the City" or "To the City, which signifies the idea that people of the young Turkish republic would continue to value the Imperial City as an unique city, and the city of all, embodying elements of power, culture and religious substance. As Turkish language contains a large amount of a mixture of words and phrases that derive from other languages, it is commonly believed that during the republican period the phrase Εἰς τὴν Πόλιν was borrowed from the Greek language. After the formation of the Republic of Turkey the name Istanbul was adopted officially.

wider world? The dissertation will explain the distinctly American dimensions of these missionary encounters, the cultural influences they exerted in the Ottoman Empire, and their consequences for nationalism in the Christian provinces of the Empire, Bible translations and print culture, local education, and more.

At the same time, the dissertation will argue that Orthodox Christians, mainly Armenians and Bulgarians adapted the missionaries' ideologies of democracy and freedom, as well as gunboat diplomacy to their own determinations and notions to evolve and build up nationalism that eventually pushed Ottoman authorities to radical actions, such as massacres and atrocities to extinguish growing separatism within Constantinople and the Christian provinces of the Empire. The question of Robert College's influence in the Balkans and Middle East, amidst the political turmoil in the last years of the decaying Empire, will be a crucial one.

Finally, as many respected scholars would argue, the establishment and work of Robert College, as well as the broader idea of Protestant foreign missions, are a tool of nationalism and, by extension abroad, imperialism. Thus, it is impossible for the dissertation to not engage with the irresistible issue of cultural imperialism and to not expand on the immense debates. Without a doubt, the pioneer Protestant missionaries were chief agents of cross-cultural encounters in mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

In many cases the American educators at Robert College understood the field of education as a superior tool for mission, not only to convert, but to enlighten the religiously mingled peoples of the Balkans and the Middle Empire. Thus, their efforts to

educate the local people of the Empire might be understood as cultural imperialism. Was the establishment of Robert College only a case of cultural imperialism? Answering with simple yes or no would be a contradictory solution. The dissertation argues that the term cultural imperialism would imply limitation to the full concept of the extension of American culture abroad and the role of Robert College could be deemed as an ambiguous process. In elaborating these issues, the thesis argues that the confrontation with the ABCFM and various Church authorities in New England over educational policies, political engagements of students and professors, style and language of teaching, pushed Robert College to become a school with financial and structural autonomy, which eventually gave the school the freedom to be crossroads of cultures, faiths and nationalities.

CHAPTER 2. THE FOUNDING YEARS:

ABCFM, ROBERT AND HAMLIN, AND THE EMPIRE OF THE OTTOMANS

“When we came to make out the program, which I wished to distribute, in some five or six languages, it became necessary to have a name for the college. The advisory committee objected to the name "American College," as being too much tainted with democracy. "The College of Constantinople" was proposed, but objected to, as being too assuming. "The Oriental College" (le College d'Orient) was objected to by some as being untrue, because it was an Occidental College. And so every name proposed was objected to by one or two persons. I said to them: "Well, gentlemen, this is very singular, if we can have a college, but cannot find a name for it! I propose that we call it 'Robert College!'" This was received by acclamation. It was run through the various forms that it would take in Turkish, Greek, Armenian, etc., and it seemed to fit them

all. To the multitude it would mean nothing; it would offend nobody — it would be merely a name.”⁵³

Introduction:

In this chapter, I situate the founding years of Robert College, which largely include the religious activism of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM)⁵⁴ in the Empire, the work of the pioneer missionaries Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk, the influence of other American missionaries and diplomats within the political, cultural and religious context in the Ottoman Empire. It is a rich and compelling story of

⁵³ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 434.

⁵⁴ For more information on ABCFM, its founding and work, see Rufus Anderson, *Memorial Volume of the First Fifty Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (ABCFM, Boston, 1861); Rufus Anderson, *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Oriental Churches*. 2 vols. (Congregational Publishing Society, Boston, 1872); William Ellsworth Strong, *The Story of the American Board: An Account of the First Hundred Years of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, (The Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1910); Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board*, (Second ed. New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842), American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 200th Anniversary.” United Church of Christ Global Ministries. <http://globalministries.org/resources/mission-study/abcfm-200.html> [accessed June 28, 2015]. David W. Kling, “The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” in *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy*, edited by Wilbert R. Shenk, 11-38. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004); Bilal Ozaslan. *The Quest for a New Reformation: Re-making of Religious Perceptions in the Early History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Ottoman Near East, 1820-1870*. (Ph. D. diss. Boston University, Boston, 2010), Lucius E. Smith, *Heroes and Martyrs of the Modern Missionary Enterprise: A Record of their Lives and Labors*. (Potter, Providence, 1856); David H. Finnie, *Pioneers East: The Early American Experience in the Middle East*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967. The main records of the ABCFM are held by the Houghton Library, Harvard College Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts and the following link is to the Finding Aid of that collection: <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou01467> Microfilms of various sections of the Houghton Library collection, most commonly of the earliest pre-1919 correspondence, can be found in many academic libraries.

missionary enterprise in the *Devlet-i Ebed-Müddet*⁵⁵, which in this period of its history did no longer appear to be eternal. I analyze the work of Christopher Robert and Cyrus Hamlin for building the first American College abroad, as well as their goal to provide an education in the capital of the Ottoman Empire that is not bound by religious prejudice but will reach both Christians and Muslims.

Numerous problems appear as to purpose of the missionary and educational activism. In many cases the American educators at Robert College understood the field of education as a superior tool for mission, not only to convert but as well as to enlighten the religiously mingled peoples of the Balkans and the Middle Empire. Without a doubt, the pioneer Protestant missionaries were chief agents of cross-cultural encounters in mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Empire, but the efforts to educate the local peoples might be understood as cultural imperialism.

The Mission board would rather see a school with the patterns of a seminary whose explicit purpose would be to educate the native pastors who would assist the missionaries in their main goal of “conversion of souls.” As Cyrus Hamlin, one of the founding fathers of the school believed, there were larger needs to be met and several obstacles were to be overcome to achieve this aim. Hamlin also understood Robert College as a school with a “seminary model” where students would start their day with prayer and Bible study, but he believed this was not sufficient for the greater goal. Therefore, Hamlin proposed a variety of novelties for the curriculum toward an industrial education that would help the students “self-help education.” Religious leaders

⁵⁵ Ottoman Turkish – “The Eternal State.” See appendix E.

from the Ottoman Empire and in the United States objected that these "innovations" would "secularize the minds of the students" and would divert them to a "worldly life." Despite the opposition, the dramatic shift toward an institution with variety of science fields occurred. Because of that shift, since its founding in 1863, Robert College became a center of intellectual and political development in the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey, and the Balkan nations.

In 1810, ABCFM was formed in Boston with the main goal to spread the Gospel among Native Americans and Catholics on the North American continent. However, shortly after that, the Board recognized a new target – the whole world. The most illustrative example of this phenomenon can be found in the task of education that very soon became a major component in the American mission.⁵⁶ The first protestant missionaries in the Middle East were Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk,⁵⁷ graduates from the

⁵⁶ For more discussion on the subject see Mehmet Ali Doğan, "Missionary Schools," in *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters (Facts on File, New York, 2009), 385-388, and the following articles in Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ed., *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Brill, Leiden, 2006); George H. Scherer, *Mediterranean Missions 1808-1870* (The Bible Lands Union for Christian Education, Beirut, 1930); Mehmet Ali Doğan, "Missionary Schools." In *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (edited by Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters, 385-388. Facts on File, New York, 2009.); Emine Ö. Evered, *Empire and Education under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, (I.B.Tauris, London, 2012); Heather J. Sharkey, eds. *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011).

⁵⁷ For a general overview of the biography, work and mission of Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk see Samuel Colcord Bartlett, *Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in Turkey*, (Published by the Board, Boston, 1889); Alvan Bond, *Memoir of the Rev. Pliny Fisk, A.M.: Late Missionary to Palestine [1828]* (New York: Arno Press 1977); Daniel Oliver Morton, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, First Missionary to Palestine from the United States*. (Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich, 1830); E. D. G. Prime, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire; or, Memories of Rev. William Goodell, D.D., Late Missionary of the A.B.C.F.M. at Constantinople*, (Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1876; David M. Stowe, "Fisk, Pliny," in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (Macmillan Reference, New York, 1998), 212-13; David M. Stowe, "Parsons, Levi," in *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, ed. Gerald H. Anderson (Macmillan Reference, New York, 1998),

Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts⁵⁸ who sailed from Boston to the *Devlet-i Âliye-yi Osmâniyye*⁵⁹ in 1819.⁶⁰ The eighteenth century was a transitional time for the Empire of the Ottomans that blazed the way for steps of regional autonomy relished by provincial authorities and leaders. Arguably, the Empire was still in its prime, reigning half of the known world, and facing the threat of a traditional foe in the West, the Austrian Empire, as well as a new foe in the East, the rising Russian Empire.

Numerous publications, articles and historical accounts tell the story of Parsons and Fisk.⁶¹ The plans of these two men were to visit the Biblical ‘seven churches of Asia’ to learn Modern Greek, and then to convert the native population to the Protestant faith. Clearly, their goals were shaped by missionary policies from New England.⁶² Protestant missionaries considered the Ottoman Empire as a segment of the same

517; Levi Parsons, *Memoir of Rev. Levi Parsons, First Missionary to Palestine from the United States: Containing Sketches of his Early Life and Education, His Missionary Labors in this Country, in Asia Minor and Judea, with an Account of his Last Sickness and Death*, Also Extracts from a Farewell Address Delivered Before “*The Society of Enquiry upon the Subject of Missions*,” at Andover, September, 1817, Edited by Rev. Daniel O. Morton, (Hartford: Cooke & Co. and Packard & Butler, 1830); Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Compiled Chiefly from the Published and Unpublished Documents of the Board*, New York: M.W. Dodd, New York, 1842); Eli Mizrahi, *Two Americans Within the Gates: The Story of Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk in Jerusalem*, (McDougal Pub. Co., Hagerstown, 1995); Samuel Worcester, *Instructions from the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to the Rev. Levi Parsons and the Rev. Pliny Fisk, Missionaries Designated for Palestine. Delivered in the Old South Church, Boston, Sabbath Evening*, (Boston, 1819).

⁵⁸ Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Nearest East: American Millennialism and Mission to the Middle East, Politics History & Social Change*, (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2010), 38.

⁵⁹ For the meaning of *Devlet-i Âliye-yi Osmâniyye* see appendix D.

⁶⁰ Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011), 15.

⁶¹ *The Missionary Herald*, American Board of Commissioner for Foreign Missions, (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, Vol. 16 June 1820), 123.

⁶² A valuable asset on the topic of the early missionaries in the Near East and their connections and dependence to their New England background, culture and theology is found in Grabill’s monumental study *Christianize the Nations*. See Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East, Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, (University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1971), 3-34.

frontier of Christendom, which incorporated America's pagan heathen. Parsons and Fisk approached their task of "spiritual conquest,"⁶³ among the local peoples by distributing Christian tracts and Bibles. In their letters to the board, Parsons and Fisk reported that the majority of Christians in the Empire were unlettered and did not possess the Bible in their local language, an observation that many other missionaries also made. Thus, as Sharkey convincingly observes, the American missionaries "often promoted what they regarded as 'national' vernaculars, for example, by favoring Greek Bibles among 'Greeks,' and Bulgarian Bibles among 'Bulgarians.' In this way they sharpened the contours of emerging nationalism in the region."⁶⁴

This chapter shows that the early American-Turkish encounters have had a profound effect on both sides, American and Ottoman, as it is evidently seen in Gül's essay, *Turkish- American Relations from the Perspective of Local History*. Through Parsons and Fisk's work, as well as through numerous early American Ottoman encounters, local histories and fairytale-like stories and poetries were produced, which created the prototypical understanding of the American Protestant missionary and later conveyed Ottoman opinions of America as a land of hope and riches in the history of early Turkish emigrants to the USA. The efforts of the early missionaries in the Empire set foundations for later United States and Middle Eastern relations, as Dogan argues in *American Missionaries and The Middle East, Foundational Encounters*.

⁶³ Mehmet Ali Dogan, "From New England into New Lands: The Beginning of Long Story," in Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011).

⁶⁴ Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011), xiii.

The pioneer Protestant missionaries identified the greater need of education and founding schools in the Ottoman Empire. Besides literacy and teachings from the Bible, they identified needs for the education of history, geography, biology, etc. After the founding of Robert College, the American Protestants established various mission schools such as the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut in 1866, the American College for Girls in Constantinople in 1871 and the International College in Izmir in 1898. Most of these schools turned into modern universities that educated men and women from different religious communities in fields of technology and science that were basically inaccessible in government schools. Like the case of Robert College, the switch to an industrial education turned out to be an effective process toward achieving greater goals.

The Founding Years: ABCFM, Robert and Hamlin, and The Empire of the Ottomans

After many unsuccessful attempts in the 1790s, the United States once again tried to establish diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s.⁶⁵ However, the first treaty between the Ottoman state and the United States was signed in 1831. At the time, the Empire was ruled by Mahmut II⁶⁶, who was the twenty-fourth

⁶⁵ See Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Nearest East: American Millennialism and Mission to the Middle East, Politics History & Social Change*, (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2010), 36.

⁶⁶ On Mahmut II rule see Hanioglu, M. Şükrü. *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*. (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008); Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans, The Great War in the Middle East*, (Perseus Books Group, New York, 2015); Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922, New Approaches to European History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000); Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1977).

Sultan of the imperial Ottoman dynasty, known as the Osmanli,⁶⁷ which began as part of the Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate. The dynasty was named after Osman Gazi, the first of the line to the title of Sultan. Gazi or Warrior for the Faith was the name given to all who conquered in the name of Islam.⁶⁸ The Year 1831 was marked by two major events.

First, an embassy was established and Commodore David Porter was appointed to Constantinople.⁶⁹ Second, the ABCFM established its headquarters in Constantinople with the purpose of spreading the Protestant faith by word and print throughout the Ottoman Empire. Commodore Porter served as United States Ambassador till his death in 1843.⁷⁰ He stood in close relationships with the early missionaries and supported the

⁶⁷ For more info about the Imperial House of Osman عثمان آل خاندان, *Hānedān-ı Āl-ı 'Osmān* see Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978); Giancarlo Casale, *The Ottoman Age of Exploration*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2010); Carter Vaughn Findley, *The Turks in World History*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An Introduction to the Sources*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999); Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Basic Books, Perseus Books Group, New York, 2005); Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe, New Approaches to European History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014); Halil İnalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300-1600*, (Phoenix Press, New Haven, 2001); Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State*, (University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1996); Katherine Swynford Lambton, Bernard Lewis, *The Central Islamic Lands from Pre-Islamic Times to the First World War*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977); Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State (Sunny Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East)*, (Sunny Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East, State University of New York Press, New York, 2003); Baki Tezcan, *The Second Ottoman Empire: Political and Social Transformation in the Early Modern World*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010); Paul Wittek, *Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, (Royal Asiatic Society Books, Routledge, Abingdon, 2012).

⁶⁸ John Freely, *The Grand Turk, Sultan Mehmet II – Conqueror of Constantinople and Master of an Empire*, (The Overlook Press, New York, 2009), 23-67.

⁶⁹ See Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011), 8-9; Hans-Lukas Kieser, *Nearest East: American Millennialism and Mission to the Middle East, Politics History & Social Change*, (Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 2010), 36.

⁷⁰ On David Potter's work and relationships with the early missionaries in the Ottoman Empire see David D. Porter, *Memoir of Commodore David Porter of the United States Navy*, (J. Munsell, Albany, 1875); John A. DeNovo, *American Interests and Policies in the Middle East 1900-1939*, (The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1969); George C. Daughan, *The Shining Sea: David Porter and the*

work.

The idea of establishing a school in the Empire was nothing new to the Missionary Society and to Christopher Robert. In 1857, James and William Dwight, graduates from Yale and Union Theological Seminary, presented their plans for building a school in Constantinople to Christopher Robert, who became the treasurer of the Home Missionary Society. The Dwight brothers, sons of Rev. H. G. O. Dwight,⁷¹ a missionary in the Empire among the Armenian community in Constantinople, believed the time was right for establishing a school in the imperial city. James and William Dwight proposed a school that would not be bound to mission and religious activities, but would represent the Christian values and education, and thus, would not face prejudices and opposition. They spoke of a school that would attract the natives and would provide education to Muslims, Jews and Christians. The idea interested Christopher Robert deeply.

Robert served as a member of the executive committee of the home mission Society since 1828 and in 1855 had become its treasurer.⁷² This position allowed him to call a meeting to organize the plans of a school at Constantinople. The meeting was attended by W. M. Adams, A. D. Smith, G. W. Wood, M. Badger, D. B. Coe, W. G.

Epic Voyage of the U.S.S. Essex during the War of 1812, (Basic Books, New York, 2013); William Goodell, *Forty Years in the Turkish Empire or, Memoirs of Rev, William Goodell, D.D., Late Missionary in the A.B.C.F.M at Constantinople*, ed. E.D.G. Prime, D.D. (Robert Carter and Brothers, New York, 1876); David Long, *Nothing Too Daring: A Biography of Commodore David Porter, 1780–1843*, (United States Naval Institute, Annapolis, 1970); Archibald Douglas Turnbull, *Commodore David Porter, 1780- 1843* (Century, New York and London, 1929).

⁷¹ see George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1909), 4.

⁷² Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul, 2000), 3.

Schauffler, E. Riggs,⁷³ P. Marsh, R. Ely, Moore, Ransom and Schiefflin. All of them were personal friends, acquaintances or supporters of Robert's work at the missionary movement, as well as participants in different church and seminary activities, mainly in New England. The idea, however, seemed to be opposed by the Mission board, which already passed a resolution at their annual meeting that the only work of the missionary was to "preach the Gospel in public or in private."⁷⁴

Despite the lack of support and financing, six names for trustees were proposed, but no consequent action was taken. In 1858, another meeting was called, but only five persons attended. At that meeting, they discussed rather discouraging obstacles for supporting the project, such as the absence of money and the financial crisis in the United States. The idea did not gain much support because of the youth of the Dwight brothers and the lack of confidence in the persons associated with them, and, most importantly, because of the difference of opinion as to the religious status of the school.⁷⁵

At the end, the Dwight brothers received even more rejections for financing a school in Constantinople that would not teach religion. The opposition signals a greater

⁷³ Elias Riggs established the first ABCFM School in Argos, Greece in 1834, On Elias Riggs, his pioneering work in the Ottoman Empire and his biography see: *Dictionary of American Biography*, (edited by Dumas Malone, vol. 15, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1943), 602-603; *Memorial Service for the Late Rev. Elias Riggs, D.D., LL.D.: Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, (John Bellows, Gloucester, 1901); Charles Trowbridge Riggs, "Elias Riggs – A Pioneer in Turkey: Missionary of the American Board, from 1832 to 1901." *The Missionary Review of the World* 56:1 (January 1933): 30-32; David M. Stowe, "Elias Riggs." In *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, (edited by Gerald H. Anderson, 570-571. Macmillan, New York, 1998).

⁷⁴ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 2.

⁷⁵ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 4.

story, a larger turn in American missions: to educate without explicit religious training. The potential donors responded that there was no reason for giving money for a school in Constantinople “without religion,” because it “would be regarded as a trap to cheat the devil.”⁷⁶ The idea of a school founded by Protestant Christians that would not teach Christianity seemed preposterous. The project was abandoned. Nevertheless, the idea of a college in Constantinople continued to attract Christopher Robert. Washburn notes in his memoirs that Robert wrote a letter to Cyrus Hamlin who was, at the time, running a small seminary at Bebek,⁷⁷ asking him if he would be interested in the idea of establishing a college in Constantinople.

Still rethinking the Dwight brothers’ proposal, Robert expressed his uncertainty to the character of the school. He was undoubtedly in favor for a Christian emphasis in education. Hamlin responded to Robert’s letter with enthusiasm, but questioned the competences of the Dwight Brothers as co-organizers. Hamlin also resisted their idea of a school that will not teach religion.⁷⁸ The correspondence between Hamlin and Robert from 1859 to 1860 shows that such an idea seemed unreasonable and outrageous to both Cyrus and Christopher. In a letter from January 2, 1859, Robert once again, raised the question on whether “the school shall be started under the control of God... or shall a temporizing policy be followed?”⁷⁹ Hamlin wrote back that there indeed would be of no use to try to cheat the devil with a such a school because “everything out there is

⁷⁶ Ibid, 5.

⁷⁷ At the time Bebek or Babek was a small village located 16 kilometers northeast of Constantinople on the European shore of Bosphorus.

⁷⁸ Letter Hamlin to Robert, January 1859, Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 8; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

⁷⁹ Letter Robert to Hamlin, January 1859, Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 2; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

either for him and is known as such.”⁸⁰ Both Hamlin and Robert concluded that only a fool would give his money away for a school that is not a Christian institution. In the following letter, Robert secured Hamlin to fund the establishment of a Christian college in the capital of the Ottoman Empire. Hamlin once again responded enthusiastically to Robert’s proposal, and, again, insisted for the removal of the Dwight Brothers as co-workers.

The founders, Cyrus Hamlin and Christopher Robert entered the endeavor to establish of Robert College from entirely different settings. Cyrus Hamlin was born on January 5, 1811 in Waterford to a prominent Maine family who was related to a Vice President of the United States of America, as his father was the twin brother of Vice-President Hamlin, and they were related to at least two Civil War generals.⁸¹ Cyrus Hamlin was the seventh child of Hannibal and Susannah Faulkner Hamlin. A few months after his birth Hannibal Hamlin died and Cyrus’ mother was forced to sell one of the farms in their estate. Hamlin spent his childhood and youth working on the family farm. In 1928, he enrolled in an evening school by the Maine Charitable Mechanic Association for the education of apprentices.⁸² The schooling would shape Hamlin’s Weltanschauung and help him to become an innovative educator who wanted studying to be equilibrium between the skills of the mind and the skills of the hand. While in evening school, Hamlin joined a Bible discussion group and was convinced by their

⁸⁰ Hamlin to Robert, February 1859, Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 8; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

⁸¹ see Nehemiah Cleaveland, *History of Bowdoin College: With Biographical Sketches of Its Graduates From 1806 to 1879, Inclusive*, (Press of Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston, 1882), 459.

⁸² John Freely, *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 14.

leader to pursue a religious career. After completing the evening school, Hamlin continued to grow as a self-taught engineer who later would train his students to bake bread, to build diverse machinery and to work with self-made primitive washing machines, along with their studies.

Born in Long Island in 1802 to a wealthy family, Christopher Rhinelander Robert started his successful business career at an early age and by the beginning of the Civil War, his wealth allowed him to fund numerous philanthropic projects. Christopher Robert's ancestry was equally prominent and his youth just as turbulent as Hamlin. He was descended from a French Huguenot of Rochelle, France, who was believed to have been a direct descendant of Count Robert of Normandy, the son of William the Conqueror, King of England. At the age of fifteen he took his first steps as a merchant, serving as a shipping clerk in New York City for five years, and then starting his own trading business in New Orleans. Upon his return to New York City in 1830, he founded the firm of Robert and Williams, which was involved various trade activities.⁸³ The peak of Robert and Williams came after 1860 and this allowed Robert to take the position of the president of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad Co. Robert unsuccessfully tried to establish a college for poor young men in the state of Tennessee. He purchased an old hospital building at Lookout Mountain for the future school, but soon the project failed because of local opposition. Besides his association with the Home Mission Society, Robert's philanthropic activities included but were not limited to

⁸³ George Derby, James Terry White, *The National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, V.1, (J. T. White and Company, New York, 1900), 492; Walter L. Wright, "Christopher Rhinelander Robert," in *The Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 1-2, (Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935).

regular and large donations to various schools such as Hamilton College, Beloit College, and Auburn Theological Seminary. These institutional networks are important markers in getting to understand American Protestantism and Robert's background, as well as his future attitude toward the establishment and work of Robert College.

During the Crimean War, Robert visited Constantinople and met Hamlin, who graduated from Bowdoin College in 1834 and from Bangor Theological Seminary in 1837. Cyrus Hamlin arrived in the Ottoman Empire in 1839 as an ABCFM missionary,⁸⁴ only eight years after the mission station had opened. According to Widmer, Hamlin "fit the profile – he was young, ascetic, and Congregational,"⁸⁵ and he was strongly influenced by the writings of Jonathan Edwards. Once again, this is an important point to note on his background, as his denominational affiliation would continue to shape his mission in the years to come.

Hamlin immediately started a seminary for educating young men who would be willing to join the missionary activities in their own lands. Bebek seminary was opened in November 1840, with a handful Armenian students. The school did not gain positive evaluation from fellow missionaries or much support from Hamlin's superiors because of his intention to engage the students in industrial occupations as ways for self-support for them and the seminary. Hamlin's innovations were displayed in a couple of brave decisions. First, he developed a curriculum for the school by significantly increasing what was normally taught in Protestant mission schools, which incorporated a

⁸⁴ see Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 479-484.

⁸⁵ Ted Widmer, "Cyrus Hamlin in Turkey," in Daniel Bays, Ellen Widmer, *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2009), 288.

significant amount of science. Second, most of the students came from very poor families and Hamlin decided to organize a workshop in which students could earn money to provide for their needs. Hamlin obtained forty pounds from English mechanics and engineers and ordered various tools to equip the basement of his house, which turned to be the workplace for the students. While the workshop was successful and admired by the students who manufactured marketable trades and thus alleviated their severe poverty,⁸⁶ numerous fellow missionaries of Hamlin found his innovative ideas as disturbing.

Some of Hamlin's superiors objected these workshops as they believed it would secularize the minds of the students and would divert them to a worldly life, a criticism that he would receive later at Robert College as well. The concerns of Hamlin's co-workers on the mission field were brought to the attention of the Mission Board in Boston. The Board sent a note to Hamlin to immediately close the workshops. Hamlin responded that he would close the workshops if the Board commits to pay the full stipends for the student, who earned money for books, clothes and food through the workshops. After long consideration, the Board in Boston changed their mind and informed Hamlin to keep the workshops intact.

In the later years of Bebek seminary, the curriculum included chemistry, philosophy, geography and history. For Hamlin, these disciplines were proportionately connected to the religious study classes, such as daily Bible study meetings and prayer

⁸⁶ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 257.

gatherings, which he required the students to attend.⁸⁷ The first prayer was conducted at 5:30 AM during which the students read the Bible aloud in English language. The last prayer and Bible reading of the day were conducted from 7:30 to 9:00 PM, again reading the Bible aloud. Clearly, this was conducted following a New England model. Hamlin's background would continue to shape his ideology and model of education. The Armenian language was studied but the basic work and study were studied in English language.⁸⁸

The years 1842 and 1843 were the years of many visits, as Hamlin called them in his memoir.⁸⁹ First, in 1842 George Wood was sent to Bebek to serve as an assistant to Hamlin, who at the time was a professor, dean, handyman and manufacturer of the school. Thus, Bebek was called a one-man seminary. Wood remained at Bebek for seven years and became Hamlin's closest friend. In 1843, Rufus Anderson, the Secretary of the American Board arrived to inspect the seminary work and found out that the bright reports of its work were accurate. Yet, the great mission of Hamlin's life, the establishment of Robert College, would still lie in the future. Nevertheless, through its brief existence, Bebek Seminary demonstrated to be a model for Hamlin's work at Robert College.

Hamlin also believed that besides these workshops, the seminary students need to participate in various industrial activities, which, at first, included baking and distributing of bread, but later at Robert College expanded to gardening, milling flour,

⁸⁷ Ibid, 249.

⁸⁸ The issue of English as official language of study will be discussed in the next Chapter.

⁸⁹ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 77.

manufacturing rat traps, sheet iron stoves, stove pipes, operating self made primitive washing machines, and many other appliances. Hamlin imported from the United States a steam engine and milling machinery, and he started to run a bakery⁹⁰ that was very successful, “which at its peak provided twenty thousands pounds of bread a day to the British Army during the Crimean War.”⁹¹ These activities of Hamlin and his students participating in them raised questions and even bewilderment by his fellow missionaries and even by his supporters and donors at the mission board. This again raises the question: How to understand and explain this opposition? However, as Widmer states, “the more the forces of reaction lined up against him, the more Hamlin innovated, and most of his innovations emanated from his mastery of practical arts.”⁹² Following the instructions of Andrew Ure’s *Dictionary of the Arts, Manufactures and Mines*,⁹³ Hamlin and his students built and operated the first steam flour mill in the Ottoman Empire, which caused mass astonishment in Constantinople.

Encouraged by his mastery and economic success that would give the future college self-sufficiency, Hamlin opened a large-scale laundry, also the first in the Empire, to wash the uniforms of the British army who was fighting in Crimea peninsula. While supplying bread, he met and befriended Florence Nightingale, who was contributing her services to the British Military Hospitals at Haydarpasa and Kuleli. The Hospitals not only

⁹⁰ Charles Cole Creegan, *Pioneer missionaries of the church*, (American Tract Society, New York, 1903), 120.

⁹¹ Ted Widmer, “The Long Journey of Cyrus Hamlin in Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge, 2011), 63.

⁹² *Ibid*, 64.

⁹³ Andrew Ure, *Dictionary of the Arts, Manufactures and Mines, Containing A Clear Exposition of Their Principles and Practices*, (Robert Hunt, F.R.S. F.S.S., Longman, Green, Longman, And Roberts, London, 1860).

ordered bread regularly from Hamlin but also requested the services of his washing machines for the laundering of their sheets and the garments of the British soldiers housed in the British military hospitals. As Widmer states, Hamlin was known throughout Constantinople as a sorcerer of technology, “and he parlayed his mastery into political clout, helping to display the telegraph for the Sultan and leading the way for other innovations, including the spread of electricity across the darkened Ottoman empire. A suspicious Armenian bishop who visited a mission school decided that Protestantism was more or less the same thing as chemistry.”⁹⁴ This was a humorous incident, but the Armenian bishop was saying something important about Protestant mission and its shift from theological and spiritual focus toward embracing of a capacity for industry. This early shift is significant because the “secularization” of Robert College would be built into this very Protestant core of embracing the larger needs of the greater community.

Deeply impressed by Hamlin’s achievements, in 1860, Robert asked him to immediately begin the work of establishing Robert College with the promise to provide the necessary funds until his death. Christopher Robert died in Paris, France in October 1878. He left one fifth of his assets to the college. The objective of Robert and Hamlin was to build a school, within the Ottoman Empire, that would be of equal standards to New England college institutions. It would be, in its core, Christian, but non-sectarian and would invite young men of all nationalities and religions in the Ottoman Empire,

⁹⁴ Ted Widmer, “The Long Journey of Cyrus Hamlin,” in Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Cambridge, 2011), 64; A. D. F. Hamlin, *In Memoriam, Rev. Cyrus Hamlin*, (Boston, 1903), 7.

with the English language as the common ground upon which the students would stand. At first, the idea seemed like a perilous enterprise to mission fellows and potential donors who knew the Empire, the Balkans and the East. There was not a college in the Ottoman Empire and very few schools of any kind, and the idea of bringing people of hostile nationalities and religions in the Empire to live together in peace in a Christian college seemed absurd. It was a courageous and seemingly impossible experiment; however, after years of unproductively petitioning the authorities in the Empire, approval for establishing the school was finally granted.

In June 1859, Robert wrote to Hamlin, “the time has come for you to draw out the plan for a college, taking as your model the best in our country.”⁹⁵ It was the same year when Cyrus Hamlin proposed marriage to Mary Tenney. Hamlin first arrived in 1839 in the Ottoman Empire, newly wed to Henrietta, but she had died in 1850. Two years later, he had married Martha Lovell, who was a teacher at a girls' school in Constantinople, but in 1859 she died as well. Meanwhile, Cyrus also lost two daughters, one less than a year after his second wife’s death. At the time he met Mary Tenney, she was serving as a teacher at a missionary school in Tokat and was a regular visitor to his dying daughter's bedside. Soon thereafter, they were married and their marriage lasted over 40 years until Hamlin's death in August 8, 1900.

Robert’s letter found Hamlin in a time of personal and professional difficulties. Hamlin was trying to become fiercely independent from denominational and ABCFM’s control. At Constantinople, Hamlin felt that his mission was not only to convert people

⁹⁵ Letter, Robert to Hamlin, June 1859, Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 7; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

to the Christian faith but also to educate young men and women, to enlighten them and to teach them modern science and technology which would make them useful for their communities. On the other hand, ABCFM doomed his plans as a worldly education and sharply condemned his successful financial operations. For years ABCFM leaders criticized his innovative ideas and his desire to add industrial education in the curriculum at Bebek seminary. Deeply saddened, Hamlin described the ABCFM policies in his autobiography as suicidal. The ABCFM interference in Hamlin's work came to its height with the moving of the seminary from Bebek to Marsovan, a decision that deeply disappointed Hamlin. Meanwhile Robert deposited \$30,000 dollars to Hamlin's account, who finally felt confident to break with the Mission Board to completely devote his time and efforts for the opening of the new school. In May 1860 he resigned from the Mission Board, "with feelings of deep solemnity and sorrow."⁹⁶

In the summer of 1860, Hamlin left Constantinople for the United States to help Christopher Robert raise funds for the new school. It was not the best time for raising money as the nation was torn apart by the devastating Civil War. The fundraising campaign, not supported by the Mission Board, was destined to fail. The amount they collected was only \$13,000, much less than what Hamlin and Robert hoped. Nevertheless, Robert donated another \$30,000 in railroad bonds⁹⁷ for the building of the new school. Hamlin returned home in 1861 with Robert's promise that more funds would be secured and the school would start as soon as possible. The outbreak of the

⁹⁶ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 6.

⁹⁷ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 426.

Civil War deeply impacted Hamlin as he impressively writes in his memoir of churches that were dressed with American flags, men and women chanting “A death blow to slavery” or “A southern republic – let them go!”⁹⁸ In terms of fundraising, Hamlin thought, that the war killed the college movement. The people of New York were interested mainly in fluttering flags, and fighting the southern rebels, who reached Fort Sumter.

A few days after his arrival in the Ottoman Empire, Hamlin learned that some significant political changes occurred in Constantinople. The Sultan Abdul Mecid I,⁹⁹ who was only sixteen when he succeeded his father and became Sultan of the Empire, died and a new Sultan reigned in his stead. Sultan Abdul Mecid I was known as the reformer Sultan. He desired to be known as a modernizing ruler and he wished for the Empire to be officially accepted among the family of European nations during his reign. He achieved his goals by reorganizing government. First, he incorporated non-Turks and non-Muslims thoroughly into the Ottoman society with new liberal reforms. Second,

⁹⁸ Ibid, 427.

⁹⁹ For general biography of Sultan Abdul Mecid I or Abdülmeçid I, *أول المجيد عبد* ‘Abdü’l-Mecîd-i evvel, see Howard Crane and Esra Akin (eds.), *Sinan’s Autobiographies: Five Sixteenth-Century Texts* (Brill, Leiden, 2006; Caroline Finkel, *Osman’s Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*, (John Murray Publishers, London, 2005); Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922, New Approaches to European History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000); Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans, The Great War in the Middle East*, (Perseus Books Group, New York, 2015); Theodore Spandounes, *On the Origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, trans. Donald M. Nicol, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997); Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey – Vol 1: Empire of Gazis*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976). Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1977); Bruce Masters, *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, 1516-1918: A Social and Cultural History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013)); Camron Michael Amin et al, *The Modern Middle East: A Sourcebook for History*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2006).

among the reforms of Abdul Mecid I was the Tanzimat (reorganization)¹⁰⁰ reform which was originated by his father Mahmud II¹⁰¹ but started to function effectively under Abdul Mecid I. Fortna points out that with the Tanzimat¹⁰² reform came “a highly

¹⁰⁰ For more on the Tanzimat, تنظيمات, *Tanzīmāt* reforms see Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman (eds.), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Emine Evered's *Empire And Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform, and Resistance From The Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, (New York: I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, 2012), 5, 12-13, 25-39; Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert, Eds, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*, volumes 1 and 2 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997); Mark Pinson, “Ottoman Bulgaria in the First Tanzimat Period – The Revolts on Nish (1841) and Vidin (1850),” *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (May, 1975), pp. 103-146.; M. Sukru Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton 2008), 72-74, Stanford J. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1977); Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922, New Approaches to European History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000); Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2010); Bruce Masters, *The Arabs of the Ottoman Empire, 1516-1918: A Social and Cultural History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013), 157-192.

¹⁰¹ Mahmud II, محمود ثانی *Mahmud-u s̄ānī*, was the 30th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1808 until his death in 1839. His was the originator of western oriented reforms that aimed to consolidate the Ottoman Empire among the Western powers despite considerable defeats in wars and sizable losses of territory. For more on Mahmud II see Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*, (John Murray Publishers, London, 2005); Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans, The Great War in the Middle East*, (Perseus Books Group, New York, 2015); Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*; Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922, New Approaches to European History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000); Alan Palmer, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, (Faber and Faber, London, 2015); Stanford Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Volume 2, Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey 1808-1975*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1977).

¹⁰² On the Tanzimat reform and the modernization of the public education in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey see Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1963); Emine Onhan Evered, *Empire And Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform, and Resistance From The Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, (Published by I.B.Tauris & Co Ltd, New York, 2012); Selcuk Aksin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (E.J. Brill, Leiden, 2001); Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, The State, And Education In The Late Ottoman Empire*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2002); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History, An Introduction to the Sources*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999); Carter Vaughn Findley, “The Tanzimat.” In *Turkey in the Modern World*, (edited by Reşat Kasaba, 11-37. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008); Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds, The Construction of the Ottoman State*, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1996); Elizabeth Thompson, "Ottoman Reform in the Provinces: The Damascus Advisory Council, 1844–1845." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25, no. 3 (August 1993), Onur Yildirim, “Tanzimat Reforms, Period”, in: *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, Executive Editor Norman A. Stillman. Consulted online on 27 October 2016, Murat C. Menguuj, "Young Ottomans," *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. Richard C. Martin

rationalized and centralized state school system.”¹⁰³ The Tanzimat eliminated the Millet system¹⁰⁴ and more liberal and secular laws took power. With the Tanzimat and the following political reforms in the Empire the equality between the Millets extended to new dimensions. Some taxes that the Non-Muslim Millets were obligated to pay were eliminated and the non-Muslim Millets were allowed to take part in foreign affairs and parliament. These reforms were intended to embolden a sense of Ottomanism among the various ethnic and religious groups in the Empire but mostly raised hostility and resentment among the Muslim citizens. A larger discussion and a fresh understanding of the Millet is needed, because the educational changes that occurred in the Ottoman Empire during the Tanzimat and after the establishment of the Millet system opened new standpoints for the Protestant schools, as soon as the missionaries revised their goals and identified what the people of the Empire needed - an education that is not bound by converting to Christianity but would serve the needs of all Millets.

(Thomson Gale, New York, 2004), p. 737-739.

¹⁰³ Benjamin C. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, The State, And Education In The Late Ottoman Empire*, (Oxford University Press, New York, 2002), 113.

¹⁰⁴ Millet *ملة* translates as nation. Thus it was often understood as religious nation. On the Millet and its implications in the Ottoman Empire see Fikret Adanır, *Der Zerfall des Osmanischen Reiches*, in: *Das Ende der Weltreiche: von den Persern bis zur Sowjetunion*, (Alexander Demant, München, 1997); Karl Binswanger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts mit einer Neudefinition des Begriffes "Dhimma"*, (Trofenik, München 1977); Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System", *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society - Vol. 1*. eds. B. Braude & L. Bernard (Homer & Meier, New York, 1982); Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues, *Christians and Jews under Islam*, (I.B.Tauris, London, 1998), Karl Binswanger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im Osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts mit einer Neudefinition des Begriffes "Dhimma"*, (Trofenik, München 1977); Abdulaziz Abdulhussein Sachedina, *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001), Dennis P. Hupchick, *Balkans: From Constantinople to Communism*, (Cox, Harold E., Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2001), 119-133; Emine Evered, *Empire And Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform, and Resistance From The Tanzimat to the Young Turks*, (I..B.Tauris & Co Ltd, New York, 2012), 5, 12-13, 25-39;), Bat Yeór, *The Dhimmi: Jews and Christians under Islam*, (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Cranbury, 1985).

After conquering Constantinople, the Millet system was instituted by Mehmed the Conqueror.¹⁰⁵ The Ottoman government did not recognize ethnic or national groups. Instead, it organized its subjects in millets through which the subjects conducted their own affairs, headed by their own religious leaders.¹⁰⁶ Thus, the Millet system was ultimately inclusive as it grouped all the peoples of the same faith independently of their status in the society, political views or residence of living. The Millets were autonomous entities in the Empire but subjected to the Sultan. Since the Ottoman society consisted of two main entities, Non-Muslims and Muslims, the Non-Muslim population of the Empire was, by far, larger in the Balkans and was categorized by various Millets. However, the autonomy and diversity of the Millet system did not reduce the dominance of the Muslim religion and the power of Sultan.

Beside the Muslim millet, the main millets were the Rum millet, Jewish millet, Armenian millet and Syrian Orthodox millet. The Ottomans recognized a wide array of other groups such as Catholics, Karaites and Samaritans but did not include them in a

¹⁰⁵ Mehmed II was the third son of the Ottoman sultan Murad II. He was the Turkish sultan who conquered Constantinople and cruelly consolidated and expanded the Ottoman Empire with military campaigns into Asia and Europe. For more on Mehmed II see Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*. (Translated by Ralph Manheim, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978), Parry, V. J., H. Inalcik, A. N. Kurat, and J. S. Bromley, *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730*. (Edited by Michael Cook. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976), Jonathan Harris, *The End of Byzantium*, (Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 2010), Marios Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373-1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century*. (Hellenic College Press, Brookline, 1990), Colin Imbe, *The Ottoman Empire*, (Palgrave/Macmillan, London, 2002), Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*, (John Murray Publishers, London, 2005); Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922, New Approaches to European History*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000); Eugene Rogan, *The Fall of the Ottomans, The Great War in the Middle East*, (Perseus Books Group, New York, 2015).

¹⁰⁶ see Barbara Reeves - Ellington, *Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010), p. 270; Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds, *Christians and Jews in The Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1982).

separate millet group. The Millet was permitted to elect its own religious leaders.¹⁰⁷ Rum millet was the given name for the largest non-Muslim subject population – the Greek Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. After the fall of the capital of the Byzantine Empire, the Ottomans conquered all of the Balkan states one after another, and subordinated the Christian population under the Rum millet.

During the centuries of Ottoman rule, the Rum millet represented the most important non-Muslim economic group. Hupchick rightly observes that the Ottoman “millet system served as one of the pillars that perpetuated Ottoman control over the Balkans for centuries.¹⁰⁸ With their conquest, the Ottomans pushed the imperial frontier forward to the gates of Vienna in the west, Yemen in the south and Persia in the east and instituted the millet everywhere with the freedom to use the native language as their official language, as well as developing their own institutions. The Millet system constituted the Ottoman state as a form of theocracy, founded on exact concepts of religious hierarchy and political order, with the Sultan as a supreme, absolute and divine leader, and Islam as the dominant religion. The criticism on the effectiveness of the Millet system is largely explored in the Western scholarship. Historians tend to evaluate the Millet system as one that brought more bias and limitation to non-Muslims rather than freedom.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ On the structural characteristics of the Millet system see *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (edited by Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters, 383-384. Facts On File, New York, 2009).

¹⁰⁸ Dennis P. Hupchick, *Balkans: From Constantinople to Communism*, (Cox, Harold E., Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2001), 134.

¹⁰⁹ On this argument see Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myths of the Millet System", *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The Functioning of a Plural Society - Vol. 1*. eds. B. Braude & L. Bernard (Homer & Meier, New York, 1982); Bernard Lewis, *Jews of Islam*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1984).

The educational changes that occurred in the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Abdul Mecid I opened new perspectives for the Protestant schools, as soon as the missionaries revised their aims and identified what native peoples demanded and needed -- an education that is not bound by converting to Protestant faith but would meet the needs of all Millets. Therefore, most of the Protestant schools grew into liberal universities that educated students from all religious communities in fields of technology and science that were inaccessible in government schools. Thus, Robert College is a great example¹¹⁰ of an institution, which, at first, admitted only representatives from the Rum millet, but soon it turned into one of the finest secular universities, admitting students from various nations and religions, first, during in the Ottoman Empire and then in the young Turkish republic.

Sultan Abdul Mecid's Empire was in decay. The Sultan was trying to forge alliances with the major powers of Western Europe who fought alongside the Ottoman Empire in the Crimean War against Russia. To gain the trust of his allies, Abdul Mecid I was pressed to provide even more freedom to ethnic and religious groups as a sign of his western oriented politic. The political changes allowed the American Protestants to expand their mission activities among the Rum millet in the Ottoman Empire. In this context, Abdul Mecid I was called by Hamlin "the friendly Sultan." After Abdul Mecid's death, Abdul Aziz¹¹¹ was enthroned in Constantinople and the political moods in the

¹¹⁰ Lewis V. Thomas, Richard N. Frye, *The United States and Turkey and Iran*, (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1951), 140.

¹¹¹ Abdülaziz I or العزیز عبد / `Abdü'l-`Azîz was the 32nd Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. He succeeded his brother Abdul Mecid I. For more on Abdülaziz see Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Basic Books, Persus Books Group, New York), Parry, V. J., H. Inalcik, A. N. Kurat,

Sultan's palace changed once again. In letters to Robert and in his memoirs, Hamlin described the usual changes and the new favourite political players around the new Sultan, as well as his worries that an unknown Sultan had succeeded the positive Abdul Mecid I.

The months after Hamlin's return were spent looking for real estate, negotiating and bargaining. In numerous letters to Robert, Hamlin described his unsuccessful attempts to receive approval from the Ottoman authorities to find a proper place for the school. These efforts had exhausting and discouraging effects on Hamlin, who understood the difficulties as a straight demonstration of the power of Satan against the project. Robert gave him the practical instruction to form an advisory committee of trusted co-workers and friends. The advisory committee included the missionaries Edwin Bliss, Elias Rigs, William Schaufller, Tillman Trowbridge, George Herrick, the Dutch Ambassador Count Zuylen De Nyvelle and the secretary of the American Legation John Brown. Their intention was to buy a place in the old city, close to the ancient walls of Constantine on the southern shore of the Golden Horn. These plans were abandoned due to the high cost of real estate in the old city. After considering several opportunities, Cyrus Hamlin and his associates of the advisory board found what they thought would be the perfect location for the college. It was an attractive property on

and J. S. Bromley, *A History of the Ottoman Empire to 1730*. (Edited by Michael Cook. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976), Jonathan Harris, *The End of Byzantium*, (Yale University Press, New Haven CT and London, 2010), Marios Philippides, *Emperors, Patriarchs, and Sultans of Constantinople, 1373-1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Sixteenth Century*. (Hellenic College Press, Brookline, 1990), Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, (Palgrave/Macmillan, London, 2002), Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*, (John Murray Publishers, London, 2005), Eugene Rougan, *The Fall of the Ottomans: The Great War in the Middle East*, (Basic Books, Perseus Books Group, New York, 2016).

the hills above the fishing villages of Bebek and Rumeli Hisar on the European shore of the Bosphorus, about twelve kilometers north of the Golden Horn, the scimitar-shaped inlet that joins the strait on its western side just north of the Marmara¹¹² and about half a mile away from the seminary.

The land was bought in 1861 from Ahmet Vefik Pasa,¹¹³ who was the Sultan's Ambassador to the court of Napoleon III in Paris. Vefik Pasa was a prominent statesman in the Ottoman Empire. His services for the Sultan included appointments as Grand Vezir, minister of education, ambassador to Persia, imperial commissioner in the Danubian principalities and presidium over the first Turkish Parliament. As a man of importance, Vefik Pasa at first refused to sell his land to the insignificant Protestants at any price.¹¹⁴ However, in 1861, Pasa was accused of financial misconduct and returned to the Ottoman Empire. The new Sultan Abdul Aziz assigned Vefik Pasa to a minor post in Constantinople. Rumors came to Hamlin that Vefik Pasa was in need of money. Approached by Hamlin, Vefik Pasa responded that he was willing to sell but only the half of the land at Roumeli Hissar. Months of negotiations and bargaining followed before Ahmet Vefik Pasa agreed to sell about six acres for sixteen hundred pounds sterling. The final purchase was signed on December 2, 1861. George Washburn purchased the other

¹¹² John Freely, *A History of Robert College*, Vol. I., (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 12.

¹¹³ Ahmet Vefik Pasa, پاشا و فیک احمد, was an instrumental figure in the early history of the college. He was a politician, statesman, author, playwright, lexicographer, philosopher, historian, bibliophile, and linguist. For more on Ahmet Vefik Pasa, see Ahmet Vefik Pasa, <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Ahmed-Vefik-Pasa> Retrieved October 25, 2016; Robert Devereux, *The First Ottoman Constitutional Period. A Study of the Midhat Constitution and Parliament*, (John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1963), Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, (Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 2000).

