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**THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL
INSTITUTIONS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE: INTERNATIONAL
COLLEGE IN IZMIR**
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ÖZET

İzmir, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun önemli liman kentlerin biridir. Ticaretin geliştiği bu kent yabancı tüccarların olduğu kadar XIX. yüzyıl da misyonerlerin özellikle de Amerikalı Protestan Misyonerlerinin faaliyet gösterdikleri şehirlerden biridir. 1810 yılında Amerika'nın Boston şehrinde kurulan American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM- American Board) örgütüne bağlı olan misyonerler 1819/1820 yılında İzmir'e gelmişlerdir. 1833'de ilk istasyon olarak kurulan İzmir, Board tarihinde yerini almıştır. 1870'de Manisa'ya bağlanmış, 1882'de de merkez istasyonu haline gelmiştir. Farklı etnik unsurları bünyesinde barındıran Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Rumlar, Yahudiler ve Ermeniler arasında faaliyet göstermişlerdir. Dini faaliyetlerinin yanında basın-yayın, eğitim, sağlık alanlarında faaliyet göstermişler Anadolu'nun dört bir yanına okullar, hastahaneler, yetimhaneler açmışlardır. Özellikle kız çocuklarının eğitimine önem vermişlerdir.

Amerikalı Misyonerler, bu okullardan birini de İzmir'de açmıştır. 1876'da Maria Abegail West'in Basmane'de anaokul açmasıyla hızlanan eğitim faaliyetleri Bowens ailesinin Tabakane'de bir bina almasıyla devam etmiştir. 1881'de açılan okul kız ve erkek okulu olarak ikiye ayrılmış, 1898'de Amerikan Kız Koleji, 1903'de de Uluslararası İzmir Koleji adını almıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İzmir, Amerika, Misyoner, Amerikan Board, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu

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INTRODUCTION

The XIXth century is defined as the golden age of missionary activities. (Kocabaş, 2002: 9-10) The missionary that did the most influential work on the Ottoman territory is the American Protestant Missionary. The American Protestant Missionary started their holy mission on the Ottoman territory in 1819/1820 thanks to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM – the American Board) founded in 1810. (Tibawi, 1966: 14-16; Strong, 1910: 80-85; Goodsell, 1959: 7; Goodsell, 1961: 60-61)

Even though the objectives of American missionaries were to spread Christianity and build churches that are symbols of Christianity on this territory, their main aim was to proliferate their country's interests on the Ottoman territories, being political and economic theatre of the age, and protect the present ones. (Arpee, 1909: 9; Eddy, 1913: 58-59; Kocabaşoğlu, 2000: 16) The Ottoman Empire had the lands and waterways of strategic importance and sheltered different ethnic elements, which made the American missionary work more easily with a great ambition. (Barton, 2010: 68-70) According to the American missionary, this territory should not be left to these infidels and should be occupied by “*an unarmed crusade*”. (Kocabaşoğlu, 2000: 30-34) The American missionary taking the road for these objectives started its Protestant missionary activities among Muslims, Jews, Greeks and Armenians. The American missionary failed because of the obedience of Muslims to Islam and the ban on conversion in force until 1856. (Hamlin, 1878: 85-86; Akgün, 1998: 4) When the

missionary activities among the Greeks and Jews failed, the missionary decided to go into activities among the Armenians at an annual meeting held in Malta in 1829. (Erdoğan, 2008: 107; Phillips, 1969: 241-246) The American missionary stating that the Armenian Church had deviated from its aims and was in need of a reform suggested the Armenians liberation come after embracing Protestantism. However, they met a strong reaction by the Armenian clergy and they were not welcome among the Armenian community, then they unanimously decided to employ a different method to get a Protestant Armenian community on the Ottoman territory. (Akgün, 1998: 52-53; Hamlin, 1896: 278-279)

