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A Muslim/Turkish Minority
in Ottoman Constantinople:
The Muslim/Turkish Students of
Robert College (1866–1925)

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Robert College, founded by American Protestant missionaries in Constantinople in 1863, started its first academic schools with students belonging to a variety of nationalities, no Turks or Muslims among them (the first were enrolled in the school year of 1866-1867), while in the ninety-second academic year (1954-1955) the Turkish students numbered 780 out of the total number of 1051, that is, they constituted 74 percent of Robert College's student body.

The college attracted students of various nationalities such as Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Turks, and others as well. However, due to a variety of reasons, these nationalities were not present on equal level throughout Robert College's history. In the very beginning the Armenian and the Bulgarian students prevailed, then during the first two decades of the twentieth century the Greek students outnumbered the others, and finally, as of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey, the Turkish students became more numerous at the expense of all the other nationalities which had previously

dominated in terms of number.¹ In other words, during the Ottoman period of Robert College's history the Turkish students, despite the gradual increase of their number, always constituted a minority. Since the overwhelming part of these students came from Istanbul proper, they must have actually found themselves in an ethnic-religious composition, which was completely reverse to that of the then city. As a matter of fact, it became true only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century since by the late 1880s more than half of the city's population was non-Muslim. In the first two decades of the twentieth century the number of Muslim inhabitants reached and surpassed 70 percent.² Hence the Turkish/Muslim students of the Ottoman Robert College constituted a minority in a Christian and non-Turkish speaking milieu, regardless the fact that they came from a society, in which the faith and language of their fathers were dominant.

This unusual situation provides a good opportunity for a researcher to study that specific group. The current study is based on catalogues of students, preserved at present at today's Robert College, which functions as a private American high school, occupying the buildings and the campus of the former American College for Girls in Arnavutköy, Istanbul.³ The college archive contains a whole series

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- 1 See Orlin Sabev, "A Tower of Babel in Constantinople: Robert College's Students and Their Nationality," *Études Balkaniques*, 47, nos. 2-3 (2011): 117-159.
 - 2 Kemal H. Karpat, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914: Demographic and Social Characteristics* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985): 86, 102-105; Orhan Sakin, *Osmanlı'da Etnik Yapı ve 1914 Nüfusu* (İstanbul: Bizim Kitaplar, 2010): 241-242.
 - 3 I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. David Cuthell (member of Robert College's Board of Trustees), Mr. John Chandler (former headmaster of Robert College), and Mrs. Zeynep Torkak (archivist at Robert College) for providing me with the facility to explore this archive. I would like to express also my deep gratitude to TÜBİTAK (The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey) for providing me with a one-year grant for 2012 (within the framework of its supportive program for visiting scholars) in support of my research project *History of Robert College in Light of Ottoman and Turkish Archives*, as well as to thank Atatürk and Revolution History Institute at Hacettepe University and Bilkent University, Ankara, for providing me with research facilities and hospitality.

of Catalogues of Students. The first thirteen volumes comprising all the college years between 1872 and 1971 cover almost the whole period of function of Robert College, except its first decade. However, the Arnavutköy archive possesses also a Catalogue of Students for the first college year of 1863–1864,⁴ while Columbia University’s Rare Book and Manuscript Library in New York possesses two other such catalogues for the college years of 1865–1866⁵ and 1866–1867,⁶ as well as for the years of 1882–1883, 1884–1885, 1885–1886, 1886–1887, and 1889–1890,⁷ which are identical with the catalogues for the relevant years preserved in Istanbul. In other words, only for five college years such catalogues are missing.

The catalogues of students, preserved both in Arnavutköy and New York archives of Robert College, are of extreme importance since they provide in tabular form details about the names, class of study, place of origin, nationality and citizenship, father’s occupation, date of enrollment and sometimes date and degree of graduation as well as date of leave or expulsion from the college of the students. In combination with the available lists of graduates and alumni registers⁸ these catalogues provide a unique opportunity for prosopographical study of Robert College’s student body.

Prosopography as a historical research method developed in the late nineteenth century.⁹ It has many definitions which empha-

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- 4 Robert College Archive, İstanbul (hereafter RC), 9–B.
- 5 Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library (hereafter CU–RBML), Robert College Records MS # 1445, Series III. 5, folder 1.
- 6 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Series III.5, folder 2.
- 7 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Series VII, folders 24, 25, 26.
- 8 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Series VIII, folders 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41. On the basis of two alumni registers Herkül Millas studies the variety of nationality of Robert College’s student body. See: Herkül Millas, “Robert Kolej Öğrencileri ve Etnik Kimlikler 1863–1938 [Robert College Students and National Identities 1863–1938]”, in “Robert Kolej’in Osmanlı Dönemi [The Ottoman Period of Robert College]” in *Bir Geleniğin Anatomisi: Robert Kolej’in 150 Yılı [The Anatomy of a Tradition: 150 Years of Robert College 1863–2013]*, (ed.) Cem Akaş (İstanbul: Suna ve İnan Kıraç Vakfı İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2013): 155–170.
- 9 See: Koenraad Verboven- Myriam Carlier, and Jan Dumolyn, “A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography,” *Prosopography Approaches and*

size the following features: it is a *collective biography*, describing the *external* features or the *common characteristics* of a group of historical actors that have something *in common* (profession, social origins, geographic origins, etc.).¹⁰ As a method it is an attempt to bring together all relevant biographical data of a large number of members from a pre-defined population in a systematic and stereotypical way in order to make visible the particular characteristics of that population as a whole by subjecting them to one and the same questionnaire. Hence prosopography is not concerned with the unique but with the average, the general and the “commonness” in their lives. The individual and exceptional is important only insofar as it provides information on the collective and the “normal”.¹¹

Prosopography is useful in studying the social setting and the contacts of people, that is, the social networks, and is applied to diverse fields of research such as religious history, political or institutional history, administration, social history and the history of mentalities, demography, intellectual history and the history of ideas, financial and economic history, as well as the history of specific social groups: professions, students, etc. For instance, a study can be made of the students or professors of a university or of the different “nations” in a medieval university.¹²

In terms of number prosopographical studies as far as the Ottoman society is concerned is pretty modest. The existing studies, however, are very in-depth and sound. In this respect Norman Itzkowitz’s

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Applications A Handbook, (ed.) K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 35–69.

10 Claude Nicolet, “Prosopographie et histoire sociale: Rome et l’Italie à l’époque républicaine,” *Annales, Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, (25) (1970): 1209–1228 ; Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, “Prosopografie en middeleeuwse geschiedenis: een onmogelijke mogelijkheid?” *Handelingen der Maatschappij Voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, (45) (1991): 95–117; Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, “Prosopographical Research in the low Countries concerning the Middle Ages and the Sixteenth Century,” *Medieval Prosopography* (14), no: 2 (1993): 27–120; Lawrence Stone, “Prosopography,” *Daedalus*, (100) (1971): 46–79.

11 Nicolet, op. cit., 1226.

12 Verboven- Carlier, and Dumolyn, op. cit., 49.

study of the background and career line of the eighteenth-century Ottoman statesmen, published in 1962, is a pioneering one.¹³ Later on he published a prosopographical research (with co-author Joel Shinder) of the persons who held the position of Grand Mufti in the Tanzimat period (1839–1876).¹⁴ Joseph S. Szyliowicz's prosopographical studies of the graduates of *Mülkiye* School, established in 1859, and their part in the elite recruitment,¹⁵ and of the Ottoman administration, mainly in the middle eastern provinces,¹⁶ demonstrate the great opportunities that Ottoman biographical sources such as Mehmed Süreyya's *Sicill-i Osmani* provide for application of methodological tools developed in the social science to historical material. He emphasizes the relationship between education, bureaucratic leadership, social strata and change in the nineteenth century.

In contrast to Joseph S. Szyliowicz's research, Carter V. Findley's book on Ottoman civil officialdom, based on vast archival sources, among which the rich collection of personal files of Ottoman government officials, the so-called *Sicill-i Abvâl*, preserved in the Ottoman Public Record Office in Istanbul (*Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi*), takes into consideration the social and educational backgrounds, the career line and standard of living of the Ottoman high-ranking officials working in the central administration (mainly those who worked at the Ottoman Foreign Office – *Hariciye Nezaretî*), which during the reformative period between 1789 and 1922 underwent transformation from the old type (*kalemiye*) to a modern type of administration (*mülkiye*) due to the introduction of a new

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- 13 Norman Itzkowitz, "Eighteenth-Century Realities," *Studia Islamica*, (16) (1962): 73–94.
- 14 Norman Itzkowitz and Joel Shinder, "The office of Şeyh ül-İslâm and the Tanzimat: a Prosopographical Enquiry," *Middle Eastern Studies*, (8), no. 1 (1972): 93–101.
- 15 Joseph S. Szyliowicz, "Elite Recruitment in Turkey: The Role of the Mülkiye," *World Politics*, (23), no. 3 (1971): 371–398.
- 16 Joseph S. Szyliowicz, "Changes in the Recruitment Patterns and Career-Lines of Ottoman Provincial Administrators During the Nineteenth Century," in *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period*, (ed.) Moshe Ma'oz (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press-The Hebrew University Institute of Asian and African Studies Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1975): 249–283.

modern schooling system.¹⁷ In particular Findley provides prosopographical study of the graduates of *Mülkiye* School, which allows some comparative analysis with regard to Robert College's students and graduates. Findley's study on the graduates of *Mülkiye* School is based mainly on Ali Çankaya's biographical research on them.¹⁸

The studies of Abülhamit Kırmızı,¹⁹ Cengiz Çakaloğlu,²⁰ Kemal Daşcıoğlu,²¹ Serdal Soyluer,²² Ahmet Aslan,²³ Yasemin Beyazıt²⁴, Ahmet Ali Gazel,²⁵ Ahmet Erkartal,²⁶

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- 17 Carter V. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: a Social History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); available also in Turkish translation: Carter V. Findley, *Kalemiyeden Mülkiyeye: Osmanlı Memurlarının Toplumsal Tarihi*, (trans.) Gül Çağalı Güven (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2011).
- 18 Ali Çankaya, *Son Asır Türk Tarihinin Önemli Olayları ile Birlikte Yeni Mülkiye Tarihi ve Mülkiyeliler*, 8 volumes (Ankara, 1968–1971).
- 19 Abdülhamit Kırmızı, "Son Dönem Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde Akraba Ermeniler," *Ermeni Araştırmaları*, (8) (2003): 137–152.
- 20 Cengiz Çakaloğlu, "Sicill-i Ahval Kayıtlarına Göre Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki Manisalı Mülki Amirler," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (25) (2004): 221–242.
- 21 Kemal Daşcıoğlu, "Sicill-i Ahval Defterlerine Göre Buldanlı Memurlar," in *Buldan Sempozyumu 23–24 Kasım 2006. Bildiri Metinleri*, (eds.) İrfan Ertuğrul and Turgut Tok (Denizli: Pamukkale Üniversitesi, 2006): 561–570.
- 22 Serdal Soyluer, *Sicill-i Ahval Defterlerine Göre Osmanlı Döneminde Muğlalı Devlet Memurları (1879–1909)* (Muğla: Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2006), unpublished MA thesis.
- 23 Ahmet Aslan, *Sicil-i Ahval Defterlerine Göre Osmanlı Döneminde Afyonkarahisarlı Devlet Memurları (1879–1909)* (Muğla: Muğla Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2006), unpublished MA thesis.
- 24 Yasemin Beyazıt, "Sicill-i Ahval Defterleri'nin Tahlili ve Denizli Kökenli Memurlar Üzerine Bir Prosopografi Denemesi," in *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Uluslararası Denizli ve Çevresi Tarih ve Kültür Sempozyumu: Bildiriler*, vol. 1, (eds.) Ayfen Özçelik and others (Denizli: Pamukkale Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü, 2007): 502–510.
- 25 Ahmet Ali Gazel, "Sicill-i Ahval Defterlerine Göre Osmanlı Dönemi'nde Görev Yapan Anamurlu Memurlar," *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (32) (2007): 203–213.
- 26 Ahmet Erkartal, *Sicill-i Ahval Defterlerindeki Safranbolulu (Zağfiranbolulu) Memurlar (1879–1909)* (Sakarya: Sakarya Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007), unpublished MA thesis.