¹¹⁴ Letter from Hamlin to Robert, May 16, 1860. Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 10; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

half of the estate several years later.¹¹⁵

Once the imperial order granted approval for the school to be established, the next step was the raising of money for the construction work of the college and for basic equipment. When Christopher Robert persuaded Hamlin to come to the States in the summer of 1860 for a fundraising trip, the hopes were high. Hamlin believed that he would secure the “funds needed for launching the institution on its voyage.”¹¹⁶ However, the fundraising visit had a more complex nature. As Washburn suggested, Hamlin intended to come to a full agreement with Robert regarding the purpose and main goal of the school. Apparently, there were still doubts between a Christian mission school that would convert the natives and an institution that would admit students of various nationalities and religious background without trying to Christianize them. Those were doubts that would confront Hamlin and Roberts for years to come. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the Civil War interfered in Hamlin’s plans. In the November election of 1860, Abraham Lincoln won the Presidency and began his first term as President of the United States of America with Hannibal Hamlin as Vice-president, who was Cyrus’s first cousin.

In the United States Hamlin felt discouraged by the lack of interest for his fundraising campaign. Probably, the most productive meeting took place in Boston where Harvard University gave some indications for supporting Robert College. Traveling to Harvard, Hamlin was full of hope to find friends in New England for the

¹¹⁵ see George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 8.

¹¹⁶ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 426.

school in Constantinople and even to make concrete arrangements for the construction of the building. He did not succeed for such arrangements but a Board of Trustees was legally established with W. A. Booth as the President of the Board and David Coe as the Secretary, both personal friends of Christopher Robert and supporters of his mission activities. Robert hoped that both of them would oversee the work of the college even after his death. He believed that the work of the School would be guided by their judgment and patronage for years ahead. In 1864, the Board of the college was formally incorporated by act of the Legislature of New York under the name "The Trustees of Robert College of Constantinople."¹¹⁷ Thus the school was united with the existing state organizations in the University of the State of New York. According to Washburn, this established the legal status of the college in America.

The newly organized board was unsure as to the character of the school that would be based on religious values but would not teach Christian theology. The second major component of controversy was Hamlin's idea of education in which the instruction would be in English. The Board insisted on a vernacular training but Hamlin vigorously refused. In doing so, Hamlin severed once again his ties with the ABCFM with whom he had been associated since his youth. The result was that the Board did not allow Hamlin to speak at any of its Congregational churches in New England.¹¹⁸ Hamlin thought that when talented and solemn people had tried to pursue missionary

¹¹⁷ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 9.

¹¹⁸ see Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 423.

objectives without teaching English, the results had been equally sad.¹¹⁹ The issue of language¹²⁰ was one of the concerns that connected and divided the American missionaries and educators. Nevertheless, between the Bulgarian and Turkish languages, or between the Armenian and Turkish, English was a neutral language and an instrument for reaching all who desired an education in an American school. For Hamlin, the English language was bound to be “the medium” for transmitting knowledge and “the wide diffusion of English by commerce and colonization made its pedagogical use inevitable.”¹²¹

Hamlin was convinced that “its rich stores of Christian thought, science, and philosophy” meant that it was “destined to form a band of sympathy and intercourse among the nations, beyond any other language.”¹²² A compromise on that issue was never made and the question of the official language of the institution remained controversial for years. Nevertheless, Harvard University agreed to donate a large amount of books to the library of Robert College. Nevertheless, at the end of his United States fundraising journey, Hamlin succeeded to win only two individual sponsors, Mr. Williston donated \$10,000 and Mr. Corliss donated \$1,300. Hamlin arrived in Boston on September 10, 1860 and returned to Constantinople in June 1861. Initially, he planned

¹¹⁹ see William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World, American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993), 98.

¹²⁰ The issue of English as an official language of the school as a tool for reaching all who desire an education at Robert College will be largely discussed in the next pages of the dissertation. A compromise on that issue was never made and the question of the official language of the institution would remain controversial for years.

¹²¹ see William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World, American Protestant Thought And Foreign Missions*, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993), 99.

¹²² Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (American Tract Society, New York, 1878), 275-278; William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World, American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993), 98.

to collect at least \$100,000 for the new college but the result was \$13,000 only. Hamlin's fundraising campaign failed and a school was yet to be built.

In July 1861, the office of the newly appointed American minister resident in Constantinople, Edward Joy Morris submitted an official request to the *Bâb-ı Âlî*¹²³ for permission to establish Robert College. In diplomatic circles, the government of the Ottoman Empire was often referred to as the "Sublime Porte" which was the only gate of Topkapi Sarayı¹²⁴ opened to foreigners and the location of where the Sultan and his government officials would give a reception to ambassadors and foreign officials.¹²⁵ In June 12, 1861, President Abraham Lincoln appointed the Keystone State Congressman Edward Joy Morris, as Minister Resident to Turkey (ambassador) and by extension to Palestine,¹²⁶ who would serve in Constantinople from June 12, 1861 to October 25, 1870. Morris came to Constantinople with the reputation of well-respected politician. After much consideration and opposition, in March 1862, Robert and Hamlin finally received an imperial order granting approval for the school to be established and allowing it to be under American jurisdiction and fly the American flag.

In April 1862, Hamlin secured the deal with Vefik Pasha, after which he applied for approval to erect the building that would house the school. After a few months he received a document, signed by El Said Kemal, Minister of Public Instruction, giving

¹²³ For the meaning of *Bâb-ı Âlî* see Appendix D.

¹²⁴ For the meaning of Topkapi Sarayı see Appendix D.

¹²⁵ For more on the topic see Claire Davis, *The Palace of Topkapi in Istanbul*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1970).

¹²⁶ The Shapell Manuscript Foundation: <http://www.shapell.org/manuscript/abraham-lincoln-seal-appointment-edward-joy-morris-minister-resident-turkey>, retrieved on August 30, 2016; The Shapell Manuscript Foundation: <http://www.shapell.org/manuscript/abraham-lincoln-edward-morris-ottoman-empire-minister> For detailed information on Edward Joy Morris see Biographical Directory of the United States Congress: <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=M000975>

permission to Cyrus Hamlin, citizen of the United States, to open a college on the Bosphorus, near to the fortress of Rumeli Hisar. For the first time, Hamlin had an official document in hand permitting him to establish a college. But, a few weeks later he learned that the Turkish *adet*,¹²⁷ or custom, was revised by the Sublime Porte. A government official notified Hamlin that the paper granted the establishment of the school, but because of “some formalities,” it did not extend to the erecting of a building on the proposed real estate. Hamlin hoped to fix those “formalities” in a few weeks and to start the construction work as soon as possible. However, it would take six years for the permission of the Ottoman Sultan to come for the first campus of Robert College to be built in Bebek at the ridge of Rumelia Fortress with the purpose of serving the educational needs of the Rum millet. In numerous letters to Robert, Hamlin voiced his disappointment for not receiving a permit to start the construction work. The complications about the erecting of a Protestant school were forced from political, religious and cultural grounds. Hamlin felt alone and helpless. According to Washburn the political change in Constantinople was not in favor of the project.¹²⁸ The new era of open doors in the Ottoman Empire was over with the end of the Crimean War and the new Sultan, Abdul Aziz, brought a different spirit in the government. He was an authoritarian man of power and his reign, for good or bad, became very strong. But as Hamlin believed, the opposition to the school did not originate from the government of the Empire.

¹²⁷ For the meaning of *adet* see Appendix D.

¹²⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 10.

An unexpected hostility came from individuals connected to French and Russian diplomats, religious leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, Armenian Orthodox and Greek Orthodox religious groups. These animosities toward an American Protestant College in the Capital of the Ottoman Empire had religious and political grounds. At first the attacks were through newspaper articles but soon grew to diplomatic pressure and intrigues. While American missionaries arrived in the Ottoman Empire during the Second Great Awakening at the start of the 19th century, Roman Catholics set foot much earlier, in the early 17th century. Officially, the Vatican clergy's presence in Constantinople was to minister to Roman Catholic merchants but in various regions Rome started organized mission work, as it is evident in the so-called case of Aleppo. A number of clergies from the Jacobite church in the city in Aleppo¹²⁹ converted to Catholicism and the city became the first center for Roman Catholic mission activities. The Jacobite church and their patriarch, together with the Armenian Orthodox patriarch appealed to the Sublime Porte to forbid further religious activities by Roman Catholics.¹³⁰

The case caused quite a stir among the Roman Catholics and impacted their work for years.¹³¹ It is not a surprise that French Roman Catholics and Armenian

¹²⁹ There is large amount of literature and research on the history of the Jacobite church or the Syrian Orthodox Church of Antioch. For more on the Jacobite church of Alepo see Gábor A'goston, Bruce Alan Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, (Facts on File Inc, An imprint of InfoBase Publishing, New York, 2009), 294-296.

¹³⁰ For more details on the case of Aleppo see John Joseph, *Muslim-Christian Relations and Inter-Christian Rivalries in the Middle East: The Case of the Jacobites in the Age of Transition* (State University of New York, Albany, 1983).

¹³¹ For further reading see Charles Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983); Eleanor Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, eds., *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle*

Orthodox leaders reacted similarly to the Protestant expansion in Constantinople. The Russian presence in Constantinople was also alerted by the energetic progress and the growing influence of the American Protestants in the Empire. Russian diplomats in Constantinople also feared that the emergence of an autonomous Protestant school would further foster and extend the use of the English language and increase American influence in Constantinople. Were the Russians correct in assuming this? Probably so, by looking at the close association of Protestantism with the United States and with the future admission of Bulgarian, Armenian and Greek young men who would become diplomats, statesmen, and politicians. The professors of Robert College would remain mentoring and advising them for years. The infamous Count Nikolai Ignatieff,¹³² Russian statesman and diplomat, led the opposition against the college and gave loud attention

East; Peter Kawerau, *Amerika und die Orientalischen Kirchen: Ursprung und Anfang Der Amerikanischen Mission unter den Nationalkirchen Westasiens*. Walter De Gruyter, Berlin, 1958).

¹³² Nikolai Ignatieff, Никола́й Па́влович Игна́тьев was a controversial politician, diplomat and statesman. He served as the Russian envoy in Beijing (1859-1860), Ambassador in Constantinople (1864-77), Minister of the Interior (1881-82), General of Infantry (1878), adjutant General. Despite his controversial career as diplomat, in gratitude for the support of Bulgarian nationalism amidst the Ottoman oppression and for organizing of military assistance for the Bulgarian rebels in the Russian-Turkish War, in today's Bulgaria two villages were named after Nikolai Ignatiev by the ex-communist regime -- Graf Ignatievo in Plovdiv region and the village of Ignatievo in Varna region, as well as the peak Ignatieff in Antarctica. Many Bulgarian streets, squares and institutions still hold the name of Nikolai Ignatiev in honor of the Count's alleged contributions for the Bulgarian independence. Despite the fact that there is a large amount of literature in Russian and Bulgarian, there are only few English reliable sources on Ignatiev's anti-western politic in the Ottoman Empire, his aim to bring the Balkans and particularly Bulgaria under the influence of Russia and his instrumental role in anti-Jewish movement, following the assassination of Alexander II. See Н. П. Игнатиев, *Записки (1875–1878)*, (издателство на Отечествения фронт, София, 1986) (Bulgarian), Граф Н. П. Игнатиев, *Дипломатически записки (1864–1974). Записки (1864–1871) и Донесения (1865–1876)*. (Държавна агенция «Архиви», София, 2009) (Bulgarian), Виктория Хевролина, *Николай Павлович Игнатъев - Биография*. (Квадрига издателство, Москва, 2009) (Russian), Scott C. Levi, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources*, (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 2010), 295 ff., David Marshall Lang, *The Last Years of the Georgian Monarchy 1658–1832*, (Columbia University, New York 1957).

of his position that “Russia will never allow Protestantism to set its foot in Turkey.”¹³³

In the midst of this opposition, two unfortunate events followed that deeply obstructed the progress of the college and led Hamlin into a vicious conflict with the American ambassador in Constantinople, E. Jay Morris. These calamitous events would fill up the entire correspondence between Robert and Hamlin for months to come and would bring the first shadows of distrust between the founders of the school. In March 1862, Jackson G. Coffin, returning from a meeting of the Mission Board, was killed near Iskenderum¹³⁴ by armed bandits. In July 1862, William Merriam, an ABCFM missionary was murdered in a robbery outside the town of Philippopolis.¹³⁵ The two murders outraged the foreign society in the Empire.

The British diplomats insisted to the Sublime Porte for bringing the murderers to justice and offered a reward for their capture. Hamlin felt that the United States legation should do the same. He was unhappy with the impassive position and pleaded for the American diplomatic representative in Constantinople to insist on capturing the murderers. His Excellency E. Jay Morris was more cautious on the matter. He responded that he neither had the funds nor the authority to offer a reward for the capture of the murderers. Morris expressed his position that the Ottoman authorities would do the job anyway and justice would be done. The attitude of the American minister irritated

¹³³ See Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 437.

¹³⁴ Iskenderum (Αλεξανδρέττα - Little Alexandria) is a city at the largest district in Hatay Province on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey.

¹³⁵ Φιλιππούπολη, the “Town of Phillip,” named after Philip II of Macedon, today in Bulgaria. The strategic location of Philippopolis made the town an important missionary station for the early British and American Protestant missionaries. For more on Philippopolis see Manfred Oppermann, *Plovdiv – antike Dreihügelstadt*, (Urania-Verlag Leipzig, Jena Berlin, 1984).

Hamlin and he wrote to Robert that Americans “had no representative here at all.”¹³⁶ Robert's letters back to Hamlin provided direction and encouragement that the situation would soon improve. In addition, Robert shared some happenings of the Civil War as observed from New York perspective.

This was not the first time when Hamlin criticized the American representative in Constantinople. In his memoir Hamlin, accused E. Jay Morris for not being strong enough in his support for the school¹³⁷ and for not having any imperative duty to provide encouragement for the cause by not taking “an active part in protection of the college”¹³⁸ and endorsing Hamlin’s efforts for having the school building permit allowed. These letters reflect his somewhat strained relationship with E. Jay Morris. Hamlin continued to express his irritation and anger with the ambassador in a new series of letters to Robert, saying the he was “thoroughly disgusted” with E. Jay Morris, for neglecting the “most sacred interests of our country.”¹³⁹

Stunned by Hamlin’s letters, Robert decided to take actions and called a meeting of the Board of Trustees. The Board alarmed Lincoln’s Secretary of State William Seward. In their letter, they expressed Hamlin’s objections and insisted for the dismissal of Morris. The conflict gained attention. E. Jay Morris answered the charges in a few dispatches to Washington that included documents, testimonials and a detailed explanation of the case. Morris concluded that the charges were made by Cyrus Hamlin

¹³⁶ Hamlin to Robert, July 1862, Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 22; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

¹³⁷ See Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 432.

¹³⁸ John Freely, *A History of Robert College*, Vol. I., (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 59.

¹³⁹ Hamlin to Robert, July 1862; Hamlin to Robert, August 1862, Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 22; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

as a personal pressure on him to use the United States Legation for obtaining a building permit for the school. As this situation continued to unfold, the murderers were captured and executed by the Ottoman authorities. The conflict, however, remained and was embarrassing for all sides; it took time and energy, slowed the work in Constantinople and the opponents of the college had materials for new newspaper attacks. Finally, E. Jay Morris was cleared from all charges. In a letter from the Secretary of State William Seward, Morris received thanks for handling the matter in a proper way.

Christopher Robert and the Board were embarrassed and felt deeply sorry for engaging in this conflict, which they expressed in an apologetic letter to the State Secretary. The Board asked Hamlin to write an apology to Morris and to thank him for his efforts that the killers of the American missionaries were brought to justice. It seemed that the conflict was settled but Hamlin lost the support of the American legislation in Constantinople and also made new opponents of his work. His hopes for receiving a building permit slowly vanished. The bigger problem was that his relationship with Robert was shadowed. Hamlin feared that Robert “would throw up the enterprise.”¹⁴⁰ Once again he felt alone and hopeless. He believed that the dream to erect a glorious new College campus on the Bosphorus would not come to pass. He sent apologetic letters to Robert every two weeks, expressing his gratitude, telling him, “with the uttermost frankness, everything that had been done.”¹⁴¹ Finally, Hamlin received a

¹⁴⁰ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 432.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 433.

relieving letter from Robert that said: “We will fight it out to the end! You and I, Dr. Hamlin, will still see this thing through.”¹⁴² Despite Robert’s reassurance of support, it became, however, more and more evident that the school would not receive a building permit easily.

Encouraged by Robert’s response, Hamlin immediately started to look for a temporary solution. The Bebek Seminary closed its doors in 1862. The seminary was moved to Marsovan. Hamlin realized that its premises were standing vacant. Because of his past turbulent relationships with the Mission Board, he asked Robert to settle the arrangements for the use of that property. The ABCFM had no objections for such use of the building. As Greenwood comments, Hamlin had a profound knowledge of the Ottoman law and he was aware that one of the “unwritten provisions of the legal structure was *adet*, or prescriptive right. This carried with it the sanction of custom and religious veneration. It could be used to justify the continued existence of institutions simply because it already had an existence.”¹⁴³ Explaining his argument to start the College in the premises of Bebek seminary, that everything that had been founded for a span of time, recognized to the people and to the government, not interfered with, and had thereby earned the right of continued existence, Hamlin cited a well-known Turkish proverb that even “the Sultan’s firman cannot abolish *adet*.”¹⁴⁴ Therefore he had the prescriptive right to continue his teaching in the place, where he was teacher for twenty

¹⁴² Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 433.

¹⁴³ Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 25.

¹⁴⁴ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 433.

years. Since the premises were erected in 1798, there was need of renovation and re-furnishing. Robert provided \$3,000 dollars for the matter and the building was repainted. His old workshop in the basement was rebuilt into a laboratory and many other refreshing changes were made.

There was still one final and important decision to be made. Hamlin and his co-workers decided to outline and print a brochure for the school in five or six languages but realized that the new college is still unnamed. An unexpected debate followed, as all proposed names were objected. "The American College" appeared to be too much linked to American democracy. "Le College d'Orient" (The Oriental College) seemed to be "untrue," because the founders understood the new school as an Occidental College. The name "The College of Constantinople" was rejected as too assuming. Hamlin observed that every other name was rejected by one of two persons until he proposed that the school should be called "Robert College" in honor of its major benefactor.¹⁴⁵ Despite Christopher Robert's objections the proposed name was unanimously accepted with loud ovations.

In the fall of 1863, the College opened its doors with a faculty body of seven professors and with a student body of four young men and with Cyrus Hamlin as its first President. The first faculty included two American professors, Rev. G. Perkins and Rev. H. Schaffler; a Greek professor, M. Kazakos; a professor of French, M. Dalem; a professor of Italian and design, M. Marchesi, and a professor of Armenian, Mr. H. Gigizian. Despite wars and revolutions, disasters and epidemics, the college never closed

¹⁴⁵ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 434.

doors throughout its 150-year history and has educated prime ministers, statesmen, writers, artists, musicians, athletes, doctors, lawyers, engineers and businessmen. The opening of the new school was surrounded with enthusiasm and joy by its founders but received mixed emotions in Constantinople. Together with large acclamations, there were disfavor and suspicion by the Ottoman authorities as well. During the early years, the students were almost all from the Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire, primarily Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks, as John Freely observes.¹⁴⁶ One of Hamlin's archrivals in Constantinople, Abbe Bore, a French Jesuit, became the leading force in opposing the work of the college. Abbe Bore, the head of the Jesuit Mission in the East, patronized by the French and Russian ambassadors, paid an official visit to the Grand Vezir trying to convince the Vezir that the opening of the new school in the premises of Bebek Seminary was causing fears or religious intolerance in Constantinople. Armenians, Greeks and all representatives of the Orthodox Church, supported Abbe Bore's intervention with the Sublime Porte. The objections brought to the Grand Vezir Ali Pasha were that Hamlin and his co-workers would try to convert to the Protestant faith believers from the Greek and Armenian millets and, thus, could lead to a serious religious disruption in the Empire. According to Hamlin, the Grand Vezir rejected all objections with the words: "Mr. Hamlin has had an institution there for twenty years and may have for twenty years more, for aught we care. As to different names these *giaurs*¹⁴⁷ give to their institutions, it makes no difference to us!"¹⁴⁸ As the history of

¹⁴⁶ According to Freely, the first Moslem Turks graduated there in the early 1900s. See John Freely. *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010).

¹⁴⁷ For the meaning of *giaur* see Appendix D.

Robert College would show, Grand Vezir Ali Pasha was wrong rejecting Abbe Borre's warning.

Greenwood writes that Hamlin's view of "the anti-Christ was first and foremost Papist, and this episode merely confirmed what he had known all along."¹⁴⁹ As it is evident in his letters to Robert, Hamlin sincerely believed that Catholics and Orthodox, Russians and French, Greeks and Armenians, were against him. When they didn't collaborate against the college, they would approach him and say, "I told you so! The whole thing is an absurdity. You will never get scholars from among the Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians!"¹⁵⁰ Indeed, the first steps of the college were slow and the progress time-consuming. The students were poor and unable to pay the tuition of \$200. Hamlin came to believe that the whole experiment might fail. Only three students enrolled at the beginning of the second year, one Armenian, one Greek, and one Bulgarian.

Robert and Hamlin came to an agreement to give the school five provisional years before they pronounced it failure or success. The student body rapidly increased, reaching the number of thirty. In the fifth year, the students were seventy-two, far beyond the highest expectations. Among these student were the sons of prominent British and American citizens in Constantinople, such Julius Robert and Edwin Milligen, the sons of Doctor Julius Milligen, personal physician to the Sultan, David Henry Porter Brown, son of John P. Brown of the American legation in the Ottoman Empire, John

¹⁴⁸ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 435.

¹⁴⁹ Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 27.

¹⁵⁰ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 436.

Morton, son of a wealthy British merchant, Edwin Musell Bliss, son of the American Bible Society representative, John Henry and Edwin Henry, sons of a British businessman.¹⁵¹ These enrollments helped the American founders to bring the school to self-sufficiency for the next months. In the United States, the success of the school received large acclamations. In 1864, Robert College was granted a charter by the Board of Regents in the State of New York, with the power to confer the B.A. degree.¹⁵² This was a major accomplishment. The premises of the old Bebek Seminary were full and student applications were rejected with great regret. The need for a new and versatile building was evident.

Meanwhile, the opening of Robert College in Constantinople caused stir among the foreign forces in the Imperial city. As stated above, the Russian ambassador, Count Nikolai Ignatiev, also had said, in various occasions, that Russia would never allow Protestantism to set its foot in Turkey. His western-phobic position sharpened with the progress of the college. In 1867, Sultan Abdul Aziz paid a visit to the court of Napoleon III in Paris. The old rival of Hamlin, Abbe Bore convinced the French ambassador to use this opportunity. While in Paris, the Sultan promised Napoleon III to give permission for the founding of a French Lycee in Constantinople. Demand for French education was due in part to the increasing business connections between the Paris and Constantinople. The Sultan agreed to provide a full financial provision for the school and the French would care for the curriculum, the faculty and the ideology of the new school. Indeed, a new Lycee was opened in Galata Sarai in 1868 in an old Turkish school

¹⁵¹ John Freely. *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 61.

¹⁵² Ibid, 62.

building that was renovated and remodeled for the needs of the new school with a joint Turkish – French control.

The new building was equipped to house nearly six hundred students, a large number of French professors promptly arrived in the Empire and the future of the new Lycee seemed to be bright. Washburn recalls that friends and enemies thought this to be the end of Robert College as the French Lycee offered a free admission. The French economic and political interests led to the establishing of various school and numerous Jesuits residences in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁵³ However, the Civil War in the United States ended and the American Legislation in Constantinople regained its political strength, while the unexpected fall of the French Empire rapidly declined the French influence in the Ottoman Empire. The character of the Lycee changed through the years, the French remained as the main language, but Ottoman authorities governed the school.

Robert and Hamlin once again joined forces to obtain a building permit for their school. It seemed that the past conflict with E. Joy Morris from 1862 was long forgotten and the American Legislation would assist the matter. The recent triumph of the Union in the Civil War commanded new respect toward the United States officials in Constantinople. It helped the cause that one of the Civil War heroes, Admiral David Farragut, who gained fame from the battle of Mobile Bay, was present in

¹⁵³ More on the topic see Eleanor H. Tejirian, Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, Conquest and Conversion, Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East*, (Columbia University Press, New York), 97ff.

Constantinople.¹⁵⁴ Farragut, recently promoted to full admiral, becoming the first United States Naval officer to hold that rank, was in command of the European Squadron. He arrived in the Ottoman Empire with the screw frigate USS Franklin, his flagship. The American Naval presence encouraged Hamlin to persistently renew his requests to build at Rumeli Hisar. The British ambassador, Sir Henry Bulwer,¹⁵⁵ also took the matter at hand but soon wrote to Hamlin that nothing can be done, because the Turks would never allow an American college at such a prominent site on the Bosphorus. According to Hamlin, Bulwer was involved in a bribery affair that cost his place in Constantinople. He was recalled in London and replaced with Lord Lyons, who also took the question with interest.

The Grand Vizier Ali Pasha,¹⁵⁶ who was a major opponent of the school, softened his position when Admiral Farragut's flagship dropped anchor off Smyrna and the school

¹⁵⁴ More about Farragut see in Loyall Farragut, *The life of David Glasgow Farragut, first admiral of the United States navy: embodying his journal and letters*. (D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1917). James Ford Rhodes, *History of the Civil War*. (Stein, R. Conrad, MacMillian & Co., New York, Boston, London, 2005).

¹⁵⁵ For more on William Henry Lytton Earle Bulwer, 1st Baron Dalling and Bulwer see Laurence Guymer, *Curing the Sick Man: Sir Henry Bulwer and the Ottoman Empire, 1858-1865*, (Republic of Letters Publishing, Dordrecht, 2011); Dorothe Sommer, *Freemasonry in the Ottoman Empire*, (I. B. Tauris, London, 2015); Muriel E. Chamberlain, 'Bulwer, (William) Henry Lytton Earle, Baron Dalling and Bulwer (1801–1872)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3935>, accessed 30 Aug 2016].

¹⁵⁶ Mehmed Emin Âli Pasha was an Ottoman diplomat, statesman, scholar, linguist and the Ottoman Empire's youngest ever Grand Vezir. He played central part of the Tanzimat reforms in the Empire and later as a Grand Vezir he was on the frontline of the foreign diplomacy, that allowed him often to interact with Protestant missionaries, diplomats or relief workers. More on Grand Vezir Mehmed Emin Âli Pasha see Fuat M. Andic, Suphan Andic, *The Last of the Ottoman Grandees: The Life and Political Testament of Âli Paşa*, (Isis Verlag, Istanbul, 1996), Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1923*, (Basic Books, New York, 2006) 458-469, Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1980), M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *A Brief History of the Late Ottoman Empire*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2008), 103-04, Roderic H. Davidson, "Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian-Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Jul., 1954), pp. 844-864.

finally received an imperial decree, permitting it to be built in the Hisar location. The arrival of Admiral Farragut caused a disturbance in the Empire since the ship was large and weighed four thousand tons, and it was accompanied with seven hundred fifty men and thirty-nine guns. The rest of the Farragut's European squadron "consisted of the steam sloops of war, Canandaigua, seven guns, and Ticonderoga, nine guns, and the little side wheeler, Frolic."¹⁵⁷ Greenwood continues to comment that, at the time, Farragut's triumphs were reported lavishly in the European press. Meanwhile Ali Pasha was busy with revolt in Crete. The revolution was developing negatively for the Ottoman Empire. Since the Greeks at Crete gained much sympathy by the European great powers, Ottoman authorities were puzzled as to why the American naval fleet arrived in the Empire. Ali Pasha's tenure as Grand Vizier was shaken for his unsuccessful military campaign in Crete, and Farragut's presence made the situation even worst.

Hamlin seized the opportunity and tried to become allied with Farragut. He introduced the admiral with the antagonism toward the college. As it appears in Hamlin's memoirs, Farragut was upset by the injustices toward the school. At the time Hamlin continued to send letters to English and American diplomats, politicians and businessmen in the Ottoman Empire and in Washington such as George G. Morgan, William E. Seward, William Maxwell Evarts, later to be Attorney General and the English and United States ambassadors in Constantinople asking them to exercise more pressure on the Ottoman government for securing the building permit. Another exchange of notes followed and diplomatic pressure occurred indeed. Meanwhile,

¹⁵⁷ Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 34.

Farragut was received in Constantinople with honors. He officially assured the Ottoman authorities that his presence has nothing to do with the revolt in Crete. Still, his arrival in the Empire seemed suspicious. At a grand dinner given in his honor, he raised the question of the college. Washburn and Hamlin assumed that the Grand Vizier and the Ottoman government “believed that Admiral Farragut’s real mission in the Ottoman Empire was to settle the school question, with the possibility of taking his ships to Crete in the background.”¹⁵⁸ Evidently, at the dinner the question was settled and the “gunboat diplomacy,” as Freely calls it, led to issuing the *irade*, in September 1868, an imperial decree by the Sultan which gave an official permission for a legal building of the school at the Rumeli Hisar. The Sultan officially communicated the *irade* to the United States Legation in December 20, 1868.

When Hamlin finally obtained the imperial decree, he laid the cornerstone of Robert College at the Rumeli Hisar on the Fourth of July, 1869. Perhaps he laid the cornerstone on the United States Independence Day, hoping to see the school amongst the foremost institutions in examples of justice, liberality and knowledge. What a better symbolism of the college’s link to American history, culture and ideology but also to the United States ambitions in the region. Hamlin personally supervised and enthusiastically assisted the work of the construction. The correspondence between Hamlin and Robert from these years shows the difficulties regarding the acquisition of the land for the college, the efforts to secure the building permit from the Ottoman government, and

¹⁵⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 13; Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 437-450.

appreciation toward the Secretary of State William Seward's assistance in gaining the necessary authority to establish the college. The development of the institution in these letters can be charted, from the organization of the Board of Trustees, to the growth in the number of students and faculty. The enrollment for the academic year was 95, of whom 41 were Bulgarians, 17 Greek and 11 Armenians.

Encouraged by the achievements of his task, Hamlin projected an even more courageous plan: a college for girls, which opened independently from Robert College in 1871 as the American College for Girls. In 1890, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts granted the American College for Girls a charter permitting it to convene the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In 1970s, an educational reform in the Republic of Turkey led to the merging of these two colleges and the establishing of Bogazici University, the University of the Bosphorus. The University of the Bosphorus and the new Robert College both began their first academic year in September 1971, and in the years since then they continued to flourish.

Conclusion:

The missionaries and educators in the Ottoman Empire were prolific writers, as their monographs, diaries, reports, letters and newspaper articles provided detailed accounts, images and assessments of culture, individuals, places and events. The early educational activism in the Ottoman Empire offers an array of engagements with missionary efforts to deliver rich intercultural histories about the global expansion of

American culture through American Protestantism. The most illustrative example of this phenomenon is demonstrated in the founding and functioning of the Protestant mission schools, which became crossroads of faiths, cultures and empires.

The important question of whether their schools should have a strict religious character, educating young men who would assist the mission work in their countries, or would offer a broader curriculum puzzled their minds for years. Hamlin and Robert faced the same dilemma in mid-nineteenth century Constantinople. Friends, supporters and donors abandoned the project for they believed that there is no reason for giving money to a school without religious training. As one of them said, such an enterprise would be regarded as a trap to cheat the devil. Therefore, seeking to provide self-support for the school, Hamlin proposed his ideas for a curriculum with an industrial education or self-help education, as he called it. The ABCFM believed that the innovative ideas of Hamlin would only secularize the minds of the students and would divert them to a worldly life. Despite the antagonism, the dramatic shift toward an industrial education occurred. Since its founding, Robert College became a center of intellectual and political development in the Ottoman Empire, the Republic of Turkey and the Balkan nations.

Is it true that the story of the Robert College in the Ottoman Empire is a harmony of United States diplomacy and mutual forbearance, as one of the early historians of the school believed? Since the school's establishment in 1863, its story is an account of vibrant intersection between a dynamic changing Protestant missionary and educational activity in the Ottoman Empire. The process of change and transformation is evident in

the mission of the school, which was not to teach Christianity but to involve empirical science and humanities in its curriculum. This transformation is clearly seen in the work of the mission schools of ABCFM in the Middle East and their missionaries. Many of them entered the borders of the Empire first as missionaries, but shifted their activities toward education. Proponents of these changes objected that converting of souls and teaching the Protestant faith must be the main goal of the schools and preaching the Gospel to unbelievers must be the foremost task of the missionaries. Everything else “would be regarded as a trap to cheat the devil.”¹⁵⁹ In this sense it is understandable why the idea of Robert and Hamlin to build a school within the Ottoman Empire that would be of equal the standards to New England college institutions and would be, in its core, Christian but would not teach Christianity was not well received. Nevertheless, the humorous incident with the suspicious Armenian bishop who visited a mission school and decided that Protestantism was more or less the same thing as chemistry was an important signal that Protestant mission was shifting from converting of souls to embracing larger capacity for industry. This early shift is significant because the “secularization” of Robert College would be built into this very Protestant core of embracing the larger needs of the greater community. Inviting young men of all nationalities and religions in the Ottoman Empire with English language as the common ground upon which the students would stand was another issue that raised controversies among ABCFM, donors from the Congregational circles in New England and the American founders of the school.

¹⁵⁹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 5.

It seems that the historiography on missions in the Ottoman Empire failed to recognize and investigate this aspect of Robert College's history, which is a substantial weakness that needs to be corrected. Many questions remain unanswered. Was Robert College the new school that would be America's true cultural embassy in the Ottoman Empire, as the founders had hoped? If the account of Robert College is cross-cultural and serves as a catalyst for both social change and political articulation, what was the impact of the major cultures in late Ottoman Empire on each other? Were the Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks and the other Christians in the Ottoman Empire the only ones who were changed by these cross-cultural meetings?

The cornerstone of Robert College was laid on the Fourth of July, 1869. For sure, the laying of a cornerstone on the United States Independence Day shows hopes and dreams, but it is a great example of the symbolism of the college's link to the United States ambitions in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East. Perhaps Cemal Yetkiner's argument in *After Merchants, Before Ambassadors: Protestant Missionaries and Early American Experience in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860*, which shows that the missionaries strongly considered education as an integral function of evangelizing needs its logical continuation with Makdisi's thesis in *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, which explains that American missionaries and educators understood themselves as the saviors of the religiously mingled peoples of the East, and their efforts to convert the natives might be understood as proselytism and cultural imperialism. Thus, it is plausible that most early works on American Protestant missions focused only on their role in promoting

imperialism as Dana L. Robert's writes in *From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II*. For sure, the American founders of Robert College were not only agents of cultural imperialism, and, the story of the first American school abroad is much more complex than cultural imperialism as it will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3.

ROBERT COLLEGE: A PROTESTANT SCHOOL IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

"About a week ago I wrote you that I had spent three or four hours in receiving from my old and highly esteemed friend, William A. Booth an account of the information he gathered from you and the missionaries while in Constantinople of the present condition and further prospect of the college. The range of topics was quite wide and some involving principles, which are of great importance... Religious instruction: A very delicate matter to do in this respect what you desire owing to the bigotry of the various nationalities and sects represented by the scholars but as to this I am glad to learn you would make all improvements practicable."¹⁶⁰

"The candidate should be a man twenty-two to twenty six years of age, of fervent, symmetrical piety, combined with a missionary spirit, a willingness to do hard work, the ability to work harmoniously with other and one who is not unyielding, stiff, or one who would be conscientiously obstinate, on who is ready do anything which the good of the college requires, even to teaching the alphabet, though he may be versed in the most abstruse parts of the Calculus; in short a man who wants to live a Christian life and do a Christian teacher's work, desiring to do good to the

¹⁶⁰ Letter, Robert to Hamlin, August 1869, Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 14; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

souls of his pupils as well as to improve their understanding.”¹⁶¹

Introduction:

In chapter 3, I will examine the consolidation of Robert College as a Protestant School in the Ottoman Empire. I will analyze the problems in the history of the early years, such as faculty between mission work and educational activism, as well questions of identity during this time of reform in the Empire. Reeves-Ellington’s argument that “religion and community distinctiveness were intertwined in Ottoman society and new ideas about social identity began to unravel them”¹⁶² would be crucial for understanding this turbulent time of transition in the Ottoman Empire and in Robert College particularly. Inside elements and outside powers forced the Empire to shape an extensive reform program that aimed to reduce the impact of religion in the social and political life of the Ottoman Empire. Instead, since the Hatt-ı Sherif of Gülhane,¹⁶³ the Tanzimat reforms led to accumulative sectarian tension in the millets that, as Reeves-Ellington claims, “facilitated missionary activities, and even sanctioned the existence of an Ottoman Protestant community, which further complicated the religious composition of the Empire.”¹⁶⁴ Some of these tensions and complications will be

¹⁶¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 376.

¹⁶² Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers, Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*, (University of Massachusetts Press, Boston, 2013), 52.

¹⁶³ See Appendix D.

¹⁶⁴ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers, Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*, (University of Massachusetts Press, Boston, 2013), 52.

discussed in this chapter as well as Robert College's response to them.

In this chapter, the question of cultural imperialism will be elevated. Keep in mind that I am not arguing if Robert College is a pure case of cultural imperialism, but rather that many scholars would perceive it that way, especially in light of the issue of the official language. The concept of cultural imperialism and the case of Robert College within the Ottoman context requires some explanation. Since its early days, Robert College was surrounded by problems and conflicts regarding its style of education and purpose. Grabill's observation that the college was an unusual illustration is worth investigating. From the time when the school started to function in the Bebec Seminary building in 1863, "it had more faculty members (five) than students (four), it was the first American institution of higher learning anywhere abroad, and it combined technical with classical training,"¹⁶⁵ Grabill states. This unusual combination is indeed an intriguing case of cultural imperialism, as many historians would agree.¹⁶⁶ Hamlin believed that providing a Western style of education to the young men of the Ottoman

¹⁶⁵ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East, Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, (University of Minnesota, Lund Press, Minneapolis, 1971), 23.

¹⁶⁶ On American missionaries as promoters of imperialism see William R. Hutchinson, "A Moral Equivalent for Imperialism," ch. 4 in Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*, (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1987); Ian Tyrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire*, (Princeton University Press 2010); Eleanor H. Tejirian, and Spector Simon Reeva, *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Mission in the Middle East*, (Middle East Institute, Columbia University, New York, 2002); On European mission and cultural imperialism see also Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Mission and British Imperialism in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, (Apollos Publishing, Nottingham, 1990); Andrew N. Porter, *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, (Eerdmans Publishing, Cambridge, 2003); Abdul Latif Tibawi, *British Interests in Palestine: 1800-1901: A Study of Religious and Educational Enterprise* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1961), On general cultural imperialism: Nupur Chaudhuri, 'Shawls, Jewellery, Curry and Rice in Victorian Britain', in: N. Chaudhuri and M. Strobel, (eds.), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, (Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1992); Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease, (eds.), *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 1994); Mari Yoshihara, *Embracing the East: White Women and American Orientalism* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003).

Empire was bound to English language.

This is crucial for debating the issue of cultural imperialism at Robert College. The official language of the school was the first big controversy that Hamlin needed to deal with. Hamlin's view of English as a tool for communicating knowledge to the young Ottomans never changed and a compromise on that issue was never made. The question of the official language of the institution remained controversial for years. In *Errand to the World, American Protestant Thought And Foreign Missions*, Hutchison called the English language the "medium"¹⁶⁷ for transmitting knowledge to the native peoples. The Empire consisted of many nationalities, religions, cultures and even more languages and dialects, but English language became the tool for evangelizing, educating, consolidating and attracting young Ottomans at the premises of Robert College.

Armenians, Albanians, Austrians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Kurds, Romanians, Jews, Turks and Serbians all spoke different languages and dialects. Hamlin insisted that all students would need to learn a common language that undoubtedly would be the English language. According to Hamlin, learning in English was an opportunity that would attract and united them and would be beneficial for their future. Hamlin believed that the treasures of the Christian thought, Western science and philosophy predestined English language to be a "band of sympathy and intercourse among the nations, beyond

¹⁶⁷ William Hutchison, *Errand to the World, American Protestant Thought And Foreign Missions*, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993), 99.

any other language.”¹⁶⁸ It seems that Hamlin thought Christianity is built into the very language itself. Now, if this is true that would a remarkable claim. This is important, because as the thesis claims, the language of internationalism and pluralism flows in some ways from liberal and modernist forms of Protestantism and builds a strong case of cultural imperialism at Robert College. Answering this issue allows the dissertation to identify that the American Protestants who engaged in education at Robert College were individuals who were agents of imperialism, but their efforts are not supposed to be limited with cultural imperialism only.

The chapter will trace the first graduations and the lack of Turkish students. What hindered the Muslim citizens to enroll or graduate Robert College? Ussama Makdisi’s *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* would be a very helpful asset in answering this question. The thesis of the dissertation agrees with Makdisi that the main goal of the American protestant was to convert peoples to Christianity but it presents another facade of this issue, for it examines the efforts of the educators of Robert College to make the first steps toward an institution that is indeed not bound by religion, although their efforts for consolidation of a Protestant community in Constantinople and in the Balkan and Middle East provinces of the Empire show that they have larger interests in the region.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁸ Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (New York American Tract Society, New York, 1878), 275-278; William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World, American Protestant Thought And Foreign Missions*, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1993), 98.

¹⁶⁹ On that issue two works are very helpful: Habib Badr, *Missions to Nominal Christians: The Policy and Practice of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and its Missionaries*

The importance of these issues has been thoroughly examined by notable scholars, whose work presents vibrant base for understanding of the history of the Protestant missionaries and their school at the Ottoman Empire. Despite this large amount of historiography, nevertheless, gaps and misinterpretations of the American Protestant mission remain.

The Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman Empire indeed entered the mission field with the purpose to convert natives to the Christian faith but most of them transformed to educators and left the mission field.¹⁷⁰ This is the case of Albert Long, who came to the Bulgarian provinces of the Ottoman Empire to establish the Methodist church among the Bulgarians but as soon as he was acquainted with the project of Robert College, he resigned his position of Superintendent and became a full time professor at Constantinople. However, this was not an isolated case, as many missionaries shifted their goal of preaching the Gospel only to education and transforming Western knowledge. Did they truly become educators? In Constantinople, far away from New England, the American professors continued to start the new day with prayer hour and a Bible study, expecting every student to attend their devotional morning activities. This chapter will try to lift the following question: What was the notion of their New England

Concerning Eastern Churches Which led to the Organization of a Protestant Church in Beirut (1819-1848), (Ph.D. Thesis) (Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, 1992); Marwa Elshakry, *The Gospel of Science and American Evangelicalism in Late Ottoman Beirut, Past and Present*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2007): 173-214.

¹⁷⁰ On the struggle between Evangelization or Education see Ellen Fleischmann, "Evangelization or Education: American Protestant Missionaries; the American Board, and the Girls and Women of Syria (1830 – 1910)" in H. Murre-van den Berg, *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Centuries*, (Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2006), 263-280.

background? What were the implications in their transformation as educators in the Middle East? What were the characteristics of the first educators in the Ottoman Empire? Is there a direct correlation between their New England background and the local response?

Notwithstanding the fact that the college was established to be a modern school not bound by religion, as Hamlin and Robert aimed, this chapter will examine many of the problems of the existing religious elements of instruction at the college and will pay special attention to the first steps of the shift toward industrial education.

Robert College, a Protestant School in the Ottoman Empire

What was the religious background of Hamlin and the early professors? Why was their New England background a problem? Hamlin left New England to serve as an ABCFM missionary at the Ottoman Empire. His major task was to preach the gospel of salvation and to practice the teachings of the Bible. With great enthusiasm, Hamlin continued to do so in the newly opened college. Students read and recited the Bible, devoted to prayer in the morning and in the evening, listened to Hamlin's sermons and devotions. Although meant to be a multifaith institution, the instructors at the college were mainly missionaries, who came to the Ottoman Empire to convert souls to the Protestant faith. The values and principles they sought to put into practice at the school were grounded on their experience of serving as missionaries. Their idea of what constituted a good education was based on the teachings of the Bible, religious

exercises and fervent prayer. As Robert wrote in 1869 the religious instruction at Robert College could be a “very delicate matter.”¹⁷¹

Indeed it turned out to be not only delicate matter but also a very sensitive and problematic issue. A group of Armenian students, influenced by Orthodox officials, went public on their dislike of the religious requirements of the Protestants. An official letter was delivered to the president of the school, signed by eleven Armenian students, who demanded elimination of all religious teachings at the school. When their demands were not accepted, they unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the Bulgarian and Greek students to join the opposition. In the end, the Armenian students signed an ultimatum that was rejected, which led to the withdrawal of a large number of Armenian students. The negative effects of the Armenian Orthodox opposition for Robert College were only temporary. However, the question of the religious character of Robert College remained sensitive and it became clearer that the school would need to reconsider its curriculum.

The recruitment of faculty was one of the major concerns for Hamlin and the Board of Trustees. The correspondence of the early days of Robert College shows that from the beginning of the school, the trustees had a significant role in governing the college, but never fully managed to influence Hamlin to change his convictions, as it is clear in the issue of English as official language for teaching at Robert College. Christopher Robert was the dominant figure on the Board of Trustees until his death in 1878. Robert proved to be both a leader and a benefactor. Hamlin and Washburn, the first two presidents, wrote on a regular basis to Robert, reporting the progress of the

¹⁷¹ Letter, Robert to Hamlin, August 1869, Robert College Records; Box 1 Folder 14; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

school, recalling their dialogues with Ottoman officials and each unfolding his own opinions and arguments between them. In the correspondence between Robert and Hamlin and Robert and Washburn, it is evident that Robert followed developments cautiously, trying to influence large and small decisions and striving to provide support and encouragement for Hamlin and Washburn in their leadership at the college. In many ways, Robert became the arbitrator of conflicts and tensions between Hamlin and Washburn and was also asked to mediate between Hamlin and often a distressed and angry faculty, as it was the case with Schaufler and Perkins.

Hamlin recruited instructors from the missionary colony in the Empire. Reverend Henri Schaufler was the first member of the faculty as a professor of theology. He was from Germany but graduated from Andover Theological Seminary. He was ordained in 1831 and arrived in the Ottoman Empire as a missionary for the Sephardic Jewish community. Reverend George Perkins graduated Bangor Theological Seminary and came to the Ottoman Empire as missionary for the region of Anatolia. He was appointed as professor of natural science in the opening year of the college.¹⁷² Perkins spent a year at Yale in preparation for the natural science professorship. Hamlin held the joint title of president and professor of moral philosophy. The faculty consisted of these three men as the only officials to run the administrative affairs of the school. They were also paid higher because of their education and professor's rank. Local instructors were soon hired for Greek, French, Armenian, and other teachers as well, for specific purposes, and they had no authority to make decisions in regard to faculty deliberations.

¹⁷² see Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 436-437.

Washburn recollects of early faculty disagreements in his memoir. Different opinions regarding the discipline and the management of the college led to a serious quarrel among the three faculty members even during the first year, which culminated in the early second year. The Board of the school received three resignations and “were called upon to decide whether to accept the resignation of Hamlin or the two professors. They did the latter and Hamlin was left alone in the middle of the year to carry on the college as best he could with his native assistants.”¹⁷³ These confrontations became officially evident with the infamous case of Henry Charnaud, who was a young 17-year-old son of a rich British merchant who obviously behaved arrogantly toward Professor Schauffler.

In a moment of anger, Schauffler disciplined Charnaud physically. The young boy complained to his father, a president of leading merchant British company, who informed the press about how his son was publicly beaten and humiliated at the college. Henry Charnaud Sr, who was acquainted with Hamlin’s previous work at Bebek, withdrew his son and accused Schauffler of hasty action. Apparently Schauffler expected Hamlin to stand up for his faculty but Hamlin did not support Schauffler for his action. This made Schauffler and Perkins, who already expressed their bitterness towards Hamlin for not obligating Jewish and Armenian students with Orthodox background to attend chapel in numerous of letters¹⁷⁴, more furious. The case of Charnaud was used by both Schauffler and Perkins to bring into the open all problems between them and

¹⁷³ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 18.

¹⁷⁴ For particulars on Charnaud issue as well as policy matters see the correspondence to Robert from Schauffler Box 1 Folder 37, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

Hamlin. They submitted a memorandum toward Hamlin that asked him to revise his administrative work, and to ask the Charnaud boy to apologize in public and to promise to devote himself to a strict obedience in the future.