In 1832 an American missionary stated that “[. . .] *the question is how we carry out the mission that is probably the most beneficial for the Armenians. We need to open schools to take the right step for the mission regarding them. It is much easier to impress a child than an adult. What is more, most of them do not read and almost all of them do not write [. . .] What if we gave the God’s book to these people who cannot tell apart different letters? That means we should start the mission with a school*”. (Kocabaşoğlu, 2000: 68) The missionary whose main mission was to teach the Bible identified its needs and took the first step by opening schools. The first American missionary school was founded in Beirut in 1824 and after one year it started its academic activity. The number of the schools gradually rose up after the second half of the XIXth century and it reached up to 423 in 1895. (Ortaylı, 1981: 87) At the beginning of the XXth century there were about 337 schools where 20.000 students got education. 40% of these schools were acting under the Western mission, 30% of them were under the Central Mission for Turkey and 20% of them were acting under the Eastern Mission. (Sezer, 1999: 174) The American missionaries organizing their activities in education in a planned and programmed fashion first of all gave a hand to

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community schools. They voluntarily gave them books, tools and sent them teachers. As a second step they started to open their own schools and, firstly they opened primary schools to teach children how to read and write and teach them the four basic operations. The Sabbath Schools they opened for adults followed these schools. Here their aim was to teach how to read and write, which would be enough for reading the Bible.

These activities which were the first steps of educational activities helped them to be acknowledged much more quickly among the Armenian people since the American missionaries devoted themselves to satisfy the needs of them that they felt deprived of. The schools gained currency as the American missionaries who worked much more efficiently than the Catholic and Orthodox missionaries satisfied the needs of the Armenian people (Haydaroğlu, 1999: 144-145/180-182) Their service in education increased the population of Protestant community day by day. Therefore, the community was in need of native pastors to be educated to serve in religious matters to the Protestant community enlarging every day. The American missionary started to open seminary schools to meet this need. Bebek Seminary, which was founded in Bebek in 1840 by Cyrus Hamlin and transformed into a theological seminary in 1856, is the first example of these schools. Harput Seminary, which was founded by George W. Dunmore in 1892, Maraş Seminary, which was founded in 1854 in Antep and moved to Maraş in 1864, Merzifon Seminary, which was established by John F. Smith in 1865 are the seminary schools that American missionaries founded in Asia Minor. (Grabill, 1971: 22-30; Açıkses, 2001: 83-88) The American seminaries represent the religious side and the American colleges represent the secular side of the American educational institutions on the Ottoman territory. The American

colleges on the one hand represent the modern education and on the other hand they are the one of the important actors protecting the American interests in the Ottoman Empire. These schools aimed to prepare the young for life and provide them with an occupation. (Kocabaşođlu, 2000: 135)

The American schools provided mixed education at primary school level, but as the education level rose, they provided single-sex education and offered day or boarding school teaching. The missionary gave great importance to all-girl and boarding schools. The number of women missionaries in the girls' schools in different missionary regions in Asia Minor draws attention. The American Board appointed naturally more women missionaries for girls' education, for the Ottoman Empire was a closed society. The Board sent out women missionaries to the missionary centers starting from 1861 under the name of "*Women's Foreign Missionary Society*" in a programmed way. (Akgün, 1998: 8) In regard to the effect of American schools on girls, an American missionary state that "[. . .] our mission is not only education. Maybe teaching the children the points to have a better life style than they have is among our duties. We will try to transfer this life style to other nations". (OAPM (Ottoman Archives of the Prime Ministry), Y.PRK.TKM., 36/27, 7/A) The American missionaries that paid great importance to girls' education and colleges showed its best example in Izmir which is one of the important trade centers of the Empire.

I- THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY AT THE IZMIR STATION

Two American missionaries set off for the Ottoman land in 1819/1820. On the instruction given to the missionaries, Mr. Pliny Fisk and Mr. Levi Parsons departing from Boston on 3rd of November, was written that "*You will search for*

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different tribes and classes living in that country and around. Two questions will always bear up on your mind: Which good work can be done and how? What can be done for the Jews, pagans, Christians, Muslims, Jews in Palestine and the people in Egypt, Syria and Armenia?" The instruction also required them to make reports about their expeditions and to send them to Boston. (Aksu, 2015: 15; Barton, 2010: 97-98; Greene, 1916: 66-67)

Fisk and Parsons arrived in Izmir on 14 January 1820 and they immediately started to work. (Barton, 1908: 120; Eddy, 1913: 57-58) The American missionaries founded their first base in the East of Izmir. Izmir, which is the biggest and richest city of the Levant and where the Turkish-American relations and missionary activities started, was the center for tradesmen since it had a harbor for loading and unloading the goods for Asia Minor. The constant commercial development in Izmir since the XVIIth century caused different ethnic groups to settle there. The ethnic structure and trade volume of Izmir were enough to draw the attention of the American missionaries. (Şenocak, 2011: 23-24; Beyru, 2011: 2-5; Pınar, 1996: 7-11)

Izmir maintained its significance till the Istanbul Missionary was established in 1831. Regions in Asia Minor were separated into two as the Istanbul Missionary and the Asia Minor Missionary in 1835. After the annual meeting held in Harput in 1860 these regions were divided into three as the Eastern, Western and Central Missionary for Turkey and the Izmir Station was in the Western Missionary for Turkey. (White, 1995: 46-48; Eddy, 1913: 127) The missionary activities of the American missionaries at the Izmir Station were divided into four periods. The first period is the “*Beginning*” or “*Introductory*” period and covers the years between 1820 and 1833. (ABCFM (American Board

of Commissioners for Foreign Missions), The Near East Mission 1917-1919, Reel: 505, Vol: 19: 1) Fisk and Parsons started their activities among the Greeks in this period, but they had a big problem. The problem was that they did not know Greek language. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6, 1) They went to Samos Island for Professor Bambas on 1 May 1820 to make up their deficiencies and to learn Greek. (Tibawi, 1966: 18) They came back to Izmir at the end of that summer and started to hand out the epistle of St. Chrysostom titled "*Reading the Holy Book*" and an epistle translated from the book of Dr. Watt titled "*The End of Time*" to local schools and monasteries. (Tracy, 1842: 100-101) They handed out 3.700 copies of these epistles and 41 Bibles just in five months' time. They set off for a trip to Asia Minor and covered about more than 300 miles when the autumn drew in and they also visited Aivali (Ayvalık), Cassaba (Turgutlu), Manisa, Ephesus, Philadelphia (Alaşehir), Thyatira (Akhisar) and Sardis. (Strong, 1910: 27) Parsons departed for the holy land, Jerusalem, which was the base for the American Board, after getting back to Izmir and Fisk stayed in Izmir at a Dutchman's house. (Stone, 1984: 87)

Fisk, being left alone with the death of Parsons on 10 February 1822, went to Malta on 13 April 1822 and there he resumed his activities with Daniel Temple. (Tibawi, 1966: 21-22) Elnathan Gridley, the monk and Josiah Brewer came to Izmir on 26 December 1826 to carry out two new missionary projects. The missionary Gridley was charged to work among the Greeks and Brewer among the Jews. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 1) Gridley paid attention to language studies and began to learn Greek and Turkish. He also paid visits to the Greek schools along with his language studies. He died of malaria in November 1828 and the activities among the Greeks at the Izmir Station came to an end. (Stone, 1984: 30; Danacıoğlu, 1993: 75; Herald, 1828: 259-260) Josiah Brewer

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and his wife founded a school in Izmir for the poor and orphans, where Antonio Dalessius worked as a teacher immediately after the death of Elnathan Gridley. They opened one more school as the Greek people demanded. The missionary Brewer and his wife attached a great importance especially to girls' education. Brewer, who thought that the education system at schools is not perfect, broke with the American Board. (Stone, 1984: 33-36; Augustinos, 2013: 170-172) During this period the missionary activities among the Greeks and Jews in Izmir failed. This failure directed the American missionaries to devote themselves to translation and publication activities, so after the printing house in Malta was moved to Izmir in 1833, it was called as the printing city. (Bartlett, 1889: 1-2) After the printing house was moved to Izmir, the second period for American missionaries in Izmir started.

