

Building Missionary-Philanthropic Educational Networks: A Medical School for Women in Constantinople

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In 1914, the American College for Girls in Constantinople opened an impressive campus, financed by leading American philanthropist women of the Gilded Age and designed by Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, a prominent Boston-based architectural firm.¹ This was an ambitious undertaking in the middle of devastating wars that marked the last decades of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, in 1920, the ACG launched a graduate-level medical program to train women physicians in coordination with the founding of the American (Bristol) Hospital and a school of nursing. Mentions of a medical school appear in correspondence between the women educators in Constantinople and the college's Boston-based supporters as early as 1901, when the ACG had only eighty-eight students in its preparatory school and forty in its bachelor's program.² The ACG's leadership wanted to locate the medical school on the campus grounds, as a unit of the college, but with each institution having its own financial independence.³ Eventually, one of the yet-unbuilt pavilions from the architects' original scheme was space planned as the medical school building and scheduled to open in 1924. This building, purpose-fitted to serve as a medical school, was never put to its intended use because the medical program had to shut down in the same year.

Considering how difficult it was for women to become doctors in the United States during this period, why and how did American women support Ottoman women's medical education? What were the intentions behind the campus

design? And what kind of impact did the building process have on the philanthropists, the architects, the ACG's American educators, and the students? To answer these questions, it is necessary to understand the ways in which the buildings were funded, how the architects became involved, and how the final built design was developed. Beyond an analysis of the overall college campus plan, a particular focus on the evolution of the designs for the medical school yields significant insights, because as a "failed" vision, it requires reading along the grain of the institutional archive. The agonistic interactions and exchanges among women educators, philanthropists, and architects regarding the designs for the campus and the medical school reveal the importance of the building process for these actors in terms of professional identity formation and opportunities. The campus landscape also triggered negative local reactions that the founders and designers had not intended. To provide a fuller picture of the ACG project, this study relies on three types of primary sources: the ACG's institutional archive, the architects' drawings, and period accounts about the college buildings.

Scholars have credited the ACG with playing an important role in Turkish women's emancipation and the feminist movement in general.⁴ Some have also underlined the fact that American educators found professional opportunities at this institution that they would not have found in the United States.⁵ The ACG's role in Turkish women's "emancipation" was not revolutionary, however; it was complementary. The Ottoman state gave a boost to the centralized education of both men and women from the Tanzimat onward, as part of its dual efforts toward modernization and economic decolonization; thus, the Ottoman women's movement was already alive and vibrant.⁶ In this article, I argue that the building process enabled the ACG's American educators to pursue their professional careers, to

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mingle with members of the socially and politically influential wealthy circles of the United States to search for funding, and to form novel networks. In turn, I trace the career trajectories of the medical students to show how relatively limited their professional opportunities were in contrast.

This article builds on several strands of literature on spaces of education. While there is substantial literature on the history of education in the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey, the region's architecture of education, which is crucial to pedagogy and subject formation, has not garnered adequate attention.⁷ This essay contributes to Ottoman/Turkish histories of education by bringing in discussion of the built environment and the building process. Second, it expands the small subfield of campus (architectural) histories, which have hitherto addressed mainly institutions located in settler colonial contexts such as the United States. In its focus on the medical school building, it complements recent studies that have shifted attention away from patient care spaces in hospitals and toward spaces of medical education.⁸ Finally, by mapping the actors involved in the building of the ACG campus and emphasizing the transnational networks based on education, this article contributes to architectural scholarship that goes beyond national or postcolonial frameworks through the perspective of what Edward Said called "intertwined histories."⁹ It avoids structuring metaphors such as "transplant" and "export," and instead explores the connections that shape shared histories, articulating American higher education in the world and the architectural history of missionary campuses as cross-cultural encounters.

The Missionary-Philanthropic Educational Enterprise

From early on, American missionaries saw the potential of using residential campuses to separate students from their local communities in order to teach them by example. Unlike other mission schools, such as those run by French, German, Australian, and Italian missionaries that were located centrally in Constantinople and historically served those nations' own citizens residing temporarily in the area, the two American colleges in Constantinople, Robert College and the ACG, chose sites that were then on the northern outskirts of the city (Figure 1).¹⁰ Their campus landscapes were both enablers and outcomes of the missionary educators' efforts.

The appearance of American Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman Empire in 1820 and the expansion of American missionary education activity there until the outbreak of World War I in 1914 aligned with U.S. economic and political interests in the region. As the United States developed into a powerful industrial economy, it expanded its search for new markets and commercial opportunities overseas. Since many parts of the world were already colonized, the United States sought access to self-governing

zones, such as China and the Ottoman Empire. American merchants and diplomats found the missionaries to be useful for their interests.¹¹ In turn, the missionaries produced knowledge that supported the legitimacy of the United States as a new type of empire on the global stage.

The ACG's archives are replete with Orientalist commentary that denigrates the host society as ignorant and stagnant, and makes clear the Americans' aim to "save" the local people with their version of civilization. Missionary historian Frank Stone writes that the Americans did not see the Ottoman women students as equals, such that the ACG's bylaws initially prevented Ottoman subjects from serving as professors on the faculty.¹² The college would eventually employ its graduates as teachers when it began having difficulty recruiting teachers from the United States, but it paid them significantly lower salaries than were offered to their American counterparts.¹³

Some historians have interpreted the American Protestant missionary movement as one engaged in cultural imperialism, while others have refused the sweep and usefulness of that term, debating whether missionaries sought to Christianize or refuting the utility of defining a Christianity outside culture.¹⁴ Writing specifically on women missionaries, American feminist historians have urged scholars to see them as "neither pawns of nor apologists for the state."¹⁵ Regardless of the debate on ideological commitments, scholars are increasingly interested in the impact of the missionaries outside the religious sphere. Historian Ussama Makdisi, for example, while introducing missionary activities within a continuum of settler colonialism at home directed at Indigenous peoples and global colonial expansion, moves the focus of the discussion to cross-cultural encounters and "the originality of cultural spaces created by the intersection of American and Ottoman histories."¹⁶

As missionaries increased in presence and prominence, the Ottomans focused on creating a national schooling system, partly as a reaction to these educational competitors within the empire.¹⁷ The central Ottoman bureaucracy kept a watchful eye on the activities of the missionaries, especially in the issuing of building permits, making sure they complied with local standards and regulations (which the missionaries often attempted to disregard). Officials also sought to protect the missionaries and the locals from one another, with the intention of limiting what they considered to be seditious activity.¹⁸

In order to differentiate themselves from the European missionaries in the Ottoman Empire, American missionaries emphasized the higher education of girls, provided instruction in the vernacular languages of the targeted students, offered secular college-level education, and introduced professional graduate-level programs. All of these elements made the American missionary schools appealing not only to poor non-Muslim students but eventually also to middle-class and affluent Muslims.

Istanbul
(City boundaries c. 1890 indicated)

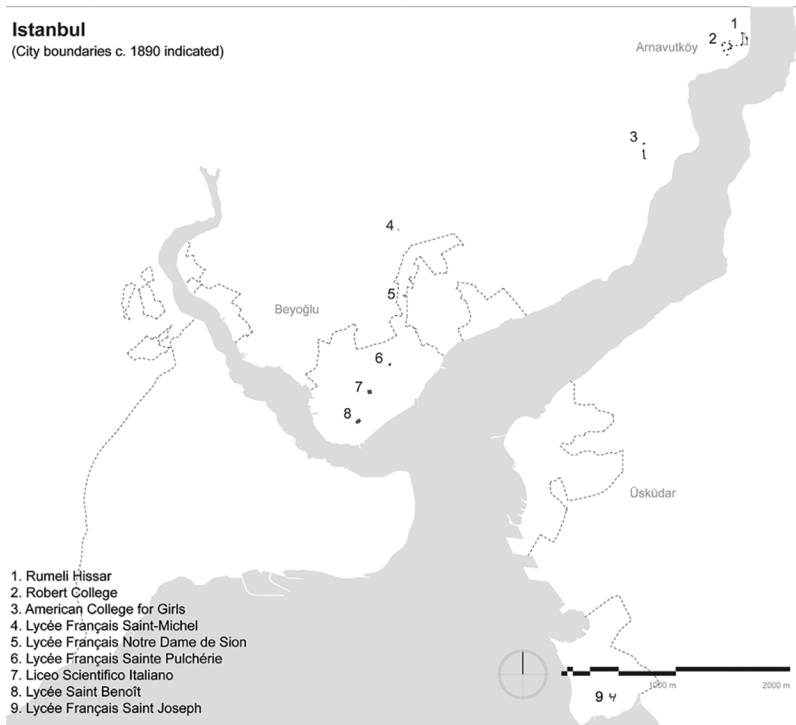


Figure 1 Relative locations of American college campuses and prominent French and Italian high schools in Istanbul, early twentieth century.

The missionaries affiliated with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (widely known simply as the American Board) opened seven high school-level educational institutions for young women in Anatolia; four offered college degrees by the beginning of the twentieth century, with the ACG in Constantinople being the earliest of them.¹⁹ Against the backdrop of developing ideas about health—understood in broad terms to include physical fitness, hygiene, private medicine, and public health, stretching all the way to the construction of a healthy nation—women’s colleges substituted evangelization with women’s emancipation and modernization, according to Caroline Kahlenberg and Ellen Fleischmann.²⁰ Interestingly, the goals of the American educators of the ACG increasingly aligned with those of the Ottoman/Turkish modernizers, for whom transforming women’s bodies and looks gained unprecedented importance for constructions of modernity and national identity.²¹ Building women’s colleges and advocating for women’s education served American missionary women and elevated their position within the missionary hierarchy. Further, American women pointed to the need for medical missions abroad to justify their pursuit of the study of medicine in the United States and their intentions to work abroad independently.