Serap Sunay,²⁷ Engin Adak,²⁸ Sezai Balcı,²⁹ Kevser Değirmenci³⁰, Yunus Özger,³¹ Ahmet Gündüz,³² Nurgül Bozkurt³³, Ahmet Yadi³⁴, and Mustafa Kılıç,³⁵ dealing with various segments of Ottoman officialdom, are also based on the *Sicill-i Ahvâl* registers. Nilgün Aşıkcı Çevik's MA thesis provides a collective biography of the male population of Denizli according to the 1831 census.³⁶ Jun Aciba has

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- 27 Serap Sunay, *II. Abdülhamit Döneminde Balıkesirli Mülki Görevliler Hakkında Bir İnceleme* (Afyonkarahisar: Afyonkarahisar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007), unpublished MA thesis.
- 28 Engin Adak, *Sicill-i Ahvâl Kayıtlarına Göre Erzincanlı Memurlar* (Manisa: Celal Bayar Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2008), unpublished MA thesis.
- 29 Sezai Balcı, "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Son Döneminde Silifkeli Memurlar," in *Mersin Sempozyumu, 19–22 Kasım 2008*, vol. 1, (ed.) Yüksel Özdemir (Mersin: Mersin Valiliği– Mersin Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009).
- 30 Kevser Değirmenci, "Bir Prosopografi Örneği: Sicill-i Ahvâl Defterlerine Göre Uşaklı Memurlar," in *CIEPO Uluslararası Osmanlı Öncesi ve Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmaları 6. Ara Dönem Sempozyum Bildirileri 14–16 Nisan 2011, Uşak*, vol. 1, (eds.) Adnan Şişman, Tuncer Baykara and Mehmet Karayaman (Uşak: Uşak İli Kalkınma Vakfı, 2011): 469–486.
- 31 Yunus Özger, *Sicill-i Ahvâl Defterlerine Göre Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde Yozgath Devlet Adamları* (İstanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık, 2010); Yunus Özger, "Sicil-i Ahval Defterlerine Göre Bazı Yahudi Memurların SosyoKültürel Durumları," *Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*, (4), no. 16 (2011): 382–401.
- 32 Ahmet Gündüz, "Sicill-i Ahval Defterlerine Göre Kırşehir Doğumlu Memurlar (1879–1909)," *History Studies. International Journal of History*, (3), no. 1 (2011): 131–154.
- 33 Nurgül Bozkurt, "Sicill-i Ahvâl Defterlerine Göre Simavlı Memurlar," *Akademik Bakış Dergisi*, (27) (2011): 1–12.
- 34 Ahmet Yadi, "Sicill-i Ahvâl Defterlerine Göre Ordu Doğumlu Memurlar," *Ordu Devlet Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (3), no. 6 (2012): 300–312.
- 35 Musa Kılıç, "Tanzimat Döneminde Osmanlı Hariciye Nezâreti'nin Ermeni Memurları," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Tarih Bölümü Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (31), no. 51 (2012): 93–124; Musa Kılıç, "Sicill-i Ahvâl Kayıtlarına Göre II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Osmanlı Bürokrasisinde Yahudi Memurlar," in *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi OTAM* 31 (2012): 129–155.
- 36 Nilgün Aşıkcı Çevik, *Denizli 1831 Nüfus Sayımı Grup Biyografisi*

conducted prosopographical research of the judges in the late Ottoman Empire.³⁷ Seyfi Yıldırım's PhD thesis deals with the Turkish citizens sent to study abroad between 1940 and 1970 demonstrates how the prosopographical approach could be applied in the field of history of education.³⁸ In connection with this thesis Ramazan Acun demonstrates the opportunities that database computer programmes provide for such prosopographical studies.³⁹ And finally, Sinan Kunalp's prosopographical catalogue of the Ottoman higher rank officials, covering the period between 1839 and 1922, is a good source for further studies.⁴⁰ Since the prosopographical method requires a rich database, it is not surprising that most of these studies are dealing with the late Ottoman period from which a bulk of documentation is well preserved. With this regard two books, covering almost one and the same chronological period (late fifteenth and early sixteenth century), and namely Hedda Reindl's prosopographical study on the age of Sultan Bayezid II (1481-1512)⁴¹ and Peter Sebastian and Mario Luciano's research based on Marino Sanuto's diary⁴², as well as that of Suraiya Faroqhi,⁴³ are exclusive.

(*Prosopografisi*) (İzmir: T. C. Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2007), unpublished MA thesis.

- 37 Jun Aciba, "Social Origins of Late Sharia Judges: Some Observations on Mobility and Integration," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, (69) (2005): 65-97.
- 38 Seyfi Yıldırım, *Eğitim Amacıyla Yurt Dışına Gönderilen Öğrenciler (1940-1970): Prosopografik Bir Çalışma Örneği* (Ankara: Hacettepe Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, 2005), unpublished PhD thesis.
- 39 Ramazan Acun, "Towards a Prosopography of the Ottoman Empire: Generalising From a Project on the Students Reading for Higher Degrees Abroad," in *IXth International Congress of Economic History of Turkey, 20-23 August 2002, Dubrovnik, Croatia* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2006): 385-391.
- 40 Sinan Kunalp, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkân ve Ricali (1839-1922): Prosopografik Rehber* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1999).
- 41 Hedda Reindl, *Maenner um Bayezid. Eine Prosopographische Studie Über die Epoche Bayezid II. (1481-1512)* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1983).
- 42 Sebastian, Peter and Mario Luciano, *Turkish Prosopography in the Diarii of Marino Sanuto 1496-1517/902-923* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1988).
- 43 Suraiya Faroqhi, "Civilian Society and Political Power in the Ottoman

The application of this method is closely connected to the availability of mass historical data that could allow the researcher to build a database, including information according to a given questionnaire related to a certain group of people. In the present study the Muslim/Turkish students of Robert College during its Ottoman period are under prosopographical study. There are several reasons for taking this group as an objective of such a study. First, we dispose with mass documentation, such as the catalogues of students which provide important information, which allow the application of prosopographical approach, and, namely, the names of the students, their geographical origin (place of birth or country of origin), the occupation of their fathers, the date of their enrollment and leave, and sometimes the reasons for this leave or their expulsion from school. On the other hand, the available alumni records, reference books of *who's who* type,⁴⁴ and other sources provide information about the education and the career of those who graduated from the college.

In this study the Ottoman period of Robert College is taken into consideration, since, during that period the college was the only school of higher education in Constantinople, in which the Muslim/Turkish students were minority – a situation which could be juxtaposed with the situation in the other schools, in which these students were naturally majority. The total number of the students, whose nationality is stated as Turkish, during the Ottoman period of Robert College is 706. The first Turkish students enrolled only in the fourth year, 1866–1867. Two major political events in Ottoman and Turkish history had definitely affected the enrollment figures of the Turkish students at Robert College, and namely the 1908 Young Turk revolution, and the demise of the Sultanate, and the establishment of Republican regime in 1923 (see Table 1). Therefore, the analysis is focused on three chronological periods, and namely 1866–1908, 1909–1922, and 1923–1925.

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Empire: a Report on Research in Collective Biography (1480–1530),” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, (17) (1985): 109–117.

44 *RC-ACG Who is Who?* (Istanbul: Robert College of Istanbul, 1963); *R. C. ve A. C. G. 'den Kim Kimdir* (İstanbul: S. Erez, 1970); *Robert College ve Boğaziçi Üniversitesi 1863–1983 Mezunlar Kataloğu* (İstanbul: RC ve BÜ Mezunlar Ofisi, 1984); *Who is Who in the RC-ACG Alumni Community [RC-ACG Mezunlar Toplumunda Kim Kimdir?]* (İstanbul: İstanbul Amerikan Kolejleri Mezunları Derneği, 1985).

1866–1908

The first Turkish students enrolled in Robert College as early as the fourth college year of 1866–1867.⁴⁵ These were a certain Kiamil Efendi and the brothers H. and E. Williams, whom George Washburn, president of Robert College between 1877 and 1903, refers to as “2 Christian Osmanlis” in a letter to Christopher Robert, dating from October 6, 1869,⁴⁶ as well as in his memoir.⁴⁷ They had been brought to the college by their father, a Muslim convert into Christianity, whose original name was Selim Ağa. He had become a Protestant at the age of forty-five, taking the name of Edward Williams, and Cyrus Hamlin had put him in charge of the laundry.⁴⁸ The two brothers, who in 1867 were registered by Cyrus Hamlin as day scholars and who entered the college in September 1866, were also registered in a list of the Robert College beneficiaries for the year of 1869–1870. This means that they studied here at least four years. Albert C. Williams, whose name is registered in the enrollment records between 1874 and 1879, was probably relative of the same Protestant proselyte, recorded this time as dead. He also paid half fee in his last college year. Kiamil Efendi, on the other hand, entered the college later, in May 1867, also as a day scholar, but since no other reference of his name is available one is not able to say how long he had studied at the college.

In a report to the Board of Trustees dating from May 28, 1873 Washburn states that there is “one genuine, full-blooded Turc; several others have come, but have not remained.”⁴⁹ In a letter sent to his son Alfred on April 2, 1873 Cyrus Hamlin mentions the name of this “genuine” Turkish student, and namely Osman, and expresses his pleasure that Osman placed first in a spelling bee against twenty-two of his classmates, who “went down before the gleaming scimitar of

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- 45 The claims that the first Turkish students enrolled Robert College in 1874 are not correct. See: Halit Ertuğrul, *Azınlık ve Yabancı Okulları: Türk Toplumuna Etkisi* (İstanbul: Nesil Basım Yayın, 1998): 265.
- 46 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Sub-series II.1, folder 67.
- 47 George Washburn, *Fifty Years in Constantinople and Recollections of Robert College* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909): 40.
- 48 John Freely, *A History of Robert College* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000): 68.
- 49 Ibid.: 90.

Osman.”⁵⁰ It is confusing that this name does not appear in the catalogue of students of 1872–1873. There are listed five Turkish students, who continued to study at the college in the next academic year of 1873–1874, three of them, brothers, left soon, on November 15, 1873.

One could easily notice that until the turn of the century the number of Turkish students hardly exceeded ten, the average number per year being four. Yet in four college years (1870–1871, 1871–1872, 1885–1886, and 1892–1893) no Turkish students are registered. In the first decade of the 20th century, their average number was already 15, that is, thrice bigger than the previous years. As some authors point out, then well-to-do Muslims preferred to send their sons to the Imperial School (*Mekteb-i Sultani*), known also as Galatasaray Lycée.⁵¹ The Lycée opened in September 1868 with 172 Turkish students out of 480 students in total, and at the end of the school year, in June 1869, there were 203 Turkish students out of 524,⁵² while in the same year there were only two old Turkish students at Robert College. In the next few years ten Muslim/Turkish students enrolled in the college, although the general attitude of the locals to the college was negative. As George Washburn reveals, in the year of 1872–1873 “our Turkish neighbors in Hissar were in general rather fanatical and sometimes made things unpleasant for us and our students, but we took as little notice of it as possible, hoping that as they came to know us better they would become friendly. They occasionally stoned us, sometimes spat on us and generally made use of their rich vocabulary of vituperation to abuse us. This year for some reason these manifestations increased.” Washburn tells that these troubles continued in the following year and that “the leader of these attacks was the wife of

50 Ibid.: 99.

51 John Cecil Guckert, *The Adaptation of Robert College to Its Turkish Environment: 1900–1927* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Ohio State University, 1968): 38–39; Zafer Toprak, “Amerika’nın Ülke Dışında İlk Koleji: Robert Koleji,” *Tombak: Antika Kültürü Koleksiyon ve Sanat Dergisi*, (31) (2000): 23.