The period between the years of 1833 and 1844 including the activities of the American missionary at the Izmir Station is called as "*The Greek Period*". Despite the fact that the feeling was that American missionaries worked among the Greeks, they actually focused on the Armenians. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6, 4)

John B. Adger, an American missionary, faithfully organized religious ceremonies among the Armenians between 1834 and 1846 and translated the Bible into modern Armenian and translations of the Bible were published at the printing house in Izmir, but the educational activities the American missionaries performed for the Greeks and Armenians were not very well received by the Greek and Armenian communities. The pressure from both of the communities caused them to hand over the school opened for the Armenian girls to the Armenian community and to close the school opened for the Greek pupils.

(ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 6; Erdoğan, 2008: 100) Van Lennep joined the missionary activities in 1840 and Caulhoun in 1843. Even though it was thought that the missionary activities would refresh with every new accession, the missionary experienced disappointment. The missionaries set off for expedition to investigate the stagnation in missionary activities. Adger and Riggs visited Aydın, Nazilli and Alaşehir during one of these 1842 expeditions. The missionary finally terminated its activities for the Greeks in 1844. The General-Secretary of the Board, Rufus Anderson's second expedition to the region influenced the decision on terminating the missionary activities for the Greeks in Asia Minor and the Greek territory. (Kocabaşoğlu, 2000: 55) In the meantime, the missionary Calhoun was appointed to the Syrian Missionary, the missionary Van Lennep to the Istanbul Missionary and the missionary Temple returned to the USA. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 7) The third period called as "*The Armenian Period*" covers the years between 1844 and 1870. The main actors at the Izmir Station are the missionaries Riggs and Adger during this period. The reactions of the Greek and Armenian clergy slowed down and occasionally suspended the missionary activities. Thomas P. Johnston and Mrs. Johnston working at the Trabzon Station came to Izmir in 1845 to revive the missionary activities at the Izmir Station and stayed in the region by 1853 and then they went back to the USA. The missionary Joel S. Everett came from Istanbul to work at the station between the years of 1845 and 1847.

Another American missionary transferred to the station in 1846 was Nathan Benjamin. The missionary Benjamin stayed in the region by 1852 and went back to Istanbul. The missionary Ladd's activities in Akhisar during this period are worthy to be remembered. The missionary activity that left its mark on the third period is the attempt to increase the number of Protestant community

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thanks to the activities in religious fields. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 3) The same report evaluating the activities of the American missionaries at the Izmir Station calls the fourth period starting from 1870 as "*The Mixed Period*". The most important decision taken at this period is to move the station from Izmir to Manisa. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 4) This decision was necessary not only because there was a reaction against selling religious books in Manisa especially during the previous period and nationalistic movements rose up in Izmir, but also owing to the pressure from the Greek and Armenian clergy and the deficient number of Protestant community that could support the missionaries. Therefore, the American missionaries that came to Izmir moved the missionary base to Manisa in 1820 when they did not achieve the success they had desired after the end of about fifty years. (Johnson, 2004: 4) The activities in Manisa started with great confidence at the very same year when the Armenian Priest Hagop Charpjian helped the missionary Baldwin. The main aim of the activities of the missionaries in Manisa was to integrate the Greek and Armenian children.

The Greek and Armenian girls started to get education together for this reason. In addition, the missionary Mrs. Cull made an attempt to find a boarding school only for girls, and Mrs. Clark supported her movement, but later on it was decided that the school should only serve the Greek girls. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 4) The missionaries Flora P. Bowen and Marcellus Bowen (1874-1885) and Fanny Brooks and Charles Brooks (1874-1892) came to the region to strengthen the activities in Manisa in 1874. The missionary Brown studied Turkish, and the other missionary Brooks studied Greek. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 7) It is not right to mention that the American missionary at the Izmir Station achieved great success in founding schools for the Greek and Armenian

children and forming a Protestant community, but they continued their activities with patience and persistence. The missionary Mrs. West's arrival at the Izmir Station gave a significant acceleration to the activities there. This acceleration decreased from time to time; yet it kept its pace and the American missionaries left the American Girls College in Göztepe, which still continues its academic activities today, behind as a heritage.