That was not what Charnaud Sr. expected from the situation and wrote series of angry letters to Hamlin. Greenwood writes, “the correspondence connected with this issue is voluminous and as it proceeded during the fall and winter, Schauffler and Perkins’ tone became sharper and sharper. They brought up everything they could think of.”¹⁷⁵ In their letters, it is clear that the major disappointment with Hamlin is his desire for a school that could not cover up the capacity of their Protestant characters but strives to be a non-sectarian institution. This issue would defer the true nature of Robert College, which, according to Schauffler and Perkins, would be entirely missionary, with the major task of evangelization.¹⁷⁶ These confrontations proved, once again, that the character of the school was still an issue of vagueness and for the first time, displayed Hamlin’s inability for teamwork, his incapacity for management and dealing with conflict. Schauffler and Perkins accused him of poor leadership, lack of knowledge, never talking to his faculty, taking impulsive decisions, and running things by himself only to suit himself. He was the college and the college was Hamlin. The Charnaud affair shocked the Board and certainly made them concern toward Hamlin’s abilities to lead the school. However, Robert once again gave Hamlin a full support.

¹⁷⁵ Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 79.

¹⁷⁶ See the Correspondence to Robert from Schauffler, 1858-1865, Box 1 Folder 37, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library; Schauffler, Perkins, Hamlin. correspondence to trustees regarding the Charnaud affair, 1864-1865, Box 1 Folder 38-39, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

To aid new faculty recruitment, Christopher Robert kept up an energetic communication, mainly with Auburn Theological Seminary in New York and with few others seminaries in the United States in America. They were asked to provide young men, who would be able to replace the more experienced faculty alienated by Hamlin, whose style of work with long teaching hours and his acerbic character constantly led to strained relations with colleagues, missionaries, benefactors and Ottoman officials. Despite these problems, his devotion for establishing the first American school in the Ottoman Empire was remarkable. In the opening year, the student body consisted of four young men, three of them English and one American. Nevertheless, the small number did not discourage Hamlin - a beginning was made. During the academic year, sixteen more students registered for classes. The second year, 1864-1865, started with 23 students, and by the end of the first semester the number grew to 28 students but none of them was Turkish. That fact was evidence that the school was still regarded as an institution with strict Christian education and practices.

The start of the third academic year was preceded by cholera pandemic that caused the death of about seventy thousand people in Constantinople. The college closed early before the epidemic came to Bebek. Hamlin and his family went to Prince Islands, an archipelago off the coast of Constantinople in the Sea of Marmara. During the nineteenth century, the islands became a popular resort for Constantinople's wealthy residents. According to Washburn, Hamlin was suffering from insomnia and

nervous breakdown.¹⁷⁷ Hamlin hoped to regain his health on the islands. Washburn remained in Bebek and his youngest two-year-old son became one of the first victims of the cholera epidemic there. The end of the epidemic was marked by another disaster, a great fire, which destroyed tens of thousands of houses and seemingly disinfected the Imperial city. Because of these unfortunate events, only eight students were admitted at the beginning of the third college year but the number increased and the whole registered students were 51, of whom 20 Armenians, 9 Bulgarians and 6 Greeks.

The professor's positions were restructured to a system of hiring young tutors because of the resigned Schaufler and Perkins. Robert and Hamlin were well aware that hiring young and inexperienced men was risky business, but it was also an inexpensive way to recruit young men just out of college. Hamlin was convinced that the outcomes could not possibly be any worse than the catastrophe that Schaufler and Perkins created. Robert looked for and interviewed talented young graduates mainly from New York and New England colleges. Hamlin outlined a list with requirements for the tutors, who, in his opinion, needed to be people of symmetrical piety, missionary spirit, with sound body, warm heart, firm but mild temper, keenness of perception, etc. The list ended with the perception that "a mercenary person, or one who would go to make money is not wanted."¹⁷⁸ Greenwood writes that a certain Professor North at Hamilton College, who was a major supplier of candidates, was moved by this extraordinary list of Hamlin and responded that he doubts "that there was anyone on Christendom who

¹⁷⁷ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 19.

¹⁷⁸ See Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 85-86.

could meet half these requirements,”¹⁷⁹ but if such persons exist he would try to seek them out for Robert College.

The first two young men, who met the requirements of Hamlin, were “Luther A. Ostrander and James Rodger, who were hired for three years beginning in the autumn of 1865.”¹⁸⁰ They had the task to undertake part of the duties of Schauffler and Perkins, who already alerted the missionary community in Constantinople of their hardship and distress for working with Hamlin at Robert College. They claimed that this terrible experience significantly worsened their health and led them to seek doctor’s help.

At this time, the school’s calamities were overshadowed in the light of events that took place across the Ocean. In the same year, as Freely observes, just six days after the end of the Civil War, president Abraham Lincoln was assassinated on April 15, 1865. The event shook the American community in the Ottoman Empire and in Europe. President Lincoln was succeeded by Andrew Johnson, who had replaced Hannibal Hamlin as Vice President in the election of 1864. At the time, Robert started the establishment of a college for poor young men in the State of Tennessee, near Chattanooga, “under the direction of Mr. Bancroft, who in later years became the famous principal of Phillips Academy, Andover.”¹⁸¹ He purchased an old hospital building at Lookout Mountain for the future school to educate “poor whites in the

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., 87.

¹⁸⁰ John Freely, *A Bridge of Culture: Robert College – Bogazici University, How An American College in Istanbul Became A Turkish University*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2012), 63.

¹⁸¹ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 21

South¹⁸² but soon the project failed because of local opposition. With bitterness Robert wrote to Hamlin about his difficulties and described the *poor whites* as “a degraded class... a more miserable set of people I have never seen... unlike the liberated blacks who were willing to learn, despite the degradation of slavery.”¹⁸³ In the same letter, Robert asked Hamlin to duplicate himself and to come over to assist the work. The school in Tennessee, though existed only six years, had ended up costing Robert a fortune. In the same year, Hamlin hired Washburn, a decision that he would repeatedly admire and regret. George Washburn, Hamlin’s son-in-law, began to teach classes at the school, besides doing his work as treasurer for ABCFM. He graduated from Andover Theological Seminary, was ordained as a Congregational minister and left the United States of America as ABCFM missionary. On April 15, 1859, he married Henrietta Loraine, daughter of Cyrus Hamlin. Washburn undertook full faculty position at Robert College in 1869 as Professor of Philosophy and became the school’s second president in 1878.¹⁸⁴

Meanwhile, Hamlin felt that the school is finally on the right track, gaining popularity and good reputation in Constantinople, which was evident in the large enrollment in the fourth school year, 1866-1867. Hamlin writes in his annual report that

¹⁸² John Freely. *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 61.

¹⁸³ The letter from Robert to Hamlin is quoted by Freely in John Freely, *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 61.

¹⁸⁴ For detailed information on the biography of George Washburn see “George Washburn,” *Dictionary of American Biography*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1936); *Biography in Context*. Web. 25 Aug. 2015, George Derby, James Terry White, *The National Cyclopædia of American Biography: Being the History of the United States as Illustrated in the Lives of the Founders, Builders, and Defenders of the Republic, and of the Men and Women who are Doing the Work and Molding the Thought of the Present Time*, (Edited by Distinguished Biographers, Selected from Each State, Revised and Approved by the Most Eminent Historians, Scholars, and Statesmen of the Day, Volume 10).

96 students had enrolled and 20 left during the course of the year, of which 28 Armenian, 19 Greek, 16 Bulgarian, 11 English, 4 Italian, 3 Turkish, 2 French, 2 Russian, 2 Dutch, 2 Syrian, 1 Swiss and 1 Jewish.¹⁸⁵ The three Turkish students were the first Turks to enroll and there is not much information about them, besides the fact that none of them graduated. They enrolled at Robert College very young. Kamlil Efendi was at age of fourteen, when he came to Robert but left a few months later. Freely reports that he had two other brothers at age eleven and nine, “who were brought to the College by their father, a rare Moslem Turkish convert to Christianity... named Selim Aga, he had become a Protestant at the age of forty five... Cyrus put him in charge of the laundry at Rumeli Hisar and he continued to operate it profitably for the rest of his days.”¹⁸⁶ While there were other Turkish students, who enrolled in this early phase of the college, about thirty more years went by before the first Turkish student received a degree¹⁸⁷ and for the Sultan to attend a commencement at the college.

The growing number of students led Hamlin to request two more tutors. Robert suggested that a full time professor would be needed as well. Hamlin agreed, although he preferred to work with young and fresh graduated tutors, who were more unlikely to

¹⁸⁵ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 21; also quoted by John Freely. *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 68.

¹⁸⁶ John Freely, *A Bridge of Culture: Robert College – Bogazici University, How An American College in Istanbul Became A Turkish University*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2012), 64.

¹⁸⁷ According to the Alumni Register of Robert College, Houloussi Y. Hussein was the first Turkish student, who graduated Robert College. He was the grandson of the Sheik of the Bektashi Order of Dervishes. After graduating Robert College, Hussein studied in the University of Constantinople 1910-1912 and the University of Paris 1912-1913. He served as military censor during the War 1916 – 1918. Hussein joined the faculty of Robert College as Instructor. See Alumni Register, Robert College, Constantinople 1921, Box 32 Folder 39, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

question his authority. Washburn reports that at the same year, he hired Julia Calluci,¹⁸⁸ who was the daughter of his neighbor and friend John Seager. She was the first woman hired at Robert College to serve on the non-teaching staff as a matron, mostly taking care of household matters at the school. At the time nearly one-fourth of the student body was able to receive stipends that covered “one-fourth to three-fourths of the tuition.” Robert was the main benefactor for stipends, who also organized a network of supporters and donors for the school, mainly from the United States and England.

The two new tutors, Edwin Grosvenor and S. D. Wilcox, and the new professor John Paine reached the Ottoman Empire’s territory and the territory at Rustchuk, one of the most important Ottoman towns on the Danube river and an administrative center of Tuna Vilayet. In Rustchuk, the three Americans were arrested by Ottoman authorities, as none of them had passports. Hamlin needed to put in motion his connections in Constantinople and he traveled to Rustchuk to collect the frightened young men. The three young men came to Robert College well educated. Wilcox graduated from Hamilton College, Grosvenor from graduated from Amherst College, while Paine received his M.A. from Hamilton and in 1862 graduated with a degree from Andover Theological Seminary. He was a protégé of Robert, who sent Paine to Harvard and secured the finances for a botany course of study under Asa Gray. Hamilton College and Amherst College were New England institutional networks. They are important markers in understanding the New England background of the instructors at Robert College.

Their arrival in Constantinople coincided with the founding of the Syrian

¹⁸⁸ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 20.

Protestant College at Beirut, which was later renamed the American University of Beirut.¹⁸⁹ Daniel Bliss was its first president. Bliss was an acquainted with Hamlin and a close friend and college-mate with Washburn, who reports that the College of Beirut was “incorporated in the state of New York in the same act with Robert College.”¹⁹⁰

The tutors adjusted well at Robert College under the strict guidance of Hamlin but this was not the case with the well-qualified John Paine, who was asked to leave during the second year of his Professorship in Natural Science. The large correspondence between Hamlin and Robert reveals that Pain was not able to adjust to the spartan life at the college. His short tenure at Robert College was summed up with constant complaints about the food and customs at Constantinople, duties and finances at the college, but what bothered Paine the most was the leadership of Hamlin. The two were in a continuous conflict since the day Paine arrived. John Paine left the school during the fifth college year, 1867 -1868, which upended with a full number of students. One hundred and two were registered, of whom 14 were Armenians, 16 Bulgarians, 33 Greeks. It was the year of the first Commencement Exercise. Two students, Hagopos Djedjizian, an Armenian, and Petco Gorbanoff, a Bulgarian, were selected for graduation and after an oral examination in public, held by Hamlin, received the degree of A.B. The two were granted diplomas written in four languages – English, French, Turkish and

¹⁸⁹ For a detailed history of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut see the excellent study of Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut, Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education*, (University of Texas Press, Austin, 2011), as well as in Christine Beth Lindner, *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860*, (PhD Thesis, The University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, 2009), Abdul Latif Tibawi, “The American Missionaries in Beirut and Butrus Al-Bustānī,” *St. Antony’s Papers*, 16: 3 (1963): 137-182.

¹⁹⁰ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 20.

Armenian or Bulgarian.¹⁹¹ Djedjizian joined the faculty at Robert College the following year, while Gorbanoff first served as instructor of Slavic Languages¹⁹² at the school, and then returned to his home country to serve as General Secretary to the Ministry of Justice. Prior to his death in 1909, he became a Member of the Administrative Council for the Construction of the Bulgarian National Assembly.¹⁹³

As Greenwood writes, “the best way to see what was thought at this college is to look at a document which Cyrus Hamlin had printed in the summer of 1868. It is titled, ‘Annual Examinations of Robert College July 27 – August 21, 1868.’ It was the first such document produced by Hamlin.”¹⁹⁴ The document was sent to the Board’s committee, who apparently were still unclear regarding the character of the school, the curriculum, the graduation requirements and the length and style of education. As candidates for graduation, Djedjizian and Gorbanoff needed to pass series of examinations that, in Hamlin’s view, were the culmination of a system of instruction covering a period of four years. The document was also an invitation to the Board and to all interested parties in Constantinople to attend the examinations, which would start every day at 9:00 AM and continue until 5:00 PM and will end with a graduation ceremony. The document reads as follows:

Monday: Preparatory studies in various languages as Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, Translations in English, Greek,

¹⁹¹ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 21.

¹⁹² Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 458.

¹⁹³ See Alumni Register, Robert College, Constantinople 1921, Box 32 Folder 39, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

¹⁹⁴ Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 90.

- French, Bulgarian, Armenian, Turkish.
- Tuesday: Armenian and Turkish languages and studies. Declamation and essays in Armenian and Turkish. Oration in Armenian by candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.
- Wednesday: Examinations in Greek and French, chiefly the former, Declamations and essay in Greek.
- Thursday: Examinations in Bulgarian, French and Latin. Declamations in Bulgarian, French, Oration in Bulgarian by a candidate for the degree of Bachelor of Arts.
- Friday: Mathematics, Mental and Moral and Natural Philosophy. Political Economy. Chemistry in English.
- Saturday: Examination of the candidates for the degree of B.A. Addresses in English, French, Greek, Bulgarian, Armenian and Turkish.
- N.B. The examinations will commence every day at 9:00 AM and continue until 5:00 PM, with an interval for refreshment.¹⁹⁵

This was an extraordinary time for both the college and its founder, Cyrus Hamlin. First, Mary Hamlin gave birth to a girl Alice Julia, her fourth child, and Cyrus's ninth daughter. Second, this joyful event, together with the excellent work of the young tutors and the first graduation at Robert College, finally gave a sense to Hamlin that things were going well, although in some letters to Robert he continued to complain by sharing his worries and anxieties. Hamlin's biggest concern was the question for the building site for the school that was still not resolved. The school now had been functioning for five years but the premises at Bebek no longer became sufficient for the growing number of enrolling students. This became true in the next academic year, when the school "opened with 80 students and 95 in all were registered during the year, of whom 11

¹⁹⁵ The examination pamphlet of Hamlin as quoted in Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 92, John Freely, *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 71; John Freely, *A Bridge of Culture: Robert College – Bogazici University, How an American College in Istanbul Became A Turkish University*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2012), 67.

were Armenians, 41 Bulgarians, 17 Greeks.”¹⁹⁶ Yet, memorable events for Robert College and Hamlin, despite his worries and anxieties, continued to happen.

Admiral Farragut arrived in the Ottoman Empire with the frigate USS Franklin, the flagship of the European squadron and caused quite a stir in the Imperial capital. Under Hamlin’s influence, Farragut raised the question of the college before the Sublime Porte. The United States Secretary of State William Seward increased the political pressure from Washington on the Porte. The British ambassador in Constantinople, Lord Lyons, also took the question with interest. These events and many more led the Sultan to grant an official permission for a legal building for the school at the Rumeli Hisar. The official *irade* was sent to the United States Legation in December 20, 1868, and turned out to be “the all absorbing event of the year, which transformed Dr. Hamlin from an educator into an architect, builder and mechanic,”¹⁹⁷ as described by George Washburn, who would officially join the faculty as full time professor this same year. Hamlin writes:

The *irade* was given; and in it the college was placed under the protection of the United States, and consequently has a right to carry, and odes carry the American flag. After guarding the Bosphorus for four centuries against a such intrusion upon any prominent point, this permission was accorded to America. No such privilege had been obtained by any English, French, German, or Russian institution along those historic banks.¹⁹⁸

The Sultan’s *irrade* allowed the building work to start and for the new premise to be registered as a college that would operate in the lands of Hisar. The official permission

¹⁹⁶ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 26.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid, 27.

¹⁹⁸ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 453.

for erecting an American institution at such a historically important and visible site was observed by the press in Constantinople with wonder and admiration and regarded as Hamlin's great triumph. Encouraged by the *irrade*, Hamlin was firm to start the erecting the college building by himself without the assistance of any architect or builder. He writes, "The spot selected for the building was a hillock, which I supposed was composed of debris of a neighboring quarry. It was covered with a thick growth of scrub oak."¹⁹⁹ According to Washburn, Hamlin "firmly believed that he could erect a better building at a less cost than anyone else, and he undertook this Herculean task with a light heart."²⁰⁰ Hamlin personally commenced the excavation of the site. Every single student and faculty member, together with many friends of the college, was equipped with spades, picks, and mattocks. Hamlin gave speeches in eleven languages and the work began. Washburn remembers that in these years,

while the work of the construction was going on, Dr. Hamlin was always at Hisar, but one never knew where to find him. He might be in the water at the bottom of the well mending the force pump, or at the top of the building standing on an iron girder with forty feet of empty space below him. He might be setting up a steam engine or doctoring a horse or teaching his mason how to lay stone. He might be entertaining some Turkish gentlemen or using his rich vocabulary of invective on some wild Kurdish laborer. He made a sort of hut for himself in a pile of lumber near the building, and you might find him there taking a five minutes' nap in his chair or sharing his meager lunch with a tailless green lizard which had made friends with him. If you came at the right time, you might be treated to a delicious cup of coffee made by himself. You might see him losing his own fingers as he stumbled onto a buzz saw or tenderly dressing the wounds of some unfortunate workman. Wherever you found him, you saw his whole mind and heart was concentrated upon the building.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 454.

²⁰⁰ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 27.

²⁰¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 28-29.

Hamlin's longing to build a permanent campus gradually diverted his energies from his administrative obligations. After years of long negotiations and considerable resistance from the Ottoman authorities, securing a site above the fortress of Rumeli Hisar, overlooking the Bosphorus, refocused Hamlin's duties from professor to builder. He began personally to oversee the construction work of the new building and to supervise every single detail. In the progression of the work, he became increasingly estranged from his faculty colleagues, which eventually led the Board to give more administrative responsibilities of the school to Washburn, who was still serving as a treasurer for the ABCFM. The rising influence of Washburn at the college caused a rift between him and Hamlin, which is documented in the letters from both men to Christopher Robert, who again needed to undertake the role of arbitrator. Robert's letters showed significant support toward Washburn. In Hamlin's correspondence, it is evident that he became openly resentful of Washburn's enhanced role, while both Washburn and Robert counseled him to focus his energy on overseeing the construction work. The lack of financial resources for the new building and the fact that the conflict between Hamlin and Washburn grew into an unbearable problem led Robert to ask Hamlin to leave Constantinople for a fundraising visit in the United States. An endowment needed to be built and Hamlin was the right person for that matter. Although Washburn was officially elected as the second president of Robert College in 1878, he had practically been in charge since the work of new building started. When Hamlin finally agreed to leave for the United States to raise funds in 1873, Washburn served as an acting president. Hamlin never returned to lead the college.

The correspondence of Washburn to Robert is predominantly noteworthy for the abundance of material it carries. Washburn provided the Board and Robert with detailed financial reports, numerous statistics regarding the nationalities represented in the student body and detailed accounts of student activities. Washburn also devoted considerable attention to the political crisis in the Ottoman Empire, the revolution in Bulgaria and the Russo-Turkish war. In the early years of the school, the students from Bulgaria were the majority of the graduates from Robert College. The Alumni register of the school shows that of 435 alumni from 1863 to 1903, the first forty years of operation, almost half were Bulgarians. George Grabill writes that “many of these young men went into public service in their homeland, where two provinces gained autonomy within the Ottoman Empire in 1878 and full freedom thirty years later.”²⁰² Grabill goes on to recognize the contribution of the graduates of Robert College for the Bulgarian independence and constituting the new state, “When the Bulgarian Constituent Assembly met in 1879, former Robert College students who had knowledge of parliamentary procedure and Western government took important responsibilities.”²⁰³ Until the beginning of the Communist regime, many Bulgarian cabinet members, judges, diplomatic officials and professional leaders were Robert College graduates. Grabill observes that George Washburn was former professor and advisor of these alumni. They continued to seek advice and guidance from him while serving at the office. Therefore, Washburn “became known by many as the ‘Father of Bulgaria.’ The King of

²⁰² Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East, Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, (University of Minnesota, Lund Press, Minneapolis, 1971), 39.

²⁰³ *ibid*, 54.

Bulgaria recognized the value of Robert College to his country by decorating Washburn and the president who succeeded him, Caleb F. Gates.”²⁰⁴

Washburn’s sentiment towards Bulgaria is well demonstrated in *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, where the author provides more information of the history of Bulgaria than of the Ottoman Empire. In his writing, Washburn proves himself as a partisan, not a neutral chronicler. Perhaps, at first this was a result of his friendship with Albert Long, who was the first Methodist missionary in Bulgaria. Long moved from Bulgaria to Constantinople in 1863 from where he supervised the mission work in Northern Bulgaria until becoming a full time professor at the school. He was first mentioned by Washburn in regard to events of the devastating cholera epidemic from 1865, where Long devoted himself to the care of the sick in the public khans of Constantinople.²⁰⁵

Albert Limerick Long was born in December 4, 1832 in Washington, Pennsylvania,²⁰⁶ and died in 1901 in Liverpool, England.²⁰⁷ His father was a Methodist minister with fifty-years of serving in the western mountainous parts of Pennsylvania. Albert Long graduated from the Concord seminary in New Hampshire and joined the Pittsburgh Methodist Conference and remained its member from 1833 to 1883. Albert

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 55.

²⁰⁵ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 18-19.

²⁰⁶ Ralph E. Diffendorfer, *The World Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, From the press of The Methodist Book Concern, (Chicago, Illinois, 1923), 863.

²⁰⁷ Albert Nelson Marquis, *Who’s Who in America, A Biographical Dictionary on Notable Living Men and Women of the United States*, (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, Chicago, 1909), 1155.

Long and his wife Sophronia Persis arrived in Bulgaria in 1857 and settled in Tirnovo,²⁰⁸ the old capital of Bulgaria.²⁰⁹ As Long writes, Tirnovo was “of peculiar importance for the fact that it is the most purely Bulgarian of all the cities”²¹⁰ in the Ottoman Empire. The annual report of the mission states that Long “was well adapted to the work, with exceptional ability as a linguist.”²¹¹ His linguistic abilities helped the mission to translate and distribute Protestant literature in Armenian, Greek and Bulgarian languages.²¹² In 1862, he reported about a possible war (Bulgarian uprising), possible disturbances and difficulties.²¹³ At that time came the first rethinking of the mission strategies, with the question “Shall we institute Schools?” The discussions of school projects proceeded with an appeal to the Missionary Board for financial support of “\$1000 for the object”²¹⁴ of building Methodist schools in the Ottoman Empire. Besides religious brochures and pamphlets, Long²¹⁵ also published a newspaper,²¹⁶ called Zornitsa²¹⁷ (Зорница, meaning

²⁰⁸ Veliko Tirnovo (Great Tǎrnovo) was the city of the Tzars for the Bulgarians, their old capital, and is famously known as the historical capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire, holding the palaces of the Bulgarian monarchs and the Orthodox Patriarchate. The political upsurge and spiritual development of Tarnovo came to an end when the troops of Ottoman Empire captured the city on 17 July 1393 after three months of siege.

²⁰⁹ “A Romantic and Influential Career, The Obituary of Dr. Long,” *The Christian Advocate*, New York, August 22, 1901.

²¹⁰ *The Report on the Bulgarian Mission of the M. E. Church*, Rev. Ludwig S. Jacoby and William F. Warren, (Bremen, August 21, 1862), 6.

²¹¹ Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions, Part Two, The Methodist Episcopal Church 1845 – 1939*, Vol. 3, (The Board of The Methodist Church, New York, 1957), 1040.

²¹² Long’s contribution for the translation of the Bulgarian Bible and his role for the advent of the Bulgarian Protestantism will be discussed in the next chapter.

²¹³ *The Report on the Bulgarian Mission of the M. E. Church*, Rev. Ludwig S. Jacoby and William F. Warren, (Bremen, August 21, 1862), 1-21.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.* 17.

²¹⁵ “A Romantic and Influential Career, The Obituary of Dr. Long,” *The Christian Advocate*, Chicago, August 22, 1901).

²¹⁶ *Fiftieth Annual Report of The Missionary Society of The Methodist Episcopal Church For The Year 1868*, (Printed for the Society, New York, 1869), 129.

²¹⁷ More on Zornitsa see Barbara A. Reeves-Ellington, ‘Zornitsa: The Protestant Press and the

“Morning Star,”) ²¹⁸ which turned into the most widespread newspaper of the Bulgarian enlightenment and “was received with very great favor by all classes of the Bulgarian people, a bid fair to become a powerful instrument for good.”²¹⁹ Long “resigned the superintendence of the Bulgarian Mission in 1872, and accepted a professorship in Robert College.”²²⁰ He joined the faculty as a Professor of Natural Science²²¹. At Robert College, he got in touch with a number of future representatives of the Bulgarian intellectuals such as Petko Slaveikov, Stephan Panaretov, Mihail Madjarov, Ivan Geshov, Konstantin Stoilov, Ivan Plachkov etc. During the eastern crisis (1875 – 1877), he worked with William Gladstone to form the well-known “Bulgarian Propaganda Group” to protect the April Uprising²²² victims. Eventually, everything led to the decision of the Istanbul Peace Conference that led to the start of the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78), which resulted in Bulgaria gaining independence from the Ottoman Empire.²²³

Reeves-Ellington study on Long shows that he highly valued the efforts for promoting literacy in Bulgaria and thought that the most promising avenue for American missionaries to reach the Bulgarians was to make them read. “Young Bulgarians were

Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism, 1864-1876’, presented at: Middle East Studies Association of North America, Annual Conference (19 November 2006, Boston); *Missionary News*, (Palala Press, Samokov, Bulgaria, Issue 49, Nov. 16, 1894).

²¹⁸ *Zion’s Herald and Wesleyan Journal* (1842-1867); Sept 7, 35-36; APS Online, 142.

²¹⁹ *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of The Missionary Society of The Methodist Episcopal Church For The Year 1864, January 1865*, (New York printed For the Society, New York), 87.

²²⁰ Eugene R. Smith, *The Gospel in All Lands*, (Methodist Episcopal Church, Missionary Society, New York, 1900), 88.

²²¹ see “Albert S Long,” *Christian Advocate 1866-1905*, (Jan 26, 1899. Vol. 74, Iss. 4; Chicago), 130.

²²² For more information about the April Uprising in Bulgaria and its implication for the Bulgarian Awakening and Liberation, see Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, Vol. 1. (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983), 203-217.

²²³ see *A History of Protestantism in Bulgaria* (The Sofia-Echo, Weekly Newspaper, Issue 32, August 8-14, 2008).

becoming ‘a reading generation,’” he noted, “and they needed good reading materials.”²²⁴ Long hopes to present the Christian thought to the young Bulgarian generation through the printed word is clearly presented in his claim that “when these children grow up with our books in their hands, then will come the great harvest.”²²⁵ As professor at Robert College, Long placed great value on educating the Bulgarian preachers. They were, almost without exception, well-educated men. Two of them, Yordan Economoff and Stephen Thomoff, graduated Robert College, and went to study at Drew Theological Seminary. They became one of Bulgaria’s first educators and scholars after the independence from the Ottoman Empire.”²²⁶ The Alumni register of Robert College reads that, on the second graduation at the college, class of 1869, six students graduated and five of them were from Bulgaria. The class of 1870 had only one graduate, the class of 1871 had five graduates and all of them were from Bulgaria. To these and many more, Long and Washburn continued to serve as advisors long after their graduation from Robert College. After 1871, the number of Bulgarian students rapidly increased. Many of them latter became prominent in the political and intellectual life of Bulgaria. Both Washburn and Long received instantaneous

²²⁴ Barbara A. Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers, Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*, (University of Massachusetts Press, Boston, 2013), 79.

²²⁵ Albert Long to John P. Durbin, October 10, 1862, Missionary Files, (microfilm edition), UMCA-GCAH, also quoted in Barbara A. Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers, Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*, (University of Massachusetts Press, Boston, 2013), 80.

²²⁶ Barclay writes that one of the Bulgarian preachers was at Drew Theological Seminary who had served several years in the pastorate in the United States; two were graduates of Robert College and of the Drew Seminary; one was a graduate of Princeton College, with several years study in other American institution. See Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions, Part Two, The Methodist Episcopal Church 1845 – 1939, Vol. 3*, (The Board of The Methodist Church, New York, 1957), 1038.

information regarding the Political turmoil in Bulgaria and the massacres of 1876 from former Robert College students, which helped them to provide first accounts of the happenings to the United States and Western Europe. However, these events will be discussed in the next chapter.

Meanwhile Cyrus Hamlin's preoccupation with the construction of a building at Rumili Hissar and the growing number of enrolling students, once again made clear the need to expand the faculty body. Since the early days of Washburn at the college, Robert became aware that he would be a suitable person for administrating the school. At first professor of philosophy, Washburn became president of the college in 1878, but started to administer the college much earlier,²²⁷ as the Board had already made him an acting director in 1872. During the twenty-five years as President of Robert College, the school continued to grow in enrollment, in faculty, in its campus, its endowment, and its influence among the peoples of the Ottoman Empire, Europe and the Near East.

George Washburn was born in 1831 in Middleboro, Massachusetts. His father, Philander Washburn, was a manufacturer and for several years a member of the State senate. He sent his son to attend Pierce Academy in Middleboro and Phillips Academy at Andover, where he excelled in his studies. Washburn graduated from Amherst College in 1855, and after spending a year traveling through Europe and the Near East, he enrolled at Andover Theological Seminary. After two years of study, he was sent to Constantinople as treasurer of the ABCFM. The headquarters of the American Board's mission station were in Bebek, close to Hamlin's Bebek Seminary. During this time, he

²²⁷ See "George Washburn." *Dictionary of American Biography*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1936. *Biography in Context*. Web. 6 Sept. 2015).

met Hamlin and became a close family friend. In 1859, Washburn married Henrietta Ann Loraine, Cyrus Hamlin's oldest daughter, who was born in Constantinople in 1839. In 1862 he returned to Andover Theological Seminary to complete the theological study. After the graduation in 1863, he was ordained at Middleboro as a Congregational minister.²²⁸ He returned to the Ottoman Empire to resume his service for the ABCFM, but, in 1869, resigned to become a professor at Robert College. While teaching and administrating at college, Washburn continued his academic education in 1875 and obtained the degree of D.D. from Amherst College. In 1900, he was awarded with the degree of L.L.D from Princeton University.

Meanwhile the school continued to operate on the premises of the old Bebek Seminary, with Washburn administering the academic affairs, and with Hamlin continuing to work on the erection of the new building in Rumeli Hisar. In his memoirs, *My Life and Times*, Hamlin describes in great details his work on the construction. He writes about the drawing of the plans, the purchase of particular materials from France, England, Belgium, the ordering of iron, tubular bricks, the cement, and the bargaining over the lumber wood and stones.²²⁹ His passionate involvement in the construction led him to a number of accidents, which he "hear-breadth" escaped. However, in one accident he lost two of his fingers. He describes the event in colorfully tones, "thus I

²²⁸ For a broader look at Washburn's biography see George Derby, James Terry White, *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, Volume X, (James T. White 7 Company, New York, 1990), 492-493.

²²⁹ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 450-469.

fought, bled, but did not die in the college service!"²³⁰ Besides the construction work, he employed many additional duties, such as disciplining two quarreling students named Silvio and Pierre Biscuchia. Hamlin made the Biscuchia brothers sign a formal declaration in which they agree to not call each other an ass, or a dog, or a pig or any other insulting epithet. Washburn remembers this case in his Robert College account by writing, "I have found among many papers and old documents in Dr. Hamlin's handwriting which illustrates his methods of discipline, which were often as unique as this, and almost always successful."²³¹ Then he goes on to present the whole document that relates the two Italian brothers:

Articles of Peace between Silvio and Piere Biscuchia terminating the War of 1867 & 1868.

March 7, 1868.

The two high contracting parties agree:

1. That in order to preserve peace, amity and good will and to confirm a strict brotherhood to all future generations one shall not call the other an ass or a dog or a pig or a thief, robber, rowdy, pezevenk or other opprobrious epithet in Italian, French, Turkish, Greek, English, Bulgarian, Armenian or any other language spoken at the tower of Babel or since that day.
2. Silvio shall in no case strike Pierre nor Pierre Silvio.
3. If either is guilty of any injustice toward the other the injured party shall state it to the Principal in writing and judgment shall be rendered according to the evidence.

Witnesses:

Gustav Caze

Henri Coidan

Yanko Agelasto²³²

(Signed)

Silvio Biscuchia

Pierre Biscuchia

Washburn writes that the Biscuchia brothers left the college soon after, and a few years

²³⁰ Ibid., 465-467.

²³¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 37.

²³² Ibid., 38.

later one killed the other in a quarrel. Nevertheless, as this humorous incident shows, Hamlin tried to influence every bit of the college life. He even supervised the work of school kitchen, the running breakfast and lunch preparations and the brewing of the morning coffee.

Hamlin's many activities and his commitment to the erection of the building slowly diverted him from administrative duties, which once again convinced Robert that the school would need Washburn in a full leadership position. In numerous letters, Robert demonstrates to Washburn his desire for a transition at the College, as well the trustee's wish that Washburn undertakes the administrative leadership.²³³ The correspondence during these years from Washburn to Robert offers insight into the life at Robert College during the time of the erection of the new building from the faculty's perspective. In his letters, Washburn agreed that a new leadership was needed and he would serve with his organizational knowledge but it becomes clear that he would not confront Hamlin. In Robert's correspondence to Hamlin from August 1869, it is evident that he is deeply concerned about the state of the college.²³⁴

In a letter to Hamlin he mentioned his correspondence with George Washburn and with the head of the board of trustees William A. Booth, who visited Constantinople and spent certain time at the college. Apparently both of them alarmed Robert for the need of a leadership change. The reviews that Robert received from William A. Booth were from mixed to negative. Robert wrote to Hamlin that the situation in the college

²³³ See the Correspondence to Washburn from Robert, 1867-1870, Robert College Records; Box 12, Folders 1-12; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

²³⁴ See the Correspondence to Washburn from Robert, 1867-1870, Robert College Records; Box 11, Folder 35; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

makes him unhappy and discouraged. Hamlin wrote back, "I am very sorry that you feel discouraged and sad about the college. I do not. I feel full of hope and confidence... Mr. Washburn found things irregular rather than disorganized and he wrote as he is apt to do in stronger language than he would use after a fuller acquaintance with things"²³⁵ Feeling misunderstood by Robert and betrayed by Washburn, other friends and co-workers, Hamlin suggested giving up the presidency if that would eliminate the disorganization and would serve for the best of the school. According to Hamlin, by doing so, he would have all the time to complete the construction work of the new building in Rumeli Hisar. Robert recommended that such a drastic move is not needed but it would be very profitable if Hamlin would come to the United States for a longer fundraising trip. Hamlin responded that he would not come at this point to the United States, first, because of his devotion to the building work, and secondly, because he feels pessimistic in his abilities to do such work in his home country.

Washburn had a desire and willingness to step out and take on responsibilities to advance the school, but as he writes in a letter to Robert, he was unsure how Hamlin would react. Washburn opinion was that Hamlin would prefer "not to give up the management of the college and it would be better not to insist upon it."²³⁶ The situation caused Robert to pay a visit to Constantinople. From Hamlin's perspective, the visit of Robert was deemed to be encouraging for all his efforts on the construction

²³⁵ See the Correspondence to Washburn from Robert, 1867-1870, Robert College Records; Box 4, Folders 23; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

²³⁶ Letter Robert to Hamlin, October 1869, Robert College Records; Box 12 Folder 10; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library, also quoted by Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 104.

work. He writes in *My Life and Times*, “Mr. Robert came out to visit the college, just before the completion of the building. He spent almost every day at the works, examining every party, and watching all the finishings with the greatest interest. He expressed his gratification in the strongest language, and he repeatedly declared that he had never enjoyed any work in his life so much as he had bringing forward that college, in connection with myself. He often and emphatically said: ‘So long as we live, Mr. Hamlin, we shall never separate in this work!’”²³⁷

Nevertheless, the visit of Robert had a completely different intention. Hamlin’s preoccupation with the construction work led to more tension at the college, to him neglecting academic duties, to poor administrative leadership, and to constant conflicts with faculty colleagues and Board members. While this situation questioned once again Hamlin’s character and abilities, it also questioned the effectiveness of the model for transforming preachers and missionaries into educators and academics. The act of correlation between Protestant mission and broader education demonstrated to have its own limits. Nevertheless, this model would continue at Robert College for about twenty more years, as many missionaries would continue to shift their undertakings from missionizing toward engaging in full time educating activities.

Despite being a difficult and despotic in character, Hamlin was a skilled builder, brilliant motivator, enduring worker and a charismatic personality, admired by Christians and Muslims. Freely tells an interesting occurrence, when Hamlin’s endurance in the erecting of the new building and his charismatic personality attracted the

²³⁷ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 466.

attention of the Bektashi dervishes²³⁸ in the *tekke*²³⁹ at the top of the hill at Rumeli Hisar, and he soon established a warm relationship with them. Hamlin wrote in a letter from July 19, 1869 that some dervishes invited him to come to their *tekke* to pray for rain. Freely observes that in a letter, dated ten days later, Hamlin reports of receiving a pouring rain that has reached even the foundations of the new building.

Because of the tension at Robert College, Hamlin thought that is for the best if he leaves the school. He thought that he could enter a new endeavor of founding a college for girls in Constantinople. This was an idea that he already discussed with Robert that he deeply supported, but he insisted that Hamlin should dedicate himself to the completing of the building first. Despite the issues at the school, six students graduated at the end of the academic year. Theodore Djabaroff was from Bulgaria became a Director of the Bulgarian State Printing Press. Yordan J. Economof, from Bulgaria, studied at Drew Theological Seminary, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, and return to his home country to serve as a clergy and trustee in the Bulgarian Methodist Church, Peter M. Mattheoff, from Bulgaria, served in his home

²³⁸ The Bektashi dervishes belonged to a syncretic and heterodox Sufi order, found principally in Anatolia and the Balkans, with offshoots in other regions, named after Ḥājjī Bektāsh Walī, حاجی بکتاش ولی *Ḥājī Baktāš Walī* and regarding him as its founding elder. Bektāšīya, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. 1989-12-15. Retrieved 11-9-2016, <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/bektasiya>. For more on the Bektāšīya order see John Kingsley Birge, *The Bek-tashi Order of Dervishes*, (Hartford Seminary Press, Hartford), 1937, Suraiya Faroqhi, *Der Bektaschi--Orden in Anatolien vom späten fünfzehnten Jahrhundert bis 1826*, (Verlag des Institutes für Orientalistik der Universität Wien, Vienna, 1981), J. Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), 82-84.

²³⁹ This particular *tekke* of Hajji Bektash was at one time supported by the revenues of 362 villages whose inhabitants were affiliated to the order. See Frederick William Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1929), as quoted in Spencer Trimingham, *The Sufi Orders in Islam*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998), 82-84., Suraiya Faroqhi, "The Tekke of Haci Bektas: Social Position and Economic Activities," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 7 (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1976), 183-208., Zeynep Yürekli, *Architecture and Hagiography in the Ottoman Empire: The Politics of Bektashi Shrines in the Classical Age*, (Routledge, Abingdon-on-Thames 2016) For the meaning of *tekke* see Appendix D.

country as a Secretary to the British Diplomatic Agent and Consul-general in Bulgaria, and later as Bulgarian Diplomatic Agent to Greece. Nathaniel Muller was from Germany, studied at Heidelberg, where he obtained a Ph.D. Naiden Nikoloff, from Bulgaria, served as administrator in the Bulgarian National Bank. Stephan Thomoff, studied at Drew Theological Seminary, where he received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity in 1877, received a Ph.D. from Taylor University in 1902 and served in his home country as a Methodist clergy, teacher and translator.

The relationship between Hamlin and Washburn strained even more, both on professional and personal level. Hamlin believed that Washburn is working behind his back, sending letters to Robert and the Board of Trustees. Rumors spread in Constantinople that Washburn desperately wants to eliminate Hamlin and to undertake the president's position at the college. At the end of 1869, Washburn felt the need to write a letter to Robert and to end these rumors. He declared that he is not interested to take Hamlin's position and clearly asked Robert to not remove Hamlin from the presidency of Robert College, because Hamlin has so much to offer to the school.²⁴⁰ This certainly cleared the air but the outcome of the situation was not satisfying for everyone. Hamlin continued to hold the position of president of Robert College and still continued to be preoccupied with the building work. The disorganization at the school increased. The letters of complaints from faculty to the Board of Trustees increased as well.

Despite the administrative chaos, the academic work continued and the school

²⁴⁰ Letters Washburn to Robert, October 1869, Robert College Records; Box 6 Folder 80; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

entered its the seventh academic year. During the seventh year 83 students were enrolled, of whom 35 were Bulgarians, 10 Greeks, 8 Armenians, 6 Americans, 4 English, 2 Dutch, 2 Syrians, 2 Christian Ottomans, 1 Persian prince, 1 German. Two tragic events impacted the seventh academic year. First, an epidemic of measles forced 30 students to leave the college, and second a great fire devastated a whole neighborhood of Constantinople by destroying more than eight thousand houses. Some families of the college students were among the affected. Nevertheless, the academic year ended in the spring of 1870 with only one graduating student from Armenia. His name was Diran Garabedian, who would become a prominent banker in the Ottoman Empire, serving as director of the Imperial Ottoman bank in Adrianople and Constantinople.²⁴¹

The situation at the college convinced the board that an administrative change in the leadership of the school is needed. However, Hamlin's unwillingness to step back from the office once again led Robert to the decision to insist Hamlin's move to the United States, under the pretext of a fundraising trip. Hamlin agreed to leave Constantinople as late as 1877 to New England. He believed that this would be only a short trip for raising an endowment for the college.²⁴² The administrative leadership was entrusted to Albert Long, who served as an acting director. At this time, Washburn's unwillingness for confrontation with his mentor and father in law becomes clear in his memoir. He writes that he officially undertook the office of president at Robert College not until it became definite that Hamlin will not return to Ottoman Empire. While in

²⁴¹ See Alumni Register, Robert College, Constantinople 1921, Box 32 Folder 39, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

²⁴² See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 30-31.

New England, Robert secured for Hamlin a teaching position as visiting professor at Bangor Theological Seminary, and later persuaded the faculty to make his appointment permanent. Hamlin resigned his position as president in June 1877. Robert wrote to Long in October 23, 1877 that Hamlin will remain in Bangor. A few months latter, Washburn was elected as the second president of Robert College. Christopher Robert came to Constantinople to honor the event. It was his last visit. He died a few months latter in Paris, France.

The school continued to teach in English and to advertise its mission as a modern institution that would accept peoples of all faiths and nations, but, at the same time, the Protestant activities at the school increased in the form of "Sabbath services," held by Rev. Schauffler. Schauffler was the founder and minister of a congregation that served the needs of the international community in Constantinople. It was the church that was attended by missionaries, foreign residents, and merchants from Europe and Robert College students. After Schauffler retirement, the College had become responsible for the services. Hamlin, Washburn and visiting missionaries mostly held the sermons. Washburn writes that the Bible studies of this congregation were always a part of the college work.²⁴³ The everyday life at College begun at 4:00 in the morning with study hours, followed by an obligatory prayer hour in 6:30. Every student, who missed the morning prayer was denied of breakfast. Lunch was at 12:30 and dinner at 6:00. The students were expected to be in bed by 10:00 and the lights were extinguished at that hour.

²⁴³ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 41.

The eight-year started in September 1870 and turned to be the last year at the premises of the old Bebec seminary. According to Washburn, it was an “old wooden house, built in 1798 on the side of a steep hill in the midst of the village of Bebec.”²⁴⁴ Indeed it was an old building with a large basement and three floors that did not provided enough space for the multifunctional life the co-existed. The building was occupied by Hamlin’s family and many students, and it also hosted classrooms, flour mill, bakery, laundry, library, kitchen, workshop station, and a sanctuary room. It becomes clear in Washburn notes that the amalgam of all these heterogeneous entities was known as *Dr. Hamlin’s College*. In 1871, the College moved to its new campus, and while the number of students grew, so did the tension between Hamlin and the faculty. It was a tension that would continue for six more years until his forced retirement in 1877.

Conclusion:

Robert College was established at the Bosphorus narrows, where Europe and Asia were only 800 yards apart. The College played a significant role in the spiritual and cultural life of Bulgarians, Armenians, Romanians, Greeks and Turks. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, many of the graduates became ministers, judges, administrators, doctors, engineers, and founders of cultural institutions and such, taking on important responsibilities in the running of the new states. Robert College is an influential case

²⁴⁴ Ibid, 36.

that proves not only that knowledge exists, but also that men seek after it, and desires for themselves and their children a higher education. Nevertheless, the story of Robert College in Constantinople is a vibrant and unique phenomenon that requires further investigation.

Chapter Three traced the first years of the school, the first graduations and the first problems of the advent of the school. The lack of Turkish students raises the question: What hindered the Muslim citizens to enroll at Robert College? Despite the desire for a Western style of education, and despite the fact that the educators used modern curriculums to promote their work, they remained true to their culture and background. Indeed, Hamlin and Washburn sought to solve issues and problems in the Ottoman Empire by providing industrial education to young men of every faith, ethnicity and nationality, but their ideas appeared unrealistic, delivering only a temporary treatment to certain needs at the Empire but never a concrete cure. What was wrong at these early years? Why was the progress not as rapid as the Hamlin and Washburn hoped to be?

Taking into account Washburn's narrative, some additional questions need to be further investigated, such as the intriguing question of identity during this time of transition. What was the purpose of the school? Who were the American founders, missionaries or educators? By bringing industrial education to Ottoman Christians in their local languages, but educating them in English, "missionaries supported the use of

languages as vehicles for the introduction of new ideas.”²⁴⁵ Despite criticism, Hamlin’s view of the English language never changed and English language remained to be a vibrant part of his long-term vision for Robert College as a school for all nations, religions and cultures. Perhaps it is true what Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon claim in *Altruism and Imperialism, Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, that the larger impact of the Protestant mission in the Middle East is twofold and needs to be defined in terms of altruism and imperialism. The religious network of Robert, Hamlin, Washburn and the young tutors was rooted in New England. Did the American educators actually believe that the United States was at the pinnacle of advancement as a Protestant Empire, where young men were educated with a western style of education and charged with the responsibility of shaping the world in the image of their New England culture? This chapter strongly agrees with Dana Robert’s comments that they indeed believed that by their mission work, “they participated in both the globalization of knowledge and the re-creation of local identities that emerged from interaction with global modernity.”²⁴⁶ What was the local response to these issues? The chapter contends that local responses to the missionary efforts of Christianizing and educating cannot be viewed simply as a submission of a passive and powerless population.

Rather, it must be understood, in light of Emine Evered’s thesis in *Empire and Education under the Ottomans, Politics, Reform, and Resistance from the Tanzimat to*

²⁴⁵ Barbara Reeves - Ellington, *Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010), 271.

²⁴⁶ Dana, L. Robert, *Christian Mission, How Christianity Became a World Religion*, (John Wiley & Sons, Blackwell, Singapore. 2010), 96.

the Young Turks, that the local response contained indigenous adaptation, negotiation, acceptance, and resistance. In other words, the complex response to the elements of cultural imperialism is rooted in deeper problems. The Protestant spirit of the school made Orthodox Christians intensely suspicious and only few made it to graduation. A significant problem was found in the lack of progress in the largely advertised goal toward a non-sectarian school, which one of the reason why Turks resisted enrolling their sons at Robert College, in spite of the ongoing Tanzimat reform. Perhaps the character of the school was the reason why Ottoman authorities resisted for so long in granting the permission for the college to build its campus.

The “gunboat diplomacy” of Admiral David Farragut the diplomatic pressure of the British Ambassador Sir Henry Bulwer convinced the Grand Vizier to grant an imperial decree, permitting the college to build its campus in the Rumeli Hisar location. This case of “gunboat diplomacy” offers a distinctive example for expanding the debate about cultural imperialism and to examine the extension of Protestant culture abroad. Perhaps, the educators and missionaries indeed believed that their schools, printings, and culture were a means for making the local people familiar with the American Protestant views of modern life. Thus, all necessary steps, including “gun diplomacy,” need to be taken.