52 Стефка Славова- Цветана Дойнова, “Документи от националния архив на Франция за откриването на императорския османски лицей в Галата сарай и за първите български ученици в него,” *Известия на Държавните архиви*, (19) (1970): 224, 230; Adnan Şişman, *Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani’sin Kuruluşu ve İlk Eğitim Yılları (1868–1871)* (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1989): 23.

the village *imam*.” Later on, however, the college staff managed to changed her negative attitude and some years later she had asked Washburn to be apologized by saying the following: “We thought”, she said, “that you were bad people and would corrupt our village and we determined to drive you away, but we have found out that you are much better people than we are and we are very sorry for what we did.”⁵³

During the years of 1876–1877, 1877–1878, and 1878–1879 no new Turkish students entered Robert College. Mithat Aydın explains this absence with Robert College’s political affiliation with the Bulgarian independence movement (1876–1879) that made the Turks feel distrust and antipathy towards the college. According to him the Turks considered it as a political instrument rather than an educational institution.⁵⁴ In these years one old Turkish student continued to study at the college, and namely Albert C. Williams, who seems to had been relative of the above mentioned “2 Christian Osmanlis” and also a convert like them. Said Nizam Bey, who entered the college in the college year of 1875–1876, did not continue the next year, although he was registered in the Catalogue of Students. Mehmet Kadri was the other Turk who studied at Robert College in 1875–1876, but he left on May 26, 1876 because of “political troubles” as stated in the catalogue.⁵⁵ One may assume that these “political troubles” had much to do with the general feeling of insecurity in Constantinople during the spring and summer of 1876 due to the Bulgarian revolt of April, which led to political instability and the successive dethronements of Sultan Abdülaziz (1861–1876) on May 30 and Sultan Murad V (1876) in late August, deposed by Abdülhamid II (1876–1909). Robert College was also affected by this troublesome situation. George Washburn tells about an unpleasant incident in which a large armed band of mostly young Turks had come to the college campus “to make an end of the Bulgarians.” The mob, which obviously had something to do with the “half savage irregular troops” that filled the city at that time, was without distinct

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53 Washburn, op. cit., 71–72.

54 Mithat Aydın, *Bulgarlar ve Ermeniler Arasında Amerikan Misyonerleri* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2008): 130.

55 RC, *Catalogue of Students 1875–1876*: 33.

leaders and it allowed Washburn and Dr. Albert Long (a professor of natural history at Robert College), who faced them unarmed, to discourage them.⁵⁶

Actually, Robert College was the institution that helped the world to become aware of the atrocities that ended in the 1876 Bulgarian revolt. As Washburn narrates he had learnt about the events from letters sent to Dr. Long by Bulgarian friends of him by way of the Austrian consul. Then Washburn went to the British ambassador to the Sublime Porte, Sir Henry Elliot, to beg him to undertake an investigation. The ambassador, however, preferred to stay uninvolved. Washburn wrote also “to several friends in the House of Commons and begged them to interest the government in the matter.” In the summer of 1876 Stephan Panaretoff, a professor of Bulgarian language and literature at Robert College, armed with letters of introduction from Washburn to influential members of the British parliament, went to London to lobby for Bulgaria. As a result of these acts soon the “Bulgarian atrocities” became front-page news all over the world. As Washburn admits in a letter to Christopher Robert, the American founder and sponsor of Robert College, dated July 5, 1876, “everything that has been done to save the Bulgarian people from complete destruction has originated in Robert College.”⁵⁷ Keith Greenwood points out that by supporting the Bulgarian cause, Washburn, Long and Panaretoff, that is, the president of the college and two of its prominent professors, had revealed the college as “a purely Christian institution, a spokesman for Christian minorities in the empire.” In so doing, “it had turned its back on the possibility of extending its influence into Turkish society, certainly for a long time.”⁵⁸

George Washburn points out yet another reason that made the Turks/Muslims reluctant to send their sons to the college. In a letter, written by him to Christopher Robert on November 10, 1875, Washburn states that although Robert College excites the attention of influential Turks, they prefer to send their children to the Lycée since “they are afraid of our religion – Protestantism is the only

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56 Washburn, op. cit., 107; Guckert, op. cit., 47-48.

57 See in detail Keith M. Greenwood, *Robert College: the American Founders* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, Istanbul, 2000), 195-205.

58 Greenwood, op. cit., 207.

religion of which they have any fear.” Otherwise, if the college gives up all religious instruction, then it “should be crowded with Turks.”⁵⁹

In the college years of 1880–1881 and 1881–1882 there were 9–10 Turkish students at Robert College, but their number dropped again in the following years. Sources both from the college and the Ottoman government imply that this inconsistency was due to the negative attitude, which the Ottomans had towards not only Robert College but all foreign schools. In his annual report for the college year of 1883–1884 Washburn states the following: “We have had fewer Mohammedan students also. We shall probably have less next year. The hostility of the present government to everything Christian and everything foreign has risen to be a mania and few Turks dare to break it.”⁶⁰

Washburn explains the absence of Turkish students during the twenty third academic year, 1885–1886, as well as in the following years with the effort of the Sultan to prevent Turkish boys from attending foreign schools, and not with “any special hostility to Robert College, although everything English, even the English language, was regarded with disfavor at this time on the account of the occupation of Egypt by England” (1882).⁶¹ On the other hand, in 1880 the Hamidian regime consolidated and in the 1880s and 1890s the state tried to combat nationalist secession by stressing religious and authoritarian values in the curriculum of all public schools, including the Galatasaray Lycée.⁶² As a matter of fact, the catalogues of students reveal that in the years of 1886–1887 and 1887–1888 there was one Turkish student a year. The following years their number increased slightly to three students a year and in the year of 1892–1893 again no Turk enrolled. During the following two years there was one Turkish student a year. This time, these modest figures were due to the negative attitude of the Ottoman government toward the foreign schools as a whole. In the early 1890s the Hamidian regime

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59 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Subseries II.1, folder 89.

60 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Subseries III.5, folder 16.

61 Washburn, op. cit., 180.

62 Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1908: Islamization, Autocracy, and Discipline* (Leiden–Boston–Köln: E. J. Brill, 2001), 180–182.

became more autocratic mainly due to the intensified Armenian nationalist movement.⁶³

As of the thirty-third academic year, 1893–1894, the Turks had been already constantly represented in Robert College’s student body and the enrollment figures went almost perpetually in an upward direction, although the Ottoman authorities continued to prevent Muslim children from attending the college. For Robert College to have Turkish students at that time was a lucky conjuncture rather than a usual event. As Washburn expresses it for the college year of 1901–1902 they “were equally fortunate in finding men for our Turkish and German departments.”⁶⁴

It is preserved in the Ottoman archive a file of four documents dating from early June 1903 and reveal the efforts of the Ottoman government to prevent Muslim/Turkish children to attend Robert College. The documents are a result of an investigation undertaken by the Ministry of Public Instruction (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nezareti*) which reveals that it had been reported that some Muslim children still continue to attend the college. The names of eight Muslim children and their fathers are given, among whom there was also the son of the ex-minister of Public Instruction Münif Pasha. The investigation reveals that two of these students had already left the college while the others continued to attend it. Therefore it was stated that these students should be forbidden to go to Robert College according to an imperial order.⁶⁵ The names of all the students mentioned in this documentation are listed in the catalogues of students and the data they provide show clearly that the measures of the authorities had a partial effect, since not all the Muslim/Turkish students left the college. Six of them did so, while two enrolled in the college during the next academic year of 1903–1904: the son of the former minister of Public Instruction, although he did not stay by the end of the college year, and Hussein Mehmed, son of a musician in the imperial army, who studied in the college well until the academic year 1906–1907. It is also important to state that according

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63 Ibid., 181.

64 Washburn, op. cit., 281.

65 Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi, İstanbul (hereafter BOA), MF.MKT., Dosya 711, Gömlek 9.

to the catalogues of students beside these eight students mentioned in the above-said documentation there were other ten Turkish students who were enrolled in the same year of 1902–1903. One of them was the first Turkish graduate of Robert College, Houloussi Hussein (Hüseyin Pektaş, class of 1903), six of them did not enrolled in the next year, while two continued to attend the college. As a matter of fact, although the said documentation lists the names of eight Turkish students, it mentions that the number of Muslim/Turkish students enrolled in the year of 1902–1903 is six. Obviously the Ottoman authorities had no precise information about the correct number of Robert College’s Turkish students. However, if not totally, at least partly the authorities succeeded to diminish their number in the next years. The enrollment statistics show that during the next academic year of 1903–1904, the number of Turkish students dropped from 18 to eight, four old and four new students, most of them being sons of higher state officials. This academic year was the first for Caleb Gates as a president of Robert College (1903–1932) and he recalls in his memoir that at the time of his arrival the Turkish department was the least in significance and size.⁶⁶ Even so, as Caleb Gates points out, two of these new students, the son of Marshall Fuad Pasha, “a Turkish general of resolute character”⁶⁷ (stated in the catalogues of students as Essad Fouad) and a mullah (stated as Mehmed Shefkety, *softa*) had been removed from the college by order of the sultan after spending two years there.⁶⁸ As the enrollment records reveal the third of these four new students, Ercümen Ekrem, son of a counselor of state, was also to leave the college after his second year. However, the fourth student, Moussa Djevad, son of a general, continued to attend the college until the year of 1908–1909, having spent there six years. Later on, he became a prominent writer, known by his penname Halikarnas Balıkcısı.

The policy of the sultan must have something to do also with the suspicions he had, as far as the instruction of non-Muslim

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66 Caleb Frank Gates, *Not To Me Only* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1940), 181.

67 Marshall Fuad Pasha, known also as Deli Fuad Pasha (1835–1931), was in exile in Damascus between 1902 and 1908.

68 Gates, *op. cit.*, 182.

children at the college is concerned. Besides the Muslim/Turkish students the same documentation from early June 1903 reveals another concern of the authorities. They were informed that the Armenian and Bulgarian students had undergone military training in the college but the actual state of affairs had showed that the outdoor gymnastic exercises had been misleadingly reported as a military training. Since 1897 the college had organized public field days for athletics.⁶⁹

Furthermore, the general situation in Constantinople in 1903 was quite dramatic. In 1903 the students of the leading private Ottoman school Darüşşafaka demonstrated for more food and better lodging. As a response of this disobedience, Abdülhamid II, first ordered the school to be closed and all its students to be deported to Tripoli. Later on, the sultan rescinded this order but exiled its director and incorporated the school into the system of government education. Those students, who were held responsible for the disobedience, were dispersed to schools outside of Constantinople.⁷⁰

Despite this restrictive policy the statistics of the following years show a steady increase of the number of Turkish students: 13 in 1904–1905, 17 in 1905–1906, 24 in 1906–1907, 31 in 1907–1908, and 38 in 1908–1909. As Frank Caleb Gates points out, “in spite of Abdul-Hamid’s order forbidding Turks to attend the College, a few did come... At the turn of the century more and more Turks found the courage to send their sons to the College.”⁷¹

In the college year of 1907–1908 Turkish student society was established as the first issue (1926) of its annual *Life of Robert College’s Turkish Students (Robert Kolec Türk Talebe Hayatı)* reveals. The society was headed by Tefvik Fikret, a professor of Turkish at Robert College from late 1896 until his death in 1915. Its main aim was to develop students’ desire for debate and communication and to strengthen their capacity of critical research.⁷²

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69 Washburn, op. cit., 259.

70 Andreas M. Kazamias, *Education and the Quest for Modernity in Turkey* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 87; Guckert, op. cit., 61.