II- FOUNDATIONS ARE LAID FOR IZMIR AMERICAN GIRLS COLLEGE AND INTERNATIONAL COLLEGE OF SMYRNA

The American Board sent the missionary Maria Abigail West to Izmir in 1876 to revive the Izmir Station. The missionary West, who worked at different regions in Asia Minor, came into office as English and music teacher at one of the Armenian schools when she arrived in Izmir. Mrs. West, who decided to open her own school, rented a house in densely Armenian populated Basmane and opened a kindergarten in 1878.

That year, the center of the Board was moved from Manisa to Izmir. It is known that Mrs. West in charge of reviving the activities of the station did not spend much time in the region in 1879; handing over the Izmir Station to Bowen family in Manisa continued her missionary activities in Istanbul without adhering to the American Board. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 28; ABCFM, The Near East Mission 1917-1919, Reel: 505, Vol: 19: 5) Moving from Manisa to Izmir, the Bowens bought an old building in Tabakhane and continued their academic activities in this building. The earthquake that occurred in 1879 made the building unusable for education and for this reason the earthquake damaged building was

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demolished, and a new one was erected and named after the Bowens. (ABCFM, Reel: 505, Vol.6: 3, The Report of Lyman Barlett 1884-1904)

The mixed-sex education system at the school was terminated in 1881 and the school was divided into two sections as girls' section and boys' section. The old building next to the school was rented for girls' school and the girls section started to enroll students for day and boarding school in the same year. (Johnson, 2004: 7-8; Demir, 2014: 117-118) Therefore, the school founded by Mrs. Maria West in 1878 lost its function as a kindergarten and started to function as a girls' school because it welcomed students at different age groups. (ABCFM, Reel: 618, Vol.29, 6) Its name was changed as the American Collegiate Institute for Girls (ACI) in 1898. (Elmacı, 2013: 37; "Bilgiye Uzanan Patikalar" 2004; ABCFM, The Near East Mission 1917-1919, Reel: 505, Vol: 19: 6)

The curriculum drawn up at the school helped its popularity flourish every passing day, which ensured a large increase in student numbers and this encouraged the school director, the missionary Emily McCallum, to look for a building to meet the rising demand. The old school building was torn down and a new one was built in 1886. However, the new student recruitments revealed the insufficiency of the school buildings in Basmane. Even though the location problem was solved after moving primary and secondary classes to the kindergarten building between 1905 and 1906, the missionaries were aware that this solution was a temporary one, so they were in search of a permanent solution for the location problem of the girls' school. They bought new land in Göztepe for the AIC, but the Ottoman government did not give a start for construction because of the WWI. The construction at the Göztepe Campus was completed

and the school started education on October 1st in 1923. (Johnson, 2004: 17-22; Demir, 2014: 128)

Mr. and Mrs. Bowen founded a school called Boys' School for boys upon their arrival in Izmir in 1880 and appointed an Armenian, Hagop Constantian, for directing the school. Most of the students were Armenians, (ABCFM, Reel: 618, Vol.29, 6) so the school paid great importance to the Armenian language in its curriculum and the motto "*The Armenian language is one of the keys for the hearts of the Armenian people*" was adopted. (ABCFM, Reel: 695, November 5, 1893) Turkish and Greek languages were also added on the curriculum later on. The American Boys' High School started to give 8 years of education consisting of 4 years for secondary school and 4 other years for high school in 1891. (Demir, 2014: 107) The Boys' School founded in 1880 was named as the American Collegiate Institute in 1898 and as the International College of Smyrna in 1903. (ABCFM, Reel: 618, Vol. 29, 5th Annual Report of the International College; Stone, 1984, 245) The official entity of the school was certified by the Ottoman authorities in 1907. Both the girls' and boys' school had to receive a license according to the 129th Article of the Regulation for Education that was put into effect in 1869 and they gained official identity after receiving their licenses in 1892. (Şamil, 2005: 298) The student number of the school that was opened with 25 students enrolled in 1880 gradually diminished and this school did not achieve the desired success like the girls' school. Therefore, the missionary Lyman Bartlett was appointed for the region to revive the activities of the station in 1884. The first thing the missionary Bartlett did was to take care of the schools and it was decided to hand over the management of the school to an American teacher and to give weight to English courses. (ABCFM, Reel: 681, Vol. 29, 9; Elmacı, 2013: 40) The kindergarten that founded by Mrs. West, and the boys' school were