In this sense, Reeves-Ellington argues that the objectives of the Protestant mission schools and publications reflected a perceived connection between education

and environmental evolvment.²⁴⁷ Andrew Porter's argument in "Cultural Imperialism and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914," that surprisingly ease the concerns of the missionary projects are fitted into the "conceptualization of 'cultural imperialism'" needs to be taken again into consideration. In *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, Dogan and Sharkey try to reject the limitation of the missionary efforts in the Ottoman Empire only as cultural imperialism. By examining some of the developments on the mission field and providing biographical sketches of prominent characters, both native and American, who had an important role in the cross-cultural encounters during the late Ottoman period, Dogan and Sharkey do not label the American missionaries and educators as cultural imperialists, neither this chapter did.

Finally, the interdependence of religious practices and disciplines at Robert College raises once again the question to what extent in these early years the school genuinely strived to become a institution that is not bound by religion. The transformation from young New England graduates and trained missionaries into educators raises the concern whether this process was a meaningful model for promoting a modern education.

Clergy and missionaries arrived in the Ottoman Empire to spread the Gospel, but for the purposes of Robert College, they became educators. All of them proved to be

²⁴⁷ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Petko Slaveykov, The Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism, in Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Competing Kingdoms, Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010).

true sons of New England in their work. Starting the day with prayer and Bible study and depriving every student from breakfast for missed the prayer hour showed that the college was nothing but another mission school that indeed would not teach theology but undoubtedly strives to Christianize its pupils. The young tutors from the New England colleges and seminaries came to educate the peoples of the Middle East and the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire but were foremost concerned to keep the Sabbath by proclaiming and obeying the Gospel and by obligating the student body to attend and listen to their sermons. The educators at Robert College were at the vanguard of a project that intended to serve Christians, Jews and Muslims but was not wholly separated from the Protestant worldview and was closely rooted in the larger interest of the United States, in Constantinople and the region. This argument will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4:

A NEW BUILDING AND A NEW PRESIDENT

The college opened with four students. Its growth was slow during the first two years, amounting to about thirty or thirty-five students. These youth were mostly of foreign extraction. The native population regarded the school with suspicion. The Protestants were generally too poor to pay the \$200 demanded for board and tuition. Persons began to say, "I told you so! The whole thing is an absurdity. You will never get scholars from among the Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians."²⁴⁸

²⁴⁸ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 436.

Introduction:

Chapter 4 covers an intricate period of transition and transformation in Robert College's early history. In 1871, the school moved to its new building. To this day, the iconic new building stands on the shore of Bosphorus and represents the efforts of the American founders of Robert College to shape young men and women by providing a Western style of education. At first, the school was meant to offer education to the Christian peoples of the Ottoman Empire. Since converting Muslims to Christianity was strictly forbidden, the Millet system in the 1840s allowed the Protestant missionaries to enter the Empire with the purpose to serve the Christian population of the Rum millet. Very soon the missionary strategies shifted toward opening of schools and establishing printing facilities. The missionary press printed vernacular Bibles, newspapers and magazines, Protestant books and school materials. In doing so, the Protestant missionaries did not fail to live up to their promise and ideals but increased the influence of the Protestant culture abroad. The popularity of Robert College continued to grow over the years as well. As years passed, the school reconsidered its priorities and shifted toward education for all races and faiths in the Ottoman Empire and beyond by developing an industrial curriculum.

These emerging priorities had a college-wide traction and promised to allow Robert College to fulfill its ambition. The faculty felt confident that as they contemplated and refined these new priorities, they would reach the bold choices that

would help Robert College leap forward. The school gave clear signals of its intent to strengthen the academic excellence at the college. Thus, Robert College attracted a large number of students of various nationalities such as Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews, and Turks, turning into a place where different peoples, cultures, traditions, and faiths were mixed together, and becoming “America’s true cultural embassy.”²⁴⁹ Probably this transforming process of merging and converging cultures is what Asli Gür would call a transculturation of evangelical college model in her seminal essay “Robert College; Laboratory for Religion, Shrine for Science – Transculturation of Evangelical College Model in Constantinople.” Gür’s understanding of Robert College as a model for transculturation is important because it provides a consideration of the little-known element of late Ottoman encounters with Americans. Gül displays the Ottoman American 19th-century encounters in dynamic local histories, which created the archetypal image of the Protestant missionary and conveyed Ottoman views of America as the land of hope and wealth. For many Ottomans, Robert College became the place of merging and converging cultures giving them the chance to encounter the important role of the bi-cultural or trans-cultural image of this institution.

It was in these years of transition and transformation when the school finally gained recognition in the Empire. Government officials intended to decorate Christopher Robert according to his great merits for the welfare of the Ottoman Empire. The Grand Vezir Ali Pasha officially informed Robert about the decision for decoration,

²⁴⁹ Asli Gür, “Robert College; Laboratory for Religion, Shrine for Science – Transculturation of Evangelical College Model in Constantinople”, in Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2009), 48.

which supposedly was initiated directly by the Sultan. Robert and the faculty, however, met this with mixed feelings. While they were honored that the school increased its significance for the Sublime Porte, Robert kindly declined to accept the honor of decoration. He thought that such category of ornamentation would be strange to the beliefs of the American ideals and culture. Probably this was an unwise decision, but, as Hamlin and Washburn recalled, there was no evidence of any impairment for the school because of Robert's refusal to accept the Sultan's decoration. However, the official act of the Ottoman government would substantiate its great value in later years, when the college would continue to grow and attract mainly Turkish students.

This chapter will focus on the next important steps toward an industrial education, which would be evident in the changes of the curriculum, the recruitment of new faculty members, and the growing enrolment of Bulgarian, Greek and Armenian students. Would the missionaries, despite these vital changes, still consider their education as an "integral function of evangelizing," as Cemal Yetkiner argues in *After Merchants, Before Ambassadors: Protestant Missionaries and Early American Experience in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860*? Ted Widmer agree with Yetkiner thesis but by examining Hamlin's zeal for mission and evangelizing in these years, he suggests that the term "'missionary' may be too small a word to describe his long sojourn."²⁵⁰ Did the American missionaries truly transform into educators or did they remain true to their original function of evangelizing?

²⁵⁰ Ted Widmer, "The Long Journey of Cyrus Hamlin," in Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholarship Publishing, 2011), 61.

Several authors would be helpful for the concise history of the educational efforts of the missionaries in the Middle East and particularly in the Ottoman Empire during these early years of Robert College. Benjamin C. Fortna's *Imperial Classroom: Islam, The State, And Education In The Late Ottoman Empire*, Selcuk Aksin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline*, Emine Onhan Evered's *Empire And Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform, and Resistance From The Tanzimat to the Young Turks* are only a small portion of the large amount of research that discuss the efforts of the missionaries and educators in broader context but are especially beneficial for understanding the period when Protestant missionaries established an extensive network of schools at all levels in the Ottoman Empire. Besides expanding literacy, they offered empirical science and humanities in their schools.

The new campus of Robert College turned out to be a time of transition toward a new stage for the school, which was also a result of Cyrus Hamlin's departure and the election of the new president George Washburn. This chapter suggests an understanding of this time of transition as expressions of unidirectional transformation of culture, mission and educational activism. The concept of the term "transculturation" that Asli Gür applies to Robert College's model in Constantinople would be useful. The local perspective of the school's establishment and mission, according to Gür, implies elements of merging and converging cultures. The chapter will try to explore all major components of this transcultural period of transition and the implications that arose during this significant period for the school, for its students and faculty. The chapter will

also deal with the further decline of the Ottoman Empire, the political changes on the Balkan, the Russo – Turkish war, the Treaty of San Stefano and their inferences for the development of the school.

The *Memâlik-i Mahrûse-i Osmanîye*²⁵¹ was shaken by revolts and riots and it was clear that the *domains* of the Turkish realm were no longer well protected but were torn apart and on the way to being lost. Amidst these revolts and riots, the Bulgarian massacres occurred, which raised more problems for the school. During the turmoil Ottoman soldiers invaded the college to arrest the Bulgarian students. The political tension grew as Washburn and Long officially protested that Ottoman authorities were trespassing on American property. This led to a successful outcome for the Bulgarian students, but it also resulted to a tension between the school and the Ottoman authorities.

The educators at Robert College understood the Bulgarian zeal for independence, but did not support the upcoming revolts, advising instead for diplomatic actions. Their advice for non-combat actions against the Empire was not heard and in April 1876 the Bulgarians revolted in the April uprising. Hoping that Russia eventually would support their efforts, the Bulgarians organized the April Uprising, in which rebels attempted to end the Ottoman Empire's domination over their country. The outcomes of the April revolt were brutal and resulted in a public outcry in Europe, condemning the Ottoman atrocities and supporting the oppressed Bulgarians. Reeves-Ellington observes that “in their efforts to obtain increased religious and national recognition, Bulgarians

²⁵¹ For the meaning of *Memâlik-i Mahrûse-i Osmanîye* see Appendix D.

sought, and received, support from their co-religionists in Russia.”²⁵² The intervention of Russia in the political life of the Empire and its impact on Robert College will be discussed briefly in this chapter and largely in the next chapter.

The next tension escalated with the growing number of Armenian students, who were also considered as a potential threat for the peace in the Empire. The Ottoman hostility toward the Armenians in Constantinople gave rise to rumors that the authorities would capture and close the school. No evidence was available to substantiate these rumors; yet, the tension remained for years. As this situation continued to unfold, some significant improvements in the College happened: the twilight of the compulsory religious practices at the school, further confrontations between Hamlin and Washburn, and the passing of Christopher Robert and Cyrus Hamlin. Finally, the chapter defines the explicit role of the school in the growing Ottoman education by incorporating its Protestant mission through modern Western style education. In this chapter I write to the Bulgarian audience as well, as some of the contribution of Robert College toward the Bulgarian independence are forgotten or were purposely neglected during the communist time.

A New Building and a New President

The new building was erected but was not completed. Hamlin’s determination to move the school into the new campus by the end of the spring of the same year led him

²⁵² Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers, Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*, (University of Massachusetts Press, Boston, 2013), 55.

to make some drastic decisions. First, he interrupted the academic activities of the school by drawing away students from the classrooms and placing them on the construction work. Second, he completely abandoned his administrative duties. Thirdly, he expanded the work staff by hiring cheap and inexperienced builders. Yet, this was not enough for him. Running out of money and unable to hire more construction workers, he further increased his own labor hours at the construction. The correspondence between Washburn and Robert, as well as Hamlin's memoir, reveal that one day, the completely exhausted Hamlin tripped over a buzz saw and lost two fingers. His determination to move into the new building was not shaken by the accident, or by the typhoid epidemic that broke out in Constantinople. The fact that the disease infected most of the students and the premises of the Bebek seminary was turned into a hospital would not hinder Hamlin's determination to build.

On May 15, 1871, the new campus opened its doors for students and faculty. The building was called Hamlin Hall and stood on a hill overseeing the shore of Bosphorus, across from Rumeli Hisar Castle, built in 1452 by Sultan Mehmed II, who at the age of 21 conquered Constantinople and brought the Byzantine Empire to an end. In a couple of letters to Robert, Hamlin expressed his delight about the new building, describing the picturesque view from Hamlin Hall, the fishing boats, steamboats and ships with flags from all nations on their main masts. The complete move from Babek continued nearly two months. The formal opening of the new building was commemorated on 4th of July 1871. While the new building was big enough to host all students, it was far from perfect. It seemed that the new building opened its doors for

the old problems as well.

While Hamlin articulated in his correspondence to Robert an excitement and euphoria, Washburn, on the other hand, was seriously concerned about the many details that the new building lacked, which according to him, would deeply hurt the educational process, when the semester starts. The disagreement of opinions would become more contrasting in their correspondence to Robert and in their memoirs. Hamlin believed that everyone was delighted for moving into the new campus and students were happy as they can be.²⁵³ He wrote, “The College soon filled up its premises. Bulgarians, Armenians, Greeks and foreigners of varied nationalities poured in, and proved beyond question that the time for college education in the East had fully come”²⁵⁴ But Washburn provided a more sober view on the situation, as he wrote to Robert on May 18, 1871, “the building yesterday was in no condition to receive students and will not be for some time to come.”²⁵⁵ Washburn’s frustration with the incomplete building grew day by day and four days later, on May 22, 1871, he sent another letter to Robert, describing in detail the situation: “the reception room is not finished... the closets are not finished, the washing room is not finished. In a word – nothing is finished. Carpenters and masons are at work everywhere and the noise they make is

²⁵³ See Correspondence to Robert from Hamlin, 1868-1875, Robert College Records; Box 4, Folders 14, Quoted also by Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 137.

²⁵⁴ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 479.

²⁵⁵ See the General Correspondence to Robert, 1871-1875, Robert College Records; Box 7, Folders 114; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library, Quoted also by Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 137.

enough to upset anyone's nerves."²⁵⁶

Indeed, the building was still incomplete in many details but Hamlin achieved his dream to have his new building on one of the most beautiful sites in Constantinople, overseeing the shore of Bosphorus. Years later, Washburn summarized the first weeks in the new building with the old proverb, "If you build a stone house, rent it to your enemy the first year, to your friend the second and live in it yourself the third."²⁵⁷ Despite the inconvenience from the noise made by some fifty workmen, Hamlin moved into the building with his family and occupied the presidential apartment that he personally had designed. At the same time, the students occupied the unfinished new dormitories. The new academic year was set to begin.

The Board of Trustees decided that the new building demanded a greater endowment and Hamlin was summoned to the United States for a fundraising trip. He left against his own will without believing in his abilities to work with donors. While on the trip to America, the great fire in Chicago occurred, which according to Hamlin, further disturbed the financial situation in his home country and predestined the trip to a failure.²⁵⁸ He immediately sailed back to Constantinople, but instead of returning to a full academic work, he dedicated his time to new construction activities. After erecting the new building, one would believe that Hamlin's builders' zeal would come to an end and he would return to teaching and to administrative duties. Nonetheless, he

²⁵⁶ See the General Correspondence to Robert, 1871-1875, Robert College Records; Box 7, Folders 114; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library., Quoted also by John Freely. *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 84.

²⁵⁷ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 47.

²⁵⁸ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 479.

immediately started a new construction enterprise. First, he erected the Study Hall on the back of the new college building. Second, he laid the foundations for two professors' houses, for which permission to build was not given.²⁵⁹

The gorgeous Hamlin Hall as well as the growing campus started to attract new students. Their number grew to 130 before the end of the year. While the number of students rapidly grew, so did Washburn's resentment of the unfinished building and endless construction work. This resentment and the uncomfortable conditions continued to disturb Washburn and apparently led to another conflict with Hamlin. Washburn made a decision to leave the school for good and to return to his home country. His decision to leave as soon as possible meant he did not attend the Commencement exercise, which was postponed to July 4. Washburn sailed for the United States immediately after the classes ended with the firm intention to never return. He was very proud of the class of 1871 but believed that it was the last in his teaching career. He wrote,

The class of 1871 were all Bulgarians, and no more distinguished class has ever been graduated from the College. Stephan Panaretoff has been instructor or professor of Bulgarian and Slavic in the College ever since his graduation, and Bulgaria has produced no more distinguished scholar and teacher. Mr. Stoiloff and Mr. Slaveikoff were both teachers in the College for a time. Constantine Stoiloff was the ablest statesman in Bulgaria until he died in 1901. Ivan Slaveikoff was one of the leading literary men in Bulgaria and held many high offices during his life until he died in 1901, as Minister of Public Instruction. Ivan S. Gueshoff is still a leading politician and just now diplomatic agent of Bulgaria in Constantinople, as he has been in Paris and Vienna. Petco Taptcheleshloff

²⁵⁹ Ibid, 479-480.

has been and is a merchant.²⁶⁰

All of the listed Bulgarian students were just a small part of the notable graduates, who, after the Bulgarian independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1878, took important political and economic positions in the new Kingdom of Bulgaria. As stated in the previous chapter, Washburn would remain to serve many of these students as advisor and mentor for years to come. The question of Bulgarian independence, however, and the role of Robert College in this process will be discussed later in this chapter, as well as in chapter five with the collapse of the Empire.

Meanwhile, in the new building, the old problems continued and the old questions continued to be unanswered. Founders and faculty hoped for a brighter future but an old fundamental issue still needed to be resolved. Neither the *irade* from 1868, nor the Imperial order from 1869, granting the statute of the college, specified the nature of the college. The issues of teaching in English language and the character of the school remained unclear for many. What kind of school was it? For Orthodox Greeks, Bulgarians and Armenians, the college appeared to be strictly Protestant, for Turks and Jews the school was a Christian college. For the founders, Robert College was a modern school with a broader curriculum that “does not teach Theology,”²⁶¹ but would seek to provide quality education to the young people of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the records of Robert College provide information for very few Jew and

²⁶⁰ See George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 49. For full list of Robert College graduates see Appendix A.

²⁶¹ George Washburn, *Robert College, Constantinople, Its Work and Its Needs*, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library, Robert College Records; Box 48, Folders 25.

Turkish students who attended the college. Not one Muslim student made it to graduation in these early years.

The number of Turkish students started to grow as late as forty years after the founding of the school. What hindered the Ottoman Muslims to attend and graduate the American college in its first four decades? This is a complex question that needs deeper investigation. Despite the fact that the school did not teach Theology, the shift toward an industrial education did not fully happen. A decade after the founding, everything seemed unchanged. The school moved into a new building but not toward the new directions. The mandatory morning and evening prayers were there, as well as the obligatory keeping of the Sabbath. Probably this was the reason for the lack of Muslim graduates and the very few Jews who enrolled. The old habits of recruiting young and obedient tutors continued. Cyrus Hamlin was the last authority in all of the school affairs. This was a sign for faculty and potential students that the problems at the school remained the same.

The Indigenous peoples of the Ottoman Empire would continue to be suspicious toward the college for years to come. The Board of Trustees realized that the leadership of the school needs a change. What was lost in Hamlin's approach? What made his leadership ineffective in the eyes of Washburn and the other members of the faculty and the Board of Trustees? The "non-religious" approach in the school was clearly ineffective, as Turks and Jews did not enter the doors of the new stunning building for years to come. Why didn't the desired shift toward an education not bound by religion occur? Seeing that this time of transition did not bring the desired change, Washburn

left for the United States, presenting “family affairs” as the cause for resignation. In his memoir he reveals the true motive for leaving as “differences” between him and Hamlin that “grew out of our characters.”²⁶² In the letter to Robert from May 1871, they are mixed feelings by his decision to leave. While he is determined to leave, and writes that his father is aging and his wife’s health is worsening, he is also worried that the other instructors would struggle even more, because they don’t understand Hamlin at all. Washburn wrote of his fears that some hard rubs at the college would sprout after his departure. This gave Robert hopes that Washburn would stay.

Alas, as stated above, Washburn left for the United States even before the ceremony for the official opening ceremony of Hamlin Hall at the fourth of July 1871. The ceremony itself became the climax of the early history of the college. Triumphs, setbacks, tragedies, successes, and – all connected by education and experience. The speakers at the ceremony were state officials of importance -- the Honorable William E. Seward, ex-secretary of state, E. Joy Morris, the United States ambassador at Constantinople, the ex-ambassador to Washington, Blacque Bey,²⁶³ the prominent

²⁶² George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 50.

²⁶³ Born of French parents in Istanbul, Edouard Edmé Jean Blacque Bey was a, journalist, diplomat and Ottoman official. at age 18, was appointed a government translator, was editor of the semi-official newspaper in French, *Courier de Constantinople*, 1846. Fluent in Turkish, French, Italian, and English, his diplomatic posts included Attaché and then First Secretary in Turkey’s Paris Embassy, 1853; Turkish Consul in Naples, Italy, 1860; Chargé d’Affairs at the newly opened Turkish Embassy in Washington, D.C., 1866; and Turkish Minister to the U.S., 1866-73. He was Director, Press Dept., Istanbul, 1876; Member of the State Council, 1878; Director, Sixth Municipal Dept., Istanbul, 1878-90; Ambassador to Bucharest, 1890; and again Director, Sixth Municipal Dept., Istanbul, 1891-95. See *Cornucopia of Ottomania and Turcomania*, <http://maviboncuk.blogspot.com/2012/04/edouard-blacque-first-ottoman.html>)For further information on the first Ottoman ambassador tot he United States Blacque Bey see Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Istanbul Encyclopaedia*, vol. 5, (Istanbul Press, Istanbul, 1961), 2834-2836.

Turkish diplomat, who also served as Chancellor of the Ottoman Empire's Embassy in Berlin and First Secretary in the Paris Embassy.

The notable presence of United States and Ottoman government officials, gave, once again, the impression to all Constantinople that the school was receiving an exceptional care as well as patronage by the government in Washington. Even not present, Washburn also wrote that the commencement day "was one of the happiest days in Dr. Hamlin's life — a day of triumph in what he believed to be a great and good cause and for which he had battled for ten years."²⁶⁴

However, Hamlin's time at the college was ending. The Board of Trustees and Robert itself were convinced that he would be more beneficial for the school in the United States instead of in Constantinople. Hamlin, conversely, disagreed with Robert and the Board and expressed his firm determination to not leave Constantinople, presenting plans for a founding of new school in the Ottoman Empire, which were met negatively. In the following months he gave all kinds of excuses and reasons to stay at Constantinople.

The primary driving force behind all his arguments was the desire to continue to do his duties for the sake of education, as well as to work on the mission field. Hamlin brought forth his call to serve the Lord in this foreign land and stated that he has obligations toward the young peoples at the college. The board and most particularly Robert gave no choice to Hamlin and demanded his return to the United States with the explanation that he is needed because the school requires a further increase of

²⁶⁴ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 48.

endowment. Hamlin believed that this initiative would be only a temporary measure. He was prepared for brief United States trip. He gave indication that he would leave his family to occupy the presidential apartment in Hamlin Hall while he is away.

Meanwhile, Robert increased his pressure on Washburn and in numerous letters requested his return to Constantinople. In their correspondence one can find a pure form of bargaining. While the future role of Hamlin was not mentioned in these negotiations, Robert promised to Washburn a raise of salary, retaining of his professorial title, and the complete freedom to administratively lead the school as the head of Robert College. The end of the negotiation between Washburn and Robert was sealed with a letter to Hamlin. Once Washburn agreed to return, Robert wrote to Hamlin that when he leaves Constantinople, there would be no place for his family to occupy in Hamlin Hall, because Washburn is returning and he should move with his family in the building. Hamlin fully understood the situation and agreed to leave with the promise that he would continue to serve as the president of the school and would work for sake of the college from a distance. However, he accepted his removal from Constantinople as a personal defeat, betrayal and treachery. He felt that he had devoted his entire existence for the sake of educating young people. He truly believed that he would spend his whole life in the Ottoman Empire. He felt alone. One can find the disappointment and bitterness in his memoirs, especial when he describes the surrender of his duties at Robert College:

In 1873 I left, with my family, to make a serious business of raising an endowment for the college. I undoubtedly made a great mistake in entering upon this work. I should have resigned all connection with the college, and sought means of support at home, or entered again upon

missionary work; but my confidence in Mr. Robert was such, and my blindness to the plans of others was such that, like a fool, I went straight forward, I had perhaps the usual amount of sagacity in understanding men with whom I was in conflict or with whom I had business relations, but to be suspicious of friends was so contrary to my nature that nothing but the most astounding facts could make me believe their treachery.²⁶⁵

Before leaving Constantinople, on numerous occasions, Hamlin received honors by British, Ottoman and United States officials, as well recognition by ABCFM and the British and Foreign Bible Society for his accomplishments and service in the Ottoman Empire. He was presented with plaques and gifts, among which an engraved golden watch. Both friends and rivals celebrated him as a Christian hero, a missionary, educator and statesman. Despite the strike of another cholera epidemic at Constantinople, the festivities regarding Hamlin's departure continued for weeks.

Cyrus Hamlin arrived in the Ottoman Empire at the age of 27, as a young Congregational clergyman and missionary to work for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Years later, on his obituary, his son would write: "When he went to Constantinople in 1838-39, that city was still in the Middle Ages, and no man might pass the Sultan's palace on horseback or on wheels: when he died, Stamboul was but eleven days distant from New York, and one might ride into the capital in a luxurious drawing-room car."²⁶⁶ After spending 45 years in a foreign country, Hamlin was heading back to his homeland. On the missionary scene in Constantinople, his departure was truly an end of an era. He could not imagine leaving Constantinople, and his intent was to work for the sake of Robert College in the United States for a

²⁶⁵ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 480.

²⁶⁶ See A. D. F. Hamlin, *In Memoriam Rev. Cyrus Hamlin*, (Press of J.J. Arakelyan, Boston, 1903), 6.

couple of years and eventually to return back and to resume his duties at the college.

Upon arriving in his home country he settled down in Jacksonville, Florida. In fact, he was still a president of Robert College. As such, he conducted various fundraising initiatives mainly in New England. Yet, all his attempts to secure endowment funds for the school were met with limited success. After two years he felt ready to sail back to Constantinople and to assume his presidency at the school. The rumor of an eventual return to Constantinople, mobilized his colleagues at Robert College to vigorously prevent his return to the school. This was a forced retirement. Once again disappointed, Hamlin decided to take a teaching position at Bangor Theological Seminary as professor of Theology. In 1880 he was inaugurated as president of Middlebury College in Vermont, a position he held until his retirement. His term was short and marked by disagreements with the rest of the faculty and the Board of Trustees, as well as by mutual fears that he is leading the college to the path of debt and bankruptcy. Yet, his long administrative experience made him well fitted for this new position. At the end of his tenure, Middlebury College gained a new Star Boarding Hall, erected under the personal supervision of Hamlin, a new library and the first admission of female students. In 1885, Hamlin offered his resignation due to his advanced age and declining health. He moved to Lexington, Massachusetts and died in Portland, Maine, on August 8, 1900.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ For further investigation of Cyrus Hamlin's life and work, please see: Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893); Cyrus Hamlin, *Among the Turks*, (R. Carter and Brothers, New York, 1878); A. D. F. Hamlin, *In Memoriam Rev. Cyrus Hamlin*, (Boston, Press of J.J. Arakelyan, Boston, 1903); David M. Stameshkin, *The Town's College: Middlebury College 1800-1915*. Middlebury College Press, Middlebury, 1985); Marcia and Malcolm Stevens,

As the time passed, Washburn fully undertook his leadership position. At first, he made a massive deal by purchasing a large parcel between Hamlin Hall and the borders of Hissar. Ironically, he purchased it from Achmet Vefik Pasha, the old rival of the school, from whom Hamlin had bought about six acres of the school's lot after many vicissitudes. This deal was for about twelve acres, included a well, which became the school's major water supply. The Board of Trustees did not authorize this purchase. Robert was not happy with the mega transaction and sent a letter forbidding it. Arguably, the letter arrived after the deal was made. This accident made clear that some characteristics of the old style of work, which Washburn largely criticized Hamlin for, evidently continued with the new president. Yet, this purchase would prove in the future to be a wise investment. Washburn made a good deal by acquiring the land for thirteen thousand two hundred dollars. He erected later the Theodorus Hall and built six professors' houses.

With contentedness Washburn recalls that "Achmet Vefik Pasha was in no special need of money at that time, but he was a warm friend of the College, and the price which he asked was very reasonable."²⁶⁸ This gives an account that old rival became a friend of the school. The Pasha was a prominent Ottoman statesman and scholar who presided over the first Ottoman Parliament in 1877. He was known for his contributions to Ottoman studies. For Achmet Vefik Pasha, who was a grandson of a

Against the Devil's Current: The Life and Times of Cyrus Hamlin, (University Press of America, Lanham, 1988); George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909).

²⁶⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 55.

Greek convert to Islam, the contacts with American missionaries were nothing new, because of his years of service as an Imperial commissioner in the Danubian principalities and an ambassador to Persia and France. Twice he was appointed as Grand Vezir in Constantinople and became known for sponsoring important reforms in sanitation, agriculture and education.²⁶⁹ The generous deal with Achmet Vefik Pasha gave a sense that Government authorities started to look upon the school with a benevolent attitude. It seemed that things were changing for the better.

The situation in the Empire was in a dramatic development. After repeated variations of the Balkan borders between the Ottoman and the neighboring Austrian empire to the west in the 17th and 18th, the Balkan countries in the east began to upraise for independence in the 19th century, starting with the revolts in Greece from 1821. After a long struggle and eventually getting help from Britain, France and Russia, Greece won independence in 1830. Uprisings against the Turks occurred in all parts of the Empire but most significantly in the east. Before the start of the Russo-Turkish War in 1877, the Ottoman Empire was in a state of decay.

The reforms of Abdul Hamit II to include a constitution and a parliament in the Empire brought no substantial results. In 1878, the Congress of Berlin acknowledged the

²⁶⁹ For a detailed account of Achmet Vefik Pasha, please see "Achmet Vefik Pasha", www.britannica.com. Retrieved 02-09-2016, Kaan Durukan, *Ideology and Historiography: State, Society and Intellectuals in Modern Turkey*, (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2007); Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas*, (Syracuse University Press, 2000); Ebru Boyar, *Ottomans, Turks and the Balkans: Empire Lost, Relations Altered*, Library of Ottoman Studies, (I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, New York 2007); Carter Vaughn Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton 1980), Jan Schmidt, "Ahmed Vefik Paşa." *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Three*. Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. Brill Online, 2016. Retrieved 09 February 2016. <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3/ahmed-vefik-pasa-COM_22668>

independence of Serbia and Romania, as well as the establishment of an autonomous Bulgarian principality with the name of Eastern Rumelia under nominal Ottoman protection. Soon there after, the Austro Hungarian Empire occupied Bosnia by default and the Constantinople lost another territory in the Balkans. In the same year, British forces occupied the island of Cyprus. After a bloodless uprising in 1885, the province of Eastern Rumelia was annexed by the Principality of Bulgaria. The *status quo* was acknowledged by the Sublime Porte with the Tophane Act from 1886,²⁷⁰ issued by Sultan Abdul Hamid II. The changes in the Empire reconstructed the map of Asia and Europe once again.

What were the implications for the school of this time of political turmoil? Washburn's anxiety is obvious as he describes the great changes in the Empire. In his memoir, first he observes the rising of French influence and Jesuit impact in Constantinople. This was illustrated with the opening of a French Lycee of Galata Serai which establishment Washburn considered as a major competition for Robert College.

After two years, the Sultan was disposed and the new Sultan was not in favor of France but of Britain. The Russia took the place of France as the chief enemy of the College and used her influence to turn Bulgarian students from Robert College to Russia for their education. Unfortunately for Bulgaria she opened the way for a boy in Tirnova, where Dr. Long was

²⁷⁰ The Tophane Act or the Tophane Agreement from 1886 was a treaty between the Principality of Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire that recognized the Prince of Bulgaria Alexander of Battenberg as Governor General. The Tophane Act was named after the neighborhood Tophane in Constantinople. For more on the The Tophane Act and its historical implications see Raymond Detrez, *Historical Dictionary of Bulgaria*, (Scarecrow Press, London, 1997), 437, Magarditsch A. Hatschikjan, *Tradition und Neuorientierung in der Bulgarischen Außenpolitik 1944 – 1948, Die "nationale Außenpolitik" der Bulgarischen Arbeiterpartei (Kommunisten)*, (Verlag Oldenburg, München, 1988), Христо Матанов, *Текстове и документи по история на България*, (Булвест, София, 1993), Елена Стателова, Стойчо Грънчаров. *История на нова България 1878-1944. Том III.*, (Издателство „Анубис“, София, 1999), 85-86; Емил Александров, *История на българите. Том IV: Българската дипломация от Древността до наши дни*, (Издателство Знание, София, 2000), 295.

a missionary, and a friend of this boy, whose name was Stambouloff, to go to Russia for a free education in a theological school. If he had come to Robert College he would have had other ideas of government than those which he learned in Russia. He was probably the strongest man that Bulgaria has produced and saved Bulgaria from Russian domination; but so far as the internal government of the country was concerned he too often fell back upon Russian methods. When a student he was expelled from Russia as a nihilist but secretly employed by the Russian Embassy as a sort of brigand revolutionist against the Turks, before the massacres, and came to the front as a great leader after the fall of Prince Alexander.²⁷¹

After a number of thoughts considering the significance of the political changes in the Empire, Washburn mentions a boy, whose name was Stambolov. Stefan Stambolov is largely considered as the statesman who modernized Bulgaria. Little known in the Western scholarship but very significant in the affairs of Bulgaria during the late 19th century, Stambolov must have been indeed a promising young man for the American missionaries.

In 1870, he was a potential candidate for Robert College. Alas, he was influenced to not go to a Protestant school but to enroll in the Russian Orthodox seminary in Odessa. In Russia the young student was introduced to the ideas of the Bulgarian Revolutionary Central Committee, and later expelled from the seminary due to revolutionary activities. As a Russian protégée, he offered his services to the Russian army and took part in the Bulgarian intelligence network during the Russo-Turkish war. When Bulgaria gained autonomy in 1878 he was elected to the new Bulgarian assembly. In 1885, Stambolov was elected president of the assembly and successfully led a course of union with Eastern Rumelia, which was finalized in 1885, despite the fierce opposition

²⁷¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 52.

of Russia. In 1887 he became the prime minister of Bulgaria. During his time in the office, he increased the Bulgarian diplomacy and strengthened the economy. He was responsible for the overall political stabilization of the state and for successfully preventing Russian attempts for interference and political pressure.

In 1894, his political enemies forced him to resign and in 1895 the same powers that inclined him to enroll in Odessa, instead of Robert College, organized a brutal assault. Stambolov was literally slaughtered on a central street in Sofia. Alas, Stambolov's story, however fascinating, has no bearing upon the thesis of this dissertation. The story of Stambolov, nevertheless, is an important indication for the expanded spectrum of interest that the American educators at Robert College carried. Their influence extended widely beyond the doors of the college. Ironically, Stambolov was succeeded in the office by Konstantin Stoilov, who was a Robert College alumnus. Before elected as the Prime Minister, Stoilov held a number of government positions including Law Minister, Interior Affairs Minister and Foreign Minister.²⁷² Stoilov played a significant role in creating the Bulgarian's democratic institutions and in nurturing the involvement of the country with western political powers. After graduating from Robert College with distinction, he received a doctoral degree in law from Heidelberg University in Germany. Nonetheless, Washburn's account of the political changes in Europe gives a glimpse of few tremendously intriguing figures, who were directly or indirectly

²⁷² For more on Stefan Stambolov, Konstantin Stoilov, the history of Bulgaria after the end of the Ottoman rule, see Richard Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria*, Cambridge Concise Histories, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005); S.G. Evans, *A Short History of Bulgaria*, (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1960); Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History, Modern Library Chronicles*, (The Random House Publishing Group, New York, 2002); Duncan M. Perry, *Stefan Stambolov and the Emergence of Modern Bulgaria, 1870-1895*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 1993).

connected to Robert College.

While Washburn vibrantly observes the main events in the college, he takes time to examine the political intrigues in Constantinople, and in various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Accurately, Washburn came to the conclusion that Russia and the French government had made everything possible to cripple Robert College permanently by preventing promising young people to enroll the college, a cause that Hamlin also believed to be true. Despite these partisan efforts, the school continued to grow. Washburn's fears for the future of the school and for a further increase of such attacks did not carry into effect. In all these cases, there was nothing fundamentally new in the mid-late 1870s. British and American Protestants had always suspected French Jesuits of trying to launch coups against them. The Sultan's court had always been a playhouse for intrigue and plotting. Russian Orthodox and political powers had always measured the Protestants with suspicions and frequently acted with hostility toward them. Yet, some of the political changes in the Empire led to cruel military actions each vastly similar with the Bulgarian and Armenian atrocities. So what, if anything, was new at this time? The college continued to exist, the Empire was at its end and Europe was at the stage of the first indication for a war that would end all wars.

The next year, the college started with four classes and one preparatory class. The students who moved from the old location in Bebek were 99. The next year, Hamlin Hall hosted 195 students. In 1873, only two years after the dedication of Hamlin Hall, the enrolment went up to 215. The new location and the new building attracted a dramatic increase of students. Nevertheless, this brought problems. Washburn goes on

to describe the difficulties of feeding the student body. Obviously, some of the old issues with faculty continued. The experienced professor Grosvenor resigned and left for America.

Washburn solved the problem with the burdened faculty just as Hamlin would do. He hired two new tutors from Amherst College and believed that together with the other tutors, the college received an efficient staff of American teachers. He states, "we have never had better men and they have all distinguished themselves since."²⁷³ In the correspondence from Washburn to Robert, one can feel Washburn's relief and enthusiasm. The college had eight local instructors, two new tutors and Albert Long was made a tenure professor of natural science. He took a leading role at the college. He resigned from his duties as Superintendent of the Bulgarian Methodist mission to devote his entire time to Robert College. Nevertheless, he continued to support the Protestant work in Bulgaria. The sentiment toward the Bulgarians continued until his passing. He kept his ties with Bulgaria and the student body at Robert College during Long's tenure was mainly from Bulgaria.

The close connection of Washburn and Long and the many Bulgarian students played an increasing role in many new developments. Apparently, Bulgarian students were consistently expressing worry about the pore religious situation of their homeland and the need for spiritual awakening. The translation of the Bible to modern Bulgarian language was part of these concerns. In 1871, the so-called Constantinople Bible or Protestant Bible was published in Constantinople. Long played a major role for this

²⁷³ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 55.

translation into the spoken Bulgarian language, as well as for the securing of funding and making available the resources of Robert College.²⁷⁴ Thus the American founders of Robert College fitted into another characteristic of nineteenth century American Protestantism. The fundamental importance of personal interaction with the Bible was an integral part of the vision for education and mission. The process of general literacy was closely connected to the process of Biblical literacy. The efforts of Albert Long and The American Bible Society to provide each student with a Bible for daily study was a clear sign that the industrial education of Robert College was faithfully connected with the Protestant ideals of the American founders. For many Bulgarians, the Protestant Bible became not only a respected script but also a sacred object itself. The first Bulgarian Bible incorporated a preeminent position of elitism amongst the Bulgarians.

The influence of school on the Bulgarian religious affairs expanded to a new level as Washburn and Long continued to play significant roles in influencing the political events that led to Bulgaria's independence from the Ottoman Empire. The American professors at Robert College worked together with missionaries, diplomats and journalist in representing efforts for the Bulgarian independence. The so-called Bulgarian Horrors and atrocities that were committed by forces of the Ottoman Empire in the period of 1875 -1876 in subduing the Bulgarian strive for independence received a wide echo in the Western press. The name "Bulgarian Horrors" was given by the British

²⁷⁴ More on the Bulgarian translation of the Bible see James F. Clarke, *The Pen and the Sword: Studies in Bulgarian History* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1988), 286; James F. Clarke, *Bible Societies, American Missionaries and the National Renaissance of Bulgaria* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1937), 295-302.; Elias Riggs, "The Bible in Bulgarian," (December 1, 1871) in *Missionary Herald* LXVIII, (1872), (Printed at the Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1872).

politician William E. Gladstone and made popular through his pamphlet “The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East.”²⁷⁵ The massacres on the Bulgarian population deeply disturbed Washburn and Long. They increased their efforts of alarming the Western powers through official notes and letters.²⁷⁶ According to the Sublime Porte, the American interventions from Robert College were a pure form of instigating Bulgarian nationalism, while the American schools in Marsovan and Euphrates contributed to Armenian nationalism.²⁷⁷ Thus the Bulgarian and Armenian nationalism was a matter of national threat that needed a ruthless response. The massacres over Bulgarians and Armenians were part of the Ottoman’s countermeasures. The Ottoman government also responded to the American interventions during these events with “suspending the permits of some missionaries, closing down some school and limited the distribution of missionary publications.”²⁷⁸ This, however, did not affect the work of Robert College. The rumors for suspending the work of the school and capturing the Bulgarian and Armenian students circulated in the next years, but nothing was done to harm the school.

It was during these events as Washburn came to be known by many “as the

²⁷⁵ William E. Gladstone, *The Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, (John Murray Press, London, 1876).

²⁷⁶ More on the Turkish atrocities on Bulgarian population see the eye witness account of Januarius Aloysius MacGahan and Eugene Schuyler, *The Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, Letters of the Special Commissioner of the „Daily News,“ with Introduction and Mr. Schuyler’s Preliminary Report*, (Bradbury, Agnew, and Co, London, 1876).

²⁷⁷ See Mustafa Aydın, *Turkish-American Relations: Past, Present and Future*, (Taylor & Francis Publishers, Routledge, 2003), 6.

²⁷⁸ Ibid. 6.

'Father of Bulgaria.'"²⁷⁹ On the basis of these happenings, the dynamics of the faculty and the student body differentiate this stage in the college's history, in which Bulgarian nationality was predominant, not only in terms of mission and education but also in terms of influencing the student to pursue liberty for all that would be achieved through sacrifice, risk-taking and hard work. Karine Walther writes that when the United States entered the World War I on the side of the Allies, against Bulgaria, "the *New York Times*, theorized that Robert College's efforts of behalf of Bulgarian independence explained why, despite its status as an ally of the powers fighting the United states, Bulgaria had refused to cut its ties with Washington."²⁸⁰ Robert College's further merits for the shaping of the Bulgarian nation will be discussed in chapter 5 and evaluated in the concluding chapter 6.

The purpose of this dissertation is not to give a detailed history of the political affairs between Turkey and Bulgaria. However, as Washburn claims, it is impossible to write a history of the College at this period without taking into account the political environment:

This is in no sense a history of Turkey, but it is impossible to write a history of the College at this period without some reference to our environment, and an explanation of our relations to what was taking place about us, and it should be made clear at the outset that Dr. Long and I were personally responsible for the attitude of the College at this time. Dr. Hamlin was so violently anti-Russian in his sympathies that he was the principal advocate of Turkey in the United States and was

²⁷⁹ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East, Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, (University of Minnesota, Lund Press, Minneapolis, 1971), 54.

²⁸⁰ Karine Walther, *Sacred Interests: The United States and the Islamic World, 1821-1921*, (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 2015), 93. Cited in Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East, Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, (University of Minnesota, Lund Press, Minneapolis, 1971), 253

officially thanked for this by the Turkish government. Mr. Robert had always forbidden all meddling with political affairs, and he was right. This has always been the policy of the College. It was mine and Dr. Long's. The College has always used all its influence to keep the students out of politics and to make them realize the folly of rebellion against the government. We have always recognized our duty to respect the laws of the country, and no official complaint has ever been made against us by the Turkish government, nor was any complaint ever made against Dr. Long or me as individuals, although it is true that great political changes were brought about in some measure by our personal influence. We did our best to prevent the outbreak in Bulgaria which was the excuse for the massacre which followed; but when it was a question of the massacre of thousands of innocent and unarmed Bulgarians, men, women and children, we did everything in our power to put a stop to it. We saw then, what the Turks see now, that this massacre was one of the greatest blunders that they have ever made. We did our best through the British Embassy to make them see it at that time. Whatever we did we reported to Mr. Robert from week to week, and in the end we had his full approval.²⁸¹

The affairs between the torn apart Ottoman Empire and the striving for independence Bulgaria influenced the rhythm of the college in every aspect. Dr. Long was no longer a Superintendent of Bulgarian mission and left Tirnovo years ago. While he was not engaged fully in the Methodist mission activities, he was effusively involved in the political affairs, supporting the independence undertakings of the Bulgarians. Numerous visits into the Bulgarian lands were made, mainly by George Washburn and Albert Long, accompanied by Stefan Panaretoff, a Robert College graduate, who later became a professor of Bulgarian studies at the college. Panaretoff became the first Bulgarian Special Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States. After the retirement from his political career, Paneretoff became professor at George Washington

²⁸¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 100-101.

University.²⁸² The friendship of Long, Paneretoff and Washburn, as well their regular trips to Bulgaria, “was to have important consequences of the college for it cemented Washburn’s belief in the despotism of Ottoman Turkish rule in the provinces”²⁸³

It was during this time of political insecurity that Christopher Robert made his last visit at Robert College. He arrived in Constantinople on June 12, 1875 and spent six weeks in the Imperial city, energetically taking part of all College activities. Robert’s visit was the high point for the college year, marked by joyful events, such as picnics, college festivities, sailing the Bosphorus with the entire student and faculty body on a specially equipped and chartered boat. Yet, the shadow of the Ottoman downfall was imminent as never before. Robert’s departure was the starting point of events that eventually led to the Russo-Turkish war from 1877-1878. Despite the political chaos in the Empire, Robert College continued to flourish, the reputation of the school continually attracted young men from different parts of the Empire, and the student body increased to 137 enrolled students. The correspondence and the reports of Washburn reveal an element of pride because of the tremendous progress of the school but also a growing concern for the coming uprisings in the eastern lands of the Empire.

1876 turned to be a dramatic year with crucial consequences for the Ottoman Empire. First, the April uprising broke in all parts of the Ottoman eastern territories, which were populated mainly with Bulgarians. The Uprising was organized by the

²⁸² More on Paneretoff, his work at the Robert College and in Washington, see Mari Agop Firkatian, *Diplomats and Dreamers: The Stancioff Family in Bulgarian History*, (University Press of America, Lanham, 2008); Stephen Panaretoff, *Near Eastern Affairs and Conditions*, (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922), Marin Pundeff, “Stefan Paneretov and Bulgarian – American Relations,” *Bulgarian Historical Review* 17 (3); 18-41, 1989, retrieved from <http://web.archive.org/web/20040504131429/>.

²⁸³ Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 174.

Bulgarian Central Revolutionary Committee that resided in the Romanian town of Giurgiu, but lasted a few weeks only, and by mid-May it was completely suppressed. The Ottoman authorities mobilized regular and predominately of irregular troops, called *başıbozuk*,²⁸⁴ attacked the first rebellious towns as early as 25th of April.²⁸⁵

Supposedly, at least 50.000 civilian people were killed during the suppression of the April-uprising by Ottomans troops and *başıbozuk*. Approximately 70 villages and towns were burned down and more than 200 others were plundered. Washburn describes the horrors, “In these first massacres and the reign of terror which followed fifty or sixty thousand men, women and children were massacred in cold blood, sold as slaves or judicially murdered.”²⁸⁶ How did this impact the school? Later, Washburn reports, “as nearly half of our boarders were Bulgarians; but the College was never molested in any way, and we did our best to keep the students occupied with their studies.”²⁸⁷ The college was indeed never harmed by these events but the indirect result of the brutal massacres was the establishment of Bulgaria as an independent nation in

²⁸⁴ *Başıbozuk* – Turkish, damaged head. More on the meaning of *Başıbozuk*, see Appendix D., Viscount Bernard Montgomery, *A Concise History Of Warfare*, (Wordsworth Military Library, Wordsworth Editions, Ware, 2000); Hugh Chisholm, „Bashi-Bazouk“. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th Edition, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1911); Rhoads Murphey, *Ottoman warfare, 1500–1700*; (UCL Press, London, 1999).

²⁸⁵ For more information on the April Uprising and the political events that led to the establishment of Bulgaria as an independent nation in 1878 see Richard J. Crampton, *A Short History of Bulgaria*, (2nd ed. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994); David Harris, *Britain and the Bulgarian Horros of 1876*, (The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939); Leften Stavros Stavrianos, *The Balkans Since 1453*, (New York University Press, New York 2000); Charles Jelavich, Barbara Jelavich, *The Establishment of the Balkan National States, 1804–1920, History of East Central Europe*, (University of Washington Press, Seattle 1977); Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History*, (The Modern Library Chronicles, The Modern Library, New York, 2002); Mercia MacDermott, *A History of Bulgaria, 1383 – 1885*, (Allen and Unwin, London 1962).

²⁸⁶ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 103.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 120.

1878.

The publicity that was given of the Ottoman massacres led indirectly to some crucial events, such as, demands by the European great powers for ending the atrocities, insisting for political reforms in the Ottoman Empire, the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, which ended with defeat for the Ottoman Empire, the signing of the San Stefano Treaty in March of 1878, and the signing of the Treaty of Berlin in July of 1878. All these events marked dramatically the existence of Robert College and left deep impact on the faculty and student body. This is evident in the memoirs, reports and the correspondence of the American founders of the school. Faculty affairs and school activities are nearly absent but the political crisis and changes are described and discussed in details. Even the Commencement exercise at the end of the school year was a disappointment, and according to Washburn, “it seemed doubtful whether, in the existing state of feeling in the city, it would be wise to have public exercises and whether any one would come if we did.”²⁸⁸ The pre-war time and crisis dominated in every aspect the college affairs.