71 Gates, op. cit., 182–183.

72 *Robert Kolec Türk Talebe Hayatı*, 1926: 3 (A copy of this issue is preserved in the Center for Islamic Studies Library (İSAM), Istanbul: Dergi 03777).

1909–1922

In July 1908 the Young Turks or the secularist and nationalist reform party, Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) organized a military coup against the absolute monarchic regime of Sultan Abdülhamid II and made him to restore the 1876 Ottoman constitution, written by the Ottoman progressive Midhat Pasha and abolished by the sultan in 1878. Thus CUP established the Second Constitutional Era (1908–1918).

As George Washburn expresses it, “the revolution of July, 1908, was the triumph of a process of enlightenment which has been going on for many years among the Turks.”⁷³ Caleb Gates, on the other hand, states in his memoir that “the revolution in the government affected education.”⁷⁴ This event had direct impact on the enrollment process at Robert College not in September 1908, but the following year, only after Abdülhamid II’s unsuccessful counter coup in March and his deposition in April 1909. As of the academic year of 1909–1910 the number of Turkish students enrolled in Robert College doubled as compared to the previous two years, the number of the new students being approximately half the total number (see Table 1). The average number of Turkish students per year between 1866 and 1907 was three, while the average number between 1908 and 1922 was 27, that is, eight times bigger than the previous period (see Table 2). The same increase of the number of Turkish students was seen also in other missionary schools. A Turkish official at Euphrates College in Harput points out that after the 1908 Young Turk Revolution the Turks could already send their children to the college in order to share its good educational services. Robert College’s sister college, the American College for Girls, was literally besieged by Turkish applicants but the college had to reject many of them because of room limitation.⁷⁵

This drastic increase was due to several intertwined factors such as the softening of the Hamidian regime, which was much more

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73 Washburn, op. cit., xxviii.

74 Gates, op. cit., 194.

75 Roderic Davison, “Osmanlı Türkiye’sinde Batılı Eğitim,” in *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, (ed.) Halil İnalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012): 673.

conservative and rigid during the previous period, when the sultan even forbade the enrollment of Muslim students at non-Muslim schools, Robert College including, the need of knowledge in constitutional law, which at that time only Robert College provided within the Ottoman borders, and the orientation of CUP and its supporters towards the western world. Thus, in J. C. Guckert's words, the "goal of producing useful, competent Turkish citizens slowly became the mission of Robert College also. The trend of the College in accepting this role will be seen more clearly from 1908 on, when the government was in the hands of the Young Turks."⁷⁶ Keith M. Greenwood points out that "the success of the Young Turk movement led to an unprecedented demand for education along Western lines and the relaxation of the taboos against attending foreign institutions made it natural for the parents of young Turkish children to utilize the several already existing schools in the country... the winds of change which were now sweeping sway the centuries-old traditional Ottoman society provided a climate of opinion in which liberal elements in that society could justifiably ignore the religious issue and send their children to be trained in methods and techniques."⁷⁷

When summing up the results of the forty years he devoted to Robert College between 1863 and 1903, in his memoir George Washburn says the following: "We have had relatively few Turkish students, only one who has graduated, as it has been the policy of the Sultan to forbid Turkish students attending any but government schools. Notwithstanding this prohibition, we now have (1907) more than twenty Turks in the College, and its reputation among enlightened Turks is quite as high as with other nationalities."⁷⁸

Prior to 1908, 3-5 percent of Robert College's students were of Turkish origin, while in 1913 they were 15 percent.⁷⁹ The increase was supported partly by the new government itself. After the ascension to

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76 Guckert, op. cit., 40.

77 Greenwood, op. cit., 245-246; Emine Kocamanoğlu, *Yabancı Okullarda Din Eğitimi, Robert Kolej-Mekteb-i Sultani (Galatasaray Lisesi) Örneği* (İstanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, 2003): 106.

78 Washburn, 299.

79 Ayten Sezer, *Atatürk Döneminde Yabancı Okullar (1923-1938)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınevi, 1999): 65.

power of the Yong Turks a special state fund was set up to support the education of five young Turkish men each year at Robert College.⁸⁰ The same was done for the American College for Girls.⁸¹ Ottoman archival documents dating from September 1914 deal with the enrollment of a Turkish student within this quota. A certain, Müfid applied to the Ministry of Public Instruction to be enrolled at Robert College free of charge since his father Cemal Bey, a retired officer, had no enough “financial power” (*kudret-i maliye*). The young man insisted to study at Robert College because he had accomplished his previous levels of education (*ibtidai and rüşdiye*) in American schools, where he had learnt English, and therefore Robert College was the appropriate place of further education. Then the ministry asked the college’s president if there are two vacant places out of those which are on behalf of the ministry and are free of fee as it had been reported and if so, to accept new students. The president’s secretary A. S. Bedell answered that none of the five Turkish students supported by the ministry had withdrawn.⁸² The catalogues of students reveal that indeed Müfid Cemal was not enrolled in the academic year of 1914–1915, but in the next year of 1915–1916. Obviously only then a place of this quota became vacant and the aforesaid student was able to enroll the college. However he stayed there only a year. The Engineering School that was established in 1912 as a part of Robert College also attracted more Turkish students⁸³.

In 1915 the American ambassador Henry Morgenthau suggested Enver Pasha, one of the most powerful Young Turks and then commander of the forces of the capital, to visit the college in order to protect it from disturbance. Fortunately, Enver Pasha was immensely impressed with the college and even thought of the idea to send his brother there.⁸⁴ Caleb Gates recalls in his memoir that in 1916 a pasha and a group of his subordinates had come to look into certain

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80 Kazamias, op. cit., 96; Guckert, op. cit., 62.

81 Zafer Toprak, “Arnavutköy Amerikan Kız Koleji,” *Tombak. Antika Kültürü, Koleksiyon ve Sanat Dergisi*, (29) (1999): 49.

82 BOA, MF. MKT., Dosya 1200, Gömlek 2.

83 Guckert, op. cit., 74.

84 Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau’s Story* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1919): 119; Guckert, op. cit., 86–87.

charges that had been made against the college. After having been convinced that these charges were groundless and inspecting the college buildings, the pasha, who happened to visit the Exposition in San Francisco, had said “there was no other school in Constantinople equal to Robert College” and had asked if he might come to study there after school hours.⁸⁵

1923–1925

Another drastic increase of the number of the Turks who enrolled in Robert College took place in the years following immediately the abolishment of the sultanate on November 1, 1922 and the establishment of the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1923. As a matter of fact this increase was preceded by a drastic drop of the enrollment figures in the previous years of 1920–1922. In the school year of 1919–1920 the impressive number of 65 new Turkish students entered the college. This number is roughly twice bigger than the previous figures and one can assume that this increase was due to the end of World War I. However, this increase proved sporadic since the next three years, which coincided with the Turkish War of Independence, the enrollment figures of the new Turkish students dropped more than thrice. Both total enrollment figures and new student enrollment figures recovered immediately after the end of the war and even surpassed those of 1919–1920.

After the promulgation of the Turkish Republic on October 29, 1923, commercial studies in Robert College gained specific importance as revealed by the October 1928 issue of *Near East Colleges News Letter*:

“The casual observer in the New Turkey is impressed with the spirit of nationalism manifested on all sides. Out of the feeble Ottoman Empire of the past has emerged a united people ... The exchange of populations that came with peace meant a loss to Turkey of large numbers of merchants, bankers and traders; leaders in commerce and finance.

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85 Gates, op. cit., 225.

This is the opportunity for which the Robert College commerce students are preparing. Western business methods are taking the place of the eastern ways of dealing, and the Commerce Department is organized to fill just this need. The Turkish Minister of Commerce recognizes this fact and has sent several students to study commerce at government expense. One of these government students, Djevad Sami, who is now senior, contributed a leading article...⁸⁶

A letter by Caleb Gates dated December 29, 1922 and preserved in the Ottoman Department of the Turkish Public Record Office in Istanbul, reveals that it was Robert College's initiative to have more Turkish students enrolled at the Engineering School. In this letter, addressed to Dr. Adnan Bey, diplomatic commissioner of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, Gates states the following:

"Referring to the conversation which I had with you regarding the training of engineers in our Engineering College, I desire to say that recent political events have resulted in the departure of about one-third of our students. We have a large and capable corp of teachers and a finely equipped plant and we are desirous of using it to the fullest extent in the service of the country. I should, therefore, be glad if the Grand National Assembly should see fit to assign to us some of the young men whom they desire to train as engineers."⁸⁷

The number of Turkish students registered in the college year of 1923–1924 was 140, almost twice bigger than the previous year (82), of which more than the half (75) were new students. In that year, even the then Prime Minister İsmet Pasha sent his brother as a student at Robert College, as the December 1923 issue of the college magazine *New Letter* reveals.⁸⁸ The magazine underlines also the fact that the Chief of Police of Constantinople and the tax collector of the district had also sent their sons to Robert College. The magazine provides

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86 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Series XII, folder 14: *Near East Colleges News Letter* 1, no. 7 (October 1928): 3.

87 BOA, HR. İM., Dosya 234, Gömlek 23.

88 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Series XII, folder 14, *News Letter* 5, no. 1 (December 1923): 2; See also: Paul Monroe, "Education," in *Modern Turkey: A Politic–Economic Interpretation, 1908–1923: Inclusive, with Selected Chapters by Representative Authorities*, (Ed.) Eliot Grinnel Mears (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924): 119; Guckert, *Ibid.*: 144.

also the respective enrollment figures, according to which the number of Turkish students was 108.⁸⁹ It is obvious that more than half of the new Turkish students came to the college not at the opening of the college year on September 13, but after the promulgation of the Turkish Republic on October 29, 1923.

The next year, 1924–1925, this number almost doubled again reaching 222, of which more than the half (118) were new students too (see Table 1). The December 1924 issue of *News Letter* points out this remarkable increase with the title “Enrollment Takes Big Jump”.⁹⁰ Accordingly the average number of Turkish students per year during the first two Republican years exceeded almost four times the respective enrollment figures during the previous period of 1908–1922 (see Table 2). On the other hand, one must keep in mind that the drastic increase of the number of Turkish students in the republican period had much to do with the fact that a significant part of the non-Turkish and non-Muslim population was driven to leave the country.⁹¹ The October 1928 issue of *Near East Colleges News Letter* emphasizes the changed situation after 1923 and some rearrangements that Robert College had to undertake:

“The casual observer in the New Turkey is impressed with the spirit of nationalism manifested on all sides. Out of the feeble Ottoman Empire of the past has emerged a united people... The exchange of populations that came with peace meant a loss to Turkey of large numbers of merchants, bankers and traders; leaders in commerce and finance.

This is the opportunity for which the Robert College commerce students are preparing. Western business methods are taking the place of the eastern ways of dealing, and the Commerce Department is organized to fill just this need. The Turkish Minister of Commerce recognizes this fact and has sent several students to study commerce at government expense. One of these government

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89 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS# 1445, Series XII, folder 14, *News Letter* 5, no. 1 (December 1923): 2.

90 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS# 1445, Series XII, folder 14, *News Letter* 6, no. 1 (December 1924): 2.

91 Sezer, op. cit., 66; Kocamanoğlu, op. cit., 105 (footnote 205).

students, Djevad Sami, who is now senior, contributed a leading article...”⁹²

According to the catalogues of students Djevad Sami enrolled in Robert College in the college year of 1924–1925 and graduated in 1928. Later on he became commercial attaché in the Turkish Embassy in Beirut (1956–1958) and Warsaw (1958–1960). In 1966 he already owned a travel agency in Izmir.