From Religious Mission to College to Medical School

American missionaries to the Ottoman Empire found that Armenians were more receptive to their religious teachings than were other non-Muslim Ottomans. The ACG traces its roots to the founding in 1871 of the Constantinople

mission in Gedikpaşa, an Armenian enclave in the historic peninsula; known as the Constantinople Home, it was inspired by New England female seminaries such as Mount Holyoke.²² This mission was established by the Woman’s Board of Missions, founded in Boston only three years earlier, in 1868, by evangelical Christian women. Initially, the Constantinople Home had three objectives: mission/proselytizing, medical care, and education. Only the educational service found some reception, and the missionaries left the original location in the historic peninsula in 1876 for a site across the Bosphorus on the Anatolian side.²³ The language of instruction for core subjects was switched from the vernacular favored by the American Board to English. The changes in the physical location and instructional language were effective moves to attract students from other ethnic communities as well as non-Ottoman students, from not only the city but also the broader region.²⁴ The new site featured two multipurpose buildings in a garden setting in the highly desirable residential district of Scutari (Üsküdar). Incorporated in 1890 as an educational institution by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, the school changed its name to the American College for Girls in Constantinople and started conferring bachelor of arts degrees.

This move reflected a change in the school’s approach in favor of the nonsectarian American model of liberal arts education. In making changes in curriculum and site selection, the college administration in Constantinople tried to please the Ottoman authorities and the parents of prospective students. They were careful not to look like proselytizers or agents of their government or of American business

interests. The ACG's subsequent split from the Woman's Board of Missions was a response to the favorable environment in Constantinople. The educators believed the school could function on student fees alone, without direct support from the Boston-based mission. They obtained a second charter from the Massachusetts legislature in 1908, effectively breaking away from the mission. The purchase and planning of a large new campus in Arnavutköy became a pretext for this split.

Arnavutköy (which means "Albanian village") is about 10 kilometers north of the historic peninsula; located far away from Pera, where foreign missions and their educational institutions and other dense residential zones in the city were concentrated, it sits on a wooded hill overlooking the Bosphorus on the European side. In moving to this relatively remote location, and in establishing its independence from the American Board, the ACG emulated Robert College, an independent men's college situated on a wooded hill overlooking the Bosphorus in nearby Bebek. The financing and building of the ACG's medical school corresponded with efforts to establish the college as an independent institution with its own board of trustees.

Construction of the main campus lasted throughout the Balkan Wars (when Balkan states fought the Ottoman Empire, 1912–13). The beginning of World War I (1914–18) created a significant drawback for fundraising, as American philanthropy shifted its focus to alleviating the ravages of the war.²⁵ The ACG medical building was constructed in the aftermath of World War I, through the Turkish War of Independence, during years when Constantinople was under the occupation of the Allied powers (British, French, Italian, and Greek). Under the nascent Republic of Turkey, the passing of the Law of Unification of Education and Secular Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu) in March 1924 marked the end of the growth of the ACG and the closure of its medical program. This law had three essential aspects: it mandated coed schools and secular education, and it centralized all scientific and educational institutions under the Republic's Ministry of Education. Only a few missionary institutions that were willing and able to offer the Turkish curriculum would continue, and those that did could no longer confer college degrees (except for Robert College). Some schools closed, while others moved their campuses to new locations—Anatolian College of Merzifon moved to Greece, and International College of Smyrna moved to Lebanon. The few that continued operating in Turkey, including the ACG, were reduced to the status of high schools.

Race in Campus Landscapes

Prominent American missionary institutions in the Ottoman Empire preferred not to stay in central locations

in dense inner-city areas, and they purchased large pieces of land on the peripheries of cities for their campuses. Relocation and land acquisition provided the impetus for the ACG's master planning. In examining the ACG project, it is imperative to situate the college's design within the architectural history of the campus typology. Most scholarship on the architecture of the college campus examines the campus as a "work of art" representative of the cultural power of the institution.²⁶ The second aspect of this literature is its national boundedness and the association of the topic with American exceptionalism: the campus is regarded as "an American planning tradition."²⁷ Studies by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz and Carla Yanni offer social, economic, and gender perspectives on campus building typologies such as dormitories; other scholars have examined gymnasiums, chapels, and student unions.²⁸ Historical studies have focused on how elite North American universities benefited financially from slavery, and architectural studies have detailed how some universities, such as the University of Virginia, were built and serviced by enslaved labor.²⁹ Recent studies have shown that colleges and universities in North America, except for those that are historically Black, are institutions of whiteness. In his work on historically Black colleges and universities, Kenrick Ian Grandison shows how and why HBCUs differ from white colleges in the ways they are laid out (e.g., placed in the worst sites, lacking visible grand plans, looking haphazard), including how their major landmarks are oriented inward, to escape the gaze and potential violence from the white towns nearby.³⁰ As I will explain, the campus design of the ACG was similar to that of a white college in its monumentality, but the structures were hidden from local view like those of an HBCU.

Unlike colleges established in settler colonial contexts, which were founded to educate elite white settlers (e.g., children of plantation owners and merchants as well as clergymen), American colleges in the Ottoman Empire, as well as in India, China, and Japan, were established to educate the locals. At these institutions, American educators racialized their students through required cultural performances, images in promotional pamphlets, record-keeping practices, and everyday discussions of racial character, while asserting American superiority. Students are visible in the records of the ACG as representatives of their "races" or "nations"—as these terms were used interchangeably to stereotype the students inconsistently along religious, linguistic, and geographic lines (Figure 2).³¹ Photographs in the ACG archives typically identify students not by name but by identity categories. However, the students were not passive, and several scholars have discussed the remarkable agency some students displayed in negotiating the curricula of the ACG's sibling institutions, Robert College and the American University of Beirut.³² Understanding how



Bulgarian students in historical costume

Constantinople Woman's College is the only European college for women East of Vienna. It has an academic course leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree; a course for the training of teachers; a modern Home Economics department, and a department for commercial branches.

In addition to these, it is the one institution in the Near East offering medical training for women. Such training is especially important because, according to Turkish custom, men doctors are not allowed in the harems.



Armenian students in traditional costume



Leaders of the Pageant of Nations, celebrating the dedication of the new buildings

The medical curriculum at Constantinople College is similar to that of the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York. A training school for nurses is included. A new building is to be erected for the work within the year. This building, together with the expenses of the medical school, are cared for by special benefactions which can be used for no other purpose.

Group of Jewish students



Figure 2 Pages from a promotional brochure, 1922, showing Bulgarian, Armenian, and Jewish students at the American College for Girls in Constantinople in “traditional” or “historical” costume, along with text that notes the ACG “is the one institution in the Near East offering medical training for women. Such training is especially important because, according to Turkish custom, men doctors are not allowed in the harems” (*America’s Outposts in the Near East*, 1922, Box 33/17, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).

racial difference was spatialized in the missionary educational enterprise in the Ottoman Empire requires comparative examination of the colleges’ campuses, which display considerable variety in their evolution. In the minds of the missionaries and their benefactors, the ACG’s austere neoclassical architectural idiom, its intentional and carefully choreographed monumentality, and the construction techniques and materials used all contributed to conveying a sense of American (racial) superiority over the host culture.

The “Script” of the Campus Landscape

The plans and drawings produced for the ACG reveal some of the intentions behind the school’s design, through what Bruno Latour called “a scene’s script.”³³ In the architects’ original scheme for the ACG, seven large-scale pavilion-type buildings were lined up for 1,000 feet in a north–south direction, arranged in a hierarchical and symmetrical composition. I will refer to this overall scheme as

the “campus row” (Figures 3 and 4). The campus row was meant to impress visitors and control residents while establishing clear visual hierarchies.

The approach to the campus row was carefully planned to awe arriving visitors. Entering the campus at sea level, from the humble Arnavutköy Gate, visitors climbed up 82 meters in altitude via a meandering road in the woods before coming to a clearing, where suddenly the campus row appeared in full above them on the slope. The pedestrian approach along a singular access path led right to the midpoint of the campus row, another 13 meters up in altitude. At the end of this entry path was a set of stairs leading up to the administration building, Gould Hall, with its neoclassical façade fronted by eight massive columns (Figures 5, 6, and 7). The façade widths of the buildings to each side of the administration building diminished in relation to their distance: the perspective this composition offered from the bottom of the stairs was a lesson in monumentality.

After walking up the stairs and past the portico to enter the administration building, visitors crossed a generous vestibule