Washburn goes on to spend three chapters in his memoirs to observe the downfall of the Ottoman Empire, and the restructuring of Europe. His concise account of these years gives a precise sketch of crucial historical events. One should keep in mind that the sympathies of Washburn and Long were toward the Bulgarian cause. They were in contact with Robert College’s alumni and friends from Bulgaria as well as with United States missionaries and colleagues working in the Bulgarian provinces, from whom they

²⁸⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 125.

received numerous of letters and reports, describing the atrocities toward civilian citizens, including women and children.²⁸⁹ It is only a speculation that, as Bulgarian students at the college would have experienced the deaths of relatives and friends, they must have called to action. However, there are no existing accounts of student activities supporting such a presumption. Nevertheless, there are numerous of documents signifying the deep concern of faculty and staff toward the Bulgarian question.

Reporting the massacres in Bulgaria, Long wrote to Robert in August 18, 1876,

I came home with a fire of indignation burning in my chest. Here were people for whom I had left my home and to whom I had given the best fifteen years of my life ... and they were being massacred wholesale. Already at least 20.000 unarmed old men, women and children had been butchered. Little girls were being violated before the eyes of their parents and the most unheard barbarities were being perpetrated on them.²⁹⁰

This disturbing account gives understanding to the fact that the historical events are also interpreted in favor of Bulgaria. One should keep that in mind when reading the next pages. Washburn writes,

Many of our Bulgarians could not go home or even leave the college grounds. The feeling against them was bitterer than ever. General Gourco's foolish, unsupported raid across the Balkans and occupation of Eski Zagra, with the atrocities committed on the Turks there, had been terribly revenged by Suleiman Pasha, who had been recalled from Montenegro, with thousands of Bulgarians slaughtered and the town destroyed. Both events had increased the desire for vengeance among the Turks here. So Mrs. Washburn and I spent the summer in the College to protect the students who remained there.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Patrick Streiff, *Methodism in Europe: 19th and 20th Century*, (Baltic Methodist Theological Seminary, Tallinn, 2003), 137.

²⁹⁰ Letter from Long to Robert, August 18, 1876, NECAS, quoted by Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 182.

²⁹¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 126.

When the Russo-Turkish war²⁹² broke out in 1877, the school opened with 69 students, 39 of them were Bulgarians. Dr. Long served as an acting dean as Washburn was preparing to leave for the United States because of his declining health. Two new young tutors were hired from the United States to serve at the college.

These minor changes are the only events that occur in the reports of Washburn and Long, who both devoted their time to observe and narrate the war, the situation in Bulgaria and the unwillingness of the British Empire to acknowledge the Turkish massacres. The Bulgarian question was discussed by the British parliament in favor of Ottoman Empire, who was their political ally against the growing influence of the Russian Empire in the European provinces of Turkey. This caused Times to not publish any articles of Turkish massacres toward Bulgarians. Long and Washburn were both angered and fiercely continued to supply the small pro-Bulgarian group with information from the Ottoman Empire.

When the letters from Long and Washburn, and many other reports, describing the events in Bulgarian arrived in London, Benjamin Disraeli, the Conservative Prime Minister, countered by objecting skepticism on the accuracy of the reports, scornfully labeling them as *coffee table babbles*. When opposed in the Commons by William Gladstone²⁹³ about the barbarous events in Bulgaria, he objected even more his doubts

²⁹² For a detailed account of the Russo-Turkish War see: Peter Sluglett, M. Hakan Yavuz, *War and Diplomacy: The Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878 and the Treaty of Berlin*, Utah Series in Middle East Studies, (University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011).

²⁹³ For more on the conflict between William Gladstone and Benjamin Disraeli in regard to the Bulgarian question, see B.H. Abbott, *Gladstone and Disraeli*, (Collins Educational Publishers, Glasgow, 1972); Robert Blake, *Disraeli*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1967); Michael Barker, *Gladstone and Radicalism. The Reconstruction of Liberal Policy in Britain. 1885–1894* (The Harvester Press, New

on their accuracy. An Eastern Question Association was founded and organized protests were made, accusing both the massacres themselves and the government's denial to act against them. The Prime Minister Disraeli remained adamant, convinced that his position is to maintain the wellbeing of the Empire of England. Supporting the Ottoman Empire at any cost was official policy of the British Empire for nearly forty years following the Crimean War. Nevertheless, the opposition forced Disraeli to face the Eastern Question again and again during his tenure as Prime Minister. Pondering how to sketch the political map of the Balkans and the Levant, as the Ottoman Empire began to collapse, Disraeli was convinced that whatever past and ongoing insufficiencies might occur, the Sublime Porte in Constantinople will remain to be a solid ally of London, as he believed that the Ottoman government was firm to modernize and to become more British. Nevertheless, the reports of Gladstone about the Ottoman massacres in Bulgarian subsided Disraeli's control on the parliament of Britain. In 1876 came another wave of of publicity that deeply disturbed this Victorian age nation. William Gladstone built a coalition of Radicals, Nonconformists and Churchmen who shaped an ambiance

York, 1975); J. B. Conacher, *The Emergence of British Parliamentary Democracy in the Nineteenth Century*, (John Wiley and Sons, New York, 1971); C.C. Eldridge, *The Imperial Idea in the Age of Gladstone and Disraeli, 1868-1880*, (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1974); William E. Gladstone, *Midlothian Speeches -- 1879* (Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1971); William E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, (Lovell, Adam, Wesson and Company, New York and Montreal, New York, 1876); Robin Harris, *The Conservatives—A History*. (Bantam Press, London, 2011); H. C. G. Matthew, *Gladstone. 1809–1874* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1988); Lionel A. Tollemache, *Talks with Mr. Gladstone* (Edward Arnold, London, 1898); Ann Pottinger Saab, *Reluctant Icon: Gladstone, Bulgaria and the Working Classes* (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1991); Richard Shannon, *Gladstone and the Bulgarian Atrocities Agitation , 1876*, (Shoe String Press Inc., Hamden 1975); Miloš Ković, *Disraeli and the Eastern Question*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2011); William Kuhn, *The Politics of Pleasure—A Portrait of Benjamin Disraeli*, (The Free Press, London, 2006); Jonathan Parry, *Benjamin Disraeli*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford 2007); R. W. Seton Watson, *Disraeli, Gladstone and the Eastern Question: A Study in Diplomacy and Party Politics*, (Macmillan and Co., Ltd.; New York, 1935).

of resentment toward the massacres. The Gladstone's coalition became strong enough to call into question Disraeli government's policy for British–Ottoman relations and the Near East.

Despite these efforts, Disraeli's policy remained strong during the whole Eastern Crisis and he played a key role in the end executing his political vision on the rest of Europe at the Congress of Berlin. However, his power to endorse the Ottoman Empire was finally paralyzed as the Bulgarian massacres were made known by American government officials, Albert Long, George Washburn and many others. They were condemned by Gladstone in his famous pamphlet *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*,²⁹⁴ that apparently sold in just one month 200,000 copies. Washburn increased his work with other American and British missionaries as well as with Bulgarian students and friends of the college and compiled further information of the Ottoman atrocities. Long and Washburn transmitted the information to Sir Henry Eliot, the British ambassador, who further delivered it to the British parliament and to numerous British newspapers. Gladstone wrote his famous pamphlet,

Let the Turks now carry away their abuses, in the only possible manner, namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Blmhashis and Yuzbashis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province that they have desolated and profaned. This thorough riddance, this most blessed deliverance, is the only reparation we can make to those heaps and heaps of dead, the violated purity alike of matron and of maiden and of child; to the civilization which has been affronted and shamed; to the laws of God, or, if you like, of Allah; to the moral sense of mankind at large. There is not a criminal in an European jail, there is not a criminal in the South Sea Islands, whose indignation would not rise and over-boil at

²⁹⁴ William E. Gladstone, *Bulgarian Horrors and the Question of the East*, (Lovell, Adam, Wesson and Company, New York and Montreal, New York 1876).

the recital of that which has been done, which has too late been examined, but which remains unavenged, which has left behind all the foul and all the fierce passions which produced it and which may again spring up in another murderous harvest from the soil soaked and reeking with blood and in the air tainted with every imaginable deed of crime and shame. That such things should be done once is a damning disgrace to the portion of our race which did them; that the door should be left open to the ever so barely possible repetition would spread that shame over the world. They led to the declaration of war by Russia, the treaty of San Stefano and the beginning of the freedom of Bulgaria.²⁹⁵

Shortly after Gladstone issued his pamphlet, the American journalist and war correspondent working for the New York Herald, Januarius MacGahan published his own call for action, entitled *The Turkish Atrocities in Bulgaria*.²⁹⁶ MacGahan articles describing the massacre of Bulgarian civilians by Ottoman troops and irregular volunteers created public outrage in the United States and Europe. Gladstone's coalition for supporting the Bulgarian cause continued to grow and its cause was supported by prominent figures, such as Giuseppe Garibaldi, Charles Darwin and Oscar Wilde. Gladstone, Long, Washburn and many other *friends of Bulgaria* that contributed to Bulgaria's reemergence as an independent nation that finally occurred after the end of the Russo-Turkish and the treaty of San Stefano. Washburn "became known by many as the 'Father of Bulgaria.'"²⁹⁷ In April 1879, the First Grand National Assembly elected prince Alexander of Battenberg as prince of Bulgaria, who "recognized the value of Robert College to his country by decorating Washburn and the president who

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 38.

²⁹⁶ Januarius Aloysius MacGahan, *The Turkish Atrocities In Bulgaria, Letters of the Special Commissioner of the "Daily News" J.A. MacGahan, Esq., with An Introduction & Mr. Schuyler's Preliminary Report*, (Bradbury, Agnew and co, London, 1876).

²⁹⁷ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East, Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, (University of Minnesota, Lund Press, Minneapolis, 1971), 54.

succeeded him, Caleb F. Gates.”²⁹⁸

Meanwhile, Robert did not oppose the activities of Washburn and Long, but in his letters he insisted that the college should be their first priority and they should devote their full attention to academic affairs, instead of meeting with diplomats and sending notes to the Parliament in London. Commenting on that issue, Washburn reports,

Mr. Robert had always forbidden all meddling with political affairs, and he was right. This has always been the policy of the College. It was mine and Dr. Long's. The College has always used all its influence to keep the students out of politics and to make them realize the folly of rebellion against the government. We have always recognized our duty to respect the laws of the country, and no official complaint has ever been made against us by the Turkish government, nor was any complaint ever made against Dr. Long or me as individuals, although it is true that great political changes were brought about in some measure by our personal influence. We did our best to prevent the outbreak in Bulgaria which was the excuse for the massacre which followed; but when it was a question of the massacre of thousands of innocent and unarmed Bulgarians, men, women and children, we did everything in our power to put a stop to it.²⁹⁹

While his first concern was the wellbeing of school, Robert supported the liberation cause to some extent that Washburn writes, “Mr. Robert was so much alarmed ... that he proposed to send us a consignment of rifles to defend the College, which we declined.”³⁰⁰ The political changes continued to occupy the minds of the American founders of Robert College. Telling the history of the school, Washburn devotes a great amount of analysis for the political situation, dealing with the San Stefano treaty of

²⁹⁸ Ibid, 55.

²⁹⁹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 100.

³⁰⁰ Ibid, 101.

peace on March 3, 1878, that according to him, should have been final. However, Austria-Hungary and Britain imposed revision of the San Stefano treaty, fearing existence of a big Bulgarian state under Russian influence. The Berlin treaty dissected the Bulgarian nation,

giving one part to Servia, one to Roumania, one to an autonomous province called Eastern Roumelia, one to Turkey and one to constitute the Principality of Bulgaria under the suzerainty of the Sultan; and it was England especially that insisted upon this and also upon the right of Turkey to occupy and fortify the range of the Balkans, all with the object of making it impossible for the Bulgarians to form a viable state, which might be friendly to Russia.³⁰¹

He understood the acts of the Great Powers as foolish and unjust and remained fond to the Bulgarian cause till his last days at the college. The end of the war and the signing of the new treaty meant peace and one could feel the great boon in Constantinople. The premises of Robert College became once again a place for charity and relief. Turkish refugees from Bulgaria, and wounded soldiers were hospitalized temporary there.

As the years passed, Washburn's health declined and he left for the United States to deal with this matter. In his absence, Long served as acting dean of the College and managed well his Bulgarian interests in these turbulent years. Through numerous of meetings with Ottoman officials and foreign embassies he secured not only the peace of the College but also protected the Bulgarian students.

One week after the treaty of Berlin, Robert College celebrated the commencement exercise. It was a joyful occasion. The Imperial city was celebrating the peace and the hope for a better future, which brought together diplomats and

³⁰¹ Ibid, 133.

distinguished guests, such as the American ambassador, the British ambassador, Ottoman officials, the vicar of the Armenian Patriarch among many others. Only eight students graduated in this challenging year that would mark the beginning of new era for the school. On June 6, 1878, Washburn was officially installed as a new president of Robert College, although he served as such for many years, since Hamlin left. A few weeks after his installation, Washburn appointed a new full-time professor, Rev. Alexander van Millingen, who was the son of a well known man in Constantinople, Dr. Julius Millingen, a “personal physician to every sultan from Mahmut II to Addulhamit II.”³⁰² Alexander van Millingen would serve at Robert College for thirty-seven years as Professor of History.

After securing Millingen, Washburn left for the United States. At the same time, Robert made a trip to Europe visiting various sanatoriums in Italy, Germany, Switzerland and France, hoping to enhance his feeble health. Robert died suddenly in his hotel in Paris, October 27, 1878. With the death of Christopher Robert, the college lost one of its leaders and its chief benefactor. Robert's death deprived the school of their central figure in the midst of a very difficult period of political changes. However, Robert's generous bequest laid the basis for an endowment. That same year the Robert College's first catalog was printed showing that since 1863, 912 students of many nationalities had attended and 76 had graduated.

The death of Robert left the College in a new situation. Nothing was done without Robert's knowledge, approval, financing and advice. He received letters and

³⁰² John Freely, *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 121.

reports on regular basis describing in details problems, achievements, students and tutors at the school. As Washburn writes, the school in return received advice and instructions from him in regard to everything. Robert was a leading figure and the Board of Trustees in New York naturally entrusted everything to him. The school was never in contact with anyone from the Board but Robert. Washburn writes, "We had no correspondence with them... Whatever money was expended during these fifteen years for building, current expenses or any other purpose, he furnished... This was not an ideal arrangement, and Mr. Robert's death left the College in a precarious position."³⁰³ Robert's will left the college more that \$100.000 and in his death "he was able to lay the foundations for that endowment which he and Hamlin had sought for so long but had never been able to realize."³⁰⁴ Despite Robert's dead, the school gradually increased its reputation for academic excellence all over the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East and Europe.

Conclusion:

This chapter began with Cyrus Hamlin's last days as College president and finished with the passing of Christopher Robert, the college's main benefactor. Ted Widmer called Hamlin the most colorful nineteenth-century American missionary

³⁰³ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 138.

³⁰⁴ Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 210.

personalities anywhere in the world.³⁰⁵ Hamlin's conflicts with faculty members, government officials and the school's leading supporter, Robert, made it impossible for Hamlin to remain as the college's first president. The school leadership came under the administration of his son-in-law, George Washburn, who was more in tune with the challenges of the new era. He developed a liberal arts curriculum on the New England college model and continued to hire young Americans as tutors and professors. In 1877, Robert College began to adopt the liberal arts format that has made the college one of the finest contributors to the Ottoman Empire, the Middle East and the Balkans, carrying the spirit of the American Enlightenment and liberal tradition. Thus, the shift toward a modern industrial education finally concluded. The Muslims and Orthodox Christians continued to look at the college with suspicion as another missionary school in Constantinople; hence, the recruitment of a number of students from the Balkans continued.

Although Robert College was founded by an ABCFM missionary, the school was not bounded by the Missionary Board's regulations and norms. However, there are many examples in this early time span for considering the "not bound by religion" education as a mission activism. Despite not teaching Theology, the American tutors and professors would continue to use the school as a tool for proselytizing the local citizens of the Ottoman Empire. Numerous Bulgarian and Armenian Orthodox students left the school after graduation with the intention to work for the Protestant cause in their home countries by assisting the local missionaries in their efforts to convert souls. Some

³⁰⁵ Ted Widmer, "Cyrus Hamlin in Turkey," in Daniel Bays, Ellen Widmer, *China's Christian Colleges: Cross-Cultural Connections, 1900-1950*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2009), 268.

Orthodox graduates became Protestant clergies or joined the growing role of the Protestant printing press. It is no wonder that “the native population regarded the school with suspicion.”³⁰⁶

During these years, American missionaries started to regard the personal interaction with the Bible as an integral part of reaching the locals for the Protestant cause. The American Bible Society sought to deliver a vernacular Bible to each family. For many, the Bible became not only a respected book but also a symbol of belonging to the Protestantism. Among many Orthodox Bulgarians, the first translation of the Bulgarian Bible became to be known as the Protestant Bible, as it is still officially labeled in all historical works in today’s Bulgaria.

The American founders of Robert College established an independent institution that was not meant to proselytize Muslims and Jews, Orthodox Bulgarians, Armenians and Greeks, but the religious character of the college highlighted the school affairs in the new Hamlin Hall as well. Despite the aim for non-sectarian institution, the shift toward that goal did not fully occur. Turkish society still regarded Robert College as a Christian school. Muslim students barely entered the gates of college. In the same manner, Orthodox leaders openly disliked the recruiting of Greek, Bulgarian and Armenian students. Washburn continued to emphasize Biblical moral training, but wrongfully believed that not teaching Theology would make the school attractive to Muslims and Jews. Nevertheless, the first decade of the school has seen unimaginable changes in the Ottoman Empire in political, religious and cultural aspect. The students,

³⁰⁶ Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 436.

who came out of the classrooms of Robert College, have played an important role in influencing that development. In turn, the professors who shaped these young men also allowed themselves to be shaped by the students who have entered the doors of the College and the community that lies beyond them. The students have taught the instructors new ways of looking at the world and new methods of sharing knowledge, and, for these 10 years of existence, they have inspired them to bring their best to the classrooms of Robert College.

Especially helpful for understanding these issues is Frank Stone's pioneering book about the educational institutions of the ABCFM in Anatolia entitled *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980*. Stone's study shows that the missionaries indeed regarded the Protestant schools as significant means of increasing their opportunities of making a greater impact on children, young peoples, their friends, and families. Frank Stone and Heather Sharkey make similar observations in their significant books on the educational institutions of the ABCFM in Ottoman Empire, *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830-1980*, and *American Evangelicals in Egypt, Missionary Encounters in an age of Empire*.

The chapter analyzed the political changes in the Ottoman Empire and dealt primarily with themes of ruthless pragmatism, manipulation and power, which escalated to cases of massacre and warfare. There is a lot controversy surrounding the term "massacre" but the author adopts Long's eye account that Bulgarians "were

massacred wholesale. Already at least 20.000 unarmed old men, women and children had been butchered. Little girls were being violated before the eyes of their parents and the most unheard barbarities were being perpetrated on them.”³⁰⁷

The Bulgarian gratitude toward the United States remains largely unexplored by historians. However, Karine Walther writes in *Sacred Interests: The United States and the Islamic World, 1821-1921* that when the United States entered the World War I on the side of the Allies, against Bulgaria, Robert College’s efforts of behalf of Bulgarian independence were the ground why, despite its status as an ally of the powers fighting the United states, Bulgaria had refused to cut its ties with Washington.

The Ottoman Empire was tearing itself apart. National uprisings were spreading all across Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Bosnia and Montenegro. The Great Powers, led by England and Russia, were appealing for greater autonomy and rights for the Empire’s Christian subjects. It was at this period when Robert College faced another opposition. The infamous Count Nikolay Ignatieff, Russian statesman and diplomat, led the opposition against the college and gave loud attention to his position that “Russia will never allow Protestantism to set its foot in Turkey.”³⁰⁸

Nevertheless, in this chapter, some of the problems need to be understood not only in terms of mission and education but also in terms of separatism and nationalism, as Devrim Umit argues in *The American Protestant Missionary Network in Ottoman*

³⁰⁷ Letter from Long to Robert, August 18, 1876, NECAS, quoted by Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 182.

³⁰⁸ See Cyrus Hamlin, *My Life and Times*, (Congregational Sunday School Publishing Society, Chicago, 1893), 437.

Turkey, 1876-1914, *Political and Cultural Reflections of the Encounter*,³⁰⁹ and Cemal Yetkiner suggests in *American Missionaries, Armenian Community, and the Making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860*.³¹⁰ The Bulgarian students believed that liberty would be achieved through sacrifice, risk-taking and hard work. It is no wonder that the American founders of Robert College, who witnessed the Civil War in the United States, a young nation that still kept the memories of the Revolution, educated their students about concepts of a free nation and political justice. Thus, many of their Ottoman fellow citizens in Constantinople understood their activism as reinforcement of Bulgarian nationalism and conveyed endorsement of ethnic and religious separatism. Even Robert, in his letters to Washburn, called for keeping neutral position and devoting entirely to educational activities at the school, but at the same time, asked if the school would need rifles.

Both, Yetkiner and Umit, would agree with the argument of this chapter that the missionaries and educators at Robert College were influential in the character and articulation of the Western and American foreign policy towards the Ottoman Empire. United States government officials openly supported the strive for Bulgarian independence and strictly condemned the Ottoman atrocities. The publicity that was given of the Ottoman massacres led indirectly to some crucial events, such as demands by the European great powers for ending the atrocities, insisting for political reforms in

³⁰⁹ Devrim Umit, *The American Protestant Missionary Network in Ottoman Turkey, 1876-1914, Political and Cultural Reflections of the Encounter*, (PhD Thesis, Columbia University, New York, 2008).

³¹⁰ Cemal Yetkiner suggests in *American Missionaries, Armenian Community, and the Making of Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire, 1820-1860*, (Ph.D. Thesis, The City University of New York, New York, 2010).

the Ottoman Empire, the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish War, which ended with defeat for the Ottoman Empire, the signing of the San Stefano Treaty in March of 1878, and the signing of the Treaty of Berlin in July of 1878. This chapter was heavily concentrated on Bulgaria, but as seen in Washburn's correspondence and memoir, the central goals of Robert College shifted once again and the school has become, in Washburn's own words, "a nursery of Bulgarian statesmen."³¹¹

The important question for this chapter was not whether the education that Robert College provided reached its goals to escape the religious boundaries. Rather, the question is, what kind of message did the American educators promoting? The study reveals that Robert College became more than just an institution for industrial education but a place that promotes freedom and justice. Eleanor Tejirian, Reeva Spector Simon also give a beneficial perspective in *Altruism and Imperialism, Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East* on the larger influence of the Americans Missionary investment in Constantinople that had a major impact on American and European policy toward the Ottoman Empire.

The arrival of Admiral Farragut in Constantinople and the "gunboat diplomacy" increased the pressure on Ottoman authorities and the school received permission for building the campus of the college. This incident, as well as, the understanding of English language as a superior tool or medium for transmitting knowledge to the native peoples, engage the question of cultural imperialism. This chapter does not aim to expand the immense debates on this topic, but, without a doubt, the pioneer Protestant

³¹¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 241.

missionaries were chief agents of cross-cultural encounters in mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. In many cases, the American educators at Robert College understood the field of education not only to convert but as well as to enlighten the religiously mingled peoples of the Balkans and the Middle East. Many of their efforts to educate the local people of the Empire should be regarded as cultural imperialism.

Another important landmark of this chapter was the determination of the American Protestantism to translate the Bible. The American founders sought to provide a not bound by religion education but believed that each Bulgarian student should own a Bulgarian Bible for a daily study at Robert College and beyond. For Long, the translation of the Bible became a major activity for he believed that the Bible would have an enlightening impact on the Bulgarian nation. In 1876, with nearly 45,000 Bulgarian inhabitants, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople, was the Bulgarians' largest city. The city was equipped with a printing press that Long used for printing Bulgarian Bible, Protestant books and the first Bulgarian magazine, Zornitsa. Besides his full time position and his printing activities, Long organized the distribution of the Bible and Zornitsa. For many Bulgarians, Robert College remained a pillar for good education and bright future.

When the school started its educational activities on September 13, 1863, there were only four students enrolled, one of them was American and three were British. In the following years, the Armenian and mainly the Bulgarians constituted the majority of the student body. Long realized the larger opportunities that Constantinople provided and left the Methodist mission to teach at the College, serving as a professor in natural

science and later as vice president. During these early years, Long proved to be a prolific teacher, fruitful writer, and skilled diplomat. In addition to patronizing the extensive presence of Bulgarians in Constantinople, Albert Long also influenced the growing Bulgarian enrollment at Robert College, “where high standing Bulgarian families sent their sons to be educated.”³¹²

Through their choices, the American founders of Robert College claimed areas of bold ambition. By doing so, they tried to transform the will of their students and to lead them into having a significant, positive impact on their native countries, regions, nations, and the world. The Ottoman Empire tried to avoid the unavoidable collapse through reform and reorganization. However, the role of Robert College amidst the proven inability to reform and the persistent anti-Turkish sentiments in Europe in the aftermath of the Bulgarian and Armenian massacres will be examined in the next chapter. Thus, the next chapter will further shed light on the complex relationship among the Ottoman officialdom, Protestant missionaries and United States government, the local communities in the Empire and the new established Principality of Bulgaria.

CHAPTER 5:

A MODERN SCHOOL IN TIMES OF TRANSITION

³¹² Patrick P. Streiff, *Methodism in Europe: 19th and 20th Century*, (Baltic Methodist Theological Seminary, Tallinn, 2003), 135.

The College is best known in Europe for the influence that it had in building up a free state in the Balkan Peninsula. Fifty years ago, except to a few students of history, the Bulgarians were a forgotten race in America and Western Europe. We did not exactly discover them, but we played an important part in making them known to the Western world at a time when they most needed help. Years before this they had discovered us, and through the young men who studied in the College they had come to have faith in our wisdom and goodwill. The most important thing that we ever did for them was the educating of their young men to become leaders of their people at a time when there were very few Bulgarians who knew anything of civil government in a free state. This was our legitimate work and naturally and inevitably led to our doing what we could for them after they left the College, to give them the advice which they sought in their new work, and to defend their interests where we had influence in Europe.³¹³

Introduction:

In December 1968, at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, John Fairbank gave his famous statement that the foreign missionary appears to be the “invisible man of American history.” This statement is widely quoted in the historiography of the Protestant mission and would be suitable for the purposes of this chapter. Indeed, the influence of the Protestant missionary at home and abroad is a “great and underused research laboratory for the comparative observation of cultural stimulus and response.”³¹⁴ This statement is especially true when it comes to the context of foreign Protestant missions at the Ottoman Empire. The leading Whig and Liberal politician, Lord John Russell quoted The Emperor of Russia Nicholas I, who had

³¹³ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 298-299.

³¹⁴ John K. Fairbank, “Assignment for the 70’s,” *American Historical Review*, Vol. 74 (February 1969), 877-878.

first announced that the Ottoman Empire was "a sick man, very sick man."³¹⁵ Once labeled as the Terror of Europe, The Ottoman Empire was now 'the sick, and very ill man.'

This chapter approaches the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and traces a turbulent time period for Robert College's history by focusing on some previously ignored issues and problems related to the nature of evolving Protestant mission and educational ideals in the Islamic settings of this time of transition. The chapter will investigate the school's activities as the institution continued to move forward under the leadership of George Washburn, who would be succeeded by Caleb F. Gates. In 1903, Gates became Robert College's third president. During his twenty-nine years of leadership, the faculty and student body experienced a transformation, as the movement of the Young Turks demanded a western style of education. How did Robert College meet these demands?

The task of education was a major component in the American mission in the Ottoman Empire as Benjamin C. Fortna argues in *Imperial Classroom: Islam, The State, And Education In The Late Ottoman Empire* and Emine Evered in *Empire And Education Under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform, and Resistance From The Tanzimat to the Young Turks*. The cross-cultural encounters were clearly displayed in the western style of

³¹⁵ Alan Palme, *The Decline and Fall of the Ottoman Empire*, (Barnes & Noble Books, New York, 1992); Charles Swallow, *Sick Man of Europe: Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic, 1789-1923*, (Ernest Benn Ltd, United Kingdom, London), 60; For more on the meaning of „the sick men of Europe“ see Laurence Guymier, *Curing the Sick Man: Sir Henry Bulwer and the Ottoman Empire, 1858-1865*, (Republic of Letters Publishing, Dordrecht, 2011); Candan B. Okan, *The Ottoman Crimean War (1853-1856), Ottoman Empire and Its Heritage*, (Brill Publishers, Laiden, 2010), 68ff.; Donald Quataert, *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922, New Approaches to European History*, (Cambridge University Press, New York, 2005), 75-78.

education the missionary provided. These encounters established some of the ways in which key elements of what initially was a largely exogenous educational system led to confrontation with Ottoman assessments and established an antagonistic atmosphere due to the aggressiveness of the Protestant missionaries. According to Fortna, the late Ottoman educational policy changed in response to these cross-cultural encounters, which also displayed an acquisitiveness of the foreign powers and the restlessness of neighbors and minority groups alike.

Emine Evered's work examines the Empire of the Ottomans in its decline with the ongoing educational politics from the mid-nineteenth century, amidst the Tanzimat liberal reform period, until the Young Turk Revolution in 1908. According to Evered, it was the missionaries' eagerness to interact with Muslims as well as the attraction of some Muslim families to missionary schools that often offended the Ottoman authorities. It sees that what also frightened the authorities was the zeal of the missionaries to translate and distribute the Bible, as well as to teach the Christian faith to all citizens of the Empire. Indeed, the translation of the Bible and providing education were inextricably bounded up and had been a major missionary goal since the beginning of the mission in the Middle East and Asia Minor. The premises and resources of Robert College became accessible to a diverse team of translators gathered around Albert Long. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the first translated Bible into modern (spoken) Bulgarian came to be known as the Protestant Bible. This chapter will investigate the continuing communications between the American Protestant Professors at Robert College and the young Bulgarian politicians, diplomats and statesmen, who graduated

the school and were at leading positions in Bulgaria. How did these graduates correlate the Protestant ideology of Robert College with the Orthodox Bulgaria and the Young Turks?

In tracing the history and development of Robert College during this period, it is indispensable for those interested in educational history and reform in the Ottoman Empire to discuss questions of identity and home. What were the unforeseen consequences for the Orthodox Armenian and Orthodox Bulgaria students? The efforts of the founders to influence and even to direct the conduct of their students in creative and multifaceted ways led to new forms of political identity and a new understanding of the notion of home.

The free spirit of Robert College was considered a threat for the imperial interests of Russia in the Balkans. Russian powers often tried to frame public opinion toward the Protestant school of Constantinople and to project it as administered by an alien elements and ideology that did not belong in the Orthodox culture. Exploiting the fact that the Orthodox churches and monasteries in Armenia, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Romania were the major agencies during the centuries of Ottoman domination for preserving native languages, literature and culture, the efforts of the Russian powers against Robert College were occasionally successful. The admission of Orthodox students dramatically declined during these years only to grow again and to pave the road for students from all faiths and cultures. Thus, a volume that is not to be missed is *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, edited by Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari. The book portrays American

Turkish encounters from 1830 when the Ottoman Empire and the American government signed a treaty of trade. The essays in this volume present a “multi-faceted appraisal of what was frequently a contested legacy, especially in Turkey.

The mainstream Turkish nationalist and critical opinion has frequently viewed the American impact on the Ottoman Empire as led by self-serving missionaries “who sewed seeds of separatism and discord.”³¹⁶ The authors, mainly young Turkish scholars, offer reflections of little-known elements of late Ottoman encounters with Americans. In their studies, the American Protestant missionaries are observed not only in the common pattern as objects of allegations of being forerunners of ethnic separatism. The missionaries are actually agents with intellectual background carrying intellectual vision.

This chapter will engage the question: Who were these missionaries that arguably sowed seeds of separatism and discord? Were they agents of cultural imperialism? It would be insufficient to call the work done at and by Robert College “cultural imperialism” and to ignore the more complex role it played in the Ottoman Empire. This chapter will show that they carried distinctively American principles while serving in the Empire of the Ottomans: democracy, justice, equality of nations and veneration for freedom.

Some of the questions for discussion are: How did the educators at Robert College meet and then answered the traditional Ottoman, yet gradually modernizing settings, they found in the Orient and the Balkans? What interactions, particularly in

³¹⁶ See Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830 - 1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011).

their struggles among the Orthodox minorities, shaped these interactions? How did the educators at Robert College portray the issues between the Orthodox minorities and the Ottoman Muslims in the Empire to policy makers in Berlin, London, Paris and Washington? Perhaps the most important question would be: Why did these educators set the stage for Europe's and America's outraged response to the massacres of Bulgarians and Armenians and to the genocide of Armenians from the eastern provinces of Ottoman Empire at the advent of the World War I? Probably the utmost substantial answer to that question is found in the thesis of Joseph L. Grabill's *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927*, that the Protestant missionaries thought of themselves not only as promoters of Protestant faith but also as ambassadors of American culture and values, is proven again in the case of Robert College. The dramatic photographs and reports of Armenian refugees were met with compassion and a call to action in the United States. As Eleanor H. Tejirian, and Reeva Spector Simon argue in "Faith of Our Fathers: Near East Relief and the Near East," the popularity of the missionary activities provided "new models for American public philanthropy"³¹⁷ in the Empire. Hupchik states that from its very beginning, "Islam was a civilization spread by conquest,"³¹⁸ and it was mostly regarded as the "terror of

³¹⁷ On the popularity of the missionary work and its influence on the models of American public philanthropy, see Eleanor H. Tejirian, and Spector Simon Reeva, "Faith of our Fathers: Missionaries and NGO's: The Transition," *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Mission in the Middle East*, (Middle East Institute, Columbia University, New York, 2002), pp. 295-315.

³¹⁸ Dennis P. Hupchick, *Balkans: From Constantinople to Communism*, (Harold E. Cox, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2001), 133.

Europe”³¹⁹ This chapter will demonstrate how, during these epic times of transition, the Empire was collapsing and Robert College was heading to a new era.

A Modern School in Times of Transition

The Presidency of Washburn correlated in many ways to Hamlin’s presidency and their methods of leadership contained many similarities. Like Hamlin, Washburn needed to travel to the United States to find new sponsors, to raise funds for the endowment, and to present reports to the board of trustees. Like Hamlin, he made the trips to his homeland cheerlessly. Like Hamlin, Washburn thought that these fundraising trips are too much of a burden to him and a distraction to his main goal to educate the young people of the Ottoman Empire. Only because of the firm insistence of the Board of Trustees that would make him leave for the United States. As Greenwood accurately observes, Washburn’s “language in accepting was curiously like Hamlin’s had been years before.”³²⁰ In regard to his leave to the United States, Washburn writes, “Before the end of the year it was decided that I must come during the summer and undertake this work. It appeared to me almost a hopeless task; but, as it seemed to be a matter of life or death for the College, and there was no one else to go.”³²¹ Washburn left Constantinople and was absent for two years. He appointed Long to serve as acting

³¹⁹ Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, (Oxford University Press, New York and London, 2002), 23.

³²⁰ Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College, The American Founders*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2003), 211.

³²¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 156.

president in his absence.

The parallels between Washburn and Hamlin would remain noticeable as the years passed. Washburn continued to hire young tutors from the United States, too. The tutors were inexperienced but would not question his leadership methods and vision for the school. This was one of the main issues for which Washburn frequently criticized Hamlin in his letters to Robert. Ironically, the first days of Washburn in the United States were spent in the same house in Bangor, Maine, in which Hamlin resided after his forced retirement from the College. The meeting of the two presidents of Robert College once again revealed their differences.³²² During the reunion Hamlin expressed his disapproval of Washburn's leadership and the college's involvement in regard to the Bulgarian independence, an event that gave deep gratification to Washburn.

In the years of his exile in Bangor, Hamlin sent numerous letters to Robert urging him to prohibit Washburn's political activism and to cease the school's association with the Bulgarian cause. Hamlin's pro Turkish sentiments were never a secret. Washburn writes that Hamlin's heart was still in Constantinople and "he altogether disapproved of everything which the College had done in connection with the Bulgarians, and thought that Dr. Long and I had very nearly, if not quite, put an end to its usefulness. I did not succeed in convincing him that times had changed since he left Constantinople."³²³ After Robert's death, Hamlin redirected his vindictive letters to other members of the Board of Trustees. In his late years in Bangor, the bitter feeling intensified that he was unjustly

³²² This not surprising characteristic is mentioned in *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*.

³²³ *Ibid*, 136.

removed from the College. Even in advanced age and declining health, Hamlin continued to hope for a return to his true home at Rumeli Hisar on Bosphorus. His plans did not come true. He passed away August 8, 1900, alienated with Robert College and the Board of Trustees.

Washburn returned to Constantinople with a large amount of funds for the endowment. After Washburn's return, it became clear that he would be the one-man leader and the school would be operated by him only. This authoritarian model was nothing new at the college. His trustworthy friend Long administered the school during Washburn's absences, but only in the footsteps and guidelines from Washburn. Albert Long would remain Washburn's closest friend and consultant for the years to come.

After the Russo – Turkish war, the College continued the connections with Bulgaria. The involvement of the college in politics continued as well. Washburn's hope for a new independent and democratic nation appeared to be unrealized. While the College always tried to keep politics out of the campus, Washburn did not lose his interest in the course of events in the Ottoman Empire and the freed Balkan nations. According to him, everything at the Balkans seemed to be going wrong. In the spring of 1880, he visited Eastern Rumelia. The province of Eastern Rumelia was established in 1878 by the Treaty of Berlin³²⁴ and existed only seven years, when the Principality of

³²⁴ William E. Gladstone, *The Berlin Treaty and The Anglo-Turkish Convention*, (Printed and Published by James F. Wilkinson and Guttenberg Works, Manchester, 1878); William E. Gladstone, *The Treaty of Berlin, July 30th, 1878, Gladstone's speeches, Descriptive Index and Bibliography by Arthur Tilney Bassett with a Preface by Viscount Bruce, O.M. and Introduction to Selected Speeches by Herbert Paul*, (Methuen & Co., London, 1916); W. N. Medlicott, *The Congress of Berlin and After: A Diplomatic History of the Near East Settlement, 1878–1880* (Frank Cass, London, 1963); Hakan Yavuz, *War and Diplomacy: The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 and the Treaty of Berlin*, (University of

Bulgaria annexed the province. As stated above, two treaties were signed after Russia won the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, one of the many conflicts between these two Empires. The Preliminary Treaty of San Stefano³²⁵ was signed March 3, 1878, at San Stefano west of Constantinople. Without an urgent aid of the other Great Powers, the delegates of the Ottoman Empire weren't able to decline the demands of the Russian Empire for an independent Principality of Bulgaria. Soon thereafter, Britain opposed the creation of a Bulgarian Orthodox state that evidently would be strictly aligned to Russia. Britain's objections were supported by Austria-Hungary, which historically rivaled Russia's imperial appetites for the Balkans. Britain and Austria put reliance on a strong Ottoman Empire that would be barrier against the growing Russian Empire and would stop its expansion. Thus, the Congress of Berlin was called. The Congress concluded by overhauling the San Stefano treaty. While Serbia, Romania, and Montenegro were acknowledged as independent, Bulgaria was resized by dividing it into three parts. The region of Macedonia was returned to the Ottoman Empire. The Northern Dobrudzha region was given to Romania. The Bulgarian Principality was officially recognized. The newly established Eastern Rumelia, south of the Balkans, was split off as a second autonomous Ottoman province. According to Washburn, these decisions would quickly

Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2012); Richard Millman, *Britain and the Eastern Question, 1875-1878*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1979).

³²⁵ The Preliminary San Stefano Treaty of Peace, signed at San Stefano, Full text in English, <http://pages.uoregon.edu/kimball/1878mr17.SanStef.trt.htm#bulgaria>, retrieved on May 31, 2016; George Gawrych, *The Crescent and the Eagle*, (I.B. Tauris, London, 2006), 44-49;); Thomas Erskine Holland, *The Execution of the Treaty of Berlin, Studies in International Law*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 2016); William L. Langer, *European Alliances and Alignments, 1871-1890*, (Knopf, New York, 1950); Oles M. Smolansky, "San Stefano, Treaty of 1878," *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa*. 2004. *Encyclopedia.com*. (May 31, 2016); Benedict H. Sumner, *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880*, (Clarendon, Oxford, 1937).

prove to be wrong. Washburn's trip to Eastern Rumelia only verified his judgment. In 1880, he and Long traveled the southern Balkan areas and realized that they remained predominantly Christian, governed by alienated Ottoman officials. Washburn writes,

In the spring of 1880 I visited Eastern Roumelia... Prince Alexander had loyally undertaken to organize the government of the Principality of Bulgaria under its democratic constitution, but the result was discouraging and threatened anarchy and a new Russian intervention... In Eastern Roumelia Robert College men were more numerous and the administration better organized, but the people resented their separation from Bulgaria and the constant intervention of the Turks in their affairs. and were encouraged by Russia to hope for union with the Principality. They were more interested in revolutionary plots than in the existing government. This was an inevitable result of the treaty of Berlin, but unfortunate for the people of Eastern Roumelia. While I sympathized heartily with their desire for union, it did not seem to me that it could best be brought about by these revolutionary methods. It was sure to come in time in a peaceful way.³²⁶

Washburn's precise account of the situation in the Balkans once again proved his affinity for political affairs. In his memoirs he analyzes outcomes of the Treaty of Berlin, largely in negative tones, giving his sympathy to the Bulgarian people, who were once again outcasts of fortune.

Meanwhile, the college reached the twentieth year of existence. There are no accounts in the records of the school and the correspondence to the Board of Trustees of the grandiose festivities at the college commemorating the anniversary; however, there are abundant and detailed descriptions of the ever-changing political situation in the Ottoman Empire. It seems that the political changes were intriguing for the Board of Trustees and the faculty of the college. The outbreak of the Anglo-Egyptian war caused a

³²⁶ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 152.

stir in Constantinople, which heightened after the bombing of Alexandria by the British fleet and its occupation by marines. The British march toward Cairo and this left Constantinople with mixed emotions. The desired joint occupation of Egypt did not occur. Washburn writes, "The College had no direct interest in Egyptian affairs, but the air in Constantinople was charged with political electricity, and this naturally influenced our course of thought during the year. It was the situation in Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia which chiefly interested us."³²⁷ Washburn's interest on Bulgaria increased when the college had a record number of Bulgarian students. Bulgarian graduates attained many distinguished positions in the Bulgarian government. Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, who served with the Russian forces during the Russo-Turkish War, now had to deal with a strong Russian interfering in internal affairs. His disobedience to the foreign Russian interest made him a *persona non grata* in Russia. Advisers and ministers, mostly of them graduates of Robert College, surrounded Prince Alexander in the cabinet. One of them, Konstantin Stoilov, an alumnus from Robert College, who at the time was serving as a Foreign Minister, became Prince Alexander's closest friend and Godfather of his children.

Not surprisingly, the press in Russia connected Alexander's anti-Russian politic with the impact of Robert College on his cabinet. Washburn writes that one Russian newspaper accused him of using a half-million British pounds to bring about this result. Washburn fiercely denied these accusations. He writes, "It was no doubt true that the general influence of Robert College was a factor in leading the Bulgarians to resent

³²⁷ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 172.

Russian methods, but there were Robert College graduates and students in all the various parties in Bulgaria. I do not think that any of them favored the absorption of Bulgaria into the Russian Empire.”³²⁸ Reigning under hard conditions, constant pressure, and with countless conflicts with the Russian Tsar, the inexperienced Alexander became a victim of a military coup on August 20, 1886. He was forced to abdicate. The cabinet resigned as well.

Despite the political turmoil in the Balkans and the further decaying Ottoman Empire, Robert College’s campus continued to grow. The school boasted a campus that provided advanced facilities to its students and faculty. Hamlin Hall was furnished with dormitories, boarding department, medical room, museum, laboratory, library, recitation rooms, tutors' rooms, servants' rooms, and various offices. In Hamlin Hall were the apartments of the president's family and the matron. While it is boasted to be a sublime building, Hamlin Hall was still unfinished and faculty and student body resided in very primitive conditions with no running water, except rainwater gathered on the roof in a cistern. There was no sanitation in the building. The dormitories were packed with twenty students in a room. The rooms were not heated or ventilated. The school building was unfenced and many ways unfinished.

Aside from these difficulties, the college gained some prominence in the court of the Sultan and continued to receive widespread acclaim for its exceptional academics and alumni success. Washburn believed that the successful development of the school had provoked the Ottoman government and the various nationalities in the Empire to

³²⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 173.

understand the necessity and the significance of education. He writes that the “Sultan had determined to do for the Turks what he believed that Robert College had done for the Bulgarians; and the Bulgarians so fully appreciated the importance of education that they had already begun to establish colleges and schools of all grades in Bulgaria and Eastern Rumelia.”³²⁹ In his report to the Board of Trustees, he writes that the Sultan founded a University and numerous schools in Constantinople, “Their influence is already manifest in the younger generation of Turks. We believe that the example of Robert College had much to do in influencing him to adopt this policy of giving to the Turks the advantages of a secular education.”³³⁰ It seems that Washburn really believed that the college reached its goal to provide a modern Western styled education. What was the meaning of such education at the time of Washburn’s Constantinople? It is arguable that the college at this time reached its goal to offer a modern Western styled education, but Washburn truly believed that Greeks and Armenians in Constantinople were also in development to establish a school because of the college’s accomplishments and reputation.

Although Robert College was not in competition with all these rival schools, the satisfaction with the college’s pioneering role was great. The school had 243 students, 110 of whom were Bulgarians, 83 Armenians, 26 Greeks, 11 Turks, 13 others. The admittance of eleven Turkish students could signify that the college was close in reaching its goal to offer an education that is not bound by religion and would profit all

³²⁹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 174.

³³⁰ See *Report of the President of Robert College*, (Robert College, Constantinople, 1899), 3.

racers and nations. Was this true? This is a complex question. First, none of these eleven Turkish students made it to graduation. Second, by taking a look at the daily routine and way of life at the school during these years, it is highly doubtful that the school actually reached the goal to serve to all faith and nations.

The rising bell rang at 6.30 o'clock. Breakfast for the tutors and students in the basement dining room at 7, and prayers at the commencement of study hours at 8.20. All the students were required to be present. Then came classes until 12.30. Lunch, classes again from 2 until 4.30. Dinner at 6 and study hours in the evening from 7.30 until 9. All in bed at 10. Wednesday P.M. declamations at 1.30 was the only college exercise. Saturday afternoon was free. Sunday at 10.45 religious services, preaching by president, Professor van Millingen, Dr. Long or Professor Grosvenor. Bible classes in the afternoon after a general meeting at 2.30 under the direction of the president, occupying an hour in all. Meeting in the evening generally under the direction of tutors. All boarding students were required to attend all of these.³³¹

In Washburn's writing, it is clear that all students were required to attend all of the religious activities, such as prayers, Bible study hours, and weekend services with preaching. He does not say that the school was suggesting some of Hamlin's penalties and disciplining of students who missed morning prayers or weekend's sermons, but it is clear that the Protestant spirit of the American founders was still influencing the routine of the school, and the goal to serve all faiths and nationalities was by far not reached.

Nevertheless, the educators at the college considered as the most important quality of the school and a personal mission for them and their families that they "were making men who in turn were to be the leaders of their people to a higher life. Giving instruction in various branches of learning was not the end for which we were working,

³³¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 175.

but only a means to a real end, which we had in view. To attain this end was the one thought of our lives.”³³² It is thought-provoking that the missionaries tried to achieve their goal by enforcing not only their own powers but the influences of their families as well. There is not much information in the primary sources, but, without a doubt, the entire families of the American educators were involved in their aim to make men who would become leaders of their nation.

In this process the wives of the educators and missionaries, who were known as the “Bible-women,” were heavily involved. Although not formally labeled educators or missionaries, the Professors’ wives assisted their husbands, and ran model homes. Some of the missionaries’ wives taught at home schools³³³ and educated girls and women in order for them to become Christian mothers of Christian sons, who would become leaders of their nations.³³⁴ Their significance was not limited by the distribution of pamphlets and reading materials. They organized Women Bible meetings in their homes and addressed social problems such as poverty, inequality, alcoholism, bad hygiene, education, and war.

Women were important forces in the existence of Robert College; yet, the records of the college barely recognize their role. As many scholars have observed, the

³³² Ibid, 174.

³³³ Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 22.

³³⁴ On the role of motherhood and the education of young girls in Ottoman Bulgaria see Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Petko Slaveykov, “The Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism,” in Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011); Martha Jane Riggs, *Psima za maiki ili rukovodstvo za maiki v dobroto otkhranvane na detsata im (Letters to Mothers, or A Manual for Mothers on the Good Nurturing of Their Children)*, (A. Minasian, Tsarigrad, 1870).