In 1926 came out the first issue of *Life of Robert College's Turkish Students (Robert Kolec Türk Talebe Hayatı)*, an annual in Turkish (with Arabic script) of the Turkish student society at Robert College. According to the annual the most active year of the society, established in the college year of 1907–1908, was the “last year” (*geçen sene*), that is, the year of 1924–1925.⁹³

The Turkish Students and Their Fathers (and Mothers)

It seems that the 1908 political liberalization and the development of Turkish nationalism encouraged more members of certain social and professional layers to send their sons to Robert College. During the period of 1866–1908 the students who were sons of the government officials prevailed. An important factor was the fact that the residences of many Ottoman officials of higher rank were located nearby the college. George Washburn points out that the grand viziers Aali (Mehmed Emin Âli) Pasha (1867–1871), Mahmoud Nedim Pasha (1875), Mahomet Ruchdi (Mehmed Rüşdü) Pasha (1876) were living near the college, while Achmet Vefik Pasha (secretary of the grand vizier in 1872 and a grand vizier in 1878 and 1882), whom Washburn refers to as “our friend” sold to the college a land property between the college and the village of Hissar. Many “Turkish pashas” visited the college and “were much impressed by the experiments” done with the apparatus that the college purchased in 1873.⁹⁴ George Washburn narrates also a conversation between two Turkish gentlemen traveling

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92 CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS# 1445, Series XII, folder 14: *Near East Colleges News Letter*, (1), no. 7 (October 1928): 3.

93 *Robert Kolec Türk Talebe Hayatı*: 4.

94 Washburn, op. cit., 45, 54–55, 87, 101, 111.

on a Bosphorus steamer, in which one of the two conversationalists had stated the following: “We have hundreds of rich pashas, some of the richest pashas living in sight of this College. Which of them ever saw or cared for the wants of the people or gave a piaster of his money to educate them? This College is a shame and disgrace to us.”⁹⁵

On the other hand, namely during this particular period a large-scale professional civil Ottoman bureaucracy, composed initially almost entirely of Muslims, had emerged as a new dominant social class as a result of the reforms started by Sultan Mahmud II (1808–1839) and his successors in quest for modernization of the state. The salaries of the upper ranking officials were very high and the substantial part of the state revenue went to meet the expenses for these salaries. This modern bureaucracy underwent a process of burgeoning and achieved the status of a major consuming group.⁹⁶

In his prosopographical study of the Ottoman provincial administrators in the nineteenth century until 1908 Joseph S. Szyliowicz put forward the hypothesis that “those fathers who had achieved high rank in the Ottoman administration were the most aware of the utility of Western exposure and, therefore, saw to it that their sons enjoyed such an advantage... it is probably on the basis of their own innovative behavior, such as learning a western language, that these fathers achieved their own high position... many members of the major families were slower to realize the advantages that occurred to a person who possessed such skills, but once the lesson had been learned they, too, took steps to ensure that their offspring would possess these advantages.”⁹⁷ Most of the fathers of children, who attended American schools on Ottoman soil, had high level of education.⁹⁸ As Kemal Karpaz puts it vividly, during the first half of the nineteenth century the ideal gentlemen of Istanbul was expected

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95 Ibid., 93.

96 Karpaz, op. cit., 91–93.

97 Joseph S. Szyliowicz, “Changes in the Recruitment Patterns and Career-Lines of Ottoman Provincial Administrators During the Nineteenth Century,” in *Studies on Palestine During the Ottoman Period*, (ed.) Moshe Ma’oz (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press–The Hebrew University Institute of Asian and African Studies Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1975): 275.

98 Ertuğrul, op. cit., 285.

to be a well-to-do man, who has proficiency in Arabic and Persian and could recite by heart Persian poems, while the ideal citizen of the second half of the century “was one who possessed a diploma from one of the modern schools, knew French, had a respectable position in the bureaucratic hierarchy.”⁹⁹

During the Second Constitutional Era the number of those who sent their sons to Robert College and were officers and merchants reached and even slightly surpassed the number of those, who were government officials (see Tables 3 and 4). As a matter of fact, Constantinople saw an influx of capital and Muslim/Turkish entrepreneurs after the Crimean War and the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877–1878,¹⁰⁰ but more distinctive Muslim/Turkish commercial class emerged after the abolition of the capitulations in 1914, which by then gave privileges to the foreign merchants and their non-Muslim contractors, and during World War I, when the slogan “Turkey for the Turks” meant also a creation of a Turkish commercial class.¹⁰¹ During this period Turkish proprietors, farmers and landowners also started to send their sons to Robert College, at the expense of the artisans, for instance (see Table 3). This obviously reflected the changes in the Ottoman social composition. To compare, Carter V. Findley’s prosopographical study on the graduates of *Mülkiye* School, which covers two periods, 1880–1884 and 1908–1912, shows that in the second period the percentage of those whose fathers were landowners increased significantly, from 8 to 17 percent, and even surpassed the percentage of those whose fathers were officials in central administration, which went down from 32 to 14 percent.¹⁰² The number of those students, whose fathers were custom officials in Constantinople, also increased in the second constitutional period. The role and respectively the revenues of the custom offices increased significantly in the course of the nineteenth century due to the extended import of European manufacture goods.¹⁰³ The number of the fathers who had

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99 Karpat, op. cit., 97.

100 Ibid., 86.

101 Ahmed Emin (Yalman), *Turkey in the World War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930): 113–114; Guckert, op. cit., 102.

102 Findley, op. cit., 117 (Table 3.10).

103 Karpat, op. cit., 97–100.

modern occupations such as physicians and engineers also increased significantly.

As for the social background of the Turkish students after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, one could observe again important displacement of the social layers. This time the merchants became the most represented social layer, which preferred to send their sons to study at Robert College. Their percentage almost doubled, while that of the officers dropped twice (see Tables 3 and 4). The number of farmers and landowners remained virtually the same as in the previous period, confirming the shift of the social background of the Turkish/Muslim students at Robert College from bureaucratic to commercial and landownership profile. As Erol Haker states, when he entered the college in 1942 all the other prep students were Turks, “some among them sons of semi feudal landlords with vast estates.”¹⁰⁴ An info sheet providing data about fathers’ profession of the students enrolled in Robert College in the school year of 1926–1927 shows that businessmen prevailed over the other professions (see Table 5).¹⁰⁵ Similar information is provided in the annual report of the college year of 1942–1943, according to which the fathers of 391 out of 968 students were in business.¹⁰⁶

In this respect the Turkish case is quite different as compared to the other nationalities which were represented at Robert College. The leading nationalities in its student body, the Armenians, the Greeks, and the Bulgarians, were predominantly sons of merchants from the very establishment of the college. The Bulgarian case, in particular, proves to be reverse to the Turkish one. In contrast to the Armenians, whose modern state was established only 1936 as a part of the Soviet Union, and the Greeks, whose modern state was established in 1821 and the Greeks on Ottoman/Turkish soil left for Greece due to the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne (except for the Greeks of Constantinople), the Bulgarians restored their state in 1878 but many of them continued to send their sons to Robert College since of the lack of good education system until the turn of the century. The

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104 Haker, op. cit., 74.

105 RC, 4–C, *Robert College, Classification by Fathers’ Profession, School Year 1926–1927*.

106 RC, 14–B, *Annual Report of the President to the Board of Trustees 1942–1943*.

important thing here is that the restoration of Bulgarian statehood also led to the replacement of the social layers whose representative preferred Robert College. Merchants dominated always, during the pre-1878 Ottoman era and the post-1878 time, but during the second period their number slightly decreased at the expense of professional groups such as government officials, jurists, entrepreneurs, farmers, financiers, physicians, and officers that emerged as a part of the institutionalization of the Bulgarian state (see Tables 6 and 7).

After the restoration of constitutional regimes in 1908 and 1920 and the revival of parliamentary life¹⁰⁷ Ottoman senators and deputies also sent their sons to Robert College, one of them, Nahid Halil, being son of the President of the Chamber of Deputies (1914–1918), Halil Menteşe, one of the CUP leaders (see Table 3). The same is true for the Bulgarians, among whom one can notice deputies at the Bulgarian parliament.

Among the fathers of the Turkish students one could come across rather interesting cases. Mehmet Ashir, for instance, who studied at the college five years (between 1880 and 1885) being exempted from paying any fees, was son of an “imam of a mosque”. He is registered as a resident of “R. Hissar”, that is, the college seems to be the nearest school he had been able to attend. The father of Hilmi Rushdi, who enrolled in 1923, was also an imam. It was also a usual principle, followed by the college management, to exempt from fees those students, whose fathers were men of religion, obviously regardless of their faith. There are three other cases in which Turkish students of Robert College or their fathers were closely affiliated to Muslim religion. The first one was Mehmed Shefkety, who studied at the college between 1903 and 1905 at the quite advanced age of 25. He is stated as “softa”, that is, a student of *medrese*, a Muslim religious school. As Frank Caleb Gates points out, this *softa*, whom Gates refers to as a mullah, came first to the college in 1901 when George Washburn was still its president, wearing a white turban, and applied for admission. Washburn had discouraged him saying him

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 107 The Ottoman Parliament, which was consisted of Senate appointed by the sultan and a House of Deputies chosen by the population in the provinces, was opened on March 19, 1877, but was had to cease its work soon because of the suspension of Ottoman constitution. See Washburn, op. cit., 118.

that he is too mature to join the preparatory class and that he could not enter the college without knowledge of English. Then he had learned English and came back to enroll the college in the year of 1903–1904, addressing Dr. Washburn “in faultless English”. He had discarded his turban and had been quite a successful student having completed the two-year course in one year. However, because of the Hamidian restrictions he had been removed from the college. Later on he had gone to Germany and after coming back to his homeland he became an influential man in Muslim religious circles.¹⁰⁸ Gates does not mention him by name but as Emine Kocamanoğlu rightly suggests,¹⁰⁹ this student was no one but Eşref Efendizade Mehmed Şevketi Efendi (1887–1934).¹¹⁰

In the other two cases the students’ fathers are stated as “sheih”, Bourhaneddin Danish (1910–1912) from Gallipoli and Moustafa Ali (1924–1925) from Aintab (Gaziantep). “Sheih” (Şeyh, in Turkish) is a title of a head of Muslim religious order or a head preacher or teacher.¹¹¹ One should keep in mind that Robert College had quite friendly relations with the nearby Bektashi lodge, located at the top of the hill where the college buildings were erected. As a matter of fact, the first Turkish graduate of Robert College, Houloussi Hussein, whose father is recorded as a “kiatib” (that is, clerk or scribe), was a grandson of the sheih of this convent. As Roderic Davison states, those Turks, who attended foreign schools, were mostly coming from elite families influenced by western culture or from heterodox circles.¹¹² Since the 1850s Protestant missionaries had have special interest in heterodox Muslim communities (Kizilbash).¹¹³

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108 Gates, op. cit., 182.

109 Kocamanoğlu, op. cit., 105 (footnote 206).

110 Mustafa Şanal, “Eşrefefendizâde Mehmed Şevketi’nin Medreselere İlişkin Islahat Düşünceleri ve Çözüm Önerileri,” *OTAM Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi*, (10) (1999): 193–218.

111 *Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (Istanbul: SEV Matbaacılık ve Yayıncılık A. Ş., 1997): 1059.

112 Roderic Davison, “Osmanlı Türkiye’sinde Batılı Eğitim,” in *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, (ed.) Halil İnalçık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012): 672.

113 See Hans-Lukas Kieser, “Muslim Heterodoxy and Protestant Utopia. The

There were several students, who paid half fee or were exempted from fees and whose fathers were fishermen or boatmen (*caikdji=kayıkçı*) at Rumelihisarı, such as Halim (1887–1892), Ali Rıza (1896–1898), Moustapha Assim (1897–1902), and Noury (Mehmed) Ali (1899–1903).

Those, whose fathers were retired or dead, usually paid discounted fee or were exempted from payment. These were the cases of Fouad Mehmed (1905–1906), Djelaleddin Mahmoud (1905–1907), Assim Moustapha (1909–1914), Mouzafer Ahmed (1909–1917), and Mehmed Djenab (1911–1913).