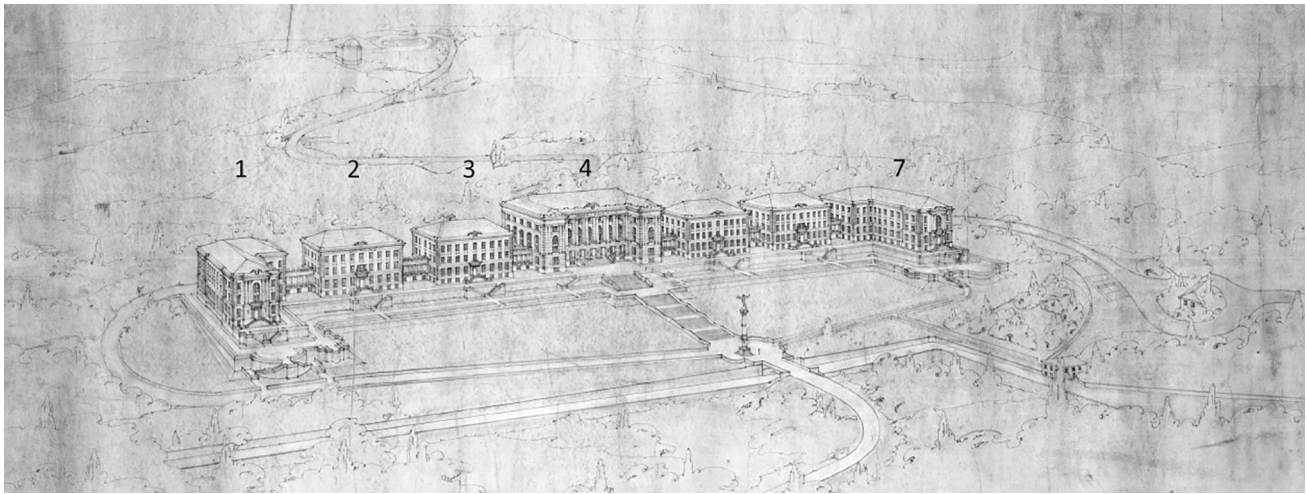
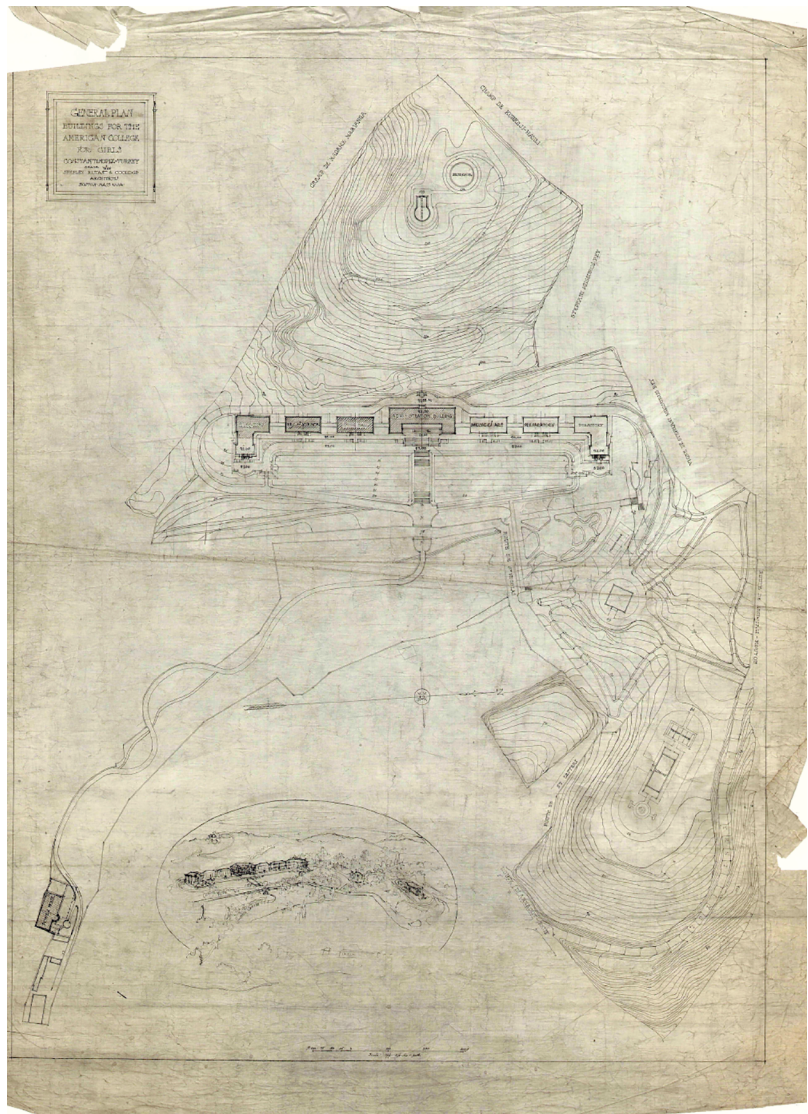


Figure 3 Shepley, Ruten & Coolidge, American College for Girls, Constantinople, drawing ca. 1908, architects' perspective of the campus row; only four of the buildings (1, 2, 3, and 4) were built in the first phase of construction, completed in 1914; building 7 was completed in 1924 as the Bingham Medical Building (courtesy of Shepley Bulfinch).

Figure 4 Shepley, Ruten & Coolidge, American College for Girls, Constantinople, drawing ca. 1908, plan (courtesy of Shepley Bulfinch).



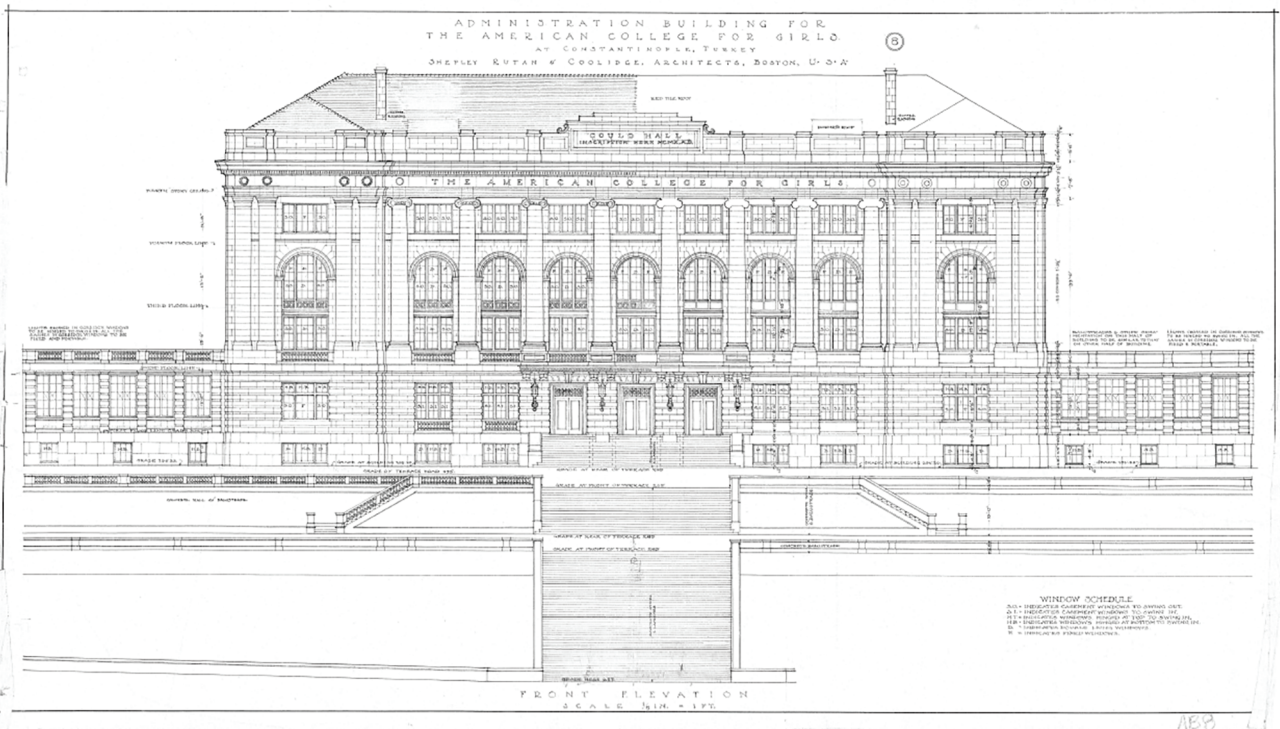


Figure 5 Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, American College for Girls, Constantinople, drawing ca. 1908, front elevation of Gould Hall (administration building, building 4) (courtesy of Shepley Bulfinch).

Figure 6 Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, American College for Girls, Constantinople, photo 1927, Gould Hall (administration building) (Box 55/1, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).



to arrive at the Marble Hall, named for its sumptuous marble surfaces. There they waited to be admitted to one of the reception rooms to the sides of the hall or to be shown upstairs to the assembly hall (which doubled as the chapel). The sectional and plan relations established clear hierarchies, separating servants (in the basement), local students (toward the ends), and American educators (in the center). The workers' accommodations and workspaces were in the basement, hidden away from view behind the terrace, along with kitchens and dining rooms. The student dormitories were at the bookends of the

campus row (buildings 1 and 7), while the American educators' rooms were in the center, within the administration building (building 4) and on the top floor. Inside the buildings, through the campus row, ran a very long corridor, which I will call the "super corridor": buildings 1 to 7 all had plans featuring double-loaded corridors, and these corridors were all aligned and connected with enclosed passageways between the buildings (Figures 8, 9, and 10).

Of the seven buildings in the composition, only four would be built (buildings 1 to 4), each funded by an

Figure 7 "The last stretch in a long climb!" approach to the campus row of the American College for Girls, Constantinople, photo 1927 (Box 53/1, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).



Figure 8 Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, American College for Girls, Constantinople, drawing ca. 1908, plan (courtesy of Shepley Bulfinch).



American woman philanthropist. These buildings—a dormitory, a science building, a dining hall, and the administration building—opened with a ceremony on

3 June 1914. Even as they were being constructed, their programs kept changing in response to local developments and the college's evolving curricular ambitions. For example, in a 1912 report, building 6 was assigned to be the School of Education. But it was soon dropped from the list—possibly because the Ottoman Women's Teacher Training College (Dârülmualimât, 1870–1924) opened a residential component around this time and expanded its enrollment to more than seven hundred.³⁴ Eventually, the School of Medicine rose to the top of the ACG's priority list. Still, the idea of educating women medical practitioners had been on the table right from the start of discussions about the campus, despite the lack of evidence for student demand for such a school.



Figure 9 Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, American College for Girls, Constantinople, photo 1931, internal passageway between buildings, (Box 41/1, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).

Gender and Philanthropy: How the Buildings Were Funded

Powerful American women, independent members of the industrialist-turned-philanthropist families of the late nineteenth century, initially funded the ACG campus. Factory work had increasingly legitimated the labor force participation of working-class American women in the second half of the nineteenth century, and among the college-educated segment of middle-class women, social work to support poor and working-class women was considered a respectable path to a fulfilling career in public service. Aligning with the latter, wealthier, upper-class women were also able to find their own voices and become involved in causes that had societal impacts. Some of their efforts were directed at aiding the urban poor in American cities, and some were directed at supporting women in select international contexts where U.S. trade and business interests coincided. The



Figure 10 Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, American College for Girls, Constantinople, 1914, terrace in front of the campus row, photo 1927 (Box 41/1, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).

mission movement provided a legitimate pretext for the latter kind of work.

New York-based Grace Hoadley Dodge (1857–1914) gets credit as the visionary behind the campus master plan of the ACG and the financial reorganization of the school into a U.S.-style private college with a board of trustees. The prominent men's colleges previously established in the Ottoman Empire, Robert College in Constantinople and the American University in Beirut, had physically evolved in an ad hoc manner, and Dodge argued that the ACG should take a longer view.³⁵ After first becoming involved as a major donor to the ACG, she served as vice president of the board of trustees from 1908 to 1911, when she became president of the board, a position she occupied until her death in 1914. She was an heir of the Phelps-Dodge family, owners of the American mining and railway company of the same name. The Dodges held significant power and influence in their domestic and international philanthropy. Beyond simply giving money, they became institutional leaders, serving as trustees, teachers, and school administrators.