Protestant missionaries expanded learning prospects for women in the Ottoman Empire, not only for Christian but also for Muslim women. By including women in their schools, they redefined the established gender roles and relations. They mobilized Muslim and Christian women to pursue education. If anyone questions the importance of women in the history of Christian education in the Ottoman Empire, then the founding of the American College for Girls in Constantinople,³³⁵ later known as Constantinople Woman's College, is just one example that should dispel doubts. While Robert College was an all-male bastion, the school is profoundly responsible for the establishing of the American College for Girls in Constantinople, the first female college in the Ottoman Empire.

Encouraged by the achievements of Robert College, Hamlin gave the idea for establishing of a college for girls, that opened independently from Robert College in 1871 as the American College for Girls. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts granted the American College for Girls a charter permitting it to convene the degree of Bachelor of Arts. In the 1970s, an educational reform in the Republic of Turkey led to the merging of these two colleges and the establishing of Bogazici University. Nevertheless, the lack of primary materials on the role of women in Robert College's early history, once again, proves the fact that, in many cases, women have received neither the appreciation nor

³³⁵ The American College for Girls in Constantinople was founded in October 1871. More on the college see Mary Mills Patrick, *A Bosphorus Adventure: Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman's College, 1871-1924*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1934), Mary Mills Patrick, *Sappho and the Island of Lesbos*, (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1912), Mary Mills Patrick, *A Bosphorus Adventure*, (Bogazici Üniversitesi Yayinevi, Istanbul, 2016), Mary Mills Patrick, *Under Five Sultans*, (Century Company, Constantinople, 1929); John Freely, *A Bridge of Culture: Robert College-Bogazici University, How an American College in Istanbul Became a Turkish University*, (Bogazici Üniversitesi Yayinevi, Istanbul 2009), 131-147; John Freely, *A History of Robert College*, (Bogazici Üniversitesi Yayinevi, Istanbul 2000), 139-155.

the support for their accomplishments.

At the end of the nineteenth century Robert College had become the leading institution in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East. Robert College had set the standards against which all other institutions in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East would measure themselves, even when the school itself faced tremendous challenges, due to poor buildings conditions, lack of finances, and multiple periods of transition. An important asset in this time period was the recruitment of Louisos Eliou, PhD, a graduate of the University of Athens, to take charge of the Greek Department of Robert College. Louisos Eliou would receive tenure and soon would become one of the most honored and acclaimed academics at the school. Yet, Robert College faced another turbulent time, due to the Great Crisis in Bulgaria from 1886, and the Armenian troubles from 1888. The political change in Bulgaria and the Russian influence led to a drastic decline of Bulgarian students, who at this point were the larger student body at Robert College.

The situation at the college worsened as poor financial conditions forced the Board of Trustees to request Albert Long to go fundraising in the United States. The Board hoped that being such an influential figure and a prominent missionary, Long would stir an interest among the Methodists in the United States to support the school. Long led the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Bulgaria, before coming to the Robert College, and according to Washburn, the board and the school had confidence in his success. However, "Long was well received everywhere and got plenty of sympathy, but no money. I believe that no Methodist has ever given any money to

Robert College, although the bishops of the church have been our good friends, and some of our graduates are Methodist ministers.”³³⁶ The Methodist’s indifference and failure to appreciate Robert College’s significance for their mission work in Bulgaria and other parts of the Ottoman Empire would continue in the years to come. Long’s absence led Washburn to hire Professor Ormiston with a contract for one year only, but he remained at the college for years to come, first as instructor and later as Professor of Chemistry, Geology and Mineralogy.

Accompanied by his wife, Washburn spent the entire summer of 1885 in Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria. This was the second visit of which he gives a detailed account. The first was in 1880 and Washburn’s account gives a description of the political situation, the organizing of the National Assembly, and new Russian intervention in the affairs of the Principality of Bulgaria. Five years later, the situation was not much different. The trip of 1885 must have been a long planned visit. The hot summer months were divided between traveling through the mountains, visiting the largest Bulgarian towns, and meetings with Robert College graduates who held significant official positions in Eastern Rumelia and Bulgaria. There is no information about the nature of these meetings and if Washburn tried to advertise the school, but his visit to the Bulgarian lands, once again, indicates his sentiments toward the Bulgarians. Once he returned, he reported of an upcoming political chaos in Bulgaria, which indeed occurred with the deposition of Prince Alexander, the coronation of Prince Ferdinand of Coburg, and with Russia’s taking control over the political affairs in the country. These events tossed Bulgaria to

³³⁶ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 179.

numerous of wars, such as the Serbo – Bulgarian war, the First Balkan War, the Second – Balkan War and eventually the First World War.

Despite the efforts of Long and Washburn to further popularize the school in the Bulgarian lands, the number of Bulgarian and Armenian students would rapidly decline during the coming years. There is a concern in their correspondence to the Board of Trustees regarding the general decline of students during these years. The class of 1886 had only 182 students, 70 were Bulgarians, 53 Armenians, while three years earlier, the school had 243 students, 110 of whom were Bulgarians, 83 Armenians, and 26 Greeks.³³⁷ The enrolment decline continued and the number of students in 1888 was 170, of whom 60 were Bulgarians, 55 Armenians, 33 Greeks, and 19 English and Americans. This disturbing fact did not prevent Washburn from his vision of expanding the campus. From his visits in Bulgaria he returned further motivated to expand the campus. He writes,

Our political influence has incidentally been very great. We have done our best to give our students a thorough and practical secular education, but I believe that the people of the East, of all religions, rate the moral and religious influence of the College as its most important work. In our summer in Bulgaria, I was struck with the fact that in all the addresses presented to me, the first thing spoken of was the religious influence of the College, and I believe that the same feeling exists among the Greeks and Armenians to some extent at least among the Turks. They sometimes say, " Of course my son will not cease to be a Mohammedan, but I want him brought up with English morality."³³⁸

Washburn presented his case for expansion before the Board, first with erecting a new

³³⁷ See Alumni Register, Robert College, Constantinople 1921, Box 32 Folder 39, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

³³⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 195-196.

residence of the President, that later would be called Kennedy Lodge, and then a new science building with laboratories and classrooms. Similarly to Hamlin, he did not give the Board of Trustees much room for consideration of these projects. The Board was forced to agree, with one condition: Washburn was required to go to the United States for a fundraising trip. Like Hamlin before, Washburn agreed unhappily to undertake a fundraising trip in his homeland, but the fundraising trip was postponed due to his health. One could almost feel his relief that the trip was rescheduled. Washburn left Constantinople for the Carlsbad spa in western Bohemia. He made his way home to Constantinople through Bulgaria and spent some time in Sofia, where he, again, met with some Robert College alumni, who gave him a keen reception. He felt honored and proud.

It is important to note that during the previous year the Faculty had passed a resolution in regard to Washburn's duties at Robert College and his declining health:

Resolved, that with a view of relieving the president of all duties not properly connected with his office, the trustees of the College be requested to send out a man at the beginning of the next college year, if a proper person can be found, who shall live in the college building with his family, take charge of the boarding department and students' accounts, have a general supervision of the boarders out of study hours and aid in their physical and moral training.³³⁹

Acknowledging his health issues and the growing concern of the Board of Trustees and the faculty, Washburn appointed a new full time professor, Rev. Charles Anderson, who would serve at the college as Professor of Ethics, Rhetoric, Oratory and Physical Culture. In 1889 Washburn left for the United States on the long planned fundraising trip. Albert

³³⁹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 199.

Long was appointed as acting president.

In 1889, the first atrocities in Armenia began, in which Ottoman Turks and Kurds massacred whole Armenian villages and towns. The faculty of Robert College anxiously described the atrocities as innumerable and unspeakable. Moreover, Kurdish forces had nearly killed an American missionary. Not unexpectedly, the number of the Armenian students at the college reduced to more than fifty percent. The decline of Bulgarian students continued, as Russia finally dominated the foreign and inner politics of Bulgaria. As stated above, Prince Alexander had been removed and the pro-Russian Prince Ferdinand enthroned, and the cabinet of Prime Minister Stambolov was disbanded and a pro-Russian cabinet took over. Washburn writes, “murder and treason were patronized and paid for by Russia.”³⁴⁰ The ex-Prime Minister of Bulgaria Stefan Stambolov, who once was a candidate to study at Robert College, but prevented from enrolling by pro-Russian forces, was brutally killed on the central street of Sofia during daylight for opposing the Russian threat on the Balkans.³⁴¹ For the faculty of Robert College it was pitiable to see how political situation changed. It seemed that it was necessary for the new Bulgarian government to sacrifice everything in order to please the Tzar in Moscow. For Bulgarians, Robert College was no longer considered as a favorable educational institution. The rapid decline of students, the change of the

³⁴⁰ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 202.

³⁴¹ For more on Stefan Stambolov, Konstantin Stoilov, the history of Bulgaria after the end of the Ottoman rule, see Duncan M. Perry, *Stefan Stambolov and the Emergence of Modern Bulgaria, 1870-1895*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 1993); S.G. Evans, *A Short History of Bulgaria*, (Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1960), Richard Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria*, Cambridge Concise Histories, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005); Mark Mazower, *The Balkans: A Short History*, *Modern Library Chronicles*, (The Random House Publishing Group, New York, 2002).

political landscape in Bulgaria, the atrocities in Armenia and some difficulties with securing permission for the erection of the new building for the College and the house for the president, convinced Long to request Washburn's return from the United States of America.

Washburn readily returned in the spring of 1890 with an expectation to stay at Constantinople a few months only and then to return back to the United States to finalize his fundraising trip. His plans changed as Professor Grosvenor resigned and returned to the United States to take a senior professorship at Amherst College, his Alma Mater. It was not difficult for Washburn to make the decision to return earlier to Constantinople as he already felt that his fundraising mission was a failure. Like his predecessor, Washburn preferred to stay at Constantinople. He returned after the request of Long, only to be summoned back to the United States. Ironically, he used the same excuses again and the same language that Hamlin used, when he was summoned to return to the United States. Nevertheless, the Board of Trustees prevailed and Washburn returned to the United States for another two years, which he spent in meetings, advocating for the school, fundraising and writing. During his travel and meetings throughout the United States he was astonished that there was little knowledge of Constantinople, Robert College, and the work in the Ottoman Empire. He visited universities, colleges and seminaries trying to awaken interest in the work among the students and faculty. Among these seminaries and colleges were Amherst, Williams, Hamilton and Princeton, where he had a warm reception. However, it is hard to evaluate the results and outcomes from these meetings. More intriguing is the report of

his church meetings. He writes that most clergy looked upon him, “as a wolf trying to enter their fold or at least as a sneak thief.”³⁴² He concludes that the meetings with ministers brought a mixed experience. While Washburn received warm reception and lots of sympathy for his work, he did not collect any money for the work of the school. One could only sense his disappointment as he writes, “With all this sympathy and support it would seem that I ought to have found it easy to raise all the money we asked for. It was not the Lord's will. He gave us what He saw that it was best for us to have.”³⁴³

Nonetheless, there were some positive moments in this negative experience. The late Cornelius Vanderbilt was one of these positive experiences for Washburn. Vanderbilt received Washburn and with great interest listened to his account of the work of Robert College. Vanderbilt donated \$5,000 dollars for the school. In the spring of 1891, Washburn returned to Constantinople with good memories and interesting meetings with different clergy and professors, but with insufficient amount of money for the needs of the school. The new building was erected, as well as a house for the president, and a new Science Hall that later would be named Albert Long Hall. The erecting of the two new buildings was a sign for a new life at the school, which again helped to increase the student's enrolment. The new buildings, the slightly raised endowment, and the increase of enrollment brought an enthusiastic spirit at the school. Washburn's family moved in the newly finished Kennedy Lodge, which they occupied until his retirement in 1904.

³⁴² George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 213.

³⁴³ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 215.

In 1892 the students of Robert College founded a branch of the Y.M.C.A. on the premises of the school. The organization was composed of four sections – Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek and English, holding meetings three times a month separately in their own languages, and once a month holding a united meeting, using only English language. At the same year the new science hall was completed and furnished. The improvements at the college continued with the furnishing of a chemical department in the basement, and organizing of a museum. During the academic year a library started to operate and Department of Physics on the first floor opened its doors for students. The upper store of the building was occupied by a hall, which was divided by a movable partition into a chapel and a classroom. The further improvements at the college were noticed in Constantinople and the school reaffirmed the reputation for a wealthy American institution.

The Commencement exercise was celebrated June 26, 1892, with a great audience of nearly thousand people. Among the distinguished guests were the British ambassador, diplomatic representatives from Greece, Holland, Austria, and Bulgaria, as well many other official guests and representatives from various nationalities. During the Commencement exercises, the new building was inaugurated. Washburn did not take part in the Commencement. The festivities were presided by Albert Long as acting president. Due to his poor health, Washburn decided to spend another four months in the United States visiting doctors and medical facilities. The festivities at the College caused quite a stir in Constantinople, convincing Washburn to believe that “It was the

beginning of better days.”³⁴⁴ Nevertheless, he goes on to write, “the class which graduated was the smallest since 1874, only five in number, and smaller than any class since. Four were Armenians and 1 a Bulgarian.”³⁴⁵ The number of students registered the thirtieth year was 203, of whom 143 were boarders. Seventy-three were Armenians, 60 Bulgarians, 46 Greeks, 15 English and Americans, others 9.

The better days for Robert College were overshadowed by a new wave of political turmoil in the Empire. The Armenian troubles in the Western parts of Ottoman Armenia were escalating. The Ottoman government refused to extend equal rights to its Armenian citizens. On many occasions Ottoman officials made objections against American schools, missionaries, clergies and diplomats for taking actions to aid the Armenian separatists. These accusations reached Robert College and frightened the faculty and Armenian students. The last Ottoman Sultan to rule with absolute power, Sultan Abdul Hamid II, often criticized as the weak Sultan, was afraid of losing the Armenian provinces that the house of Osman conquered centuries ago. Starting with the Bashkale clash, he took some bloody measures against Armenian rebels that escalated to atrocities and massacres during the next decade.³⁴⁶ With compassion, the

³⁴⁴ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 224.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, 225.

³⁴⁶ See more on the Armenian uprisings during this period, the Ottoman counter measures and massacre in Taner Akcam, *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*, (Metropolitan Books, New York, 2006); Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*, (Harper Collins, New York, 2003); Donald Bloxham, *The Great Game of Genocide: Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Destruction of The Ottoman Armenians*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005); Pascal Carmont, *The Admiral: Lords of Ottoman Empire*, (Gomidas Institute Books, London, 2012); Julia Phillips Cohen, *Becoming Ottomans: Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2014; Vakhan N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide*, (Berghahn Books, Oxford, 2003); Lerna Ekmekcioglu,

faculty of Robert College observed the disinherited, brutalized and ravaged Armenians. They gathered information to interpret the events in Constantinople and Western Armenia from eyewitness accounts, given by students and friends of the college. Their demands for intervention by European and American diplomats were met with a Turkish denial and hostility. The lack of documentation further encouraged the Ottoman efforts to strengthen the territorial integrity of the decaying Empire. The result was the atrocities and massacres between the years 1891 and 1896, which later were called the Hamidian massacres, marking the first phase of the Armenian Genocide. Nevertheless, most of the historiography limits the term Genocide stringently to the tragic events from 1915–1923.

At the peak of the massacres, in 1896, the Sublime Porte made great efforts to block the flow of evidence coming out of Western Armenia and Constantinople. Robert College, other educational institutions, missionaries, sympathetic Western activists, diplomats and journalists were met with hostility for pressing their government to take concrete actions. While none of the European powers took concrete action to alleviate the Armenian troubles in the Ottoman Empire, the efforts of the American educators, missionaries and diplomats reached the United States and led to raising large amounts of donations and organized relief aid that was transported to the Ottoman Armenians through the newly founded American Red Cross. Once again Robert College found itself

Recovering Armenia: The Limits of Belonging in Post-Genocide Turkey, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2016); Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties Through the Nineteenth Century*, (University of California Press, Oakland, 1963); Simon Payaslian, *United States Policy Toward the Armenian Question and the Armenian Genocide*, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2006); Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians, 1878–1896*, (Frank Cass, London, 1993).

in the center of a movement striving to awaken a great public sympathy toward an oppressed nation. The Armenian question began to gain attention in the United States and slowly started to build public opinion, which resulted in the printing of publications such as *Armenian Massacres or The Sword of Mohammed*, by Frederic Davis Green, *Turkey and the Armenian Atrocities: A Graphic and Thrilling History of Turkey, the Armenians, and the Events That Have Led Up to the Terrible Massacres that have Occurred in Armenia, with a Full Account of the Same, so Bloody and Brutal in Character and Extent as to Shock the Entire Christian World* by Edwin M. Bliss, who supposedly was assisted by E. A. Grosvenor, previously a faculty member of Robert College, now holding Professorship at Amherst college. Also, several eyewitnesses' accounts of the massacres were published in the United States, which created discontent among the nation raging the lack of action by the European powers.

For the Sublime Porte, the Armenian question seemed to be a domestic issue that Ottoman officials would easily manage to solve. However, their expectations to resolve the problem in Western Armenia failed. It seems that the faculty of Robert College also believed in an easy way of solving of the problem but the Armenian massacres in 1895-1896 continued to lead toward the tragic events from 1915 to 1923, and would deeply affect the affairs of the school. A larger part of the student body from this period was Armenians. Washburn writes, "the condition of the Christians grew worse, until the climax was reached in the great massacre of 1895-1896. These were trying times for the College, where it required all our energy and skill to keep the minds

of our students on their work.”³⁴⁷ The progressively intolerant politics of the Ottoman Empire, coalesced with the movements for independence within the Ottoman Armenians, climaxed in numerous of massacres throughout the Armenian provinces.

Washburn describes the horrors:

The massacre of the Armenians came to an end on Friday, the day after the soldiers came to the College; but the persecution of them which went on for months was worse than the massacre. Their business was destroyed, they were plundered and blackmailed without mercy, they were hunted like wild beasts, they were imprisoned, tortured, killed, deported, fled the country, until the Armenian population of the city was reduced by some seventy-five thousand, mostly men, including those massacred. They were replaced by Kurds and men of other wild tribes. Since that time it is very difficult for an Armenian to get permission to come to Constantinople from the interior. The poverty and distress of those left alive in Constantinople was often heartrending, and many women and children died of slow starvation.³⁴⁸

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Armenian question became a foreign affair with the Great Powers heavily involved. The Ottoman Armenians have been one of the most substantial ethnic groups of the Empire, geographically spread in six vilayets, Erzurum, Van, Bitlis, Diyarbekir, Kharput and Sivas. They were granted separate Millet, which indicates their significance as a legally protected religious minority in the Ottoman Empire, with the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople embodying the millet, and the Armenian Catolicos as representative of all Armenians before the Porte. For centuries, as numerous histories noted, many influential Armenian families in Constantinople increased in importance and wealth and received the Sultans’ reliance.

³⁴⁷ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 233.

³⁴⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 248.

Thus they were appointed to central positions in the Empire's government and economy. In cases like that, there was a frequent acrimony among Ottoman nationalists, who believed that dhimmis³⁴⁹ are indeed protected persons, as long as they obey the law, but are not supposed to gain position of power and leadership among the believers of Mohammed, which some Armenian families achieved. They would need to know their place as raya³⁵⁰ and remain *members of the flock*, as an obedient tax-paying lower class subjects.

A critical element in the evolution of the Armenian question was the attitude of Russia, "which had a sizeable Armenian population of its own as well as longstanding interests in the Armenians of the Ottoman Empire."³⁵¹ Since the Ottomans have lost their might during the century, great powers, particularly the Russian Tsardom, took Armenians under their influence, similarly as they did with Bulgarian population of the Empire a few decades earlier. Aiming to establish a strategic alliance of an obedient Slavic-Orthodox union in Eastern Europe, the Tsar already managed to drive the Ottomans away from the Balkans and the Black Sea Coasts. As a next step, Russia focused its foreign politic to execute a similar scenario in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The Russian propaganda not only centered on the Armenians Orthodox faith, same as Russian's, but also was heavily involved with aiding revolts in the parts of Caucasia with predominant Armenian populated regions. The reaction of

³⁴⁹ For the meaning of *dhimmi* see Appendix D.

³⁵⁰ For the meaning of *raya* see Appendix D.

³⁵¹ Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians, 1878-1896*, (Routledge Publisher, New York, 2013), 56.

Porte was harsh and in most cases inadequate. The *Memâlik-i Mahrûse*³⁵² was to be protected by all means.

Meanwhile, four major events at Robert College suggested a new time of transition. First, Washburn's poor health gave the first indication of the end of his' Presidency. His health often limited his ability to administer the school and many of his duties were performed by Long and Ormiston, who also headed the newly built Scientific Department of the school. Second, significant changes occurred in the Board of Trustees, the first since the establishment of the school, with John S. Kennedy as a new president of the board and William C. Sturges, president of the Seaman's Savings Bank, as the new treasurer. Third, the enrollment of Bulgarian and Armenian students rapidly decreased. While the low number of Armenian students was related to the political turmoil in Constantinople and the Armenian provinces in the Ottoman Empire, the explanation of the decreasing Bulgarian students was seen in the establishment of government schools in Bulgaria. As the faculty of Robert College precisely observed, Constantinople was no longer a political or a business center for the Bulgarians, who used to refer to the Imperial city as Tsarigrad.³⁵³ As the Tsar was now in Bulgaria, the Bulgarians no longer viewed Constantinople as the city of the Tsar. Constantinople was no longer a prestigious destination and it was not a patriotic act for many Bulgarians to send their sons and daughters to the capital of the Ottomans who ruled the country for five centuries.

³⁵² For the meaning of *Memâlik-i Mahrûse* see Appendix D.

³⁵³ The analysis of Constantinople as a space and place for educational activism and a mission target for the American Protestants will be discussed in the concluding and evaluating chapter of this dissertation.

The fourth significant event was the growing number of Greek students who, for the first time in the history of the school, outnumbered the Bulgarian and Armenian students. Washburn wrote that “the Greeks... had come to realize at last that this was not a Bulgarian college, that it was no part of its object to attack or weaken the Orthodox Church, and that our Greek Department offered to them everything that they could ask.”³⁵⁴ There is a satisfaction in Washburn’s writing in regard to the growing number of Greek students but the above quoted statement once again illustrates the impact of the Bulgarians on Robert College.

Another memorable event for the school was the visit of Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who was officially recognized by the Great Powers and was in Constantinople on a diplomatic visit. Washburn sentiment toward Bulgaria is, again, notable as he describes Ferdinand’s visit at Robert College, accompanied by Bulgarian and Ottoman officials. Washburn recalls that the Prince took “afternoon tea at Kennedy Lodge... He did not know it, but he drank his tea out of a cup that once belonged to his grandfather, then Louis Philippe, King of France.”³⁵⁵ At that meeting, Prince Ferdinand recognized Robert College as a nursery for Bulgarian statesmen and stated his hopes it would continue to be so. Nevertheless, Washburn’s hope for resurrecting Bulgarian’s interest on Robert College would not come true. Bulgaria's domestic and foreign affairs was dominated during the years of Ferdinand's reign by a politics of reconciliation with Russia. Instead of Constantinople, students were sent to St. Petersburg and Moscow to

³⁵⁴ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 236.

³⁵⁵ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 241.

attend military, industrial and religious schools. The conversion to the Orthodox faith of the infant Prince Boris, the first-born son of Ferdinand, was a clear indication for a pro-Russia Bulgaria. The move of Ferdinand earned the hostility of his Catholic Austrian relatives and was a strong sign for the Great Powers for the future politics of Bulgaria. During Ferdinand's official visit to St. Petersburg in 1898, Emperor Nicholas II from Russia agreed to become Prince Boris' godfather. In 1908, Ferdinand assumed the title of *tsar*, and Russia was first to congratulate him.

In 1896, Washburn once again was forced to leave Robert College due to his poor health. Accompanied by Professor Panaretov he visited a few medical facilities in Austria. This was the year of another great Constantinople massacre that started as Armenian rebels seized the Headquarters of the Imperial Ottoman Bank in Constantinople, an act that shocked the Ottomans. Washburn writes, "after the attack on the bank the bands of Turks, who had been organized by the Minister of Police in Stamboul and Galata, commenced the work of killing every Armenian they could find, protected by large bodies of troops, who in some cases took part in the slaughter."³⁵⁶ The killings continued for four days and nights with nearly 7,000 Armenians living in Constantinople killed. The Armenian students and their families took refuge at Robert College. Despite the tragic events, the faculty of the college decided to start the new academic year on schedule. The number of students who registered in the thirty-fourth year of the school was 200, a sign that many considered that school as a safe place in these times of trouble. As seen in the register, 77 were Greeks, 61 were Armenians, 38

³⁵⁶ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 246.

were Bulgarians, 8 were English and Americans, 9 were Turks, 7 others.³⁵⁷ However, only 14 students made it to graduation, 5 Bulgarians, 4 Armenians, 4 Greeks, and 1 German.

The next few years of the college brought a new expansion of the campus with a new building for a Preparatory Department. Washburn went to another fundraising journey, reporting about 292 registered students in the thirty-sixth year of 1898-1899. The progress of the school impressed the potential donors, who agreed that the school would need a new building for a Preparatory Department, but did not donate sufficiently for the construction work of the new building. In 1900, Washburn's aim to build without securing the necessary funds led to another summoning by the Board of Trustees. The Board hoped that Washburn would find new donors in New York. He was sent to the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York, in which the College and its international impact were fully recognized. He held numerous of speeches at different conferences and occasions. The Board decided to take extraordinary measures to secure more funds for the new construction plans and for a new position of Professor of Mathematics.

Two iconic personalities passed away in the next two years. First, in the summer of 1900, Cyrus Hamlin passed away, at nearly 90 years old. A notable memorial service was held at the college, conducted by Long, who praised Hamlin for laying the fundamentals of Robert College "in its foundation and the broad principles of Christian

³⁵⁷ See Alumni Register, Robert College, Constantinople 1921, Box 32 Folder 39, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

education and of religious freedom upon which is based.”³⁵⁸ Second, Albert Long’s health was falling as well. In 1901, he was forced to take a one-year sabbatical leave in the United States. His strong personality and notable contributions toward Armenian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish citizens of the Empire led to a spontaneous and unexpected farewell. Apparently the rumors of his departure spread across Constantinople. On the day of the departure, hundreds of people came to say goodbye. Washburn reports that he was carried on wheelchair toward the ship that was to take him to Liverpool. One can sense the mournful tone in the writing of Washburn,

It was a sad parting on the deck of the steamer, and our worst fears were realized. He reached Liverpool only to die there in a hospital July 28, 1901, and there he is buried. He had been a professor in the College for twenty-nine years and acting president whenever I was absent, twice for two years at a time when I was in America raising money. He was born in December, 1832, graduated at Alleghany College, taught two years and came to Turkey as a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church to the Bulgarians. It was through his influence that the first Bulgarian students came to Robert College, and no foreigner has ever been more trusted and beloved by the Bulgarian people than he. He came to Constantinople to join Dr. Riggs in the revision of the Bulgarian Bible, and when this work was done he was persuaded to accept a professorship in Robert College. No man ever had a wiser, more loyal and loving associate than I found in him, and much of the reputation of the College as a seat of learning was due to his broad scholarship. His religious influence was that of a man filled with the spirit of Christ. Even his Mohammedan neighbors regarded him as a holy man. Robert College was never the same to me after he left it.³⁵⁹

This short summary is one of the few-recorded accounts of Long’s contribution toward the mission in Bulgarian and education at Robert College. Despite the passing of Long, the college opened its doors for the thirty–ninth academic year with enrolment of 308

³⁵⁸ John Freely, *A History of Robert College, Vol. I.*, (Bogazici University Press, Istanbul 2010), 137.

³⁵⁹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 275.

students. At the end of the school year, Washburn informed the Board of Trustees that he would like to turn his position to a younger and energetic person. The person he chose was Caleb Frank Gates,³⁶⁰ who had been in the Ottoman Empire since 1881 and since 1894 served as president of Euphrates College in Harput. Caleb Gates was born on October 18, 1857 in Chicago and graduated from Beloit College in 1877. The following year, he enrolled in the Chicago Theological School. After graduation, Gates was sent by ABCFM to Mardin in the southeastern part of Anatolia in Asia Minor. At first, he served as relief agent of ABCFM among the impoverished Armenian population. In the fall of 1884 he accepted the Presidency of Euphrates College, an instruction to train pastors for the needs of the mission in the Armenian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Gates was proficient in Arabic, Armenian, Greek and Turkish. Because of his leadership skills, Gates would serve thirty years as president of Robert College, taking two years of leave (1922-1923), to serve as adviser to the United States high commissioner at the peace conference on Near Eastern affairs in Lausanne, Switzerland.

These were the years of change for Robert College and the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned before, the Board of Trustees in New York transitioned dramatically as a dynamic group of young individuals were recruited. The new president of the Board, John Kennedy, Cleveland Dodge, and William Sloane were part of the new wave of young philanthropists, who entered the endeavor to administer Robert College, a school

³⁶⁰ For more on Caleb Frank Gates, see his autobiography, Caleb Gates, *Not To Me Only*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1940); "An Appreciation, Dr. Caleb Frank Gates, President of Robert College 1903 – 1932", (Published by The Robert College, Herald Board of 1931 – 1932, Printed by Tsitouris Brothers, Galata-Mertebany, Istanbul, 1933); A valuable source on Gates is the Caleb Frank Gates collection in Princeton University, which consists of papers of Caleb Gates dating from his tenure as president of Robert College.

that was entering its 40th year of existence. In the Ottoman Empire, the 34th Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, was approaching the end of his conservative and despotic rule, as the efforts of a young generation of Turkish activists called for reforms in the Ottoman society during the nineteenth century. These young reformers were progressively becoming so dynamic and distinct in many of their beliefs and approaches as to the point that they were prepared to take actions that would not have an analogy in the long and complex history of the Empire of the Ottomans. Washburn summarizes the changes in the school,

The year 1901-1902 was a very important one in the internal development of the College. The professorship of mathematics had already been filled by the appointment of Professor Lybyer. At the beginning of this year three additional professors were added to the Faculty, Professor William S. Murray as principal of the Preparatory Department, Dr. Charles W. Ottley as resident physician and Professor of Biology, Professor George S. Murray as treasurer and to take charge of the commercial studies. Before the close of the year Professor George L. Manning, Ph. D., was appointed Professor of Physics, and Rev. C. F. Gates, D. D., LL. D., was appointed Vice-President, with the understanding that he should come to the College after a year and take my place whenever I might resign, as I had informed the trustees that I should at the end of the year, after I had reached the age of seventy.³⁶¹

Never before in its 40 years of existence had Robert College seen so many personnel changes. The staff reached thirty-five in all, including the professors, tutors and guest lecturers. A new building, Theodorus Hall, was ready for occupation, and the school had also applied for approval to build a new study hall, one gymnasium and three new houses for faculty members. Deeply satisfied, Washburn left for the United States on summer vacation. He was invited to Washington D.C., where a special reception with

³⁶¹ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909), 280.

honors was prepared for him by the White House. The President of the United States Theodore Roosevelt invited fifty people, among whom were Senators, Representatives and other distinguished guests.

Washburn was indeed honored but wrote that many of the distinguished guests “seemed to have come as they would have to go to a zoological garden to see the elephant.”³⁶² Washburn returned to Constantinople accompanied by few members of the Board of Trustees, who were enthusiastically welcomed. The members of the Board of Trustees received strong criticism from some of the new faculty members toward the autocratic leadership of the aging Washburn. In many cases, Washburn’s administration indeed reminded them of Hamlin’s presidency. As Hamlin believed that he was impeccable in his vision for the school, so did Washburn, for he rather informed the faculty and the Board of Trustees about the college’s next plans, instead of consulting them. Washburn was seventy years old and felt ready to retire. Looking at the statistic, Washburn served the school for thirty-four years. Under his tenure, the school grew in numbers, faculty, campus and reputation. During the first forty years of Robert College, more than 2500 students were enrolled, 435 made it through graduation.³⁶³ Washburn was proud of the school’s achievements. In the end, as he was facing the criticism for his authoritarian leadership, he decided not to respond or fight the critiques but to commit one more authoritarian act and handpicked his successor.

In 1903 Gates took charge of the college. His presidency started with two crucial

³⁶² Ibid, 284.

³⁶³ See Alumni Register, Robert College, Constantinople 1921, Box 32 Folder 39, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

signs that the college was no longer a religious school that would serve the needs of Christian millets, but one that had matured to become a modern educational institution. Huseyin Pektas became the first Turkish student to graduate and receive a diploma from Robert College. The second crucial event was the appointment of Tevfik Fikret, who became the first Turkish professor at the college. He was named Head of Turkish Vernacular Department. He was a Turkish reformer, poet and journalist. From the very beginning of the school, the American founders of Robert College wanted to reach to the Turkish population of the Empire, but the strictly Christian character of the school made this unsuccessful. A few Turkish students registered for classes in the early years of the school, but after a while they decided to drop out or they were summoned by their parents to leave the school. The times of change produced different needs, and Robert College's determination to shift its vision and to mature in order to meet these changing needs is admirable.

Conclusion:

The Protestant missionary, the "invisible man of American history," identified the need of education in the Ottoman Empire. As Protestants started their school, they were confronted with deeper needs and with the question: how to shift the purpose of their mission from Christianizing to provide a broader curriculum that will include a variety of fields of social science and humanities, including history, sociology, anthropology, biology, geology, economics, etc. In many ways, the efforts of the

American religious educators at Robert College to shift toward a broader education, or in their own words, an “industrial” education was finalized during the last years of Washburn’s tenure and further developed during the presidency of Caleb Gates; yet, the New England background still weighed heavily on the school. Robert College was established with the goal to provide higher education to the Christian population, the Rum millet, of the Ottoman Empire, an education that was rooted in the Christian values of the American founders. As soon as the American founders realized the need to shift their vision, they started to ask different kind of questions than most missionary schools at the time failed to ask: What happens when the society needs more than Christian principles? What values must the Western style of education embody in the changing Ottoman Empire and in the shifting of its demographics, so it could be a force to transform society among all faiths and nationalities?

The New England background of the American founders of Robert College suggested their conviction that the United States of America is a chosen nation and as such they must be the vessels of Protestant values for freedom, independence and morality. They firmly believed that the injustices in the Ottoman Empire and the indifference of the Western world are a moral issue which they need to resolve. The educators and missionaries at Constantinople were one of the fundamental channels of information to the outside world in regard to the situation of the minorities in the Ottoman Empire. The partialities toward the Empire shaped public opinion regarding the Turks, their faith and culture, as Zachary Lockman argues in *Contending Visions of the Middle East: The History and Politics of Orientalism*. Deeply shocked by the

massacres of Bulgarians and Armenians, the missionaries alerted the Western world of the barbaric actions of the Ottomans. Karnig Panian's account of the massacres in *Goodbye, Antoura: A Memoir of the Armenian Genocide* was especially helpful for grasping the atrocities of that time. However, it was not only American educators, missionaries and diplomatic officials who bore witness to the Genocide. Many reports, including eyewitness accounts, appeared in Western newspapers and journals. These articles were predominantly pro-Armenian, and pro-Bulgarian and they flooded the Western world.

This chapter tried to engage the question: Who were these missionaries that sowed seeds of separatism and discord, what distinctively American principles did they carry with them while serving in the Empire of the Ottomans? For sure, they were agents of cultural imperialism; however, they thought of themselves as ambassadors of American culture and values that carry democracy, justice, equality of nations and veneration for freedom. The efforts of the American founders of Robert College to influence and even to direct the actions of their students and alumnus in creative and multifaceted ways led to new forms of political identity and new understanding of the notion of home.

The Armenians were a substantial proportion among the student body at Robert College. Like the Bulgarian question a few years before, the efforts of the educators at Robert College expanded to new dimensions. As suggested in this chapter, they had to face complex questions and issues: How to divide their efforts between the industrial education at the school and between dealing with foreign politics? Were they called to

be only educators, or philanthropy and advocates for the Christian minorities in the Empire as well? How far should they cooperate with the Turks in order to protect the rebellious Bulgaria and Armenians minorities, who sent their sons to study at Robert College? The faculty of Robert College felt compelled to address the injustices in the Ottoman Empire, especially in regard to the Bulgarians and Armenians, so the questions they needed to answer were not merely academic during this time span. The injustices that they witnessed were never solved, but the one significant thing is noted in this chapter, which is their choice to stand for the Armenians and Bulgarians, who strived for a free and independent nation.

Washburn's visits to the United States were a significant element in his presidency. The Protestant churchgoers who met with Washburn and other United States missionaries or diplomats were intrigued by the unknown world of Constantinople and the Orient. Washburn's account and many other publications became the inspiration for journals, history books and popular literature telling the story of the Ottoman Empire. The missionaries, congregations and individuals across the nation were open to give the money that was needed to maintain the good work of the missionaries and necessary funds were provided for sponsoring the opening of schools, establishing medical facilities or public libraries. In some places, missionaries started rural and urban development programs in order to improve livestock and reduce the spread of diseases. These cross-cultural encounters in the Ottoman Empire inspired not only missionaries but also popular authors and adventurers to take the journey to the Orient.

The presidency of George Washburn could be summarized with the sentence that the school was Washburn and Washburn was the school. He picked tutors and professors for the school and he released them from duty if they did not follow the goals he set. His autocratic leadership continued until his retirement. He was a strong personality and his influence exceeded the doors of Robert College's campus. After Robert's passing, the Board of Trustees did never really withstand Washburn's leadership assessments and methods. They would agree with all his decisions to build, purchase new land, expand the campus or hire new tutors. The Board of Trustees regained their significance for the leadership of the school after Washburn's retirement in 1903. This was the year in which the first Turkish student graduated Robert College.

Like Hamlin, Washburn's intention was to work strongly with the Christian minorities of the Ottoman Empire, such as Greeks, Armenians and, predominantly, Bulgarians. The full extent of his sentiment toward Bulgaria is still not fully comprehended in this dissertation and will be not further discussed as it is beyond the scope of the thesis. Nevertheless, on the front page of his magnum opus, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, he proudly identified himself as "Commander of the Princely Order of St. Alexander (Bulgaria)", "Grand Officer of the National Order of Civil Merit (Bulgaria)."³⁶⁴ Robert College played an essential role in Bulgarian cultural and political life, having among its contributors the foremost Bulgarian politicians, educators and writers of the day, a fact that satisfied Washburn until his death.

³⁶⁴ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909).

As discussed in this chapter, the religious element was still a mandatory component at the beginning of Washburn's tenure as President. He writes that all students were obligated to participate at all religious activities, such as prayers, Bible study hours, and weekend worship services with preaching and communion. He does not reveal if the school was implying Hamlin's penalties and disciplining of students who missed the morning prayers or weekend sermons, but one would build a clear understanding that the Protestant spirit of the American founders was still influencing the routine of the school and the goal to serve to all faiths and nationalities was not reached. The Protestant founders invested their whole lives and resources to establish a successful institution that would inspire generations of leaders. The free spirit that they instilled at Robert College was considered a threat to the imperial interests of Russia in the Balkans. Russian powers often tried to frame the public opinion against Robert College and to accuse the school as an alien element with an alien ideology that did not belong in the Orthodox culture.

The Protestant-Islamic cross-cultural encounters in the Ottoman Empire included women, men and children of various nationalities living in all provinces of the Empire that ranged from West Bulgaria to Eastern Syria. The Protestants founded schools and the contestants in the early encounters involved those who attended their schools and studied their literature and schoolbooks. As the translation of the Bible became a major missionary goal, providing of education reached new dimension. Thus, Protestants demonstrated the economic worth of their education, which urged later demand. They trained many of the future teachers and professors who would offer an industrial

education in non-missionary schools. They pioneered education for women and underprivileged local people. Protestants became the foremost early instructors of European languages, Western knowledge, science and medicine. These originalities had a number of social and cultural consequences around the Empire and Asia Minor. First, wherever the Protestant missionaries went in the Empire, they started to apply their printing expertise, by printing Bibles, Protestant literature, newspapers, tracts, and other texts for women, children and families. Second, Protestants quickly established mass literacy programs to teach local people to read and study their literature. Albert Long firmly believed that the most important task for American missionaries would be to encourage Bulgarian efforts to endorse literacy. Thus, to the team of translators, he granted the premises and recourses of Robert College and himself, guiding the translation of the Bible into Bulgarian language.

The Bible was translated into Bulgarian, Romanian, Serbian, Greek and Arabic languages, but Robert College continued to teach in English language as the founders believed that the Western wisdom and truth are incorporated into the very language they spoke. However, the multicultural encounters at Constantinople also included those who vigorously denounced the Protestants, their schools, their language and their mission. They condemned their educational activities from the pulpits of the Orthodox Church or Ottoman Mosque, or through newspaper articles. The American Missionaries did not focus their efforts to convert Muslims as it was forbidden by the Ottoman law but predominantly worked with the Rum millet. With the assistance of local followers and sympathizers, the Protestant missionaries were able to establish medical stations,

and to provide humanitarian efforts during the atrocities that marked the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, the Orthodox Church leaders viewed these mission activities of the Americans as proselytism³⁶⁵ and were constantly involved in opposing their work.³⁶⁶

Robert College is an example of crucial importance of the Protestant missionaries to develop of formal education throughout the Empire. The attempts of the first American college abroad that provided higher education were often met with local resistance. The suspicious Armenian bishop who visited the mission school of Hamlin decided that Protestantism was more or less the same thing as chemistry. This was a humorous incident, but the Armenian bishop was saying something essential about Protestant mission and its shift from theological and spiritual focus toward embracing of a capacity for industry. This early shift is significant because the “secularization” of Robert College would be built into this very Protestant core of embracing the larger needs of the greater community. The problem needs further discussion, especially consideration of the diverse capacities of American educational activism and an evaluation of the missionary and local perception of each other. The rich history of Robert College, as well as the failures and accomplishments of this institution in the Ottoman Empire and beyond are fruitful source for further investigation.

³⁶⁵ see Paul Mojzes, *A History of the Congregational and Methodist Churches in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia*, (PhD. Dissertation, Boston University Graduate School, Boston, 1965), 52-53.

³⁶⁶ Patrick P. Streiff, *Methodism in Europe: 19th and 20th Century*, (Baltic Methodist Theological Seminary, Tallinn), 55.

CHAPTER 6:

CONCLUSION: SUMMARY OF CALEB GATES' PRESIDENCY AND CRITICAL EVALUATION OF ROBERT COLLEGE'S EARLY HISTORY.

Introduction

This College, established by *Irade* of H.I.M., the Sultan, is thoroughly organized with an able and permanent faculty of instruction from America, as well as the best qualified Armenian, Bulgarian, French, German, Greek and Turkish professors. It is furnished with a fine Library of 6,000 volumes, valuable Geological, Mineralogical, Zoological and Botanical collections, with complete apparatus for the study of Physics, Chemistry, and all the various branches of Natural Science. It occupies magnificent fire-proof buildings, erected expressly for its use at Roumeli-Hissar on the hill immediately behind the Castle of Europe, a site which is generally acknowledged to be one of the most beautiful and the most healthy on the shores of the Bosphorus. The object of the Institution is to afford to the youth of this country facilities in acquiring such an education as will best fit them for professional and business life. It aims, with a due care for physical culture, to combine the highest moral training with most complete mental discipline. The younger pupils are under the special care of a Matron, and all are under the constant supervision of teachers who board at the same table and reside in the same building with students.³⁶⁷

In many ways, the Protestant missionaries in Constantinople were not successful in their main goal of converting souls. The mass conversions of Latin America, Africa and Korea did not occur. Muslim rarely converted to Christianity, young men scarcely enrolled and graduated from the missionary schools. Yet, a big amount of scholarship

³⁶⁷ Prospectus of Robert College, Constantinople, Robert College Records; Box 32 Folder 9; Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University Library.

recognizes and appreciates the efforts of the Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman Empire by exploring their political, cultural, and economic impacts in the Orient and the Balkans, through their printing activities, hospitals, and schools. Robert College was one of their major achievements that shifted its vision in order to meet the greater needs of people from all faiths and cultures. The thesis argues that Robert College reached its full potential only through the confrontation with ABCFM and various Church authorities in New England. Mission and church leaders understood Robert College's goal to provide industrial education as problematic, calling it "cheating the devil." Their educational policy pushed Robert College to switch to a school with financial and structural autonomy. This switch gave this institution the freedom to become crossroads of cultures, faiths and nationalities. But, what if the thesis misdiagnosed the original problem by treating the symptoms rather than the real issues? Then the issues are still out there and need to be further examined.

The problems of writing a dissertation arose mainly from my background. Born in Bulgarian and raised in a Protestant family, I grew up with stories of the first Methodist missionary Albert Long, the importance of Robert College and Drew University, where the first Bulgarian clergy, intellectuals and statesmen received their education. The first concern came from the possibility of giving a deeply sympathetic portrait of the missionaries and their educational activities. Did my sympathy cloud my historical account of Robert College? Did I write with enough critical distance, or did I seem like a fan-boy of Hamlin, Washburn or Long? In telling the story of Robert College and the impact of the American founders, does my account border on hagiography? Tempting to

emphasize on the untold story of Albert Long, do I fail in entering in the genre of idealized biography, such as many historians have done by telling the stories of founding fathers and saints?

In order to avoid the above stated issues, I consulted numerous accounts. Especially beneficial were the works of Heather J. Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt, Missionary Encounters in an Age of Empire*, and Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers, Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East*. While Sharkey and Reeves-Ellington ask a different setting of questions, their accounts present an outstanding analysis of the Protestant efforts to spread American culture and religion in the Ottoman Empire. Dana Robert's *Christian Mission, How Christianity Became a World Religion*, and Clifford Putney and Paul Burlin's recently published work *The Role of the American Board in The World, Bicentennial Reflections on the Organization's Missionary Work, 1810-2010*, were very helpful for giving a clear examination of the the activities of American missionaries from the very beginning of the ABCFM, when much was unknown about the world, medical care was limited, long distances were not easily crossed, mail supplies traveled slowly and unreliably, and education was largely not available. While improving these issues, the missionaries were involved in cross-cultural encounters with multi dimensional implications.

However, this chapter agrees that the “long term effects of missions and missionaries undercut a simplistic equation with cultural imperialism,”³⁶⁸ but would not simply call the work done at and by Robert College “cultural imperialism” for it will ignore the more complex role it played in a quickly changing part of the world-- sometimes representing an external power, sometimes pushing back against it.

Two issues that were crucial for telling the story of Robert College need further exploration. The first one is the question of cultural imperialism and the case of Robert College. The second question is on the role of the missionary wives, who energetically assisted their husbands in educating the young generations of Constantinople. Hence dealing with the issue of cultural imperialism, a final conclusion needs to be made: Were the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire and particularly, the founders of Robert College cultural imperialists? Dana L. Robert asks a similar question, “does the belief system of the missionary mean that outreach by Christians is automatically a slide down the slippery slope of ‘cultural imperialism?’”³⁶⁹ As early as the 1890s, historians linked the Protestants with the issue of cultural imperialism. American missionaries indeed promoted Protestantism in the Ottoman Empire through an ambitious amalgam of pedagogy, philanthropy and politics that many renounced scholars have since referred to as cultural imperialism. Historians still debate the relationship between Christian missions and imperialism in the Middle East. This dissertation is no exception. Since the beginning of the work in Constantinople, there were those who suspected that an

³⁶⁸ Dana Robert, *Christian Mission, How Christianity Became a World Religion*, (Wiley-Blackwell, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 2010), 96.

³⁶⁹ Dana L. Robert, *Christian Mission, How Christianity Became a World Religion*, (Wiley-Blackwell, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, 2010), 98.

imperial agenda lurked behind the Protestant's religious ambitions. However, this dissertation agrees with Dana Robert's argument that it is excessively easy to fit the work of the missionaries only into the denotation "cultural imperialism," and discusses their role in the Middle East and in Robert College in more favorable light.

As stated above, it is impossible for historians to make a general agreement on the issue of cultural imperialism and neither would this dissertation do so. As Makdisi claims, American missionaries and educators understood themselves as the saviors of the "religiously mingled peoples of the East."³⁷⁰ Indeed, their efforts to convert the local people of the Empire might be understood as proselytism or cultural imperialism. Nevertheless, the "gunboat diplomacy" of the Civil War hero Admiral David Farragut,³⁷¹ the diplomatic pressure of the British ambassador Sir Henry Bulwer, and the political plots of Cyrus Hamlin convinced the Grand Vizier Ali Pasha, who was a major opponent of the school, to grant an imperial decree, permitting the school to erect its campus in the Hisar location. This incident provides a unique resource for expanding the debate about cultural imperialism and to re-conceptualize the extension of American culture abroad. Perhaps, the educators and missionaries believed that their schools, printings, and culture were a means to inform people unfamiliar with the American Protestant

³⁷⁰ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, NY 2009), 3.