The sons of some prominent state officials also paid half fee as in the cases of Orhan Halid (1906–1911) and Ali Lutfi (1907–1912), whose fathers served in the imperial palace, Remy Mehmed (1907–1909), son of a governor, the brothers Mahmoud Lutfi (1909–1910) and Halil Lutfi, stated as Circassian (1909–1915), whose father was renter (in this case the discount must have been made because of the fact that this person had sent his two sons to the college). There are also some other sporadic cases in which sons of a lawyer, a military doctor, an employee at custom office, an officer in gendarmerie, a counselor in ministry, a government official, a director of Turkish post office, and a palace official paid discounted fees. Caleb Gates points out that “officials of high position frequently demanded that their sons should be accepted free of charge. They considered this as one of the perquisites of their office.” Gates admits that he “quietly resisted” such demands on the principle that those who were financially able should pay for the education of their sons.¹¹⁴ As a matter of fact, such fee discounts are stated until 1915 at the latest. One may assume that the financial troubles that the college faced during the World War I and the post-war period made it impossible to stimulate college attendance by discounting the fees.

In principle, the sons of professors and instructors, officials employed at the public instruction administration, as well as editors also enjoyed the same privilege. Halouk Fikret (1906–1909), whose

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Interactions between Alevi and Missionaries in Ottoman Anatolia,” *Die Welt des Islams*, (41), no. 1 (2001): 89–111.

114 Gates, op. cit., 176.

father is stated as professor at Robert College (Tevfik Fikret), Ihsan Kiamuran (1909–1913), son of an editor and a professor in “T. University” (probably Technical University), Izzed Vadjid (1910–1913), whose father was newspaper editor, as well as Abbas Nuzhet (1908–1913), whose father was an inspector at the Public Instruction office, paid half fees.

It is noteworthy that sons of higher representatives of the Ottoman public instruction administration studied at Robert College. Besides the above-mentioned Abbas Nuzhet, at Robert College studied also Riza Mahmoud (1911–1914), whose father was director of the Medical School, Ali Vedjihy (1912–1914), son of a professor, Said Riza Said (1915–1920), whose father was professor at the Constantinople College (for girls) in Arnavutköy, Ibrahim Nedim (1922–1925), whose father was a “director of school”, Hussein Kenan (1923–1924) and Orhan Hussein (1923–1925), whose fathers were teachers, as well as Ali (Ayet) Zeki (1917–1920) and Hikmet Togo Zeki (1917–1920), sons of a “director of university”. Between 1913 and 1917 their father Salih Zeki Bey was director (*emin*) of the so-called *İstanbul Darülfünunu* or the University of Istanbul. Ayetullah Zeki (1903–1985) and Hikmetullah Togo (1904) were born by his second wife Halide Edip Adivar. They fall in love in 1900 when Salih Zeki Bey became her private instructor in mathematics while she studied at the American College for Girls, and married in the following year of 1901. When the two brothers studied at Robert College their parents were already divorced (in 1910 Salih Zeki Bey married for the third time).¹¹⁵ One should keep in mind that in this case the decision to send the two brothers to Robert College must have much to do with Halide Edip Adivar herself (1884–1964), who is probably the most known graduate of the American College for Girls. She graduated even before the first Turkish graduate of Robert College, in 1901. In the 1890s, she also was to leave the school due to the order of sultan Abdülhamid II banning the Muslim children to go to foreign schools, but in 1899 enrolled in the college again.¹¹⁶

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¹¹⁵ See: Haluk Oral, “Salih Zeki,” *Matematik Dünyası*, (1) (Kış 2003): 46–49.

¹¹⁶ See: Halide Edip [Adivar], *Memoirs of Halidé Edip* (New York: John Murray, 1926): 149–153.

It should be noted that all these cases date from the post-Hamidian period, when the attitude towards foreign schools was much friendlier. Even so, the issue of religion remained sensitive. As J. C. Guckert points out, “although Robert College was never under missionary control, it always had a missionary for its president until 1932, which explains its strong religious commitments both in its constitutional prescription and in actual practice.” The college was nonsectarian in its scope, but its constitution stipulated that Christian prayers were to be said and the Scripture read every day and that the faculty and students were expected to attend divine worship each Sunday.¹¹⁷ The abovementioned case of Ali Vedjihy (Ali Vecihi) who withdrew from Robert College in April 1914 because of his objection to go to morning prayers with his Christian classmates¹¹⁸ reveals that the main purpose of the college to form strong characters on the basis of Christian principles was not always accepted openheartedly.

There were cases, however, in which the college’s Christian ideals had obviously influenced some Muslim/Turkish students. There is preserved Ottoman documentation dealing with the Turkish student Aziz Vamik, who, according to the catalogues, was son of a doctor and studied at Robert College between 1909 and 1915. He graduated in 1915 and according to the Robert College’s alumni register became instructor at the college between 1915 and 1918. The documentation, dating from June 21, 1915 reveals that the Ministry of Interior had to investigate Aziz Vamik, who had used inappropriate statements about the Koran in his MA thesis.¹¹⁹

The case of Halouk Fikret is even more striking. He was son of Tevfik Fikret, a professor of Turkish at Robert College since late 1896 until his death in 1915. Halouk Fikret studied at Robert College between 1906 and 1909. His father Tevfik Fikret was a prominent poet and a man of letters with pro-western ideals, a graduate of Galatasaray Lycée (1888), an instructor in Turkish at the same school (1892–1895), a literary editor of the progressive newspaper *Servet-i*

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¹¹⁷ Guckert, op. cit., 30–31.

¹¹⁸ BOA, MF. MKT, Dosya 1196, Gömlek 73.

¹¹⁹ BOA, DH. EUM.İ.Şb., Dosya 2, Gömlek 54 (I was not availed to see the documentation itself since it was out of the storage at the time of request, March 2012).

Fünun (*Treasure of Sciences*) between 1895 and 1901, and a director of Galatasaray Lycée (1909–1910).¹²⁰ He pertained to a group of Ottoman intellectuals, gathered around *Servet-i Fünun* and promoting the so-called *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (*New Literature*), which, being influenced by French literature, was cosmopolitan rather than “national”.¹²¹ While a professor of Turkish at Robert College his son studied three years at the college. Then, in 1909, he sent his son to Glasgow, Scotland, to study engineering. There Halouk Fikret converted into Protestantism under the influence of the family where he was accommodated. He next moved to the United States and graduated engineering from Michigan University in 1916. Since 1943 and until his death in 1965 he had been a Protestant minister.¹²² Obviously the years spent in Robert College not only did help Halouk Fikret to learn English well, as to be able to continue his education in England and the United States, but also had strong impact on his mind. The school and milieu are considered amongst those factors that have a strong influence in conversion cases.¹²³

The fact that Tefvik Fikret was a professor at Robert College must have been played some role in the enrollment of Achmed Samim in the college between 1899 and 1902. Ahmed Samim (1884–1910) later became a journalist and a writer, and was assassinated in 1910 for being a rigid opponent to CUP.¹²⁴ His father was “at the office of paper ‘Serveti founoun’ as stated in the catalogues of students, and in those years namely Tefvik Fikret was an editor in this newspaper. One can easily assume that he had persuaded his colleague to

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¹²⁰ Cahit Kavcar, “Tefvik Fikret’in Eđitimciliđi ve Yeni Mekteb,” *Ankara Üniversitesi Eđitim Bilimleri Fakóltesi Dergisi*, (5), no. 3 (1972): 111–136.

¹²¹ Sanem Güvenç-Salgırlı, “Structures of Knowledge in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic, 1731–1980”, *Journal of Philosophical Economics*, (4), no. 1 (2010): 188.

¹²² A. Osman Dönmez, “Haluk’un Son Vedâi,” *Sızıntı Dergisi*, (26), no. 309 (Ekim 2004).

¹²³ See: Ali Köse, “Din Deđiřtirmenin Psiko-Sosyolojik Nedenleri,” in *Türkiye’de Misyonerlik Faaliyetleri: Tartıřmalı İlmî Toplantı 17–18 Nisan 2004*, (ed). Ömer Faruk Harman (İstanbul: İslâmî Arařtırma Vakfı, Ensar Neřriyat, 2005): 411, 415.

¹²⁴ See: Mehmet H. Tastař, *Ahmet Samim: II. Meřrutiyet’te Mubalif Bir Gazeteci* (İstanbul: İletifim, 2012).

send his son to Robert College. As J. C. Guckert points out, “from the turn of the century on, more and more enlightened Turks, who were cognizant of the fine reputation of the College, found the courage to enroll their sons”.¹²⁵ He also stresses the fact that Tevfik Fikret had held concomitantly the positions of a professor of Turkish at Robert College (1896–1915) and a director of Galatasaray Lycée (1909–1910), which, according to him, was in favor of the college with regard to its relations with the Ottoman government.¹²⁶

The catalogues of students reveal that four Ottoman ministers had sent their sons to Robert College. Azmy Hussein from Erenköy, whose father is registered in the college records as an “ex-minister of Public Instruction”, was one of them. Azmy Hussein studied here three years between 1901 and 1904, that is, during the Hamidian regime, despite its negative attitude towards the foreign schools and the government efforts to ban the Turkish/Muslim children to attend these schools. These years coincided also with the last years of Ahmed Zühdü Pasha as a Minister of Public Instruction (1891–1902), the same person who wrote in 1893–1894 the negative memorandum about the foreign schools, including Robert College.¹²⁷ Azmy Hussein’s father Mehmed Tahir Münif Pasha was three times Minister of Public Instruction before Ahmed Zühdü Pasha, in 1877, between 1878 and 1880, and between 1884 and 1891.¹²⁸ He, in contrast to his successor, was an ardent admirer of western civilization, although he received a traditional *medrese* education. In 1863 he established the *Ottoman Scientific Society* (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye*),¹²⁹ whose aim was to enlighten

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¹²⁵ Guckert, op.cit., 63–64.

¹²⁶ Ibid., 64–65.

¹²⁷ See: Atilla Çetin, “Maarif Nâzırı Ahmed Zühdü Paşa’nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’ndaki Yabancı Okullar Hakkında Raporu,” *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (10–11) (1981–1982): 189–219.

¹²⁸ Sinan Kunalp, *Son Dönem Osmanlı Erkân ve Ricalî (1839–1922). Prosopografik Rehber* (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 1999): 105.

¹²⁹ For detailed account of its establishment and activity see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, “Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye’nin Kuruluşu ve Faaliyetleri,” in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri: 1. Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu 3–5 Nisan 1987*, (ed.) E. İhsanoğlu (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987): 197–220.

the public through publication of original texts and translated books, as well as the periodical *Journal of Sciences (Mecmua-i Fünun)*. The periodical published mainly translated articles from western sources related to sciences. It was journal's policy not to publish any texts related to religious and political issues. Münif Pasha had liberal views. According to him the individuals should be independent and free in order to be able to develop its character and personality. On the other hand the individuals should be useful for the society, and not selfish. He was convinced that economic life, especially industry, trade and the competitive market, should improve people's prosperity as it was in England. Münif Pasha was one the first 19th-century Ottoman bureaucrats whose thoughts were influenced by the Anglo-Saxon rather than the French thoughts. He stood for reform of Arabic script, due to whose orthographical principles and cursive nature, in his opinion, the literacy among the Ottomans was insufficient. Therefore he suggested simplification through separation of the Arabic letters. It would facilitate the printing process, as well.¹³⁰ Roderic Davison considers Münif Pasha as one of those factors that had great impact on the modernization of Ottoman education.¹³¹ During the years 1901–1904, when his son studied at Robert College, the pasha was already retired and living in his mansion at Erenköy, which became a meeting place for Ottoman and foreign scholars and where he died in 1910.¹³² In regard

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130 See Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726–1746): Yeniden Değerlendirme* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006): 340.

131 Roderic Davison, "Osmanlı Türkiye'sinde Batılı Eğitim," in *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, (Ed.) Halil İncalcık and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012): 669.