It was mainly Grace Dodge's friendship and family circle of wealthy women philanthropists who funded the individual buildings of the ACG campus, in particular Mrs. Henry Woods of Boston (d. 1912); Olivia Egleston Phelps Stokes (1847–1927); Margaret Olivia Slocum Sage (1828–1918), widow of Russell Sage; and Helen Miller Gould Shepard (1868–1938), daughter of Jay Gould. Others made smaller contributions to cover the institution's ongoing expenses. These wealthy American families and their philanthropic affairs were not disconnected: Grace Dodge's brother, Cleveland, was on the board of Olivia Slocum Sage's Russell Sage Foundation, along with Helen Miller Gould Shephard, who would make the second-largest donation for the campus buildings. That these women were wielding unprecedented influence by giving away their inherited wealth was noted across the United States with a certain ambivalence approaching resentment. An illustration that accompanied an anonymously published article in 1909 demonstrates this ambivalence: it shows an elegantly dressed woman (standing in for Mrs. Leland Stanford, whose portrait appears in an oval frame to the right) handing out institutional buildings to little people dressed in dark coats, apparently representing academics and administrators. The caption of the illustration, which appeared in eight regional newspapers in the United States, read: "Women Give Away the Millions Men Have Fought For" (Figure 11).

The women at the helm of the ACG steered the institution to seek funding from the likes of even wealthier philanthropists, such as the Rockefellers. On their breaking away from the American Board to gain a New York-based board of trustees dominated by men (twelve out of sixteen members), historian Barbara Reeves-Ellington wryly comments

Women Give Away the Millions Men Have Fought For



Figure 11 Illustration accompanying an anonymously published 1909 newspaper article about the philanthropy of wealthy American women (*Washington County News*, 11 Nov. 1909).

that the women "exchanged missionary patriarchy for capitalist patriarchy."³⁶ At around the same time, American philanthropy was transforming, becoming "scientific" and institutionalized in private foundations. The lack of federal funding and government control made public and higher education attractive areas for newly established private foundations.³⁷

John D. Rockefeller was one of the key funders of the ACG campus at its inception, and the ACG leadership's plans and dreams for the medical campus and later the medical school building relied very much on the prospect of his continued philanthropy. In 1910, Rockefeller gifted the ACG \$150,000 toward the cost of the buildings, and this gift was used to erect the campus power plant and property walls. Rockefeller started his philanthropy in general education in 1903 by endowing the General Education Board to provide major funding for schools across the United States. He hired Frederick T. Gates in 1913 to run the Rockefeller Foundation, with health as a priority. The RF conducted studies of education around the world and paid particular attention to scientific medical education as a means of cultural transformation. Instead of adhering to

the old philanthropy model of pledging funding for projects in one-on-one meetings with fund seekers, the foundation sought to make informed funding decisions by hiring disciplinary experts to produce reports about the facts and general state of medical education and public health issues. Given the RF's approach, the ACG consistently turned to the foundation for support, especially for its medical school. The RF never fully declined the ACG's medical school proposal; rather, it continued to assess and reassess, making suggestions throughout the project's development and formalization.

The Role of the Architect

Architect Charles Hercules Rutan (1851–1914) was engaged to design new buildings for the Üsküdar site of the ACG as early as 1905. Fire damage to one of the two main buildings earlier that year had activated fundraising efforts, which in turn led to the acquisition of a much larger site in Arnavutköy. Rutan became a member of the board of trustees and the board's treasurer in 1907 as the negotiations of the land purchase for the new campus started. He also hosted the Building Committee in his firm's office, located in its signature Ames Building in Boston, until he passed away in 1911. The choice of Rutan was purposeful: his firm, Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge, was a leader in U.S. architecture on par with the likes of New York-based McKim, Mead & White and Chicago-based Adler & Sullivan.³⁸ Based in Boston, Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge had a well-established relationship with Harvard University and its donor base. The firm designed numerous buildings of note, among them Stanford University's Quadrangle in Palo Alto (starting in 1886), the Art Institute of Chicago (1892), the Chicago Public Library (1896), and the South Station in Boston (1892), as well as the Harvard Medical School (1906), Law School (1907), and Dentistry School (1909), along with many other Harvard buildings (starting in 1893). The firm's work on the ACG campus and its medical school building has hitherto not been included in American architectural histories, an oversight this article rectifies.³⁹

Since the ACG was originally supported by the Boston-based Woman's Board of Missions, Rutan would have been part of the same circles as the philanthropists from whom the ACG hoped to gain funding. The ACG became Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge's first international project. Although Rutan died in the middle of it, the firm, renamed Coolidge and Shattuck, continued providing services for the college, offering new designs and amendments to existing ones.⁴⁰

It was important to the ACG to have an architect of Rutan's standing as trustee and treasurer. Potential benefactors—especially John D. Rockefeller, targeted as a

donor—preferred “a strong businessman as Treasurer,” and Rutan fit the bill.⁴¹ As soon as Rutan was recruited as trustee, Caroline Borden, another board member, wrote to the RF to urge the foundation to give money to the college: “We have in Mr. Rutan *an experienced architect free of charge*, as well as a fine Treasurer, who adds to his care of the treasury personal gifts of money.”⁴² The prospect of being funded by John D. Rockefeller seems to have led not only to the recruiting of Rutan but also to a complete transformation of the board of trustees, with the addition of men of business acumen and separation from missionary boards.⁴³ Reaching Rockefeller via the architect was not merely a fantasy of the college administrators and trustees: the architect himself insinuated the possibility of support. The aforementioned gift to erect a power plant to supply the already funded buildings (1, 2, 3, and 4) arrived in early 1910.⁴⁴ Construction began soon after.⁴⁵

Design Controversy

With ambitious visions for the campus, the women administrators were motivated to bring in trustees who were already networked with key philanthropists, but this caused much controversy in terms of the design, as the trustees did not share the women educators' visions for the institution. The siting and form of the campus row was the trustees' imposition, and the educators contested it as much as they could. Correspondence in the ACG archives and published accounts of efforts to raise funds for the campus reveal that the women educators' original plan was to situate the campus on the flat terraced zone called the Plateau, with a view of the Bosphorus.⁴⁶ “We feel that the location of the group of seven buildings is most unfortunately chosen. . . . We strongly urge the location of all the College buildings thus far projected, except the Observatory and Music Buildings, on the plateau,” they wrote from Constantinople. Writing from New York, ACG president Mary Mills Patrick tried to mediate; in a letter to Rutan, she even sketched her version of the placement of buildings on the Plateau (Figure 12). She wrote: “Could we not agree on three buildings on the plateau arranged something like my plan No. 2 with a fourth where the figure 5 is on the blue print. That would all come into a perspective with a view of the Bosphorus?”⁴⁷ But the trustees insisted on Rutan's scheme, which placed the pavilion-type buildings along a line, all connected by enclosed corridors, on the slope hidden from view behind the Plateau. The architect applied the austere, yet monumental, neoclassical idiom, achieved through poured-in-place concrete, a technology his firm had tested at Harvard's Medical School in 1907.

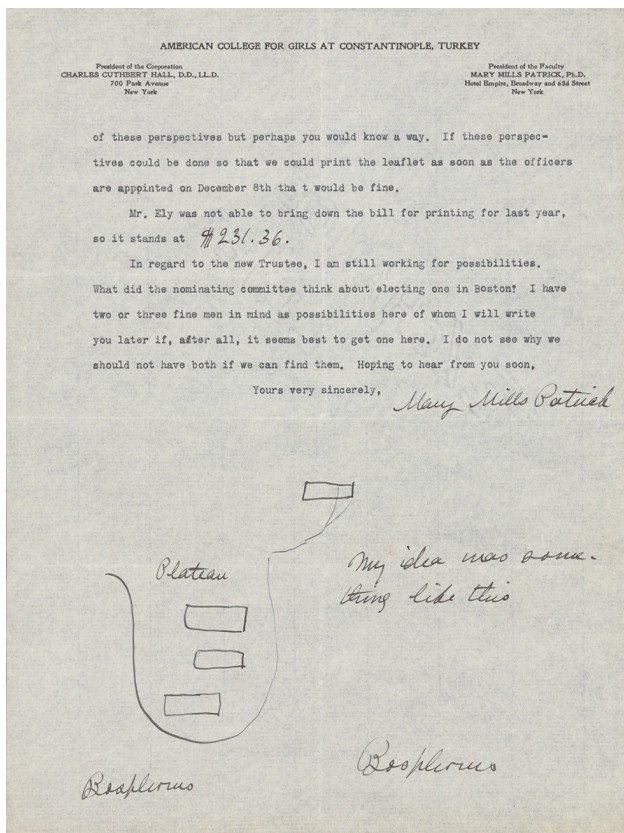


Figure 12 Sketch by American College for Girls president Mary Mills Patrick showing the educators' desired layout of buildings on the Plateau, in a letter to architect Charles Hercules Rutan, 24 November 1908 (Box 15/2, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).

The trustees and the women educators were still debating the placement of buildings on the property when the construction of the first four buildings was finalized in 1914.⁴⁸ In her subsequent memoir, *A Bosphorus Adventure*, Patrick summarized the extended debate in anecdotal terms: “While Dr. Roxana H. Vivian was acting president of the college, we had together drawn up a plan for a large central building similar to the buildings of other American colleges in Turkey. Mr. Rutan, our professional architect, gave it one look, tore it into pieces, and threw it on the floor!”⁴⁹ Despite losing the battle on the placement and form of the main campus building complex, the women educators continued imagining building on the Plateau. To them, this area was an obvious choice because it was flat and most visible from the Bosphorus. The area appeared more fundable because wealthy American visitors to the city would experience the campus from boats on the strait, the main form of transport on the Bosphorus at this time. Buildings on the Plateau would also offer a commanding view from the Bosphorus that would underline a strong American presence and American domination of these waters.