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moved to Spartalian Mansion near the train station in Basmane in 1885. This mansion was rented for three years by the American missionaries. The schools started their education with 11 boarding and 25-day students in the academic year of 1887-1888 and were named as the American School for Boys.

Twice the number of students enrolled at the boys' school were enrolled at the girls' school. Then it was decided again to change its director to revive the school for boys and Alexander MacLachlan, working at the St. Paul Institute in Tarsus, was appointed as the director of the American School for Boys in Izmir in 1891. In addition, the American Board made a decision during this time to financially support the school to meet the deficiencies in terms of materials and teaching staff. (Stone, 1984: 244) They bought Spartalian Mansion rented in 1892 and Seferian House next to the mansion to be used as the kindergarten and it was named as the Huntington Kindergarten and Elementary School. (ABCFM, Reel: 618, Vol. 29, 12) The American School for Boys made great progress with MacLachlan and the student number of the school increased day by day. (Johnson, 2004: 8-9) Yet, this rise in student number brought along the insufficiency of physical conditions of the school. They attempted to solve this problem renting a building that belonged to Mr. Arapian in 1895 and buying the land next to the school in 1897. (Demir, 2014: 175)

The fire started at the college on 8 February 1904 is seen as one of the events changing its history. The roof and one part of the main hall were burned in the fire and then a second fire at the American Girls College, known as the Bowen House on 29 January 1911, burned the roof. Fortunately, the fire was put out in a very short time thanks to the great efforts of the fire brigade. Because of

the fires started at different times and the increase in student number, they bought new land out of town and moved the college there by self-sacrificing efforts of the college director, Mr. MacLachlan. (ABCFM, Reel: 618, Vol. 29: 1; Stone, 1984: 246) The land they bought was eighty acres in Paradiso (Paradise/Kızılçullu) about 7 kilometers to the south of the city partly on loan and partly by the support of American benefactors and the Levant families. (Stone, 1984: 248) The construction started in May 1912 and was finished within one year. The new campus was ready for the new academic year on 25 October 1913. The official opening ceremony was performed with an audience of 2500 people on 15 January 1914 (Demir, 2014: 184) The International College continued its academic activities during the WWI years. Yet the decrease in student numbers and ensuing financial problems caused a hard time during the war years. (Barton, 1919: 7-10) The Ottoman Empire, having entered the war, unilaterally abolished the capitulations and shut down the schools that belonged to the fighting parties. (James, 1932: 221-222)

However, the good relations between the American directors and local administrators helped them go on their activities during the war. (ABCFM, Reel: 628, Vol. 39, 4) Despite these positive developments during the war, the ban on religion courses flustered the missionaries, but morning services were held at the chapel and they went on offering courses on Jesus Christ's life in 1915 (Stone, 1984: 250).

This drove a wedge between the Izmir Governor Rahmi Bey and the school director MacLachlan, but later on the tension between the two came to an end. The college continued its academic activities without fear of confiscation of its facilities under the auspices of the Izmir Governor Rahmi Bey. The economic

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and security problems of the campus because of its location, the burden of students to live together with the British and Indian POWs in the campus, the recruitment of students to the army, the cessation of communication to Boston are among the other problems the college faced during the WWI. (Demir, 2014: 189-194) The WWI ended with the victory of the Entente Powers and the Ottoman Empire signed the Armistice of Mudros. Then the Ottoman territory was occupied with regard to the 7th article of the treaty. (Elmacı, 2013: 94) The International College continued its activities when Izmir was under occupation and after its occupation by the Greeks on 15 May 1919 the number of Greek students at the college increased dramatically. We know that a museum was opened in the college in 1921 when it was called as the International College of Asia Minor and a farm was built in the campus. (Demir, 2014: 200-201)