132 A. Mango, "Münif Paşa," *Encyclopedia of Islam* vol. 7, (ed.) C. E. Bosworth and others (Leiden–New York: E. J. Brill, 1993): 573; Betül Batır, "Türk Eğitim Reformunda Bir İsim: Mehmet Tahir Münif Paşa," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hasan Ali Üçel Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, (2) (2004): 11–24; F. Samime İnceoğlu, "Tanzimat'ta Bir Düşünür ve Bürokrat: Münif Paşa ve İktisat Tasavvuru," *Dîvân İlmi Araştırmalar*, (19), no. 2 (2005): 231–264; Ali Budak, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde Çok Yönlü Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Münif Paşa* (İstanbul: Kitabevi, 2004); A. Kayahan Özgül, *XIX. Asrın Benzersiz Bir Politeknigi: Münif Paşa* (Ankara: Elips Kitap, 2005); Hikmet Yıldırım Celkan, "I. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Modern Bir Eğitimci: Münif Paşa," *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, (7), no. 2 (2008): 399–403.

to Münif Pasha's personality, it is not surprising that he sent his son to Robert College namely, a college whose education principles were fitting better to his expectations. The then president Gates points out that "many Turks wanted to send their sons to Robert College – not simply because of the education given there, but still more because of the moral training that the students received". A Turkish minister to Great Britain once said: "I do not know much about the instruction that Robert College gives in science and history; but one thing I do know: It makes men."¹³³

Other three ex-minister's sons were also registered in the college's catalogues. The first one is Ahmed (Soubhi) Kadry, who studied between 1908 and 1917 and graduated in the class of Houloussi Hussein. In the catalogue his father is stated as affiliated to the Ministry of War between 1908 and 1915 and as an ex-Minister of War between 1915 and 1917. Most probably this was Ahmed Izzet Pasha (1864-1937), who between August 1908 and January 1914 was a commander-in-chief (*Erkân-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye Reisi*) and Minister of War between June 1913 and January 1914.¹³⁴ According to the Robert College alumni register Ahmed (Soubhi) Kadry was appointed secretary to the Turkish delegation to the London Conference (February 23–March 12, 1921), when his father was Minister of Interior (*Dahiliye Nazırı*) between October 1920 and April 1921.

The father of the second student, Djelal Eumer, who studied at Robert College between 1911 and 1917, was former Minister of Interior and, as of 1913, governor of Aleppo, as stated in the catalogues. Most likely his father was Mehmed Celal Bey (1863–1926), Minister of Interior in October–December 1911 and governor of Aleppo between July 1913 and June 1915.¹³⁵

The third was Hassan Ali, registered in the college year of 1911–1912 and whose father is stated as a "former Minister of Marine".

Most strikingly, representatives of the imperial family also studied at Robert College. It happened, however, after the end of the conservative Hamidian regime in 1908, during the liberalization

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133 Gates, op.cit., 183.

134 Kuneralp, op.cit., 58.

135 Ibid., 92.

of political life brought by the Young Turks. Washburn states in his annual report for the college year of 1891–1892 that “two young princes, connected with the imperial family, were sent to the college in the autumn by their father, but were soon removed by the express order of the Sultan, on the grounds that as Mohammedans and members of his family they must attend Mohammedan schools.”¹³⁶ It seems that these princes stood at the college so short time that they were not even registered in the catalogue of students of the respective academic year.

The two members of the royal family who were able to attend Robert College were Youssouf Fazil (1910–1912), an adopted son of Prince Medjid (Abdülmeçid, 1868–1944, son of Sultan Abdülaziz), and Mehmed Orhan (1923–1924), son of Prince Abdülkadir (1878–1944) and grandson of Sultan Abdülhamid II. Both of them were sent to the college at a very early age: Youssouf Fazil at the age of 10, and Orhan Mehmed at the age of 13, respectively. However, both of them left the college in one or two years. The reason of Youssouf Fazil is unknown, while Mehmed Orhan had to leave school for Nice, France, since his family was exiled after the dissolution of the Sultanate and the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in late October 1923.¹³⁷

Education of Ottoman princes in public schools became established practice only after the restoration of the constitutional regime in 1908. Before 1908 they were usually trained in the imperial palace. During the Hamidian period there was even a special *School for Princes* (*Şehzâdegân Mektebi* or *Mekteb-i Âli*), which functioned between the 1880s and 1908. After that it was found useful if the Ottoman princes go to public school in order to be “in touch with the people”. In so doing, the Ottoman authorities followed the western pattern. Most of the princes attended the state-supported Galatasaray Lycée (*Mekteb-i Sultani*), Robert College’s main competitive in Constantinople.¹³⁸ While Prince Abdülmeçid sent his own son Ömer Faruk

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¹³⁶ CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Subseries III.5, folder 25: 5–6; RC, *Report of the President of Robert College to the Trustees, 29th Year 1891–92*: 5–6.

¹³⁷ John Freely, “An Ottoman Prince at Robert College,” *Robert College Quarterly*, (17) (1999): 18.

¹³⁸ Cevdet Kırpık, “II. Meşrutiyet’ten Sonra Şehzade Eğitiminde Değişim,”

(1898–1969) to Galatasaray Lycée in 1909,¹³⁹ his adopted son Youssouf Fazil (Yusuf Fazıl) studied two years (1910–1912) in Robert College. Prince Abdülmecid was quite keen on the issue of education. He became honorary president of the *Ottoman Education Society* (*Osmanlı Maarif Cemiyeti*), founded in 1913 in order to enlighten the public.¹⁴⁰

General Observations

The enrollment figures of the Turkish students at Robert College between 1866 and 1924 show that almost half of the registered students were new, the half of whom spent just one or two years in the college. On the other hand, most of those, who stayed at the college more than two years, spent quite many years, far more than the average stay of the students of other nationality. This significant fluctuation and longer stay of the Turkish students could be explained with the assumption that as Muslims most of them might have felt themselves uncomfortable in a predominantly Christian environment. Gates states in his annual report for the college year of 1911–1912 that “for most of these Turkish boys the conditions of such a school as ours are entirely new, and it requires some time for them to adjust themselves to them.”¹⁴¹ Although the Tanzimat reformers proclaimed equality of all Ottoman subjects regardless their faith, including equal opportunity to attend government schools,¹⁴² still important, in Roderic Davison’s words, “was the innate attitude of superiority which the Muslim Turk possessed.”¹⁴³ Until the Tanzimat

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Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Fen Edbiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi, (21) (2010): 99–130.

¹³⁹ Kırpık, op.cit., 108.

¹⁴⁰ Kırpık, op.cit., 117.

¹⁴¹ CU–RBML, Robert College Records MS# 1445, Subseries III. 5, folder 34, p. 21.

¹⁴² See Selçuk Akşin Somel, “Kırım Savaşı, Islahat Fermanı ve Osmanlı Eğitim Düzeninde Dönüşmeler,” in *Tanzimat: Değişim Sürecinde Osmanlı İmparatorluğu*, (ed.) Halil İncelik and Mehmet Seyitdanlıoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2012): 695.

¹⁴³ Roderic H. Davison, “Turkish Attitudes Concerning Christian–Muslim Equality in the Nineteenth Century,” *The American Historical Review*, (59), no. 4 (1954): 855.

period Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman state had schooling system of their own and they had no historical experience of mixed education. The Law of Public Instruction, which followed the French pattern and stipulated that Muslim and non-Muslim children could go to common schools of higher level (*idadi* and *sultani*), was enacted only in 1869 and justified the *idadi* and *sultani* levels of the Galatasaray Lycée, founded a year ago as a result of the insistence of the French government. Yet, the regulation (*nizamname*) of the imperial Lycée purposely stipulated that the number of Muslim and non-Muslim students should be equal.¹⁴⁴ However, the real situation in the first academic years was different. The non-Muslims outnumbered the Muslims and the difficulty to attract more Muslim children was partly due to the existing opposition among both Muslim and non-Muslim communities towards mixed schooling.¹⁴⁵ Nonetheless, other Ottoman statesmen like Ahmed Şakir Pasha, an Ottoman ambassador to Russia between 1878 and 1889, also advocated for mixed schooling in primary schools for Muslim and non-Muslim, using as a precedent Russian educational policy.¹⁴⁶ As in the case of the Muslim/Turkish students of Galatasaray Lycée who had difficulties in learning French,¹⁴⁷ and were less successful than the other nationalities,¹⁴⁸ the Muslim/Turkish students of Robert College faced difficulties with learning English due to the Latin orthography differing significantly from the Arabic used in the Ottoman era as well as due to the totally different grammar principles.¹⁴⁹ At least the students of other nationalities were accustomed to read from left to the right, while the Turks used to read from right to the left. Yet, the Turks had many other state-supported alternatives for higher education such as

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144 Şişman, op.cit., 19; Стефка Славова- Цветана Дойнова, op.cit., 215.

145 Şişman, op.cit., 22–23; Стефка Славова- Цветана Дойнова, op.cit., 223–232.

146 Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains, Ideology and the Legitimazion of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909* (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2011): 94.

147 Şişman, op.cit., 28.

148 Славова- Дойнова, op.cit., 234.

149 For the instruction of foreign languages in the Ottoman Empire see: Selim Hilmi Özkan, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde Yabancı Dil Eğitimi,” *Turkish Studies. International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, (5), no. 3 (2010): 1783–1800.

Galatasaray Lycée, *Mülkiye*, the School of Law, the military schools, etc. where the education was based on the Turkish language.

The catalogues of Robert College's students provide some information about the reasons for the withdrawal of some students such as removal to another place of residence, involving in business, expulsion because of stealing, and ill health. There were mortal cases as well. There were also some sensitive issues. Ottoman archival documents dated April 12, 1914 deal with the case of Ali Vedjihy (Ali Vecihi) who according to the catalogues of students spent in Robert College's Engineering School two years and withdrew in April 1914. The documents reveal that his withdrawal was forced and the reason was his objection to attend the morning prayers at the college together with the other Christian children. The documentation, pertaining to the then Ministry of Public Instruction, reveal that his parents objected such an obligation and that such a refusal, stated as an "awkward reason" (*garib sebeb*) could not be acceptable for the forced withdrawal of the said student. It is stated also that if this negligence of the "freedom of ethics and liberty of religion" (*hürriyet-i vicdan ve serbesti-i diyanet*) continue the permission of the college could be annulled.¹⁵⁰

In summary, the number of Turkish students was relatively small as compared to other nationalities, but they began significantly prevailing during the Republican era due to two reverse trends. On the one hand, after the secularization of the state and society Robert College proved to be more attractive than before. On the other hand, because of various reasons such as the establishment of an independent Bulgarian state, the population exchange between Turkey and Greece in 1923, and the significant decrease of Armenian population during the World War I, the enrollment figures of the best represented nationalities before 1923 started to go down after 1923.

The general ethnic re-composition of Turkey after the Treaty of Lausanne and the legislative measures of the new republican government towards *Turkification* and secularization of the foreign schools opened in the pre-republican era changed the ethnic composition of Robert College's student body just in the course of a few

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150 BOA, MF. MKT., Dosya 1196, Gömlek 73.

years. In the academic year of 1924–1925 the Turkish students for the first time of Robert College’s history became the leading national group in its student body. They numbered 222 out of the total number of all the students 653 (33 percent), but in 1927–1928 their number was already 373 out of 747 (50 percent), that is, they doubled within three years, constituting half the student body.