In light of studies that have examined gender-based differences in college dormitory designs, it appears that the

trustees' choice of location for the ACG and the configuration of the buildings served not only to hide the women away from public view but also to restrict them physically and socially.⁵⁰ The super corridor at the ACG further contrasts with the looser quadrangle arrangement of the nearby Robert College for men, which was built on a flat area visible from the Bosphorus similar to the Plateau of the ACG. At Robert College, the students were encouraged to go in and out of the buildings, to exercise and socialize in the open spaces between and around the buildings. The deliberate hiding away of the ACG's campus row, despite its carefully crafted monumentality, was most likely related to the views on gender that were prevalent in higher education in the United States at the time, and to popular anxieties about higher education for women (e.g., that it would limit their reproductive potential), rather than to any fears of racial violence, which was the case for the HBCUs in the United States, whose designers also hid their campuses from view, as Grandison discusses. The women who attended the ACG were encouraged to walk in the super corridor and along the narrow terrace in front of the campus row as part of their daily exercise within the authorized hours of the day. Here they were protected from the public eye by the recessed placement of the buildings on the slope, the trees planted on the surrounding terrain, and the high property walls, all designed to prevent visual and physical intrusion from the outside world. The architects' creation of a well-defined, easily monitored zone of perambulation reflected the conservative worldview regarding women in higher education on the one hand and a growing understanding of the positive health implications of bodily movement on the other.⁵¹

The Unrealized Medical Campus

Medical work was a key aspect of American missions, which sought to create contact opportunities with locals who may otherwise not be receptive to their teachings. All the main missions in the Ottoman Empire had medical missionaries who developed hospitals.⁵² The first American medical school in the region was founded in Beirut in 1867, and the Jesuits in Beirut emulated the American example by opening a school of medicine at Saint Joseph University in 1883. Previously, anyone who wanted to study modern medicine had to go to Constantinople, to the Imperial Military School of Medicine (1827) or later to the Civil School of Medicine (1867). After observing the interest in the Beirut schools, the Ottoman administration opened a school of medicine in Damascus in 1903. None of these institutions accepted women as students. Women who wanted to train to be doctors had to go abroad to Europe. However, the ACG's project for a medical school for women

was not based on any verifiable or perceived demand from women students.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, medical education in the United States underwent a radical transformation. Earlier commercial schools closed or merged, and new schools affiliated with research universities opened, starting with the coed Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine (1893). The new schools offered experiential training in labs to replace the earlier apprenticeship and lecture-based didactic models. The students continued their education with clinic-based work at the nearby hospitals affiliated with their medical schools. Physicians who were trained in this way based their diagnoses on the information gathered through lab tests along with patient accounts, rather than relying solely on the latter. Especially influential in the evolution of medical education was Abraham Flexner's 1910 report for the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, in which he recommended the coordination of specialized medical departments and unified architectural designs.⁵³ The Rockefeller-founded General Education Board and later the RF provided financial support for new medical school buildings.

The United States was the only country to develop separate medical schools for women, starting in 1850. By 1909, there were only three medical schools for women in the United States and Canada combined, but there were also ninety-one coeducational schools that women could attend, making the need for separate medical schools for women unnecessary, according to Flexner.⁵⁴ This did not mean that women's path to becoming and working as physicians was open, as overt sexism was the norm in the medical field. The need to train women physicians to work in missions was offered as a justification for the support of medical education for women; as missionary doctors, women could not only heal people but also educate local physicians.⁵⁵ For comparison, in China, there were three missionary medical colleges for women, founded in 1891, 1901, and 1908.⁵⁶

By 1919, President Patrick was envisaging the ACG campus's Plateau as the site of a medical school-hospital complex. "We propose using the plateau for our medical buildings if this meets your approval. They will be prominent there and close to the College, but yet decidedly separated, and easy of access both from above and below," she argued in a letter to a trustee.⁵⁷ It is evident from correspondence about the medical school in the ACG archives that the idea of locating the medical school in building 7, with all of its elements—including various labs, an operating hall, lecture halls, research rooms, and living quarters for medical students—under one roof, was a latter-day formulation, a reduced version of what had been imagined as a grander medical campus within the larger ACG campus. The change of plans came after support from the RF did

not materialize and trustee Henry Payne Bingham's donation was used to pay for a singular medical building named after his mother, Mary Payne Bingham. In fact, in the original master plan, the L-shaped building that finished the campus row composition had been tentatively marked as a dormitory.⁵⁸

Trustee and campus architect Rutan passed away in 1914; his firm, renamed Coolidge and Shattuck, continued working for the ACG and produced designs for the medical school building. Charles Allerton Coolidge was then involved with the Peking Union Medical College from 1916 to 1919. Next, Coolidge and Shattuck designed the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine (1921) and Hospital and Nurses' Home (1925) with the sponsorship of, again, Rockefeller philanthropy. As Katherine L. Carroll notes, Vanderbilt University's was the first unified medical school-hospital in the United States.⁵⁹ Considering the collaboration of the architects and sponsoring entities, it becomes clear that these ideas developed in "mission" contexts.

A schematic design for a unified medical school-hospital was never developed for the ACG by the architects, but the idea of an integrated medical school for women, hospital, and nursing school, complete with accommodations and shared laboratories, was articulated numerous times in the correspondence between Constantinople and the United States, among school administrators, doctors, architects, and trustees as early as 1906. Such unification would be both financially and logistically expedient, the ACG's leadership argued. The college would benefit from revenues of the medical school-hospital as a tenant; the teaching hospital's doctors would serve as teachers in the medical school, leading to savings in salary expenditures; the labs would be shared; and the college would not be paying for the buildings of the medical department, which would be integrated into the hospital.⁶⁰

What was possible ultimately was a unified design for a medical school (and not a unified medical school-hospital) that contained all the specialized components under one roof and was affiliated with the American Hospital (1920) for clinical training. A comprehensive vision of the medical school-hospital-nursing school that was desired for the ACG was tested in Beijing, with some of the same actors involved. The Rockefeller-endowed China Medical Board hired Coolidge in 1916 as consultant architect for the Peking Union Medical College. The PUMC opened its doors in 1919 on a 70-acre campus with what would become more than fifty buildings, including a hospital, classrooms, laboratories, dormitories, and a nursing school. Its architecture was modern, with Chinese motifs.⁶¹

The fate of the vision for the ACG's medical school also needs to be considered in light of the Beijing project. The connection between the RF's financial commitment to

the PUMC and its disinclination to support the ACG's medical school buildings is explicit in the correspondence: "The Rockefeller medical work in Peking has cost twenty-five million dollars. It seems to me that Mr. Embree [representative of the RF] is absolutely tight, and I think that if we work with the Rockefellers, so far as our medical work is concerned, we shall make no mistake," trustee George A. Plimpton wrote to President Patrick on 12 November 1923.⁶² The RF now preferred to pay for local students to get their medical education in the United States. By 1924, having given up hope for RF sponsorship of the medical school-hospital complex, Patrick and the trustees were seeking RF funding to send enrolled students to the United States for two years to complete their medical training after having studied for the first two years at the ACG in the modern laboratories of the Bingham Medical Building.⁶³ Even that support to fund four to five students' education in the United States would not materialize, which contributed to the decision by the board of trustees to terminate the medical school program—the ACG could not meet the expenses.⁶⁴ In its official promotional materials, however, the college attributed the termination to the new education law passed by the nascent Republican Turkish government. To add a further twist, the ACG had never received permission from the Ottoman government to operate a medical school program. In this, it was following a pattern established by missionary medical schools in the empire.⁶⁵

The Medical Building That Never Served

A purpose-built medical school was necessary for an institution that advocated reform in medical education. Thus, what was designated building 7 on the original master plan of the campus row was space planned as a medical building, with offices, labs, amphitheatres, classrooms, a library, a mini-museum, a cadaver room, and accommodations in what amounted to a miniature medical school. In its L-shaped massing, building 7 was a duplicate in elevation and mirror of building 1 on the master plan. The façade showed three main floors; with an additional basement and attic, there were altogether five floors of occupation. A functional separation between the lower two floors (the basement and the first floor) and the upper two floors was indicated by a stringcourse on the exterior. Double-hung windows of the same size repeated on all the floors in rhythm yet without embellishment. The building was made of reinforced concrete, including walls and floors, and matched the earlier buildings in both structure and material palette.

Revised architectural drawings show how the building program and organization changed even through the construction phase. Initially, the lower two floors were designed with high ceilings for medical work and for laboratories, and

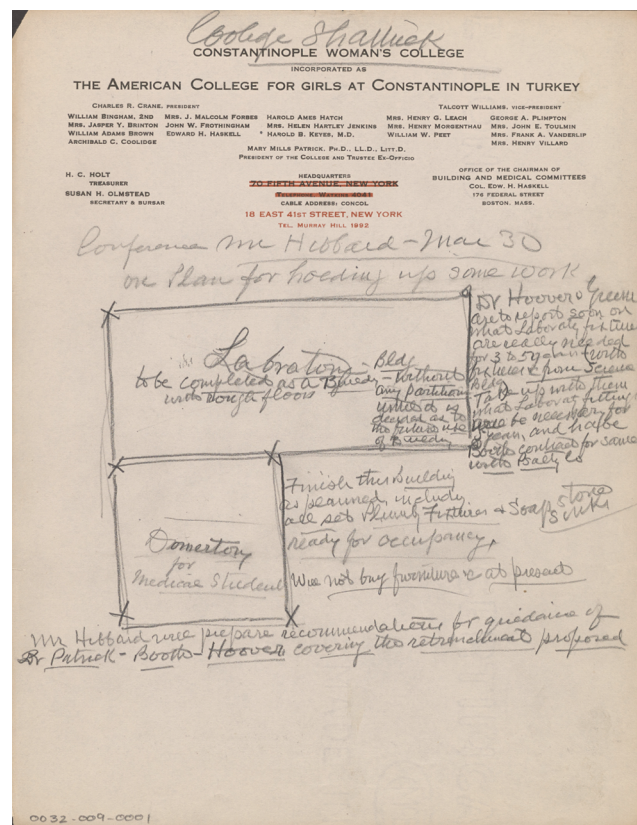


Figure 13 Sketch by Building Committee chair Edward H. Haskell for revised plan organization of the American College for Girls medical building, 1922 (Box 32/9, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).

the upper two floors were to contain temporary dormitories. A 1922 sketch by the chair of the Building Committee, Edward H. Haskell, proposed a horizontal separation: "Laboratory" and "Dormitory" (Figure 13). Instead of a vertical grouping by floors of lab and dorm functions, Haskell came up with a plan that grouped the functions along the short and long legs of the building's L shape: the shorter leg, in line with the campus row, would act as a dorm for postgraduate medical students on five floors, and the longer leg, perpendicular to the campus row's main axis, would hold the teaching and learning spaces. The legs of the L would almost be two different buildings, abutting each other, yet wedged under the strict composition and inflexible massing. Revised plans show that Haskell's organizational idea was applied (Figure 14).