Professor F. S. Holton was appointed to manage this farm. (Stone, 1984: 250) The students at the department of agriculture that was established in 1919 had the opportunity to apply modern agricultural methods they had learnt on this farm. The graduates of this department received Bachelor of Agriculture and thus adding one more degree to Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Commerce degrees granted between the years of 1903 and 1921 in the International College. The International College continued its activities from the Greek occupation in 1919 until the Turks recaptured Izmir on 9 September 1922. Alexandre MacLachlan was working as the general director of the International College in the Paradiso (Kızılcıllu) Campus during the recapture of the city and he kept his position till he resigned in 1926. MacLachlan asked the US Destroyer Commander Captain Piper's help to protect the campus during the recapture and the captain deployed

20 of his troops in the campus for protection. (Milton, 2009: 165-166) The Greeks and Armenians were alarmed with the Turkish Army's entry into the city and everybody that laid down arms was accepted as refugees into the campus. There were about 1500 refugees in the campus on that day. (Elmacı, 2013: 107; Milton, 2009: 172; <http://www.levantineheritage.com>.) The immovable properties of the American Board burned in the fire and most of the missionaries left the city on an American ship called SIMS. (Elmacı, 2013: 204.) The uneasiness caused by the recapture and accordingly some of the missionaries' departure from the city resulted in freezing academic activities between September 1922 and January 1923. The USA participating in the Lausanne Peace Conference that was held after the independence of Asia Minor as an observer state demanded the continuation of capitulations and that the American missionaries and their educational activities be under protection.

Therefore, the USA requested a written warranty regarding these issues; however, İsmet İnönü stated that it was not possible to issue a written warrant, but the American charity and education institutions would be protected. Turkey agreed to recognize the American cultural and religious institutions within its borders according to the agreement signed between the two states on 6 August 1923. (Hurewitz, 1983: 502-505) The Turkish State took necessary measures to monitor the activities of foreign schools and to ensure they provide education appropriate for the principles of the republic after the declaration of republic. A circular note regarding the removal of religious symbols and badges in schools was delivered in 1924 and it was stated that schools that did not obey this rule would be shut down. Participation of students that were Muslim and believers of other religions into religious rituals at schools was banned. (Sezer, 1999: 30-31)

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After another circular note delivered on 25 September 1925 had more severe measures to monitor foreign schools. It was also decided that Turkish teachers would give the courses in Turkish language, history and geography to nationalize education and that no statements against Turks and Turkish state could be made in no schools whether during or out of the class. (Vahapoğlu, 1997: 219-220) These measures taken by the state required these schools to make changes on their curricula and a good many missionary stated that these schools digressed from their main objectives with these changes. These harsh inspections as well as the financial problems the schools faced, and the influences of the Great Depression started in 1929 together with the reaction of people sped up the shut-down-process for schools. The numbers of the American schools active between 1923 and 1938 in Turkey seem to be different. The number of schools that were around 11 for the first couple of years and the International College of Smyrna and the American Collegiate Institute were among the ones that continued their education during this period. (Sezer, 1999: 56-57) The steps taken to create an awareness of being a national citizen and education, the incidents provoked at the International College from 1926 were the indicators suggesting the college would be closed soon. The quarrel caused by the demand of senior students Cihad Efendi and Mustafa Sezai Efendi to study at the library until late in the evening continued to grow and the portrait of the college director MacLachlan was torn. (Elmacı, 2013: 196-198) These incidents together with the Great Depression of 1929, the reduction in salaries of teachers, the ‘Barber Incident’ in 1932 and “*Mehmet Timuçin Incident*” in 1933 caused the college director Reed to decide on dissolving the International College of Smyrna on 31 August 1934. (Stone, 1984: 253).

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