³⁷¹ The arrival of Admiral Farragut caused quite a stir in the Ottoman Empire since the screw frigate USS Franklin was a four-thousand-ton large ship with a complement of seven hundred fifty men and thirty-nine guns. Farragut's squadron consisted of the steam sloops of war, *Canandaigua*, seven guns, and *Ticonderoga*, nine guns, and the little side-wheeler. His arrival was used to intimidate the Ottoman authorities to soften the antagonistic position from the Sublime Porte toward Robert College. On the incident with Admiral David Farragut and the granting of permit for Robert College to erect its campus on the Hisar site see Chapter 2, "The Founding Years, ABCFM, Robert and Hamlin and the Empire of the Ottomans."

views of modern life, and all necessary steps, that would include even “gun diplomacy,”³⁷² need to be made in order to achieve their goals. In this sense, Reeves-Ellington argues that the objectives of the Protestant mission schools and publications reflected a perceived connection between education and environmental evolution.³⁷³ Andrew Porter’s argument in “Cultural Imperialism and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914” that surprisingly ease the concerns of the missionary projects are fitted into the “conceptualization of ‘cultural imperialism’”³⁷⁴ is explicable. Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey recently edited *American Missionaries and the Middle*

³⁷² Throughout the history navies have been used as tools often by maritime nations for expressing the threat to resort to force or to encourage nations to cooperate. The demonstration or display of such a military force in a threatening manner is frequently defined as “Gunboat Diplomacy. For a wider discussion on the meaning of the term Gun Diplomacy see James Cable, *Gunboat Diplomacy 1919-1991: Political Applications of Limited Naval Force* (St. Martin’s Press, New York, 1994); Julian S. Corbett, *Some Principles of Maritime Strategy*, (Longmans Green and Co., London, 1911); Cord Eberspächer, *Die deutsche Yangtse-Patrouille. Deutsche Kanonenbootpolitik in China im Zeitalter des Imperialismus*, (Dieter Winkler Verlag, Bochum 2004); Kenneth J. Hagan, *American Gunboat Diplomacy and the Old Navy, 1877-1889*, (Praeger, Westport 1973), Peter Haynes, *Toward a New Maritime Strategy: American Naval Thinking in the Post-Cold War Era*, (Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 2015); Jerry Hendrix, *Theodore Roosevelt’s Naval Diplomacy*, (Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 2009); Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History: 1660-1783*, (Little Brown, Boston, 1890); Edward Luttwak, “The Political Application of Naval Forces - A Precise,” *The Naval War College Review*, vol. 26, no. 3 (November-December 1973), 38–40; Gerhard Wiechmann, *Die preußisch-deutsche Marine in Lateinamerika 1866-1914. Eine Studie deutscher Kanonenbootpolitik*, (Hauschild Verlag, Bremen 2002); Andrew Graham Yoll, *Imperial Skirmishes, War and Gunboat Diplomacy in Latin America*, (Olive Branch Press, Oxford 2002).

³⁷³ Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Petko Slaveykov, The Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism, in Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Competing Kingdoms, Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010).

³⁷⁴ Andrew Porter, “‘Cultural Imperialism’ and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914,” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 25, no. 3 (1997): 368-71, quoted in Andrew N. Porter, *The Imperial Horizons of British Protestant Missions*, (Eerdmans Publishing, Cambridge, 2003), 34.

East: Foundational Encounters.³⁷⁵ Dogan and Sharkey try to reject the limitation of the missionary efforts in the Ottoman Empire only as cultural imperialism. The thesis agrees with Dana Robert's notion of cultural imperialism. In Robert's *Christian Mission*, the Protestant missionary is not seen as an actor who plays a role with the concealed agenda for cultural imperialism but it is treated as a concrete person in specific historical situation, and as a participant in cross cultural relationships with indigenous peoples, who coexist in specific contexts and mutual influence and forbearance.

By examining some of the developments on the mission field and providing biographical sketches of prominent characters, both native and American, who had an important role in the cross-cultural encounters during the late Ottoman period, the authors do not label the American missionaries and educators as cultural imperialists, neither would this dissertation do. In *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion, Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East*, Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon also narrate the history of Christian mission in the Middle East in an appreciative tone and in light of the enormous historiography on the topic. *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey: 1830-1980* by Andrews Frank Stone was very resourceful as it examines the schools and colleges of the American Board over a period of a century from the modest beginnings of the mission work in Ottoman Turkey onward.

In spite of the "gunboat diplomacy" example, it cannot be assumed that the administration in Washington has had an imperial manifestation in the Middle East. As

³⁷⁵ Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011).

stated in this dissertation, American missionaries relied on British political support. This is the case with Edward Joy Morris, who was appointed by Abraham Lincoln as Minister Residence (ambassador) to the Ottoman Empire and by extension, Palestine. Morris was well-respected politician in Washington but clearly did not have enough diplomatic power and influence in Constantinople. In contrary, the British Ambassador Sir Henry Bulwer was a controversial persona in London and the parliament, often caricatured and mocked as the superannuated diplomat of England, but as a representative of Great Britain, he was able to exercise crucial political pressure in the court of Sultan for obtaining the permit for the erection of the campus on the Rumeli Hisar location. Therefore, rather than being a tool of imperialism, the American missionary enterprise in Constantinople contributed much more for bringing the region into the consciousness of the United states, and ultimately into the United States' foreign policy. A clear example of this is Washburn's visit in the White House. At the end of his tenure as president of Robert College, he was invited in Washington D.C., where a special reception with honors was prepared for him by the White House. President Theodore Roosevelt invited fifty people; Senators, Representatives and other distinguished guests were among them.

Washburn gave reports on his work, Robert College and the political situation of the Ottoman Empire.³⁷⁶ This was not an isolated case. Missionaries and educators established a significant presence in the Ottoman Empire and shaped a major influence on American and European policy toward the Ottoman Empire at the end of the

³⁷⁶ See Chapter 5.

nineteenth century.³⁷⁷ Many church leaders, connected with the American missionaries and educators, reinforced relief organizations that were engaged largely with Christian refugees in the Armenian and Bulgarian territories of the Ottoman Empire.

George Washburn proudly announced his decorations “Commander of the Princely Order of St. Alexander (Bulgaria)” and “Grand Officer of the National Order of Civil Merit (Bulgaria),”³⁷⁸ During these years, he became to be known as the “Father of Bulgaria.” Robert College played an essential role in Bulgarian cultural and political life, having among its contributors the foremost Bulgarian politicians, educators and writers of the day - a fact that satisfied Washburn until his death – but a fact that has been completely ignored by Bulgarian and Western historians. Washburn and many others missionaries and educators were able to influence the decisions made on peace treaties and conferences in favor of Bulgaria. Their consequent diplomatic achievements to generate mandatory arrangements that would postulate protection for these groups were met with gratitude in Bulgaria and in Armenia but with hostility in Constantinople and in Moskaw. The dissertation supports Joseph Grabill’s argument that missionaries promoted internationalism and the protection of minorities in the Ottoman Empire.”³⁷⁹

However, I argue that the American founders of Robert College articulated these demands by using a language of education that escapes the boundaries of religion,

³⁷⁷ Jeremy Salt, *Imperialism, Evangelism and the Ottoman Armenians, 1878-1896*, (Routledge Publisher, New York, 2013), 56.

³⁷⁸ George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College*, (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston 1909).

³⁷⁹ Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810-1927* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1971); Dana Robert, “From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of American Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, ISSN 0272-6122, 10/1994, Volume 18, Issue 4, 146.

challenging religious powers and state authorities to recognize their capability to govern the factors of their educational goals. In this sense, the shift toward a a modern Western styled education was tremendously important for the development of Robert College. The school's goal to develop into an institution with variety of fields that would involve empirical science, humanities and more, is a significant factor for understanding the impact of United States foreign affairs, on culture and politics in the Ottoman Empire. However, seeing the Protestant missionaries only as cultural imperialists would limit their impact and would "misconstrue the resiliency of the Ottoman Arab world and the originality of the cultural spaces created by the intersection of American and Ottoman histories"³⁸⁰

The second unanswered question is the role of the missionary wives. Most of the professors at Robert College and the missionaries in the Middle East were accompanied by their wives. In the Ottoman Empire they were known as "Bible-women."³⁸¹ While Sharkey, Reeves-Ellington, Eleanor H. Tejirian, Reeva Spector Simon and others discuss the role of women in the mission field, this dissertation aims to deal essentially with primary sources. The Robert College Records, 1858-1986 at Columbia University

³⁸⁰ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 2009), 9.

³⁸¹ see Barbara Reeves-Ellington's recent work: "Gender, Conversion, and Social Transformation: The American Discourse of Domesticity and the Origins of the Bulgarian Women's Movement, 1857-1876." In *Converting Cultures: Religion, Ideology and Transformations of Modernity*, (edited by Dennis Washburn and A. Kevin Reinhart, 115-139, Brill, Leiden, 2007); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, "Embracing Domesticity: Women, Mission, and Nation Building in Ottoman Europe." In *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, edited by Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010), 269-292; "Petko Slaveykov, the Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism." In *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, edited by Mehmet Ali Doğan and Heather J. Sharkey, (University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011), 211- 236.

Libraries Rare Book and Manuscript Library contained 207 boxes, 89 linear ft. and are crucial to the thesis of this dissertation, but this large amount documentation holds an excessive muteness in regard to the missionary wife. Therefore, the question of the role of women at Robert College remains unanswered. It is incomprehensible why the missionary wife is sidelined in the Robert College's archive and barely mention in the memoirs of the founding presidents of the school – Hamlin, Washburn and Gates. As stated before, not formally labeled “missionaries,” the missionary wives, assisted their husbands, ran model homes, taught at home schools,³⁸² and educated girls and women. Most of their efforts were made in order to transform their young pupils so they could become Christian mothers of Christian sons, who will be the leaders of their nations.³⁸³ In their schools, the Protestant missionaries expanded learning prospects for women in the Ottoman Empire, not only for Christian but also for Muslim women. In that way, they redefined the established gender roles and relations. They mobilized Muslim and Christian women to pursue education.

Despite the fact that numerous recent contributions deal with the cross-cultural perspectives on women and gender, and examine the role of women, this study's aim is not to engage with secondary sources to deal with these crucial topics and questions that are still open for discussion in the historiography of the American mission in the

³⁸² Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 22.

³⁸³ On the role of motherhood and the education of young girls in Ottoman Bulgaria see Barbara Reeves-Ellington, “Petko Slaveykov, The Protestant Press, and the Gendered Language of Moral Reform in Bulgarian Nationalism,” 219; in Mehmet Ali Dogan and Heather J. Sharkey, *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, (The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City, 2011); Martha Jane Riggs, *Psima za maiki ili rukovodstvo za maiki v dobroto otkhranvane na detsata im (Letters to Mothers, or A Manual for Mothers on the Good Nurturing of Their Children)*, (A. Minasian, Tsarigrad, 1870).

late Ottoman Empire. Robert College was an all-male school, but the institution was greatly accountable for the starting of the first female college in the Ottoman Empire in 1871, which opened independently from Robert College as the American College for Girls. Tansu Çiller is one of the many notable alumni that graduated the American College for Girls. She is Turkey's first and only female prime minister to date.

Dana Robert's argument that the idea of Protestant foreign missions as "a tool of nationalism"³⁸⁴ continues to be intriguing, given the fact that despite the consideration to provide a non-sectarian education to Christians, Jews and Muslims, the American founders of Robert College had unpremeditated political outcomes in that they strongly supported the evolution of nationalist sentiments among the Christian populations of the Ottoman Empire. Unsuccessfully, the American educators attempted to dissuade the Bulgarian revolutionaries to not engage in combat actions against the Empire but to rely on diplomacy and negotiations. Many Armenian, Greek and Bulgarian students of Robert College were involved in revolutionary activities. As Christians, they expected to be called to fight against the Muslim oppressors. The American founders of Robert College believed that the United States of America, as a Christian nation, needed to engage the conflict. They supported their convictions by being vessels of Protestant values for freedom, independence and morality. Washburn, for instance, firmly believed that the injustices in the Ottoman Empire and the indifference in the Western world is a moral issue, which he needs to undertake. Washburn and many other educators and

³⁸⁴ Dana Robert, "From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of American Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, ISSN 0272-6122, 10/1994, Volume 18, Issue 4, 146.

missionaries became the essential canal from the information that reached the outside world and portrayed the conditions of the minorities in the Ottoman Empire. They were the first who alarmed the Western world of the barbaric actions of the Ottomans and used the term massacres to describe them. Nevertheless, it was not only American educators and missionaries who bore witness to the massacres and later to the Armenian Genocide, but many diplomatic officials and journalists presented eyewitness accounts that emerged in Western newspapers and periodicals. These accounts were largely pro-Armenian, and pro-Bulgarian and they flooded the Western world and had the substantial result in shaping the public opinion regarding the Turks as “the sick man of Europe.”³⁸⁵ This is clearly seen in Jeremy Salt’s *Imperialism, Evangelism, and the Ottoman Armenians, 1878-1896*. His work is an examination on the American and British missionary that shows the way in which imperial European interests in Ottoman affairs were influenced by the Christian articulation against Islam and the Ottoman Empire. His study further details the American missionary involvement in the Ottoman affairs.

The concluding chapter, however, will not survey once again the source materials of the Protestant mission in the region, but rather to evaluate the efforts of the American founders of Robert College in the Islamic world and their challenges to comprehend Ottoman culture and to convey their understanding to their constituents back in the United States. This chapter attempts to show how their efforts influenced,

³⁸⁵ As stated above, Lord John Russell quoted The Emperor of Russia Nicholas I, who had first labeled the Ottoman Empire as "a sick man, very sick man." See Charles Swallow, *Sick Man of Europe: Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic, 1789-1923*, (Ernest Benn Ltd, United Kingdom, London), Laurence Guymer, *Curing the Sick Man: Sir Henry Bulwer and the Ottoman Empire, 1858-1865*, (Republic of Letters Publishing, Dordrecht, 2011).

and continued to influence, the foreign policy of the United States toward the Empire and the Middle East. Thus, the chapter does not aim to demolish its own credibility by giving unsubstantiated and controversial accounts and draw conclusions plainly envisioned to be ad hominem.

The Protestant faculty of Robert College, however, did not regard Constantinople as a partner abroad but eyed the Islamic Ottoman Empire as a place of expansionism for their Protestant faith. The establishment of a well-organized Christian education was not only envisioned by the missionary goal for saving souls, but by the zeal for expansionism as a product of the encounter of the United States with the globalizing world of the European rivals at that time, in which the Ottoman Empire played a significant part. Barbara Reeves-Ellington claims in *Competing Kingdom, Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, this has helped to define a Protestant identity and increase the sense of belonging to an Empire, different or better than the Ottoman Empire. According to Reeves-Ellington, the missionaries did much to shape a Protestant empire based on American values and institutions.³⁸⁶

The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 marked the fall of the Ottoman Empire, which completely collapsed at the end of the First World War in 1918. This concluding chapter evaluates the meaning of these historic events for the future of Robert College and briefly discusses the historiography on the fall of the Ottoman Empire and the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. Constantinople is the only city in the

³⁸⁶ Barbara Reeves - Ellington, *Competing Kingdom, Women, Mission, Nation, And the American Protestant Empire, 1812-1960*, (Duke University Press, Durham, 2010), 271.

world, which stands upon two continents. Its place and space for educational and mission activism will be examined as well. After the fall of the Empire the Imperial city became to be known as Istanbul.

The chapter also aims to provide an analysis of Robert College's role as crossroads of faiths, cultures and empires in its first 40 years of existence. The Empire of the Ottoman might have died much earlier with the rise of the Young Turk movement in 1908, paradoxically formed to establish a reformed and in many cases democratic republic. Nevertheless, the movement soon misshaped itself into a movement of nationalism and politics. The hope of the faculty of Robert College that minority groups and people from different faiths would receive more acceptances under the modern government of the Young Turks, who were just joined by a young Turk, named Mustafa Kemal³⁸⁷, later known as Kemal Atatürk,³⁸⁸ were not realized, despite his efforts to

³⁸⁷ On Mustafa Kemal see Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, (Routledge London, 1993); Harold Courtenay Armstrong, *Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal: An Intimate Study of a Dictator*. Books for Libraries Press, Freeport, 1972); Yüksel Atillasoy, *Atatürk: First President and Founder of the Turkish Republic*, (Woodside House, Woodside, 2002); Dilek Barlas, *Statism and Diplomacy in Turkey: Economic and Foreign Policy Strategies in an Uncertain World, 1929–1939*, (Brill Academic Publishers, New York, 1998); William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, (Westview Press, Boulder, 2004); Edward J. Erickson, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*, (Osprey Publishing, Oxford, 2013); Sükrü Hanioglu, *Ataturk: An Intellectual Biography*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton 2011); Andrew Mango, *Ataturk: The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey*, (Overlook Press, New York, 2002); Andrew Mango, *From the Sultan to Atatürk: Turkey- The Peace Conferences of 1919-23 and Their Aftermath*, (Haus Publishing, Amazon Digital Services, 2010); Ryan Gingeras, *Fall of the Sultanate: The Great War and the End of the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1922 (The Greater War)*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016); Patrick Kinross, *Ataturk, The Rebirth of a Nation*, (Orion Publishing Co, United Kingdom, London, 2001); Salshi Ramadan Sonyel, *Atatürk: The Founder of Modern Turkey*, (Turkish Historical Society, Literatur, Istanbul, 1985); Ryan Gingeras, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: Heir to an Empire (The World in a Life Series)*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016); Emil Lengyel, *They Called Him Atatürk*. (The John Day Co., New York, 1962); Özelli, M. Tunç, "The Evolution of the Formal Educational System and its Relation to Economic Growth Policies in the First Turkish Republic". *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (Cambridge University Press, London, 1974), 77–92; Donald Everett Webster, *The Turkey of Atatürk; Social Process in the Turkish Reformation*, (AMS Press, New York 1973); M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey (Religion and Global*

envision his *Atatürk Devrimleri*.³⁸⁹

In many cases, the story of Robert College reminds a fiction which, like all great stories, is rooted in truth. In 1830, the Ottoman Empire and the American government signed a treaty of trade. In 1831, with the establishing of the embassy in Constantinople and the appointment of Commodore David Porter,³⁹⁰ the American interests in the region became official. In 1838, the 26 years old Cyrus Hamlin arrived in Constantinople to preach the gospel, to open the first public laundry with a self built steam engine, to

Politics), (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003); Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey, A Modern History*, (I. B. Tauris, New York, 2005).

³⁸⁸ Father of the Turks.

³⁸⁹ *Atatürk Devrimleri* (Atatürk's Reforms -- from Turkish) were a series of reforms that became known as a vital part of the Kemalism. The purpose for the reforms was to modernise Turkey. Historically, Kemal's reforms follow the Ottoman Empire's Tanzimat reforms as well as numerous small reforms that occurred in the beginning of the twentieth century. They were based on the Kemalist ideology for religious, political, cultural and social reforms formed to separate the newly established Turkish republic from the Ottoman roots and traditions. These were organized under six fundamental pillars, called Six Arrows (*Altı ok*): Sovereignty, Secularism, Statism, Populism, Republicanism, Reformism. The Kemalism aimed to set the foundations of the social process in the Turkish Reformation. Kemal's role in the creation of modern Turkey as well as his contribution for the Turkish Reformation made Atatürk for many Turks a historic figure of legendary character. For more on Atatürk's Reforms see: Harold Courtenay Armstrong, *Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal: An Intimate Study of a Dictator*, (Books for Libraries Press, Freeport, 1972); Yüksel Atillasoy, *Atatürk: First President and Founder of the Turkish Republic*, (Woodside House, Woodside, 2002); Dilek Barlas, *Statism and Diplomacy in Turkey: Economic and Foreign Policy Strategies in an Uncertain World, 1929–1939*, (Brill Academic Publishers, New York, 1998); Amit Bein, *Ottoman Ulama, Turkish Republic: Agents of Change and Guardians of Tradition*, (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 2011); Murat Ergin, "Cultural encounters in the social sciences and humanities: western émigré scholars in Turkey," *History of the Human Sciences*, Feb 2009, Vol. 22 Issue 1, 105–130; William L. Cleveland, *A History of the Modern Middle East*, (Westview Press, Boulder, 2004); Ryan Gingeras, *Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: Heir to an Empire (The World in a Life Series)*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016); Craig C. Hansen, "Are We Doing Theory Ethnocentrically? A Comparison of Modernization Theory and Kemalism," *Journal of Developing Societies*, 1989, Vol. 5 Issue 2, 175–187; Emil Lengyel, *They Called Him Atatürk*. (The John Day Co., New York, 1962); M. Hakan Yavuz, *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey (Religion and Global Politics)*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003); Vamik D. Volkan, "Immortal Atatürk – Narcissism and Creativity in a Revolutionary Leader," *Psychoanalytic Study of Society*, (Psychohistory Press, New York, 1981), 221–255; Donald Everett Webster, *The Turkey of Atatürk; Social Process in the Turkish Reformation*, (AMS Press, New York, 1973).

³⁹⁰ See Bilge Nur Criss, Selcuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood and Louis Mazzari, *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830-1989*, (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne, 2011), 8-9.

operate the first bakery, to set up “the first telegraph, and lit the first electric light ever seen in the Sultan's dominions.”³⁹¹ Nevertheless, these were not his greatest achievements. In 1863, Robert College was established and eventually became one of the most prestigious institutions of higher learning in the Middle East and was incorporated into Bogazici University in 1971. Unfortunately, the story of Robert College remains largely untold. Only two authors, closely connected to Istanbul and Robert College, tell the story of this institution and none of their manuscripts is published or sold in the United States.

When Gates became President in 1903, Robert College was still regarded with suspicion in Constantinople because of its idiosyncratically Christian origin. However, the reputation of the college for academic excellence and its glamorous campus that continued to expand gave the school an immeasurable benefit. The winds of change were blowing not only through Europe but also through the Ottoman Empire and Asia-Minor, bringing change in the old and conservative Ottoman society with the liberal voices of the Young Turks, who called for modernization and reforms. The Kemalist ideology for religious, political, cultural and social reforms would force the separation of the newly established Turkish republic from the Ottoman roots and traditions. Therefore, the school would no longer be considered as a vessel of foreign faith by Muslim and Orthodox peoples. The Turkish students became the majority of the student body, the first Turkish student received diploma, and the first Turkish professor was hired. This was the beginning of the Turkish period of the school with rapid expansion of

³⁹¹ A. D. F Hamlin, *In memoriam, Rev. Cyrus Hamlin*, (Published Privately, Boston, 1903).

Turkish students and faculty. The changes at Robert College were illustrated with the founding of the School of Engineering in 1912. Caleb Gates was ready for more expansion and modernization. He understood the time of change and was a strong believer that Turkey needs to train and educate its own engineers. Like Hamlin and Washburn, he started the establishing the School of Engineering with a fundraising trip to the United States that he made in 1909. He received the approval of the Board, but not the funding for this ambitious project.

The trustees arranged John Allen, a Professor of Engineering, to come and oversee the organizing of the new Engineering School at Robert College. Allen supervised the construction of the building and the preparation of the first curriculum. The erecting of the Engineering Building that later would be called Gates Hall, was partially finished by 1912 and fully completed in 1931. During Gates' tenure as president, the first tennis courts were constructed and the tennis games became a major attraction in Istanbul. Gates started the first renovation of Hamlin Hall. He purchased a new property, ironically, again from Ahmet Vefik Pasa, the old opponent of the school who now was nothing but a friend and supporter of the expanding college. On the new property a road was built to lead to a new entrance to the college.

Similarly to Hamlin and Washburn, Gates devoted much time and efforts to expand the campus. The campus of Robert College grew rapidly throughout the three decades of Gates' presidency, with new and advanced facilities that would meet the constantly changing needs of the rising diversity of the student body. In 1913, Anderson Hall was erected that would serve the needs of the Science and Literature Department.

Robert College's reputation grew throughout the following decades, driven in part by a prominent faculty, both Turkish and international, across the disciplines. The students of Robert College were expected to be among the Istanbul's best, and they were expected to contribute to the progress of the Young Turkish republic, while keeping up with the rigorous course work. After graduation, prominent government posts were granted to excellent students. The school continued to be envisioned as a stepping-stone for the sons and daughters of the Turkish intellectual and upper class toward a better life. An unplanned outcome came from the existence of Robert College -- the Ottoman administration in Constantinople was compelled to compete with the appeal of Robert College and the many other missionary schools by refining its own educational structure. Therefore, several new Turkish schools for Muslims were established in the late nineteenth century. In order to match the missionary schools, some of these Turkish institutions strictly adopted Western style educational structures. It is not coincident that upon arriving in the Ottoman Empire, the Protestant missionaries picked Constantinople as their major station.

There is no other place in the world that has had a better entitlement than Constantinople for being the headquarter of the missionary enterprise in the Ottoman Empire, the Balkans and Asia Minor. The citizens of the Empire consider it as the center the world, the capital of multiple empires. Constantinople was the focal point of Judaism and Islam, as well as of Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. While missionary undertakings had begun in the Ottoman Empire as early as the 16th century, more organized European and American missionary activities

began in Constantinople in the 19th century, and was mostly dominated by two organizations, the ABCFM, and the Church Missionary Society, based in London. Both organizations stationed their headquarters and governed their educational activities in the capital of the Ottoman Empire.³⁹² Constantinople is the only city in the world that stands as a bridge between two continents – Europe and Asia. Peoples from the European and Asian provinces of the Empire, as well, most of its inhabitants referred to it as the City of Constantine. In fact, by the end of the nineteenth century, more than half of the city's inhabitants were Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews.³⁹³ This started to change in the beginning of the twentieth century and rapidly continued with the Young Turkish republic³⁹⁴ that brought numerous reforms.

In the 1920s, Gates still mentions certain religious activities in the school that included Bible study, Sunday worship and prayer hours. He says little about these activities, but the continuity says it all and it requires some questions: First, were they still required? How did Orthodox or Roman Catholic students respond? Third, was there a growing Turkish student enrollment? This says more. Despite the Protestant religious

³⁹² Heleen Murre-van den Berg, ed., *New Faith in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Frank Andrews Stone, *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830–2005* (Caddo Gap Press, San Francisco, 2006); Martin Tamcke and Michael Marten, eds., *Christian Witness between Continuity and New Beginnings: Modern Historical Missions in the Middle East* (Lit, Berlin, 2006); Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, eds., *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East* (Middle East Institute, Columbia University, New York, 2002); Selçuk Akşin Somel, "The Religious Community Schools and Foreign Missionary Schools," in *Ottoman Civilization*, edited by Halil İnalcık and Günsel Renda (Ministry of Culture, Ankara, 2003), 386–401.

³⁹³ See Charles Frazee, *Catholics and Sultans: The Church and the Ottoman Empire, 1453–1923* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1983); Eleanor Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, eds., *Altruism and Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East*, (Columbia University Press, New York, 2002).

³⁹⁴ See Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830–1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1985).

activities, Turks started to regard the school in a different way. In 1923 Robert College adopted a strictly secular educational model in accordance with the republican principles of the Republic of Turkey. This was part of the many reforms enforced to modernize the Republic of Turkey. One of these reforms was the secularization in the educational system that eliminated all religious elements. The Protestant founders of Robert College were no longer allowed to hold worship services at the college and to obligate all students to attend them. Gates writes, "the regulations forbade Muslim students to attend our religious services. I urged that our services included a reverence for religion and loyalty to duty, that were on the highest value in character-building."³⁹⁵ Gates appeals in defense of the Protestant services at the college were met with sympathy and understanding but Turkish officials did not permit the services to continue.

Turkish officials regarded Robert College as an American institution but insisted the school to obey the secular educational regulation of the republican principles of the Republic of Turkey. Thus, it is understandable why Turks were now reluctant to send their sons to the college, as this institution no longer appeared to be strictly Protestant.

When Constantinople³⁹⁶ became Istanbul³⁹⁷ the number of Muslim inhabitants reached

³⁹⁵ Caleb Frank Gates, *Not to Me Only*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1940), 297.

³⁹⁶ There is a boundless bibliography on Constantinople. For the purpose of this dissertation see the selected bibliography: Ebru Boyar and Kate Fleet, *A Social History of Ottoman Istanbul* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010); Roger Crowley, *1453: The Holy War for Constantinople and the Clash of Islam and the West*, (Hachette Books, Hyperion, New York, 2006); Lord Eversley, *The Turkish Empire from 1288 to 1914*, (Howard Fertig Inc., New York, 1924); Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Basic Books, New York, 2007); John Freely, *Istanbul: The Imperial City* (Penguin Books, Published by the Penguin Group, London, 1998); John Freely, Ahmet S. Cakmak, *The Byzantine Monuments of Istanbul*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2004); Demetrius John Georgacas, "The Names of Constantinople," *Transactions and Proceedings of the*

and surpassed the non-Muslim.

With the release of the secular educational model in accordance with the republican principles of the Republic of Turkey, as well as with the other reforms, the Young Turks of Ataturk have voiced their opinion that the the Republic of Turkey is actually changing toward a new secular and modern direction. The changes reached Robert College as well. The school was finally forced to reach its original goal and to shift toward becoming a non-religious institution in 1923. The Turkish reformers hoped that the reaction and reception of the Great Powers toward Turkey would shift as well, and they would no longer regard the Republic as “The Sick Man of Europe,” but would recognize it as a competent, legally qualified and a full member of the European family. Additional reforms with the various accomplishments were praised for the character development aspect of the Turkish society. Overall, the consensus was that most of the reforms helped with some of the issues that the ossified Ottoman Empire suffered,

American Philological Association, (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1947), 347–67; Johnathan Harris, *Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium*. (Continuum, New York, 2007); Anna Hofmann "History takes Place," *Istanbul, Dynamics of Urban Change*", (JOVIS Verlag, Berlin, 2015); Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, *Constantinopolis/Istanbul: Cultural Encounter, Imperial Vision, and the Construction of the Ottoman Capital (Buildings, Landscapes, and Societies)*, (Penn State University Press, Printed in China by Everbest Printing Co. Through Four Colour Imports, Louisville, 2010); Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1963); Philip Mansel, *Constantinople: City of the World's Desire*, (Hachette, London, 1995); Thomas F. Maden, *Istanbul: City of Majesty at the Crossroads of the World*, (Viking, An imprint of Penguin Random House LLC, New York, 2016); Philip Mansel, *Istanbul: City of the World's Desire, 1453-1924* (John Murray, London, 1995); Amy Mills, *Streets of Memory: Landscape, Tolerance, and National Identity in Istanbul* (University of Georgia Press, Athens, 2010); Jonathan Harris, *Constantinople: Capital of Byzantium*, Continuum International Publishing Group, New York, 2007); Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1990).

³⁹⁷ The name Constantinople was used up to the fall of the Ottoman Empire in 1923 and the advent of the Turkish Republic. In 1928, the Turkish alphabet was changed from Arabic to Latin script. After that, Turkey started to require other countries to use Istanbul as well as the Turkish names for the rest of the Turkish cities. These measures were unsuccessful as many countries continued to refer to Istanbul as Constantinople. Therefore, in 1930, a law was enacted in the Republic of Turkey, according to which the city of Constantinople was renamed Istanbul.

though it did not change the individual's opinion about the religious and social character of Turkey.

The reforms were well-received among the Great Powers, but the suspicion toward Turkey remained, especially among the former Ottoman provinces in the Balkans, East Turkey and Asia Minor. One of the problems that still overshadowed the new course of the Republic of Turkey was the genocide toward Armenians and the massacres in Bulgaria and Greece. The faculty of Robert College not only received detailed reports from Armenian, Bulgarian and Greek students but also eye witnessed the Turkish crimes and called them with their real names. This dissertation acknowledges the fact that the Turkish genocide toward Armenians, as well as the massacres toward Greek and Bulgarian civilians, is a sensitive issue and a controversial question. The dissertation's discussion of the tragic events in Greece, Bulgaria and Armenia did not aim to jump into conclusions, but did thoroughly observe and judge the events as the primary sources, the American founders of Robert College, witnessed them.

On no other subject is Turkish historiography harsher than in its denial toward the Ottoman massacres in the Bulgarian and Greek provinces and the genocide toward the Armenian citizens of the Empire. Even American scholars bypass these questions and issues. While telling the story of Robert College, Freely calls the Armenian rebels terrorists, Greenwood describes briefly the events and uses the term revolution but does not speak of massacres or genocide. The massacres and genocide will remain a sensitive issue, but denying or denoting historical events in which objective facts are less

documented in shaping public opinion than appeals to emotion and personal belief is not the purpose of this dissertation. In this sense, Turkish historiography is also inflexible toward the complex assets of Sultan Abdül Hamid II, the preeminent Sultan of the Ottoman Empire's final half-century, and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the republic's founder and his contributions in the modernization of Turkey. Turkish historiography often describes Abdül Hamid II as a cruel tyrant, murderous, distrustful, unreasonable and weak. Constantly suffering from paranoia about his security, he easily ruled the dead of thousands of Anatolian Armenians, while rioting against Ottoman oppression at the end of the nineteenth-century. In the historiography of Turkey, Mustafa Kemal's role for the secularization of the state is depicted as "the key element of Turkish nation building process."³⁹⁸

Hale Yilmaz's study *Becoming Turkish (Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East)*, examines the Turkish historiography on Atatürk and points that while scholars recognize Mustafa Kemal's contribution in modernizing the state, his role in the Turkish nationalism during the immediate aftermath of the Turkish republic is not often emphasized. While Robert College's ideology insisted on ideals of democracy and liberalism, Mustafa Kemal highlighted secular, republican and nationalist ideals over democratic platform, which ultimately led to the establishment of Atatürk's despotic regime. This fact is commonly forgotten in the Turkish historiography that prefers to look at Atatürk and his ideas that inspired the 1908 revolution and the movement of the Young Turks predominantly as an ambition to westernize and modernize the

³⁹⁸ Hale Yilmaz, *Becoming Turkish (Modern Intellectual and Political History of the Middle East)*, (Syracuse University Press, Syracuse, 2013).

bureaucracy of the ossified Ottoman Empire. The Kemalist reforms were implemented and effected social and cultural change that reached Robert College as well. By converging on the state's endeavor to construct a new Turk and a new modern Turkish realm, Robert College started to hire Turkish scholars who took positions that for years were held by American professors. The Turkish period of Robert College has begun, ending the Armenian, Greek and Bulgarian periods of the school.

Robert College's sentiment toward Bulgaria remained. Gates reports of one of his last visits to Bulgaria:

I stopped of in Sofia for a three-day visit as the guest of the Bulgarian government... I was greatly cheered to be met by a delegation of Robert College alumni who took me in charge. During my stay I called on a number of high government officials, many of them graduates of the College, and I was summoned to an audience with King Boris. The young king impressed me by his frank and manly bearing and his freedom from all conventionalities. He invited me to sit down and we conversed pleasantly for nearly an hour, the chief topic being the progress of the Lausanne conference, in which he was, of course, greatly interested. Here was an energetic and democratic sovereign who was genuinely interested in the welfare of his subjects, and I felt that the people of Bulgaria owed him great debt of gratitude, for under his leadership the country was making marked progress. As I rose to take my leave the king conferred upon me the Order of Alexander, an honor which touched me and gave much pleasure to the alumni of Robert College in Sofia.³⁹⁹

Gates goes on to write that he received similar honors from the Greek king. This remarkable praise from the governments of Greece and Bulgaria deeply satisfied Gates and the faculty of Robert College. Gates writes that these "decorations were clearly meant to testify to the belief of the Greeks and Bulgarians that Robert College had been useful to them, and I was gratified that they, as well as the Turks and other peoples,

³⁹⁹ Caleb Frank Gates, *Not to Me Only*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1940), 291.

recognized our services in various ways.”⁴⁰⁰ Alas, Greek and Bulgarian students would barely enroll in Robert College in the years to come. In Bulgaria, communists appointed scholars who would undermine and obliterate the school’s role and significance for this country. The legacy of the young king Boris III,⁴⁰¹ that cordially welcomed decorated Gates, would be also undermined despite his efforts to modernize the country, as well as many other contributions, such as saving the Bulgarian Jews from Nazi concentration camps, an incident that is little known even to those who are professionally engaged with the grim history of the Holocaust. Although his reign was overwhelmed by the battles of World War II and Bulgaria was trapped between Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany, Boris III was uncommonly loved and admired by Bulgarians, a fact that Gates also realized during his visit in Sofia. The love and admiration was one of the reasons why the Communist government, after taking power in 1944, had his body exhumed and moved it to a secret location, which still remains unknown.

Nevertheless, Gates’ precise account of the Bulgarian foreign and inner affairs proves that Robert College was more than just an education establishment but an institution that represented the broader interests of its American founders. Joseph

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., 291.

⁴⁰¹ Selected Bibliography on Boris III: John D. Bell, *Bulgaria in Transition: Politics, Economics, Society, and Culture after Communism*, (Westview Press, Boulder, 1998); R. J. Crampton, *A Concise History of Bulgaria*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1997); Raymond Detrez, *Historical dictionary of Bulgaria*, (Scarecrow Press Lanham, 1997); Nevill Forbes, Arnold J. Toynbee, D. Mitrany, D. G. Hogarth, *The Balkans; a history of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey*, (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1915); Gregory Lauder Frost, *The Betrayal of Bulgaria*, (Monarchist League, London, 1989); Stephane Groueff, *Crown of Thorns*, (Madison Books, Lanham, 1987); John R. Lampe, *Balkans into Southeastern Europe*, (Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2006); Marshall Lee Miller, *Bulgaria in the Second World War*, (Stanford University Press, 1975); Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fragility of Goodness: Why Bulgaria's Jews survived the Holocaust: A collection of texts with commentary*, (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 2001).

Grabill's pioneering scholarship of the American missionary work in the Near East sets the standards for nearly four decades. His work asserts that missionary represented a case of internationalism that overlapped with the altruistic internationalist policies. The dissertation also highlighted the case of Robert College, the oldest American mission college for higher education in Ottoman Empire and illustrates the international or Western outlook of the schools that was set by its founder, Cyrus Hamlin and prolonged by George Washburn and Caleb Gates. This type of school set the patterns for later American educational institutions like American College for Girls of Constantinople, the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut, International College in Izmir, Euphrates College in Harput, Talas American College in Kayseri, Central Turkey College in Aitab, Üsküdar American Academy in Üsküdar, Adana American College for Girls in Adana, Tarsus American College in Tarsus and the Anatolia College in Merzifon.⁴⁰² Though the missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire date back to as early as the sixteenth century, they gained significance when the Catholic and English and American Protestants reorganized the missionary activities in the empire in the nineteenth century in founding schools.

The main purpose of these school, as well as of the other missionaries activities, was to “revive ‘pure’ Christianity among the ‘corrupt’ Eastern Christian denominations—

⁴⁰² The Anatolia College in Merzifon or Merzofan was the original Babek seminary that Cyrus Hamlin founded. The Anatolia College was established by the ABCFM when the Board relocated the Babek Seminary from Constantinople to Marsofan as they believed that Hamlin was abandoning the theological education and concentrating in industrial education that would secularize the minds of the young people. The purpose of the school in Merzifon was to educate Armenian and Greek young men who would assist the efforts of the Protestant missionary in Asia Minor. For more on the Anatolia College in Merzifon see George E. White, *Adventuring with Anatolia College*, (Herald-Register Publishing Company, Grinnell, 1940).

Greek, Armenian, and Bulgarian Orthodox, Jacobites, Nestorians, Copts, and Maronites—and to disseminate Christianity to non-Christians, especially Jews.”⁴⁰³ The unique role of Robert College was that the school not only set the standards for the higher education in the Empire but it also put the United States, in the zenith of its raising to great power, and the Ottoman Empire, in its last days of existence, in a situation of mutual forbearance and competition, that would continue in the years to come and would include “a wide range of individuals from Presidents and Congressmen, businessmen and diplomats, to educators and journalists.”⁴⁰⁴ This was true even of Protestant missionaries with little formal education, who entered the Empire with Bible training only. They invested heavily in education and printing, often establishing the paramount functioning schools. In the Balkans and the Near East, missionaries invested in colleges, hospitals and publishing endeavors.

Thus, the American founders of Robert College and many other Protestant missionaries believed that teaching the Western knowledge, medicine, literature or law in English language was a helpful preparation for conversion and a tool for greater influence. Hence, the dissertation provides not only an account of the founding of Robert College but a broader picture of the encounter between the Ottoman Empire and the American missionaries during the end of the Empire and the advent of the Turkish republic through an investigation of explicit events such as relief work, ABCFM activities, educationalists activities, political pressure. These events represent the

⁴⁰³ Cengiz Sisman, “Christian Missionary Schools in the Ottoman Empire”, *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, (Executive Editor Norman A. Stillman. Consulted online on 17 November 2016).

⁴⁰⁴ Devrim Ümit, “The American Protestant Missionary Network in Ottoman Turkey, 1876-1914.” *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, (Los Angeles, Vol. 4, No. 6(1); April 2014).

missionary period as one of particular significance for the American and Ottoman/Turkey relations, when the mission work expanded its purpose of converting souls to much broader interests. A clear example for that is the appointment of a missionary, Reverend James B. Angell as American Minister in Constantinople. His appointment came with the support of the ABCFM, the various schools and philanthropic Protestant organizations. It is evident that the founder, Cyrus Hamlin, was not only a missionary but an educator, inventor, technician, architect and builder. He was a man of versatile talents. The American founders of Robert College were prolific writers, and their diaries, letters, reports and journal articles give a detailed account of political events, descriptions of historical figures and places.

Even though the Protestant missionaries brought Western style of education in the Empire, the indigenous population in many cases remained faithful to their own values, culture, institutions and Muslim or Orthodox faith. The history of early American mission in the Ottoman Empire is preeminently the history of multiple shifting encounters between different cultures. Despite the fact that Robert College in its first 40 years of existence did not reach fully its goal to provide an education that is not bound by religion and would profit all races and nations, the school efforts and developments are admirable. The history of Robert College and the global historical significance of American Protestant foreign missions in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East need further examination.

There are numerous of questions that are beyond the scope of this dissertation but need further examination, such as the New England background of the American

founders of Robert College that weighed heavily on them during the founding years. Their connections with colleges such as Williams, Bowdoin, or Union that were established in New England to counter the liberal ideas of Unitarianism and Universalism predestined to a big extent their actions in Constantinople. These colleges were centers of Protestant tradition, Christian piety, and Calvinist orthodoxy, and provided the traditional doctrines of Calvin and strict teachings of the Congregationalist Church. They were affiliated with the Congregationalists and supported the ABCFM. The Andover Theological Seminary was also rooted in these traditions. It was not a surprise that Hamlin and Washburn relied on help from these institutions, as they requested the young tutors who would serve at Robert College. As stated above these are intriguing facts but they are beyond the scope of the thesis. Another intriguing question that remains unanswered in this project is the issue of the cross-cultural perspectives on women and gender.

One still needs to consider the significant role of women and to acknowledge the many questions and themes that still remain open in the historiography of the American mission in the late Ottoman Empire. The very invisibility of women in the Robert College's archive or the absence of women in the mission's history is a sign of their neglected importance. In this invisibility, they were relegated to a position of child-bearers, but even this was not enough for the early historians to give an account of the missionary wife in Constantinople.

Chapter One examined the primary sources of Robert College and traced the historiography of the mission in the Ottoman Empire. The most significant endeavor

that the early Protestant missionaries were involved was education. The American missionaries and educators at Robert College were challenged with the demand of how to shift the purpose of their mission from Christianizing to providing a broader curriculum that would include variety of fields of social science and humanities including history, sociology, anthropology, biology, geology, economics, etc. In many ways, the efforts of the American religious educators to shift to an “industrial” education in the Ottoman Empire were a testing ground for their successors. The mission schools switched to increasingly broader curriculum as they minimized their explicitly Protestant scope and identified broader needs on the society.

Chapter Two situated the founding years of Robert College, which largely included the religious activism of ABCFM and the interferences of the Mission board in the school’s affairs. The influence of the American educators and diplomats within the political, cultural and religious context in the Ottoman Empire is a rich and compelling story of missionary enterprise. Numerous problems appeared in the early Protestant educational activism. In many cases, the American educators at Robert College understood the field of education as a superior tool for mission, not only to convert but as well as to enlighten the religiously mingled peoples of the Balkans and the Middle East. Without a doubt, the pioneer Protestant missionaries were chief agents of cross-cultural encounters in mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. Their efforts to educate the local peoples with Western knowledge might be understood as cultural imperialism. The ABCFM was keen to put Robert College in “seminary frame,” whose purpose would be training Protestant local pastors who would assist the missionaries in their main goal

of “conversion of souls.” In contrary, Hamlin also envisioned a different school. He suggested a variation of “innovations” in the curriculum toward an “industrial education” or “self-help education.” Religious leaders from the Ottoman Empire and in the United States objected to these "innovations" with the claim that it would divert the students to a “worldly life.” The second issue that raised controversies between ABCFM and the founders of Robert College was the use of English language. Enrolling young men of all nationalities and religions and instructing them in English language as the common ground upon which they would stand was a problem that would remain in the years to come.

Chapter Three examined the consolidation of Robert College as a Protestant School in the Ottoman Empire and analyzed the problems in the history of the early years, such as faculty between mission work and educational activism, as well as questions of identity during this time of reform in the Empire. The Tanzimat reorganization led to accumulative sectarian tension in the millets that further enabled missionary actions and even legitimated the existence of an Ottoman Protestant community, which further complicated the religious composition in Constantinople. In this chapter, the question of cultural imperialism was elevated. Hamlin’s view of English as a tool for communicating knowledge to the young Ottomans remained a significant factor in the discussion. The Ottoman Empire consisted of many nationalities, religions, cultures and even more languages and dialects, but the English language became the tool for evangelizing, educating, consolidating and attracting young Ottomans at the premises of the college. Armenians, Albanians, Austrians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Kurds,

Romanians, Jews, Turks and Serbians all spoke different languages and dialects. Hamlin insisted that all students would need to learn a common language that undoubtedly would be the English language. Hamlin believed that the treasures of the Christian thought, Western science and philosophy predestined the English language to be a band of sympathy and intercourse among the nations, beyond any other language. Hamlin, who was often misunderstood by the board and the faculty of Robert College, was forced to retire and return to the United States.

Chapter Four covered a complex period of transition and transformation in Robert College's early history. George Washburn became the second president of the school. The missionary strategies shifted from preaching to opening of schools and establishing printing facilities throughout the Empire. The missionary press printed vernacular Bibles, newspapers and magazines, Protestant books and school materials. In doing so, the Protestant missionaries did not fail to live up to their promise and ideals, but increased the influence of the Protestant culture abroad. As years passed, the school reconsidered its priorities and shifted toward education for all races and faiths in the Ottoman Empire by developing an industrial curriculum. The faculty felt confident that they would reach the bold choices that would help Robert College reach its goals, as they contemplated and refined these new priorities,. The school gave clear indication in Constantinople for its desire to strengthen academic excellence at the college and to become "America's true cultural embassy." The faculty of Robert College witnessed the further decline of the Ottoman Empire, the political changes on the Balkan, the Russo – Turkish war, the Treaty of San Stefano. During this time, the Bulgarian massacres

occurred, which raised more problems for the school. During the turmoil, Ottoman soldiers invaded Robert College to arrest the Bulgarian students. It was at this point that Washburn came to be known by many as the “Father of Bulgaria.” The publicity that the faculty of Robert College gave of the massacres led to some essential events, such as the demands by the Great powers to end the atrocities and urging political reforms in the Empire.

Chapter Five investigated the school’s activities as the institution continued to move forward under new leadership. In 1903, Gates became Robert College’s third president. Washburn’s leadership of twenty-nine years was marked by vivid transformation of the school, as the movement of the Young Turks headed to a unique demand for a Western style of education. Nevertheless, the attraction of some Muslim families to missionary schools was something that often offended the Ottoman authorities. It was clear that Robert College was more than just a school. The college was a crucial asset in the translation and distribution of the Bible to all citizens of the Empire, Jews, Christians and Muslims. The premises and resources of Robert College became accessible to a diverse team of translators gathered around Albert Long who worked together to translate Bible into modern (spoken) Bulgarian that became to be known as the Protestant Bible. Russian powers often tried to frame the public opinion toward the Protestant school of Constantinople and to project the school as an alien element with an alien ideology that does not belong in the Orthodox culture. The free spirit of Robert College was considered as a treat for the imperial interests of Russia on the Balkan. Another important event for this time period were the Armenian massacres

in 1895-1896 that would lead to the tragic events from 1915 to 1923.