As marked on the architects' revised plans, at the entry from the first floor of the main west façade was a corridor flanked by the library on one side and administration offices on the other. Professors' offices and several classrooms were further down the corridor, which ended with the surgery laboratories. The second floor was devoted to histology, bacteriology, and pathology, and the third floor to anatomy, with the anatomy museum and amphitheater at the

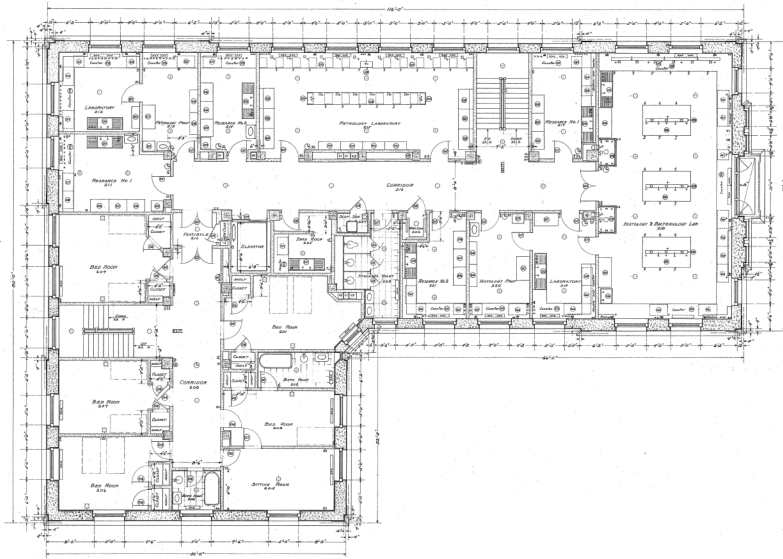


Figure 14 Coolidge and Shattuck, "Medical School and Dormitory," second-floor revised plan, dated 9 June 1922 (courtesy of Shepley Bulfinch).



Figure 15 Coolidge and Shattuck, Bingham Medical Building at the American College for Girls, Constantinople, photo 1927 (Box 55/1, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).

end of the corridor. An elaborate chemistry lab occupied the fourth floor. At the end of the corridor on each floor, one could enter the dormitory arm of the plan. This resulted in some eccentric juxtapositions. On the basement plan, for example, the cadaver cold storage room was right next to the dorm bedrooms, separated only by a small vestibule.

The bedrooms, for postgraduate students, were generously sized and featured built-in closets. The drawings show twenty-two bedrooms with a total of thirty-six beds on five floors. The medical school's program, which followed that of Columbia University's College of Physicians and Surgeons, called for two years of premedical lecture-based theoretical education followed by two years of laboratory-based preclinical education, which was followed in turn by two years of clinical experience in the American Hospital.⁶⁶ Thus, the building's accommodations

were most likely designed for two cohorts of eighteen students enrolled in the laboratory-based component of the program (Figures 15 and 16).

The RF had made it clear to the ACG that the foundation would not offer support to the college for general education by 1921, but it left the door open for the funding of research-oriented, lab-based medical education and, if integrated, a training hospital. Thus, the donation provided by Bingham was put to use to build a mini-medical school for the lab-based, preclinical part of the program, with the hopes that more funding would flow in from the RF to complete the rest. This shift of institutional goals to align with RF policy is characteristic of what Philippe Bourmaud has aptly called "donor dependency" in relationship to the impact of the RF on the American missionary colleges in the region.⁶⁷



Figure 16 Coolidge and Shattuck, “Medical School and Dormitory,” revised front (east) elevation, dated 13 July 1922 (courtesy of Shepley Bulfinch).

Architectural Symbolism

The front/east façade of the Mary Payne Bingham Medical Building, facing the Bosphorus, is more articulated than the other façades. This façade is marked as the entry/front façade not only through the building’s composition but also by the inscription “Mary Payne Bingham Medical Building,” which is centered on the balustrade above the cornice. This entry is further strengthened in status by the symmetrical stairs that descend from it. This is the front façade and main entry, but the entry has never been used as such because the terrace that was supposed to wrap around the building was never built; the stairs hang in the air and do not reach the ground level, camouflaged today with bushes and trees. This building has been occupied for a century, but it has never been completed. On its own, it is a remarkably austere building without much spatial ingenuity. Only when viewed as part of an ensemble does the building’s role in the overall articulation of the campus row elicit architectural interest.

The intended austerity, monumentality, and differentness of the campus row at the ACG are conspicuous when compared to the PUMC, with its green Chinese roofs over three-story modern hospital buildings. Regarding the architectural idiom and Chinese motifs of the PUMC, several sources quote the Rockefeller Foundation’s 1917 annual report: “[The buildings] thus symbolize the purpose to make the College not something foreign to China’s best ideals and aspirations, but an organism which will become part of a developing Chinese civilization.”⁶⁸ In contrast, by using the neoclassical idiom in a rigid linear layout that magnified size, the designers of the ACG campus were trying to communicate the notion of an “American colony”—a term that is invoked many times in

the ACG archival record in relation to how the Americans in Constantinople described themselves.

The construction process further promoted the notion of American excellence and exceptionalism. Construction superintendents for the first phase of four buildings and later for the medical school building chose not to give any local contracts and did most of the work on the grounds themselves. During the first phase, under Robert Kendall, the construction team opened quarries of stone, erected a building plant that included a stone crusher, imported a steam concrete mixer, built a woodworking shop, and arranged for a water supply from wells on the property.⁶⁹ In the second phase, under William Boot (Jr.), again, a stone crusher was placed at the back of the Science Hall, and 150 laborers were recruited; a plumber and an electrician were hired from the United States. All the machinery and all the supplies and equipment, down to the doorknobs, were brought in from abroad. The construction itself became (for the second time) a display of American machinery and engineering. In addition to the machinery, most of the equipment and furniture were imported from the United States. Given the way the construction was organized, the American team could have been building in a space colony rather than in a highly populated urban context with prolific professional architects working in private practice or court/public service. Ottoman Turkish critics did not fail to notice the intentionality.

Reception of the Medical School

The Turkish literary and intellectual establishment had typically been suspicious that the missionary schools were engaged in seditious activity, with popular accounts even

characterizing them as “agent schools.”⁷⁰ One memorable critique of the ACG, written by Zekeriya Sertel and published in his journal *Resimli Ay* in 1929, focused on the negative, alienating effects he believed the college had on his daughter.⁷¹ This criticism was particularly troubling for the ACG’s board of trustees, apparently because Zekeriya Sertel and his wife, Sabiha Sertel, had studied journalism and social work, respectively, at Columbia University with support from the board.

In searching for local accounts of the ACG, I have specifically looked for campus novels, a genre well established in the United States and skillfully used by Carla Yanni in her book *Living on Campus*. In this genre, the main action of the novel is set in or around a school campus. I have identified only one that is set on the ACG campus: the ethnonationalist novel *Pervaneler*, which was published the year the medical program closed (1924) and which was authored by Müfide Ferit Tek (1882–1971), a woman writer known for her support of the independence movement and monoethnic nationalism within the Ottoman Empire.⁷² *Pervaneler* (the title translates as *Moths*) is problematic in its depiction of gender anxiety and attitudes toward non-Muslims, but it is useful for understanding one way in which the ACG’s campus landscape was received among Turkish nationalists. It takes issue with the graduates of the ACG, characterizing them as women who are anti-man, against marriage, and manlike in their desire to do everything men do, such as participating in sports. According to the novel, these women have abandoned their Turkishness. They are drawn to the United States like moths are drawn to light—only to be burned. As I will explain, if the graduates of the ACG went to the United States, it was not necessarily because they were drawn to it; rather, they were pushed.

Pervaneler’s depiction of the architecture of the college campus is a unique literary account. The author emphasizes the campus’s alien character; a visitor feels as if he is entering a “foreign country.” In one scene, the main character and narrator, Burhan, a medical doctor trained in France and living in the city while working as a professor of medicine, and his close friend Sami, an architect also trained in France, visit the college campus to speak to the school’s American president (Dr. Pratts, whose name recalls Dr. Patrick’s) in an effort to prevent their sisters who are studying at the college from being transformed into moths (i.e., going to the United States). The occasion for their anxiety is the visit of Mr. Cox (presumably a stand-in for Mr. Rockefeller).⁷³ As depicted elsewhere in the novel, Mr. Cox is an extremely wealthy patron of missionary colleges, the American Bible Society, and other Protestant philanthropic organizations. He offers fellowships to students from all over the world to study in the United States.⁷⁴ In just this figure alone, *Pervaneler* shows how the local

imagination of the time perceived the American missions, the American Board and the Bible Society, the colleges, and American philanthropy all as parts of the same enterprise. The college president is surprised by the visit of the two Turkish men but does not easily give in to their requests; she invites into the discussion Sami’s sister, who is to receive a fellowship to study at Columbia University.⁷⁵ As the two men are waiting for the sister to show up, they are given a tour of the campus. The description of the tour includes a quite detailed and accurate account of the sequence of spaces and buildings found on the ACG campus in 1924. The narrator emphasizes the out-of-place idiom and scale of the campus buildings, which are “in the aesthetic taste of an upstart country that worships heights and wealth.”⁷⁶ *Pervaneler* also takes issue with the building process, noting that the buildings were manufactured with American products and built to American designs by American foremen: “They don’t like anything from here; they bring all from the U.S.”⁷⁷ Furthermore, the medical school building makes a special appearance in the novel. During their campus tour, Burhan asks to see the newly completed building: “They entered the dim and quiet corridors of the medical department which had no students this year. The assistant to the president turned on the electric switch; but despite the light [*ziya*], the labs built for the crowd, the large stone halls had a melancholy of abandonment worn by loneliness.”⁷⁸

The medical department without students in the fictional college is a nod to the closure of the ACG’s medical program. As a lengthy internal monologue reveals, Burhan is jealous and bitter because he does not have access to such laboratories, and he is even angry that the college recruits only Christian physician teachers. Burhan and Sami, the two male characters, are redeemed as nationalists, despite their having been educated in France, as they try to block their sisters’ professional education in the United States. Here as in other period novels, the women characters are overly influenced by their education in a missionary college and become less nationalistic and even unwomanly as a result. Given that the author was herself educated in Paris, this stance reflects the widely perceived role of the missionary colleges in sectarian identity formation and the gendering of nationalism.