The two turning years in the Ottoman/Turkish history, 1908 and 1923, influenced also the Turkish students’ place of origin. During the earlier period between 1866 and 1908, 85 percent of the Turkish students were from Constantinople, most of them being residents of Bebek and Rumelihisarı, where Robert College was located, as well as of other nearby neighbourhoods. During the next two periods, of 1909–1922 and 1923–1924, the percentage of the Constantinopolitan students went down by approximately ten percent, 78.7 and 71 percent respectively, at the expense of those who came from outside Constantinople. These were mainly residents of cities such as Salónica, Çanakkale, Bursa, Bolu, İzmir, Trabzon, Gaziantep, Samsun, and Adana, where American Protestant missionary stations were set up. Due to the shift of the Turkish political center from Constantinople to Ankara in 1923, during the school years of 1923–1924 and 1924–1925 more students came from Ankara than before (see Table 8). In the next decades, the number of those Turks who came from outside Constantinople steadily increased and reached to half of the Turkish student body at the college in the 1940s. As Erol Haker, an Ottoman Jew whose family converted into Islam and became Turkish (*dönme*) and who studied eight years in the college between 1942 and 1950, points out, when he entered the college all the other prep students were Turks and “a good half of them hailed from the outlying provinces.”¹⁵¹

Carter V. Findley’s research on the place of birth of the graduates of *Mülkiye* School, which covers the periods of 1880–1884 and 1908–1912, demonstrates the same trend of geographical “democratization”: during the earlier period 72 percent of the graduates came from Constantinople, while in the later period this percentage dropped significantly to 28 at the expense of those who came from

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151 Erol Haker, *From Istanbul to Jerusalem: The Itinerary of a Young Turkish Jew* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2003): 74.

the country. This trend was more distinct as far as the non-Muslim graduates of this school are concerned, and especially those coming from the Balkans. While in the earlier period no non-Muslim graduate of Balkan origin is registered, during the period of 1908–1912 they constituted already 35 percent.¹⁵² This could be explained with the strong support that CUP had from the non-Muslim communities in the Balkans.

As compared to these nationalities, the percentage of Turkish students during the Ottoman era, who graduated from Robert College, is just 10 percent (69 graduates out of 706 students). The statistics of Bulgarian students, enrolled in the same period, are far more remarkable: almost 40 percent of the Bulgarians finished successfully their education at the college (see Table 9).

Carter V. Findley's study also shows that the percentage of graduation among the members of late Ottoman bureaucracy is also very low, especially among the Muslim bureaucrats. For instance, the percentage of Muslim clerks in the Foreign Office (*Hariciye*), who finished *idadi* schools, is also approximately 10 percent, while the percentage of non-Muslim graduates from the same level is 26 percent.¹⁵³

Most of Turkish students spent more than five years at Robert College in order to be able to graduate, while students of other nationalities graduated in principle after four or five years. For example the first Turkish graduate, Houloussi Hussein (Hüseyin Pektaş) spent ten school years before graduation in 1903. In most such cases the Turkish graduates spent three to five years in the preparatory/academy class. It is also true for those, who did not graduate but spent more than three years in the college. In his memoir George Washburn points out the following: "We have had many Turkish students during these forty years, but only this one has gone farther than the sophomore class."¹⁵⁴ This is illustrative for the difficulties they had to face, especially in achieving satisfactory level of English proficiency which could allow them to continue with the other classes.

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 152 Findley, op.cit., 114 (Table 3.9).

153 Findley, op.cit., 162 (Table 4.7).

154 Washburn, op.cit., 290.

After graduation most of them stayed at the college as instructors of Turkish language such as Houloussi Hussein (class of 1903), Mehmed Ridvan (class of 1915), Vamik Aziz (class of 1915), Hazim Atif (class of 1917), Shekib Engineri (class of 1923), Djemil Hikmet (class of 1925), Moustafa Santour (class of 1930). Some of them continued to study at various universities in the country and abroad. Houloussi Hussein studied literature in Istanbul and history in Paris. Others preferred “modern” fields of study such as law, engineering and medicine. Hazim Atif (class of 1917), Abdurrahman Arif (class of 1927), Ali Feridoun (class of 1932), and Ferdi Safi (class of 1932) studied law in Istanbul. Orhan Halid (class of 1911) and Kenan Halet (class of 1932) studied engineering in England and the USA, respectively. After graduation from the Engineering School at Robert College Azmi Mehmed (class of 1928, son of a government official and landowner) and Moustafa Santour (class of 1930, son of an engineer) became engineers. Fuad Nedjati (class of 1916) studied physics in Zurich, Switzerland. Shadan Izzeddin (class of 1919, son of a counselor of state) studied medicine in Istanbul and later on became a prominent psychiatrist and neurologist, who introduced Sigmund Freud’s psychoanalytical approach to Turkey through a number of publications in the journal *Yeni Adam*, as well as books.¹⁵⁵ Guludge Emin/Kilidj Kaleaghassi (class of 1928, son of an agriculturist) became a physician.

Because of their proficiency in foreign languages, mainly English and French, some of the Turkish graduates were appointed secretaries to the Turkish delegations to diplomatic conferences or worked as interpreters: in 1919 Houloussi Hussein was interpreter to the American commission headed by general James G. Harbord, whose task was to investigate the Armenian issue, and in 1923 he was appointed secretary to the Turkish delegation to the Lausanne Conference; in February 1921 Ahmed (Soubhi) Kadry (class of 1917) was secretary to the Turkish delegation to the London Near East Conference; Vamik Aziz was interpreter in the American High Commission.¹⁵⁶ Haidar Ali (class of 1926) worked at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

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¹⁵⁵ For instance: İzzeddin Şadan, *Birsam-ı Saadet* (İstanbul: Sinan Basımevi, 1943).

¹⁵⁶ The information is drawn from the Alumni Record for the year 1921: CU-RBML, Robert College Records MS # 1445, Series VIII, folder 39.

Most of the later graduates such as Zia Shakir (class of 1926), Mahmoud Eumer (class of 1927), Kenan Mehmed (class of 1927), Ibrahim Suleiman (class of 1930), Rifat Galib Gülek (class of 1928, and Engineering class of 1930), Hussein Souad (class of 1933), and Djevad Sami (class of 1928) were later in business. The latter was also Commercial attaché in the Turkish Embassy in Beirut (1956–1958) and Warsaw (1958–1960). It is noteworthy that the fathers of most of them are stated in the catalogues as merchants. This demonstrates that not only the number of fathers who were merchants increased toward the end of the period under study, but also the number of those graduates who were later in business also increased proportionally.

As the other foreign and private schools in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, and especially Galatasaray Lycée, which was state-supported school following French models, Robert College attracted mostly children of well-to-do and wealthy persons and most of its students and graduates became later part of the political, intellectual and business elite of the country and as most of the graduates of the minority and foreign schools had in principal liberal political views.¹⁵⁷

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157 Ertuğrul, *op.cit.*, 270, 273.

Table 1: Number of Turkish Students and Graduates by Academic Years (1863–1925)

Academic Year	Total Students	New Students	1-year stay	2-year stay	Graduates
1-1863/64					
2-1864/65					
3-1865/66					
4-1866/67	3	3	1		
5-1867/68	2				
6-1868/69	2				
7-1869/70	2				
8-1870/71					
9-1871/72					
10-1872/73	5	5		3	
11-1873/74	7	2		1	
12-1874/75	6	2	2		
13-1875/76	3	1	1		
14-1876/77	1				
15-1877/78	1				
16-1878/79	1				
17-1879/80	6	6	1	1	
18-1880/81	10	5	2	2	
19-1881/82	9	2		2	
20-1882/83	6	3	2	1	
21-1883/84	4	2	2		
22-1884/85	1				
23-1885/86					
24-1886/87	1	1	1		
25-1887/88	1	1			
26-1888/89	3	2		2	
27-1889/90	3				
28-1890/91	2	1	1		
29-1891/92	3	2	2		
30-1892/93					
31-1893/94	1	1			1
32-1894/95	1				
33-1895/96	4	3		2	

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34-1896/97	9	5	2	1	
35-1897/98	10	5			
36-1898/99	11	2			
37- 1899/1900	14	4	1		
38-1900/01	14	4	2	1	
39-1901/02	15	6	2	2	
40-1902/03	18	8	7		
41-1903/04	8	4		3	
42-1904/05	13	6	4	1	
43-1905/06	17	11	4	2	
44-1906/07	24	14	2	4	1
45-1907/08	31	14	2	4	1
46-1908/09	38	14	3	5	1
47-1909/10	61	36	16	5	2
48-1910/11	63	30	8	12	1
49-1911/12	64	25	7	8	1
50-1912/13	75	29	8	11	4
51-1913/14	87	35	20	2	
52-1914/15	53	8	3	2	
53-1915/16	59	18	8	2	2
54-1916/17	66	33	21	4	2
55-1917/18	42	14	3	3	1
56-1918/19	51	24	11	5	3
57-1919/20	105	64	29	9	11
58-1920/21	73	17	6	2	4
59-1921/22	76	23	8	3	5
60-1922/23	82	18	4		4
61-1923/24	140	75	22	36	9
62-1924/25	222	118			16
Total		706	218	141	69

Table 2: Enrollment of Turkish Students by Periods

	1866–1908	1909–1922	1923–1925	Total
Total Students	139	374	193	706
Total Years	45	14	2	61
Average per year	3	27	97	11

Table 3: Occupation of Turkish Students' Fathers

Period/ Occupation	1866–1908	1909–1922	1923–1925	Total
Total	139	374	193	706
Official	30	63	36	129
Prince		1	1	2
Imperial Court and Sublime Porte	4	5		9
Governor	9	15		24
Minister	2	2		4
Senator	1	2		3
Deputy		6	6	12
Officer	17	77	20	114
Custom office	3	8	4	15
Editor	1	2		
Education	3	6	2	11
Religion	2	1	3	6
Law	4	7	3	14
Engineer		6		6
Physician	2	13	7	22
Pharmacist		1	3	4
Chemist		2	1	3
Entrepreneur	4	2		6
Renter	3	10		13
Proprietor		4		4
Landowner		2	2	4
Farmer		6	7	13
Artisan	5	1	1	
Merchant	13	78	73	164

Table 4: Proportion of Occupation of Turkish Students' Fathers by Periods (Percentage)

Period/ Occu- pation	1866–1908	1909–1922	1923–1925	Total
Official	21	17	19	18
Officer	12	21	10	16
Merchant	10	21	38	23

Table 5: Proportion of Occupation of Turkish Students' Fathers (1926–1927)

Profession	Total	Percentage
Business men	421	54.9
Public officials	145	18.7
Liberal occupations	113	14.7
Artisans	46	6
Farmers	43	5.7

Table 6: Proportion of Turkish Students Whose Fathers Were Merchants

	1866–1925
Total	706
Merchant	164
Percentage	23.2

Table 7: Proportion of Bulgarian Students Whose Fathers Were Merchants

	1864–1925
Total	801
Merchant	493
%	61.5

Table 8: Geographical Origin of Turkish Students by Periods

Period		1866–1908	%	1909–1922	%	1923–1925	%
Total Students		139		374		193	
Istanbul		117	84.2	296	79.1	137	71.0
	Rumeli-hisari	31		29		12	
	Bebek	12		36		20	
Outside Istanbul		22	15.8	78	20.9	56	29.0
	Salonica	3		4			
	Çorlu	2					

THE MUSLIM/TURKISH STUDENTS OF ROBERT COLLEGE (1866–1925)

	Çanak- kale	2		2		
	Bursa	1		4		
	Bolu	3		1		
	Tokat	1		1		
	Sivas	1		1		
	Giresun	1			2	
	Diyar- bakır	1		1	1	
	Antalya			2		
	Rize			2		
	Edirne			2		
	Mersin			1		
	Sinop			1		
	Kayseri			1		
	Smyrna			4	11	
	Trabzon	1		5	5	
	Samsun			4	6	
	Adana			2	5	
	Gazian- tep			1	4	
	Ankara			1	5	

Table 9: Proportion between Turkish and Bulgarian Students and Graduates (1863–1925)

Nationality	Turks		Bulgarians	
	Total Number	%	Total Number	%
Enrolled	706		801	
Graduates	69	9.8	299	37.3