For the Sublime Porte, the Armenian question seemed to be a domestic issue that Ottoman officials would easily manage to solve, but for the faculty of Robert College, it was a barbaric action toward civilian population. Robert College's establishment is an intriguing example of how Protestant missionaries developed formal education throughout the Empire and became pioneering educators for women and underprivileged local people, as well as the foremost early instructors of European languages, Western knowledge, science and medicine. The history of Robert College includes 150 years of originality, innovations and astonishing development that impacted the history of Armenia, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey and the United States of America. The Protestant founders have invested their whole lives and resources to establish a successful institution that would inspire generations of leaders.

This final chapter evaluated the early years of Robert College, which provided a rich and diverse array of intersecting histories from this important region of the world. The purpose of the thesis is, first, to provide an adequate assessment to the understanding of the Protestant ideology and functioning of Robert College as a missionary educational institution in Constantinople, originally established to meet the needs of the Rum millet during the Tanzimat reorganization. Second, to communicate a concise history of Robert College, from its establishments with the help of "gunboat diplomacy," until the end of the Ottoman Empire. Third, to examine the efforts of the missionaries and educators at Robert College to unfill models of American culture to peoples from the Ottoman Empire, just as they portrayed the Orient for Americans in

the United States. What questions do these interactions prompt about the consequences of Protestant cultural projection into the wider world?

First, what were the distinctly American dimensions of these missionary encounters, the cultural influences they exerted in the Ottoman Empire, and their consequences for nationalism in the Christian provinces of the Empire, Bible translations and print culture, local education, and more? The dissertation argued that Orthodox Christians, mainly Armenians and Bulgarians adapted the missionaries' ideology of democracy and freedom, as well as "gunboat diplomacy" to their own determinations and notions in evolving and building up tension of nationalism that pushed Ottoman authorities to radical actions, such as massacres and atrocities to extinguish growing separatism within Constantinople and the Christian provinces of their empire. The question of Robert College's influence in the Balkans and Middle East, amidst the political turmoil in the last years of the decaying Empire, is a crucial one. Finally, as many respected scholars would argue, the establishment and work of Robert College, as well as the broader idea of Protestant foreign missions is a tool of nationalism, and, by extension abroad, imperialism.

Without a doubt, the pioneer Protestant missionaries were chief agents of cross-cultural encounters in mid-nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. In many cases, the American educators at Robert College understood the field of education as a superior tool for mission. Was the establishment of Robert College only a case of cultural imperialism? Answering with simple yes or no would be a contradictory solution. The dissertation argues that the term cultural imperialism would imply limitation to the full

concept of the extension of American culture abroad and the role of Robert College could be deemed as an ambiguous process. In elaborating these issues, the thesis argues that the confrontation with the ABCFM and various Church authorities in New England over educational policy, political engagements of students and professors, style and language of teaching, pushed Robert College to switch to a school with financial and structural autonomy and to gain the freedom to become crossroads of cultures, faiths and nationalities.

APPENDIX A:

Graduates of Robert College - 1863-1917

Albanian Graduates

Soule Abdoul 1917

Aralan Faud 1917

American Graduates

Robert Anderson 1894

Robert Chambers 1900

Roger Anderson 1904

William Peet 1907

Armenian Graduates

Hagopos Djedjizian 1868

Diran Garabedian 1870

Arsen Araenian 1875

Sakris Hovaghimian

Hagop Muggerdetchian

Garabed Eliguzelian 1876

Herutiun Gumushian

Mangasar Mangassarian

Asham Minassian

Kanrik Shashbasian

Hovahghim Surpouhian

Matteos Minassian

Mirijan Alyakinian 1877

Hovanness Gulbenkian

Abraham Hagopian

Nogoghos Shabazian

Garabed Tchetchian

Cricor Eliguzelian 1878

Armenag Jucknavorian

Dicran Osgan

Mihran Boyadjian 1879

Hagop Constantinian

Hovanes Dionioan

Haroutiun Mosditchian

Herant Keretchian

Hevdon Bojadjian 1880

Hovaness Gibenkian

Haroutiun Mosditchian

Mihran Aslanian 1881

Armenag Hagopian

Arshag Manoukian 1882

Ardashess Mardaghian

Melcon Melconian

Artaci Sabian

Othon Djiladjian 1883

Diran Kemhadjian

Cricor Melconian

Dikran tashdjian

Garabed Baronian 1884

Aram Bedrossian

Nishan Condayan

Levon Kiatibian

Marcan Kiatibian

Stepan Madatian

Cricor Sharkarian

Avedis Adjemian 1885

Minas Dzalian

Siroun Kemhadjian

Muggerditch Shahnazar

Nigohos Boyadjian 1886

Hovsep Djedjizian

Gullabi Gulabiakian

Arshak Kevorkian

Parnag Minassian

Hobvanmess Missarian

Levon Mugarditichan

Karekian Shirian

Garabed Essayan 1887

Stepan Hovsepian

Alexander Kiatibian

Vahan Matteosian

Arthur Missiarian

Hovsep Navasartian

Hrant odian

Hagop Ouzounian

Hovsep Stepanian

Toros Torossian

Leon Asadour 1888

Mihran Findjanjian

Haroutiun Gulbenkian

Yervant Handnanian

Nishan Handjian

Senekerim Helvadjian

Bedros Makarian

Diran Margosian

Diran Mouradian

Levon Mouradian

Muggerditch Oundjian

Karnig Sirounian

Nazaret Derderian 1889

Yervant Djedjizian

Hovanness Kurdijian

Haroutiun Kulutchian

Stepan Magarian

Vahan Tophanllian

Armenag Utudjian

Mardik Bedrosian 1890

Vartan Djiniashian

Benjamin Varzhabenian

Armenag Andreassian 1891

Haroutiun Hovaghimian

Herant Metteossian

Hovsep Varzhabedian

Arsen Georgian 1892

Arshag Karagheuzian

Bedros Tashdezhian

Krikor tchibouk

Diran Aghasian 1893

Mihran Djedjizian

Stepan Kharpountlian

Hovanness Alexanian 1894

Dikran Ananian

Nerses Kalpakdjian

Yervant Krikorssian

Boghos Metteossian

Diran Mouradian

Djivan Saghirian

Hovanness Tchayan

Elijah Kaprelian 1895

Aram Kafraghoisian

Roupen Osgan	
Alezander Pabouidian	
Arsen Shmavonian	
Leon Tchorigian	1896
Levod Yazidjian	
Kevork Djamdjian	1897
Kerop Gulbendkian	
Zenas Matteossian	
Caspar Tuysizian	
Leon Dominionian	1898
Kerop Sissakian	
Garabed Ormanian	1899
Abraham Rakedjian	
John Shishmanian	
Armenag Vitchanian	
Janik Andreasian	1900
Mihran Arabian	

Yervant Beloziant
Harouthin Essefian
Hagop Garmirian
Ardashes Hadjian
Diran Hovaghimian
Diran Tahtabrounian

Philip Garabedian 1901

Hovhhaness Arabian 1902

Aram Beurakinian

Zareh Djedjian

Parsegh Essefian

Levon Kirishdjian

Mardiros Reissian

Mardick Baliozian 1903

Gulbenk Gulbenkian

Tigran Koyoumidjian

Levon Mesrobian

Hrant Shirinian

Nishan Tokatlian

Hovanness Arabian 1904

Alexander Galadjikian

Dirkan Hagopian

Leon Matteossian

Onik Papazian

Arnag Timourian

Parsegh Arabian 1905

Aram Calinder

Aram Djishmardahoss

Nerses Garabedian

Andon Papazian

Hagop Andonian 1906

Levon Djedjizian

Garabed hagopian

Hagop Miskdjian

Kirkor Narlian

Hapet papazian

Serop Aghamdjian 1907

Garabed Avanozian

Aram Baravian

Antranik Bedikian

Simon Gordondjian

Hrant Geuzubuyukian

Garabed Lokmandjian

Hrant Manoukian

Dirkan Nevshehrlian

Armenag Shirinian

Mihran Shirinian

Vahran Tchertchian

Migerditch Abrahamian 1908

Haig Galdjikian

Hagop Keropian

Edward Matteossian

Onik Odian

Levon Assadourian 1909

Vahan Calinger

Nevdon Djedjian

Charles Dominionian

Hovhanness Garakian

Haroutiun Kasserdjian

Yervant Khepootlian

Levon Toumadjanian

Hovanness Garabedian 1010

Armenag Hovaghimian

Hrant Issacoulian

Yaghoub Yaghoubian

Puzant Gauzubuyukian 1911

Armenag Salmaslian

Vahan Thomassian

Mardiros Kouyoumdjian 1912

Yervant Krikorian

Muggerditch Meherian

Sarkis Megherian

Vahran Nazarian

Gezaros Avannozian 1913

Boghos Boghossian

Kaik Herestedjian

Vahran Papazian

Yervant Papazian

Bedros Sarabian

Samual Tarpanian 1914

Garabed Bedrosian 1915

Diran Berberian

Mihertad Boyadjian

Armenag Kalfayan

Shod Kalfayan

Hagop Martayan

Karnik Babayan 1916

Levon Babayan

Hagop Costikian

Vagharshag Takvorian

Tevfik Alyanakian 1917

Vahan Demirkapoulian

Haig Dilsizian

Garabed Kelekian

Arshag Solakian

Hagop Tevonian

Austrian Graduates

Antonio Peruta 1902

Bulgarian Graduates

Petco Gorbanoff 1868

Theodore Djabaroff 1869

Yordan Economoff,

Peter Matthoff

Naiden Nicoloff

Stephan Tomoff

Ivan Geshof 1871

Stephan Panaretoff

Ivan Slaveikoff

Constantine Stoiloff

Petco Tapchileshkoff

Mettei Bojoff 1872

Constantine Caltchoff

Stephen cambourrof

Peter Dimitroff

Dimiter Economoff

Ivan Geshoff

John Sitchanoff 1873

Christo Bojiloff 1874

Ivan Bradinoff

Dossi Economoff

Peter Gorbanoff

Peter Cherneff

Vasil Ivanoff 1875

Todor Ivantchoff

Alexander Ludskanoff

George Manoff

Yordan Petroff

George Stephanoff

Svetoslav Taptchileshkoff

Ivan Ballinoff 1876

Nicola Christoff

Illia Dimitreff

Theophil Economoff

Marin Marinoff

Dobri Minkoff

Verban Nicoloff

Abraham Christoff 1877

Luka Kasseroff

Mihail Madjaroff

Anastas Stoyanoff

Yassen Yaneff

Christo Bracaloff 1878

Stephen Mettheoff

Christo Michailoff

Dimiter Gantcheff 1879

Ivan Karandjouloff

Nicola Matheoff

Mihail Milcoff

Sandu Teneff

Tzoniu Toteff

Ivan Milchoff 1880

George Peneff

Yanko Peneff

Yordan Petroff

Nicola Alexandorff 1881

Vasil Karayovoff

Stephen Minchoff

Dimiter Mintchevitch

Stephan Petroff

Petrco Radomiross

Theodore Shipkoff

Christo Todoroff

Christo Veleff

Ivan Belopitoff 1882

Dimiter Marcoff

Todor Mirkovitch

Ivan Peyeff

Atanas tascheff

Constantine Dimitroff 1883

Peter Djambazoff

Ganiu Djabaroff

Mattei Stoicoff

Peter Voicoff

Vasil Belinsky 1884

Bpris Bracaloff

Athanas Djevozoff

Vasil Economoff

Christo Farashoff

Boris Kissimoff

Dimiter Michailovsky

Nicola Michoff

Christo Minchovitch

Pascal Ratcheff

Roussi Rousseff

Stephan Socoloff

Christo Stamatoff

Nicola Zlataroff

Nicola Baldjieff 1885

Ivan Beshkoff

Christo Dimitrieff

George Georgievitch

Stephan Kyroff

Luca Prandjoff

Apostol Rouevsky

Lilo Yakovoff

Zheco Zhecoff

Constantine Apostoloff 1886

Mihail Arnaudoff

Todor Dimitrieff

Zlatan Draganoff

Ivan Kardzhieff

Yordan Kousseff

Simeon MIschaicoff

Anatsas Petcoff

Dimo Smedovsky

George Stamatoff

Peter Thomoff

Dimiter Velcheff

Peter Constantinoff 1887

Constantine Economoff

Constantine Ghiuroff

Ivan Koteff

Dimitar Maltchoff

Stoyan Manaoloff

Miron Mironoff

Mintcho Nestoroff

Lev Ognenoff

Dimitar STancheff

Traiko Traikovitch

Athanas Vouthidoloff

Thomas Yacovleff

Yanko Angheloff 1888

Anastas Batchevaroff

Ivan Batzoff

Pantelli Georgievitch

Ilia Ilieff

Assen Ivanoff

Dimiter Ivanoff

Ivan Karamichailoff

Vasil Karamichailoff

Ivan Letcheff

George Ludiskanoff

Raino Rainoff

Boris Softoff

Boris Stantchieff

Athanas Velleff

Michail Burneff 1889

Christo Popoff

Stephen Sokeroff

Alexander Tchaperoff

Christo Tchaperoff

George Vitanoff

Christo Kaleeff 1890

Asan Keremektchieff

Evstati Michailoff

George Pouleff 1891

Nicola Pouleff

Trasiboylous Zaphiroff

George Shopoff 1892

Haralambi Ankoff 1893

Ivan Baitcheff

Tsvetan Illieff

Constantine Pesheff

Peter Petcovitch

Kyriak Pravdalieff

Nicola Baltadjieff 1894

Mihail Kouzoff

Boris Mandousheff

Panayot Mohailoff

Peter Milosheff

Stephen Papzoff

Pashanko Koleff 1895

Marin Kostoff

Milan Kouseff

Ruyu Rouevsky

Svetoslav Salgandjjeff

Bogdan Tsoneff

George Baitcheff 1896

Constantine Minkoff

Mathew Vassileff

Bojil Bijoff 1897

Ivan Bijoff

Nedialko Bracaloff

Savva Kiseloff

Dimiter Vuleff

Dimiter Mlteff 1898

Christo Nentcheff

Raphail Nicolaeff

Peter Rainoff

Kroum Vodenicharoff

Alexander Zhelescovitch

Stephen Boyadjieff 1899

Nicola Djabaroff

Ivan Kuneff

Stoyan Milosheff 1900

Ivan Savoff

Gospodin Arnaudoff 1901

Stamat Kolyanoff

Bojidar Utchormansky

Zlatko Zhetchkoff

Gourko Kozlovsky 1902

Vladimir Vitcheff

Ivan Bagaroff 1903

Ivan Bijoff

Loubomir Boutchkoff

Mihail Damianoff

Theodore Nestoroff

Bogdan Tchavdaroff

Vasil Vitcheff

Dragoshin Dragoshinoff 1904

Stephen Biasoroff 1905

Bogdan Drandarevsky 1907

Trifon Prihoff

Veliko Dvorianoff 1908

Gantcho Gavrilloff

Krstyu Marinoff

Emmanuel Nicoloff

Svetoslav Daskaloff 1909

Ivan Fournadjieff

Constantine Ivanoff

Veselin Kasseroff

Constantine Dimitroff 1910

Todor Goudeff

Andrei Stoyanoff

Eftim Diacoff 1911

George Ivanoff

Lubomir Koumanoff

Nicola Petcoff

Starshimer Batchvaroff 1912

Kotcho CHristodoroff

Dimiter Diacoff

Radoslav Katsounoff

Tsvetko Kottchagoff

Ivan Matincheff

Cyril Panaretoff

Vladimir Berlonoff 1913

Christo Derzeff

George Georgieff 1914

Ivan Kidoff

Lalo Lazaoff

Grigor Obreshkoff

Kuntcho Shipkoff

Tzvetko Stoyanoff

Ivan Kerekoff 1915

Spehan Ludskanoff

Nicola Natcheff

Jupiter Petroff

Peter SHipkoff

Peter Stoineff

Thomas Tsakoff

Voskreseni Berlinoff 1916

Boris Tabakoff

Alexi Alexieff 1917

Greek Graduates

Zenos Constantinides 1872

Constantine Georgiades 1875

Athanasios Dimitriades 1876

Athanassios Dimitriades 1877

Alexander Thomson

Pavlos Exacoustos 1878

Haralambi Colambi 1881

Esaiah Mylonides 1883

Paniyotis Doros 1884

John Maditinos 1885

Cantakouzin Couzoudjakoglou 1887

Cleon Lazarides

Michail Topouzoglou

Seraphim Casaphi 1888

Demosthenes Petrides 1889

Mihail Avramides 1890

George Ioanides

Athanasios Kazakos

Nicholas Kyriakides

Alexander Philipakis 1891

John Avramides 1893

Victor Depolo

Stavros Emmanuel

George Papadopolous 1894

Eurepides Stavrides

Philip Valsamakis

Spiridon Valsamakis

Alaexander Emanuel 1895

Elias Ganis

John Spephanides

Nicolas Antoniadès 1896

John Altinoglou 1897

Athanassios Ahtanassiades

Peter Cazzaiti

Socrates Petrides

George Coombes 1898

Emile Depollo

Pericles Vekyros

Pericles Xanthoulis

Alexander Yenidounia

George Callinicos 1899

John Georgiades

Alexander Papadopoulos

Athanassios Petrides

James Politis

Alcibiades Bostandjioglou 1900

Demetrios Criezis

Anastasios Panas

Dionisios Papastephanos

Antonos Savvides

George Caranicolas 1901

Agamenon Danos

Spiridon Moussouridis

Franciscos Papadoupoulos

Petros Protopapadakis

Simeon Yorgallides

Panayotis Doucas 1902

Epaminondas Floras

Constantine Papadopoulos

Plydoros Triantaphyllides

Agesilaos Dandolos 1903

Dimitros Dimitriades

John Ioanides

John Papadoupoulos

Anthony Petala

Stavros Chryssides 1904

Stephanos Ephremides

Eugenios Eugenides

Evangelos Hadji Andreas

Aristides Nicolaides

Nicolas Nicolaides

Constantine Protopadakis

Basil Razis

Lukas Steppanitzis

John Ephtimiades 1905

Nicolas Ephtimiades

Andreas Magalos

Hercules Voticas

Mihail Boyadjides 1906

Alwxander Daraktsoglou

Nicolas Mavris

Nicolos Mourmouris

Savvas Nicolaides

Constantine Zoides

Leonidas Adamopoulos 1907

Efthymios Anthomelides

Demetrios Arabogiou

Constantine Bellocas

Zissis Cottionis

George Deliyannis

Mihail Dorizas

Vassilios Giavourakis

Antonios Glynos

George Parapantopoulos

Constantine Studitis

Panayotis Alamanos 1908

Floros Florides

Christo Kiosses

Demetrios Yannopoulos

Aleko Yorganjoglou

Nicolas Anghelicos 1909

George Boyadjides

Demosthenes Papadakis

Alcinois Rombakis

Theodore Sahinis

Nicolas Sitaras

Adamanditois Adamantiades 1910

Solon Anagnostopoulos

Panos Anthoulis

Michael Athanassiades

Theodore Cremidis

Constantine Daiglou

Nicolas Paizis

Christo Papazoglou

George Pascalides

Parissis Roussos

Theodosios Studitis

Alexander Valeras

George Vollonasis

Achiles Zotos

George Assimacopoulos 1911

Michael Florides

Constantine Papadopoulos

Zacharia Passianoff

Peter Petrides

Evangelos Roussos

Spiros Scoridilis

Simeon Sivasteoglou

Demetri Spiglio

Nicolas Tavropoulos

Basil Adamantiades 1912

Demosthenes Bondjoukoglou

Panayotis Capranos

Constantine caramitros

Stephen Harissiades

James Papadoupolos

George Voticas

John Costides 1913

Theologos Extintaris

Alexander Germanis

Thomas Chiochas

Thrasyvoulos Haralambides

John Koty

Demetrius Linakis

Stamatos Polemis

Miltiades Sarris

Milnos Takolarides

Othon Andreadis 1914

Nicolas Kaltchoglou

Alexander Michaelides

Pantelis Panteloglou

Sopholes Sayas

Spyridou Theophanis

George Dodopoulos 1915

Demetrious Emmanuelides

Emile Djiras

Geoerge Georgiades

Christo Guiochas

AlexanderMargarittis

Evriviades Mariettis

Sophocles Metzis

Stavros Papadakis

John Piemenides

Theodore Sarantis

Joseph Agazoglou 1916

Antonios Araboglou

Kyrias Hadji Prokopiou

Thomas Moussikos

Apostolos Nicolaides

Constantine Stangos

John Tripos

Theodossios Arditchoglou 1917

Dionyssios Garbis

Apostolos Garis

Andrew Kampouris

George Papazoglou

Nicolas Thephanopoulos

English Graduates

Edward Binns 1872

William Jew 1878

Thomas Southgate 1889

Lewis Parry 1890

James Gatheral 1894

Angus Swan

Walter Seager 1895

Cecil Edwards 1896

Cuthbert Binns 1900

Douglas Binns

Louis Constantine 1901

German Graduates

Nathaniel Muller 1869

Edward Igel 1897

Walter Neumann 1899

Hungarian Graduates

Rene Nowotny 1910

Persian Graduates

Ali Mehmed 1913

Polish Graduates

Ladislav Zwierchowsky 1901

Lawrence Yankovsky 1913

Rumanian Graduates

Nicolas Sandulesco 1910

Russian Graduates

Paul Constantinoff 1917

Serbian Graduates

Aristarchus Cousovitch 1877

Turkish Graduates

Houloussi Hussein 1903

Orhan Halid 1911

Vamik Aziz 1915

Mehmed Ridvan

Nedjati Fuad 1916

Helet Hasan

Atiff Hazim 1917

Soubhi Kadri

Jewish Graduates:

Abraham Narine 1877

Samuel Behjet, 1885

Darius Arditti 1909

Michail Socolovsky 1910

Jacques Arditti 1911

Gabriel Tatour 1912

Henri Presente 1914

Raphael Ramon 1916

APPENDIX B:

Alphabetical List of Former American Teachers at Robert College - 1863-1950

A

George Adams	1929-1932
Thomas Alexander	1908-1909
Frederick Allen	1946-1949
John Allen	1911-1913
Robert Allen	1911-1913
William Allen	1948-
Gordon Allport	1919-1920
Charles Anderson	1869-1913
Herbert Anderson	1937-1938
Hudson Anderson	1946-1947
William Anderson	1919-1920
William Applegarth	1942-1943
Gordon Avery	1943-1946

B

Russell Babcock	1928-1931
Joseph Bailer	1928-1930
David Baker	1921-1922
John Baker	1942-1943
Oliver Baker	1929-1935
Edgar Banks	1903-1904
Harry Barnum	1900-1939
Theodore Barrett	1946-1948
Robert Bartlett	1949-
William Baxter	1929-1935
William Beach	1920-1921
Ward Beckwith	1887-1888
Arthur Bedell	1910-1922
Norman Beecher	1949-
Thomas Benner	1942-1943
Joseph Bennett	1940-1943
Judson Biehle	1927-1930
John Biggs	1942-1945
Eleanor Bisbee	1936-1942
Floyd Black	1911-1914, 1919-1926; 1944-
John Bliss	1936-1947
Donald Blaisdell	1922-1925

Howard Bliss	1945-1947
Edward Bloch	1947-1949
Paul Bowerman	1920-1921
Hilary Boyd	1943-
F. Boardman Brewer	1932-1935
Robert Brandaur	1939-1940
George Brat	1915-1917
Martin Bredberg	1914-1917
Lincoln Bates	1914-1915
H. Daniel Brewster	1939-1940
John Brown	1911-1914
Philip Brown	1894-1902
Wilson Binger	1944-1945
Ellis Briggs	1921-1923
Sarah Brown	1935-1936
John Burns	1943-1944
Robert Butterfield	1939-
John Brunell	1946-1949

C

Almy Carter	1901-1902
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Richard Childs	1949
Halsted Clapp	1927-1929
Frank Clark	1920-1922
Partick Clinton	1940-1941
Stanwood Cobb	1907-1909
Edward Colcord	1920-1923
Howard Cole	1924-1926
John Collier	1929-1930
Douglas Collins	1948-
Eleanor Collins	1946-
Gyfford Collins	1936-
Harlan Conn	1922-1928
Martin Cohn	1946-1946
Sherman Cook	1919-1922
John Coburne	1936-1939
Charles Cowell	1922-1922
Marion Cowell	1924-1929
J. Forest Crawford	1937-1942
Claire Cluver	1924-1928
Elbert Curtis	1926-1929
Max Cushing	1909-1911
Charles Cutts	1939-1943

D

Charles Davis	1945-1948
Homer Davis	1920-1923
Walter Davidson	1927-1923
Richard Daugherty	1924-1929
Harold Deane	1913-1917
Chester Deaver	1920-1923
Henry Dewing	1910-1916
Fred Dickerman	1930-1931
Charles Dickerman	1920-1921
Thomas Dickey	1942-1943
L. P. Dickenson	1919-1921
Paul Dike	1915-1923
William Dobbins	1936-1939
Harold Dodge	1919-1922
Donald Downes	1940-1941
Horville Downie	1936-1939
George Duff	1910-1911
Frank Duley	1894-1900
Richard Dunlap	1945-1948

Charles Durfee	1894-1895
Leon Durst	1914-1917
Ion Dwyer	1904-1910

E

William Eames	1949-
William Ebaugh	1930-1931
George Eddy	1905-1906
Hanford Edison	1890-1994
Howard Emerson	1923-1926
Marke Emerson	1925-1928
Frederick Erdman	1928-1936
John Espy	1946-
Charles Estes	1905-1947
Llewellyn Evans	1927-1933
James Eells	1947-1948

F

Theodore Faville	1907-1908
Earl Fertig	1925-1928

Edmund Field	1940-1941
Edgar Fisher	1913-1934
J. Elliott Fisher	1927-1930
Sydney Fisher	1936-1937
John Fiske	1930-1933
Gordon Fleming	1946-1947
Rollo Fletcher	1912-1914
Calvin Flint	1933-1934
Paul Flory	1932-1935
Judge Forbes	1872-
Trowbridge Forges	1907-1908
Evan Fotos	1949-
Theodore Fowle	1919-1921
Robert Fox	1934-1941
Arthur French	1913-1916
Jervis Fulmer	1926-1930

G

Paul Gaehr	1908-1911
Alexander Galadjikian	1914-1919
Francis Garlough	1903-1905

David Garwood	1939-1942, 1947-
Caleb Gates	1902-1932
Caleb Gates, Jr.	1929-1932
Moore Gates	1916-1919
Frank Gauflin	1912
John Gaiger	1912-1919
Helen Gibbons	1910-1911
Herbert Gibbons	1910-1913
William Gilman	1934-1936
Richard Gnade	1936-1938
Robert Goldsmith	1937-1938
Fred Goodsell	1924-1925
Charles Goodwin	1943-1945
David Gordon	1947-1949
Major Griffith	1911-1913
Paul Grieswold, Jr.	1947-1948
Benjamin Gonewald	1923-1927
Edwin Grosvenor	1867-1990
James Grove	1942-1943
Carl Gulliver	1913-1917
Harold Gulliver	1916-1920

H

Harvey Hall	1936-1941
Raymond Hall	1909-1912
William Hall, Jr.	1925-1927
Cyrus Hamlin	1863-1877
Milles Hand	-1893
Clyce Hanna	1938-1941
Martin Hardin	1926-1928
Robert Hardy	1937-1939
Raymond Hare	1924-1927
Roscoe Harris	1943-1944
William Harris	1947-1949
David Hasbrouck	1946-1947
George Hayes	1921-1925
John Haynes	1883-1884
Fred Hays	1914-1915
Burt Hazeltine	1935-1936
Willis Hazelton	1926-1932
Ralph Henderson	1948-
Winthrop Hopkins	1894-1902
Arthur Hoyt	1872-1874

Charles Hoyt	1890-1893
Chauncey Hulbert	1916-1917
Roland Hummel	1948-
George Huntington	1900-1938
Robert Hunter	1949

J

John Jackson	1936-1939
Alexander Jenkins	1924-1925
Augustus Johnson, Jr.	1948-
Clarence Johnson	1921-1923
Constance Johnson	1949-
John Johnson	1914-1915
Forrest Jones	1943-1945
Loring Jordan	1907-1909

K

Stephen Keeler	1946-
William Keith	1915-1916
Ralph Kennard	1927-1930

Ralph Kent	1921-1923
William Kimball	1939-1941
John King, Jr.	1936-1939
Hugh Kingery	1910-1911
Paul Knabenshue	1941-1942
Karl Koopman	1914-1915

L

George Ladd	1893-1894
Clinton Laird	1945-1947
Arthur Lanckton	1934-1936
Margaret Landes	1931-1932
Herbert Lane	1945-
Frank Laurie, Jr.	1909-1911
Chester Lay	1922-1923
William Layton	1946-1948, 1949-
John Leavitt	1939-1941
Leslie Leavitt	1916-1916
Russell Leavitt	1916-1917
Herbert Leigh-Manuell	1946-1947
Joseph Leinbach	1927-1928

Charles Lewis	1911-1915
Louis Limper	1907-1911
John Linn	1942-1946
Albert Lybyer	1900-1907

M

David MacAlpink	1939-1940
John McCarthy	1935-1941
Shelby McCloy	1924-1925
Henry McCreery	1937-1940
Howard McCrodden	1939-1944
William MacGregor	1931-1938
Z. L. Macmillan	1930-1933
George Manning	1916-1930
Alice Manning	1916-1930
Delbert Mann	1914-1917
Henry Malter	1946-1949
Clement Martin	1887-1896
Robert Melton	1924-1927
Albert Melvin	1907-1908
Southard Menzel	1931-1934

Gordon Merriam	1921-1923
Minor Merrick	1927-1930
Grant Merrill	1925-1928
Edward Meservey	1946-1948
George Milles	1926-1929, 1931-1934
Harold Miller	1946-1949
Sara Miller	1946-1948
Walter Miller	1945-1948
Charles Mills	1919-1922
John Miner	1909-1912
Robert Miner	1935-1937
Paul Monroe	1932-1935
Laurence Moore	1904-1907, 1919-1942
Alfred Morgan	1910-1925
Alice Morgan	1924-1927
Louis Morse, Jr.	1932-1932
Edward Murray	1930-1933
George Murray	1901-1904
Edgar Muhlhausen	1943-1946
Richard Muther	1938-1939
David Muzzey	1893-1894
Walter Myers	1921-1924

Charles MacNeal	1923-1927, 1928-
Sarah MacNeal	1939-
Joseph Nadler	1934-1936
Beauveau Nalle	1949-
Charles Nash	1878-1879
Harold Nauman	1923-1926
John Nettleton, Jr.	1938-1939
Arthur Newell	1927-1929
Paul Nilson	1949-
John Ninas	1921-1928
Gaylord Noyce	1947-1949

O

William Ormiston	1885-1919
John Orr	1940-1944
Edward Ovellette	1928-1931

P

John Paine	1867-1869
William Parquette	1938-1941

Raymond Pearson	1941-1944, 1946-1949
Timothy Pfeiffer	1946-
Theodore Pockman	1911-1913
George Pollock	-1893
James Pond	1938-1941
Lansing Porter	1878-1879
Bertram Post	1905-1938
Francis Potts	1937-
Edwin Powers	1919-1921
Earle Pritchard	1919-1922
Elizabeth Pritchard	1920-1922
Peter Prius	1920-1921
George Perkins	1863-1865
Peter Radcliff	1930-1933
Ernest Ramsaur, Jr.	1938-1939
Hoyt Rawlings	1928-1931
Clyde Reed	1919-1921
John Reed	1945-1946
Lewis Reed	1896-1897
Orville Reid	1892-1895
Francis Rich	1940-1941
Marion Richards	1928-1935

C. S. Richardson	1872-
Roy Riffle	1924-1930
Charles Riggs	1893-1897
David Rodd	1947-1948
Albert Rogers	-1894
Martin Rogers	1938-1941

S

George Sackett	1920-1921
Henry Sanborne	-1895
C. A. Savage	1874-1895
John Savage	1941-1943
Henry Schauffler	1863-1865
Ernest Schlee	1913-1917
Henry Schwartz	1911-1914
Lynn Scipio	1912-1943
Dwight Scoles	1921-1924
Harold Scott	1911-
Carl Scovel	1890
Charles Scribner	1921-1933
Harley Sensemann	1940-1941

Laurens Seelye	1942-
Edward Sheirby	1930-1939
S. C. Shipley	1920-1923
Waldo Smith	1928-1936
John Stene	1941-1944
Olive Sterling-Evans	1928-1933
Kirk Stetson	1946-1948
Earl Stivers	1825-1928
Benjamin Stoltzfus	1946-
Esther Stoltzfus	1946-1948
Carl Stotz	1930-1935
Arthur Stratton	1942-1944
F. L. Stuber	1929-1932
Robert Stuckert	1919-1924
Hale Sutherland	1926-1927

I

Robert Taylor	1883-1884
Ethel Thomas	1945-1946
Lewis Thomas	1937-1939, 1944-1946
Vinton Tompkins	1912-1917

Cameron Thompson	1935-1936
John Troland	1929-1934
James Trosch	1933-1934
Philip Tucker	1930-1933

V

Roy Van Aken	1920-1923
Philip Van Arnam	1920-1921
Alexander Van Millingen	1878-1915
Robert Van Nice	1940-1941
Charles Virtue	1925-1926
Edmund Vittum	1878-1881
Walter Voll	1933-1934

W

Alfred Waidelich	1934-1936
Elbridge Walker, Jr.	1925-1927
Harry Wann	1909-1911
Louis Wann	1908-1911
Paul Ward	1901-1902

Theodore Ward	1927-1929
Robert Warren	1912-1915
Arthur Washburn	1915-1917
George Washburn	1869-1908
Weiant Wathen-Dunn	1936-1940
Ernest Watson	1902-1923
Lewis Webber	1874
Hezekiah Webster	1874
Clarence Weiffenbach	1908-1919
Joseph Weinland	1936-1937
E. W. Wetmore	
Harold White	1924-1927
Doris Whitman	1948-
Willard Whitman, Jr.	1939-1942, 1948-
Forbes Wiley	1924-1925
S. D. Wilcox	
Homer Wilkins	1944-1946
Frederick Williams	1917-1919
George Williams	1943-1946, 1949-
Mary Williams	1949-
Robert Williams	1948-1949
Edward Wilsey	1928-1936

John Wilson	1943-1945
Richard Wise	1939-1942
Eugene Wiseman	1938-1939
Henry Wolsdorf	1925-1928
Harland Woods	1913-1923
George Wright	1904-1906
Walter Wright, Jr.	1935-1944

Y

Alphild Yesim	1942-
Edgar Yolland	1941-1942
George Young	1894-1900

APPENDIX C:

Presidents of Robert College and Bogazici University 1863 – 2016

1. Cyrus Hamlin	(1863-1877)
2. George Washburn	(1877-1903)
3. Caleb Frank Gates	(1903-1932)
4. Paul Monroe	(1932-1935)
5. Walter Livingston Wright	(1935-1943)
6. Floyd Henson Black	(1944-1955)
7. Duncan Smith Ballantine	(1955-1961)
8. Patrick Murphy Malin	(1962-1964)
9. Dwight James Simpson	(1965-1967)
10. John Scott Everton	(1968-1971)
11. Aptullah Kuran	(1971-1979)
12. Semih Tezcan	(1979-1982)
13. Ergun Togrol	(1982-1992)
14. Ustun Erguder	(1992-2000)
15. Sabih Tansal	(2000-2004)
16. Ayse Soysal	(2004-2008)
17. Kadri Ozcaldiran	(2008-2012)
18. Gulay Barbarosoglu	(2012- today)

APPENDIX D:

Glossary

<i>Ağa</i>	From Ottoman Turkish أغا , an honorific title for a civilian or military officer.
<i>Adet</i>	From Ottoman Turkish آدات - custom, habit, way
<i>Bâb-ı Âlî</i>	The Sublime Porte. In diplomatic circles, the Ottoman government was often referred to as the "Sublime Porte," a literal translation of the Ottoman Turkish <i>Bâb-ı Âlî</i> , which was the only gate of Topkapi Palace open to foreigners and the location where the Sultan and his viziers greeted ambassadors
<i>Başıbozuk</i>	Irregular, lawless, damaged head. An irregular soldier of the Ottoman army, known for their lack of discipline, often used for cruel military missions, or other tasks such as reconnaissance and outpost duty. A <i>Başıbozuk</i> was not necessary to be a Turk but also Arab, Albanian, Bosnians, Circassian, or a representative of other Muslim nations. They were not paid by the Ottoman government but rely on plunder.

<i>Bektashi dervishes</i>	A syncretic and heterodox Sufi order, found principally in Anatolia and the Balkans, with offshoots in other regions, named after Ḥājī Bektāš and regarding him as its founding elder
<i>Bey</i>	Title <i>bey</i> (بای) and <i>efendi</i> were part of the title of the husband and sons of imperial princesses. For the grandsons of an imperial princesses, the official style was simply <i>Bey</i> after the name.
<i>Chitalishta</i>	An organized reading room (читалища), following the similar Greek model from the early nineteenth century
<i>Devlet-i Ebed-Müddet</i>	The Eternal State, a popular name among Ottomans for their Empire.
<i>Dhimmi</i>	People of the Book. The term was applied to Jews and Christians living in the Ottoman Empire to emphasize their distinct, but protected, position within Ottoman political structures.
<i>Effendi</i>	The Turkish word أفندي <i>Efendi</i> or <i>Effendy</i> derives from the Greek αφέντης and it is a title of nobility, meaning a lord or master.
<i>Firman</i>	The term comes from the Persian word فرمان <i>farmân</i> , used in the Ottoman Empire to describe an administrative order issued by or in the name of the Ottoman Sultan.

<i>Giaurs</i>	An offensive term, a slur, appellation for unbelievers, respectively Christians. The term derives from the Persian گور for infidel. The term was widely popular in Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire to insult all who are not Muslims.
<i>Grand Vezir</i>	The title of the holder of the state, or the prime minister of the Ottoman Empire, with absolute power of attorney and, in principle, dismissible only by the sultan himself. The term comes from the اعظم وزير or اعظم در Vezir-i Azam or Sadr-ı Azam meaning chief officer.
<i>Hatt-ı Sherif of Gülhane</i>	Ottoman Edict of 1836, which marked the beginning of the Tanzimat reforms.
<i>Hatt-ı Humayan</i>	Ottoman Imperial Edit of 1856, which continued and refined the Tanzimat reforms through promising equality for all Ottoman subjects regardless of religious faith.
<i>Irrade</i>	A decree of a Muslim ruler. The Ottoman term derives from the Arabic irādah for will, wish, a decree of the Sultan
<i>Memâlik-i Mahrûse</i>	The Well-Protected Domains
<i>Memâlik-i Mahrûse-i Osmanîye</i>	The Well-Protected Domains of the Ottomans
<i>Millet</i>	from the Arabic word millah ملة – nation

<i>Osmanlı padişahları</i>	The Title of the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire made up solely of the members of the Ottoman dynasty of the House of Osman.
<i>Paşa</i>	An Ottoman title. پاشا <i>paşa</i> typically granted to government or military officials.
<i>pezevenk</i>	An Ottoman slang word, borrowed from a similar Armenian vulgar term for pimp, procurer, scoundrel, pander, a worthless, obnoxious person, usually male, without honor, morals or virtue.
<i>Raihan</i>	The term comes from the Arab رعايا <i>ra'iya</i> for flock, subject. In the Ottoman Empire رعايا were the members of the tax-paying lower class of society, including Muslims and all other members of the Millets.
<i>Rum</i>	Collective title for all Christians within the Ottoman Empire; used more specifically to reference those within the Greek Orthodox Church.
<i>Sultan</i>	A noble title with several historical meanings. From the Arab term سلطان <i>sultān</i> . The Ottoman emperors' formal title consisted of <i>Sultan</i> together with <i>Khan</i> . This dual title symbolized the Ottomans' dual legitimating heritage, Islamic and Central Asian.
<i>Tanzimat</i>	From the Ottoman Turkish تظيمات <i>Tanzīmāt</i>), literally

meaning *reorganization*. The *Tanzimat* period was a time of reorganization and reforms started in the 1840s by the Ottoman government to strengthen the relationship between the government and its subjects.

<i>Topkapi Sarayı</i>	A large palace in Constantinople that was one of the major residences of the Sultans
<i>Tsarigrad</i>	The Bulgarian name (Цариград) for Constantinople. It derives from Tsar – grad or the city of the Tsar, Βασιλις Πόλις.
<i>Vezir</i>	A high-ranking political advisor or minister in the Ottoman Empire. The term comes from the Arab وزير; <i>wazīr</i>
<i>Vilâyat</i>	A designated province within the Ottoman Empire.
<i>Wāī</i>	From the Arabic word والي that was used as an administrative title for a Governor of a province in the Ottoman Empire
<i>yukse okul</i>	College
<i>Zornitsa</i>	Morning Star (Зорница) The first Bulgarian magazine (1864). Albert Long was the founder, editor and publisher of Zornitsa.

APPENDIX E:

Turkish Spelling and Pronunciation

Throughout this dissertation, modern Turkish spelling has been used for Turkish proper names and for things that are specifically Turkish, with a few exclusions for Turkish words that have made their own way into English. Turkish is thoroughly logical and phonetic, and the few letters that are pronounced differently from English are specified. All letters have but a single sound, and none is totally silent. Turkish is very slightly accented, most often on the last syllable, but all syllables should be clearly and almost evenly accented. Vowels are accentuated as in German. Each syllable begins with a single vowel or with a single consonant.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰⁵ More on the Turkish language see John Guise, *The Turkish Language Explained for English Speakers: A Treatise on the Turkish Language and its Grammar*, (Manisa Turkish, Printed by CreateSpace, Charleston, 2014); Geoffrey Lewis, *Turkish Grammar*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2001); Lewis V. Thomas, *Elementary Turkish*, (Library of Congress, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1967); Oxford Wordpower Dictionary English-Turkish: A New Semi-Bilingual Dictionary, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2012).

APPENDIX F:

Christopher Robert's Requirements for Tutors

I

The candidate should be a man twenty-two to twenty-six years of age, of fervent, symmetrical piety, combined with a missionary spirit, a willingness to do hard work, the ability to work harmoniously with others and one who is not unyielding, stiff, or one who would be conscientiously obstinate, one who is ready to do anything which the good of the College requires, even to teaching the alphabet, though he may be versed in the most abstruse parts of the Calculus; in short a man who wants to live a Christian life and do a Christian teacher's work, desiring to do good to the souls of his pupils as well as to improve their understanding.

II

A good mind in a sound body, with a large share of common sense, a firm but mild temper, a warm heart readily sympathizing with those under him, keenness of perception and a cool, unbiased judgment, governing himself well and able to govern others so far as practical by love rather than force. Possessing gentlemanly habits and

feelings.

III

A man of great breadth of mind, who can take broad and proper views of education, not wedded to any system, comprehending the purpose of education, knowing a great deal more than he is expected to teach.

IV

A thorough and systematic scholar, not a man who has barely “got through” college or who has been little above the average of his class, but one who has been among the very first, a real enthusiast in learning, never satisfied with present attainments but always pressing on to farther acquisitions.

V

Apt to teach, with ability and tact to impart what he knows. An enthusiast in his work, determined to make better scholars than any other teacher has ever done and inspiring them with a love of learning. Not a man in feeble health who wishes to “lay off.”

VI

A man who can impress himself on his pupils, who can influence them for good, whose wishes as well as his words shall be law to them, one who by his own habits of punctuality, promptness, system and neatness shall teach as well by his exemplary practice in all these respects as by precept.

VII

A mercenary person, or one who would go to make money, is not wanted.”

APPENDIX G:

Timeline - 1863-1923

1810	ABCFM established in Boston.
1819	Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk arrive in the Ottoman Empire
1831	Signing of the first treaty between the Ottoman Empire and the United States.
1831	USA embassy is established and Commodore David Porter is appointed to Constantinople.
1839	Cyrus Hamlin arrives in the Ottoman Empire as Congregational missionary to work for ABCFM.
1839	Abdülmeçid I, 31 st Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.
1840	The period of the Tanzimat reorganization begins.
1840	Cyrus Hamlin establishes Bebek Seminary, a mission school in Constantinople.
1853	The Crimean War begins.
1857	Albert Long arrives in Bulgaria to serve as Methodist missionary.
1857	James and William Dwight proposes to Christopher Robert their plans for for establishing a college in Constantinople. Dwight's proposition is rejected due to their youth and lack of experience.
1858	Christopher Robert contacts Hamlin with the preposition for

- establishing a college at Constantinople. Hamlin accepts.
- 1858 Washburn arrives in the Ottoman Empire to se serve as a treasurer for ABCFM.
- 1860 Hamlin resignes from ABCFM.
- 1861 Abdülaziz I 32, Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1861 The Civil War begins.
- 1863 Robert College is established with Cyrus Hamlin as the first President, with a faculty body of seven professors and with a student body of four.
- 1864 Robert College is granted a charter by the Board of Regents in the State of New York, with the power to confer the B.A. degree.
- 1865 The Civil War in the USA ends.
- 1866 Syrian Protestant Protestant College is established in Beirut.
- 1868 A French Lycee is opened in Galata Sarai in Constantinople.
- 1869 The cornerstone of Robert College’s building is laid on the Fourth of July.
- 1869 Washburn undertakes full faculty position at Robert College as Professor of Philosophy.
- 1871 The American College for Girls is established in Constantinople.
- 1871 Robert College moves to its new campus.
- 1872 Long resigns the Methodist mission in Bulgaria and undertakes a fulltime position as Professor of Natural Science at Robert College.

- 1875 The Eastern crisis begins.
- 1876 Murad V, 33rd Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1876 Abdülhamid II, 34th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1876 The Bulgarian massacres.
- 1876 Hamlin is forced to return to the United States where he later serves as professor of dogmatic theology at Bangor Theological Seminary.
- 1877 The Russo-Turkish War begins.
- 1878 Washburn becomes Robert College's second President.
- 1878 The Congress of Berlin acknowledges the independence of Serbia, Romania and Bulgaria.
- 1880 Hamlin becomes President of Middlebury College in Vermont.
- 1881 Caleb Frank Gates arrives at the Ottoman Empire to work for the ABCFM.
- 1889 First Armenian atrocities.
- 1894 Caleb Frank Gates becomes president of Euphrates College in Harput, Asia Minor.
- 1895 Second Armenian atrocities.
- 1896 The Hamidian massacres toward Armenians.
- 1898 The International College is established in Izmir.
- 1903 George Washburn retires.
- 1903 Caleb Frank Gates becomes the third President of Robert College.

- 1908 Ferdinand of Bulgaria assumes the title of *tsar* with Russia's patronage.
- 1908 The Young Turk Revolution begins.
- 1909 Mehmed V, 35th Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1912 Robert College opens the School of Engineering.
- 1912 The Balkan wars.
- 1914 The outbreak of the First World War marks the fall of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1915 The beginning of the Armenian Genocide.
- 1918 Mehmed V, 36th and last Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.
- 1923 The Republic of Turkey is established.
- 1923 Robert College adopts a strictly secular educational model in accordance with the republican principles of the Republic of Turkey.
- 1923 Complete dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.

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89 linear ft. (207 boxes).

This collection is arranged in 2 parts.

The first part of this collection is arranged in 19 series:

Series I: Origin: Robert College Prior 1863

Subseries I.1: General

Subseries I.2: Personal Records of Cyrus Hamlin

Series II: Records of the Trustees

Subseries II.1: Christopher Robert

Subseries II.2: General

Series III: Records of the President

Subseries III.1: Christopher Robert

Subseries III.2: George Washburn

Subseries III.3: Caleb Gates

Subseries III.4: Monroe, Wright, Black, Ballantine

Subseries III.5; Annual Reports

Series IV: Records of the Vice President, George H. Huntington

Series V.1: Records of the Dean

Subseries V.1: Edgar Fisher

Subseries V.2: Laurence S. Moore

Subseries V.3: Harold Scott

Subseries V.4: Harold Hazen

Series VI: Records of the Faculty

Series VII: Records of the Students

Series VIII: Records of the Alumni

Series IX: Office of the Trustees, New York

Series X: Financial records

Series XI: Official College Events

Series XII: Publications

Series XIII: Historical Writings

Series XIV: Oversize Material

Series XV: Photographs

Series XVI: Minutes

Series XVII: Audio Visual

Subseries XVII.1: Films

Subseries XVII.2: Audio Tapes (reel to reel)

Series XVIII: Architectural Plans and Drawings

Series XIX: Microfilms

Addition to the collection: Arranged in 7 series

Series I: Heritage Room/Rare Books (Istanbul)

Series II: Heritage Room/Rare Books (Istanbul & R.C./N.Y. Offices)

Series III: Board of Trustees and Specific Committees

Series IV: Board of Trustees and Financial Documents

Series V: Faculty Lists

Series VI: Education Committee

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