Historically, architectural landmarks in Constantinople acquired meaning not through their qualities as singular objects but through their locations, their positioning relative to other landmarks, and their command of the distant gaze because of the city’s unique topography. The only large-scale buildings along or visible from the shores of the waterways used to be waterfront palaces and, in the nineteenth century, military barracks that served the new modern army, some of which were indeed later used as schools, such as Kuleli, the Imperial War Academy (from 1873). From the



Figure 17 Medical students on the front steps of the administration building, Gould Hall, American College for Girls, Constantinople, undated (Box 41/1, ACG Records [digital], Boğaziçi University, Istanbul).

eighteenth century, as noted above, European powers had established permanent diplomatic representations in the Pera/Galata area; their educational institutions were also concentrated there, and the perception of the institutional architecture of foreign communities was always subject to changing power relations in the diplomatic and political field vis-à-vis the decline of the empire.⁷⁹ The ideologically driven, negative depiction of the built environment of the ACG in *Pervaneler* is a product of the college's dissonance within the city's historical topography and its location far away from the densely packed urbane Pera area, in a campus setting behind walls, from surveying heights.

The Demand for Medical Studies

Given the dearth of firsthand accounts, I have relied on biographical notes and academic writing on women who studied at the ACG to understand if there was indeed a demand for medical education among the students, and how those who studied medicine fared. As early as 1889, a *New York Times* article on graduates of the college reported that the students usually taught after leaving college and most of them married, remarking that “even a college education in the East doesn't place an immovable barrier between its possessors and matrimony”—a comment reflecting the debate in the United States about the results of higher education for women.⁸⁰ But correspondence and other documents in the institution's archives suggest that the chain of authority that legitimated the founding of a gender-segregated medical school was the American women's idea that “according to Turkish custom, men doctors are not allowed in the harems” (see Figure 2).

A print report in the ACG archives lists the names of all graduates through 1923 (75 high school graduates

from 1875 to 1890, and 406 college graduates from 1891 to 1923), along with their graduation years, marriage and career information, and present-day addresses.⁸¹ Most of the women indeed seem to have married, becoming wives and mothers as expected of them by society; some took up writing and social activism through writing, and others became teachers in mission schools. Notably, for those who worked, marriage was not in discord with their professional identities. Four of the college graduates—Amália Frisch (class of 1903), Aghavnje Demirdjian (1906), Safiye Ali (1916), and Bedrieh Veysi (Bora, 1918)—went on to study at coed European universities and succeeded in receiving their medical degrees; three other college graduates pursued nursing.⁸² Demirdjian stayed on in Paris after completing her education, while the other three returned home, where, despite their remarkable talents and hard work, they faced considerable professional obstacles.⁸³ In addition, graduates Virginie Monedjikova (class of 1917) and Angeliki Tsacona (1920) returned to the college to be students in the ACG's own medical program in 1920 (Figure 17).

The ACG's medical students had it worst when their program closed in 1924, halfway through their studies. In fall 1921 (the second year of the program), only seventeen medicine students were enrolled, and four of them had advanced to the freshman year, while thirteen remained as premedical students. Of the seventeen, only six were reported to be Turkish-speaking; the remaining students were Russian (six), Bulgarian (two), Serbian (two), and Greek (one).⁸⁴ The most advanced students, Tsacona (Greek) and Monedjikova (Bulgarian), continued their education in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Geneva and entered private practice upon graduation. When, in 1922–23, the prestigious Faculty of Medicine at Dârülfünun (Istanbul University) announced that it

would finally admit women students, the two Muslim and Turkish-speaking students, Hamdiye Abdürrahim (Rauf Maral) and Sabiha Süleyman, who had enrolled in the ACG's program the previous year, were able to transfer and graduate with their degrees in 1928.⁸⁵

Non-Muslim and non-Turkish-speaking students, especially Russian students who had recently arrived in the Ottoman Empire fleeing the Bolshevik Revolution, were left in a precarious situation. At the time it was not clear whether the new Republic of Turkey would align with the Russia from which they had escaped. Russian student Luboff Lovieco had completed three years of medical courses when she left with her family for Canada, but in Montreal, she was denied admission to any medical school. "To remain in Montreal is to become a professional housemaid, which means perpetual spiritual death, and continued misery for myself and family," she wrote in March 1924, when she was seeking admission to the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University.⁸⁶ Another Russian student of the same class, Helen Semenenko, sought and gained admission to the Tufts University School of Medicine around the same time.⁸⁷ These two were able to get into these universities and receive their MDs, and they appear to have remained in their respective cities.

Pioneer Ottoman women doctors experienced various difficulties that limited their public roles. These educated women tended to marry, and many had supportive husbands who, at least to a degree, shared their ideas about gender equity; nevertheless, they had to confront societal patriarchy at home and at work. The ACG's Russian students Lovieco and Semenenko probably had limited career advancement opportunities in the United States, owing to their intersectional identities as immigrants and women; their achievements, unlike those of their Ottoman counterparts who practiced in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and later in Turkey, do not appear in any published accounts. These ACG students' experiences contrast with the experiences of their American educators, who had chosen to be single, to travel and live alone in other countries, and had the benefit of being exempt from local societal expectations on either side of the Atlantic as they built institutions. Establishing schools devoted to gender-segregated and college-level education allowed these American missionaries to turn into professional educators and institutional leaders with public roles that enabled them to gain access to wealthy and influential circles in the United States, and to socialize with the likes of the Dodge family.⁸⁸ Some of these teachers and administrators pursued graduate degrees and even PhDs while working at the American College for Girls; Mary Mills Patrick, the college's president, was one of them.⁸⁹ Patrick was the first woman to become the president of an American college.⁹⁰

From "Home" to the American College for Girls: Impact of the Campus

That the campus design of the American College for Girls and the work of Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge (and later Coolidge and Shattuck) do not make appearances in mainstream histories of American architecture may not be surprising: canonical "American" architecture of the period is geographically bounded to the territory, and it is viewed through the intentions of professional architects of European origin. Given the rising interest and emerging scholarship on social histories of campus architecture attentive to race and gender, there is great potential to learn from the many and diverse college campuses established by missionaries in the Ottoman, Chinese, and Japanese empires, of which the ACG is only one example.

The campus design of the ACG has not had a place in histories of Ottoman architecture or Istanbul's architecture. In a city with a cosmopolitan population and expertise in design and architecture fields, the college's buildings were still read by local interpreters as "foreign" because of their size, scale, and siting, not to omit the way Americans organized their construction site and process. The campus design did not influence local architectural practice; other projects in the city did not emulate or imitate it. The institution, now running as a coed high school, and still operating as a gated compound hidden away from the public eye, has also done its fair share to gloss over its missionary history. Tracing the building process as opposed to focusing on the buildings themselves as artifacts provides a unique angle from which to work with the archive. This approach made possible fundamental discoveries about institutional formation: that funding and the potential to attract more funding determined architectural desires, conflicts, decisions, and outcomes, and that curricular and program goals were in constant flux as elements in a political and financial juggling act.

Through the building process, the American women educators in Constantinople assumed many roles that were not available to them back in the United States or within the missionary hierarchy while building the campus and planning for its "failed" medical school. Regardless of unequal power relations, the design and construction of the campus—and, later, the medical school—had effects on all the actors involved. The building process was key to this missionary-philanthropic educational network, as education needed buildings, buildings anticipated students, and the students enabled the educators' presence and mobility.

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Abstract

The American College for Girls in Constantinople has been credited with playing a significant role in Turkish women's emancipation and the feminist movement. From its humble origins in a small overseas mission, the institution evolved by 1914 into a U.S.-style college with a campus sponsored by leading American philanthropists. The designs were intended to impress visitors and to control the women students' bodies, and, as such, were contested by the women at the helm of the institution. By examining the correspondence among various actors involved in the project, as well as the architects' drawings, this article traces the building process of the campus with a focus on its lesser-known and unrealized medical school. It argues that the building process helped the American women educators of the ACG to establish an educational network that offered them opportunities unavailable to them in the United States.

Keywords: campus planning; school architecture; missionary colleges; educational networks; philanthropy and education; transnational architectural production; Constantinople (Istanbul)

Notes

1. I thank archivist Robert J. Roche at the architectural firm Shepley Bulfinch for his help in locating the original Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge drawings of the ACG campus; thanks are also due to Dr. Nurçin İleri and Dr. Cengiz Kırılı for providing me with access to the digital copy of the ACG collection at Boğaziçi University's Archives and Documentation Center. The physical collection is held at the Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York. Finally, I thank the *JSAH* anonymous reviewers for their close reading and editors David Karmon and Alice Tseng for their feedback.
2. Mary Mills Patrick to Miss Borden, 27 Sept. 1901, Box 5/5, ACG Records (digital), Archives and Documentation Center, Boğaziçi University, Istanbul. Hereafter, items in this archive are cited as "ACG Box [number]."
3. Mary Mills Patrick to the Advisory Committee of the ACG, 18 Dec. 1906, ACG Box 9/13; Mary Mills Patrick to the Trustees of the ACG, 15 Oct. and 23 Oct. 1908, ACG Box 4/1.
4. Zafer Toprak, "Arnavutköy Amerikan Kız Koleji," in *Türkiye'de kadın özgürlüğü ve feminizm, 1908–1935* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2014), 205–12.
5. Carolyn McCue Goffman, "'More Than the Conversion of Souls': Rhetoric and Ideology at the American College for Girls in Istanbul, 1871–1923" (PhD diss., Ball State University, 2002); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers: Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013).
6. Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Unimagined Communities: Women and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909," *Critical Matrix* 9, no. 2 (1995), 55–90.
7. One of the exceptions is Benjamin Fortna, *Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 130–64.
8. James Hopkins, "The (Dis)assembling of Form: Revealing the Ideas Built into Manchester's Medical School," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 75, no. 1 (2020), 24–53; Katherine L. Carroll, *Building Schools, Making Doctors: Architecture and the Modern American Physician* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2022).
9. On the concept of intertwined histories, see Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 3–61.
10. In two chapter-length studies, architectural historians Abdullah Kuran and Zeynep Çelik compare the ACG and the nearby men's Robert College: Zeynep Çelik, "Kampus, şehir ve imparatorluk: Robert Kolej ve Amerikan

Kız Kolejinin erken mimarisi," in *Bir geleneğin anatomisi: Robert Koleji'nin 150 yılı / The Anatomy of a Tradition: 150 Years of Robert College, 1863–2013*, ed. Cem Aktaş (Istanbul: İstanbul Araştırmaları Enstitüsü, 2013), 210–36; Abdullah Kuran, "Yüz otuzuncu yılında Robert Kolej'in mimari tarihi," in *Abdullah Kuran için yazılar: Essays in Honour of Abdullah Kuran*, ed. Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Lucienne Thys-Şenocak, and Timur Kuran (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999), 736–61.

11. For example, the collaboration between Christopher Rhineland Robert, a New York merchant who was visiting Constantinople during the Crimean War, and Cyrus Hamlin, a missionary with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions who was already stationed in the city, led to the creation of the first American college abroad, Robert College of Constantinople (1863).

12. Frank A. Stone, *Academies for Anatolia: A Study of the Rationale, Program, and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey, 1830–1980* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1984), 78.

13. For example, the 1910 ACG budget listing of "instructor" salaries shows that American Sara W. Anderson was paid the most (\$600), while Turkish Nakie Hanoum received the lowest salary (\$154). ACG Box 3/13.

14. For reviews of different approaches to the use of the label of "cultural imperialism," see Paul W. Harris, "Cultural Imperialism and American Protestant Missionaries: Collaboration and Dependency in Mid-Nineteenth-Century China," *Pacific Historical Review* 60, no. 3 (Aug. 1991), 309–38; Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory* 41 (Oct. 2002), 301–25.

15. Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo, "Introduction," in *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960*, ed. Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010), 2.

16. Ussama Samir Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2008), 9.

17. Fortna, *Imperial Classroom*, 50–60.

18. Emrah Şahin, *Faithful Encounters: Authorities and American Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 88–94.

19. Other schools for girls designated as 'colleges' were located in Merzifon, Marash, and Harput. See *List of American Educational, Religious and Charitable Institutions in the Ottoman Empire* (Constantinople: H. Matteosian, 1903), <http://www.dlir.org/archive/archive/files/8e515a1b9e3817ca72c4ca97f81c9db2.pdf> (accessed 22 Dec. 2023).

20. Caroline Kahlenberg, "'The Gospel of Health': American Missionaries and the Transformation of Ottoman/Turkish Women's Bodies, 1890–1932," *Gender & History* 28, no. 1 (Apr. 2016), 150–76; Ellen L. Fleischmann, "'Our Moslem Sisters': Women of Greater Syria in the Eyes of American Protestant Missionary Women," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 9, no. 3 (Oct. 1998), 307–23. See also Carolyn Goffman, "From Religious to American Proselytism: Mary Mills Patrick and the 'Sanctification of the Intellect,'" in *American Missionaries and the Middle East*, ed. Mehmet Ali Doğan and Heather J. Sharkey (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011), 84–121.

21. Kahlenberg, "'The Gospel of Health';" Goffman, "From Religious to American Proselytism."

22. Stone, *Academies for Anatolia*, 77; Reeves-Ellington, *Domestic Frontiers*, 140–65.

23. In her 2002 dissertation, Goffman discusses in detail the complexity of the failure of the medical component of the early mission. See Goffman, "'More Than the Conversion of Souls,'" 94–141.

24. After the ACG moved out of Gedikpaşa, Armenian students continued to make up the largest portion of the school's student population, ranging

between 25 and 40 percent from 1908 to the 1920s; the two next-largest groups were Bulgarian and Greek students.

25. In 1915, the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (renamed Near East Relief in 1919, and then Near East Foundation in 1930) was established to help the Armenians, Assyrians, Greeks, and other non-Muslim minorities displaced by World War I. ACASR members included American Board members and sponsors.

26. Thomas A. Gaines, *The Campus as a Work of Art* (New York: Praeger, 1991).

27. Paul Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1984).

28. Carla Yanni, *Living on Campus: An Architectural History of the American Dormitory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, “Designing for the Genders: Curricula and Architecture at Scripps College and the California Institute of Technology,” *Pacific Historical Review* 54, no. 4 (1985), 439–61; Caitlin Price DeClercq, “Sound Bodies for Sound Minds: Architectural Interventions to Ameliorate the Sedentary Life of Scholars on College Campuses, 1865–2016” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2017); Margaret Grubiak, *White Elephants on Campus: The Decline of the University Chapel in America, 1920–1960* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2014); Clare Robinson, “Student Union: The Architecture and Social Design of Postwar Campus Community Centers in California” (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2012).

29. Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013); Maurie Dee McInnis and Louis P. Nelson, eds., *Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson’s University* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019).

30. Kenrick Ian Grandison, “Negotiated Space: The Black College Campus as a Cultural Record of Postbellum America,” *American Quarterly* 51, no. 3 (Sept. 1999), 529–79.

31. On this point, see, Carolyn McCue Goffman, *Mary Mills Patrick’s Cosmopolitan Mission and the Constantinople Woman’s College* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2020), xii.

32. Aslı Gür, “Robert College; Laboratory for Religion, Shrine for Science—Transculturation of Evangelical College Model in Constantinople,” in *American Turkish Encounters: Politics and Culture, 1830–1989*, ed. Nur Bilge Criss, Selçuk Esenbel, Tony Greenwood, and Louis Mazzari (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), 48–60; Selim Deringil, “A Tale of Two Colleges: Syrian Protestant College and Robert College, Convergent and Divergent Histories,” in *In the House of Understanding: Histories in Memory of Kamal S. Salibi*, ed. Abdul Rahim Abu Husayn, Tarif Khalidi, and Suleiman A. Mourad (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 2017), 125–44.

33. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 193–99.

34. Cemil Öztürk, *Türkiye’de dünden bugüne öğretmen yetiştiren kurumlar* (Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Yayınları, 1998).

35. Abbie Graham, *Grace H. Dodge, Merchant of Dreams: A Biography* (New York: Woman’s Press, 1926), 296.

36. Reeves-Ellington, “Constantinople Home,” 163.

37. John R. Thelin and Richard W. Trolinger, *Philanthropy and American Higher Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 67–94.

38. For a biography of Charles Rutan, see Maureen Meister, “At a Crossroads: Architect Rutan and His Photo Album,” *Nineteenth Century: The Magazine of the Victorian Society in America* 37, no. 2 (Fall 2017), 2–7. See also Russell Sturgis, “Shepley, Rutan & Coolidge,” *Architectural Record*, July 1896, 1–52.

39. Historian of American medical schools Katherine L. Carroll dedicates a chapter in her 2022 book *Building Schools, Making Doctors* to the work of Rutan’s firm and its relationship to the Rockefeller patronage. She writes

that the firm “completed a record eight medical schools, seven in the United States and one in China, between 1906 and 1932” (18). Missing from this otherwise detailed study is the ACG’s medical school building. See also Carroll, 137, 198, 199, 202.

40. J. D. Forbes, “Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson & Abbott, Architects; An Introduction,” *JSAH* 17, no. 3 (Autumn 1958), 19–31.

41. Mary Mills Patrick to Mrs. Durant and Miss Borden, 5 Mar. 1907, ACG Box 10/14; Mary Mills Patrick to Caroline Borden, 4 June 1907, ACG Box 10/14.

42. Caroline Borden to Mr. Starr J. Murphy of the Rockefeller Foundation, 15 July 1908, emphasis added, ACG Box 7/54.

43. Borden to Murphy, 15 July 1908. This letter establishes that two and a half years earlier (in 1906), at a meeting with ACG principal Mary Mills Patrick, the Rockefeller circle strongly suggested that the college should acquire a more “efficient” board that was not connected to missionary boards.

44. “Action of the Trustees in the Matter of Layout and Buildings,” summary report, 1908–10, ACG Box 15/1. See also the acknowledgment of John D. Rockefeller’s gift, 1912, ACG Box 3/7.

45. The property had been acquired in July 1907 under the name of a private U.S. citizen, James Levy Barton, under supposed secrecy from the Ottoman administration that it would be transferred later to the school.

46. American College for Girls at Constantinople Extracts from Letters, [ACG] Council to Board of Trustees Secretary Mr. Samuel C. Darling, 28 Oct. 1908, ACG Box 8/67; Roxana H. Vivian to Mr. Darling and Trustees of the ACG, 28 Oct. 1908, ACG Box 4/2.

47. Mary Mills Patrick to Charles Rutan, 24 Nov. 1908, ACG Box 15/2.

48. William S. Murray to Mary Mills Patrick, 17 Feb. 1914, ACG Box 15/5.

49. Mary Mills Patrick, *A Bosphorus Adventure: Istanbul (Constantinople) Woman’s College, 1871–1924* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1934), 140.

50. In Horowitz’s interpretation, the differences in the designs for the dormitories at Scripps College (for women) and Caltech (for men) in California show that homosocial activities and bonds were promoted in the men’s college but prevented in the women’s owing to fears about female activism and lesbianism. Horowitz, “Designing for the Genders.”

51. Architectural historian Caitlin Price DeClercq has observed in the case of Vassar College how conservative attitudes led to the women students being shielded from view even as they were encouraged to move under observation. DeClercq, “Sound Bodies for Sound Minds,” 65–96.

52. Faruk Taşkın, *Amerikan misyonerlerinin Türkiye’deki sağlık faaliyetleri (1833–1923)* (Istanbul: Kriter, 2019).

53. Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada: A Report to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (1910; repr., Boston: Merrymount Press, 1960), http://archive.carnegiefoundation.org/publications/pdfs/elibrary/Carnegie_Flexner_Report.pdf (accessed 22 Dec. 2023).

54. Flexner, *Medical Education*, 178–79.

55. Kristin L. Gelleson, “Healers Abroad: Presbyterian Women Physicians in the Foreign Mission Field” (PhD diss., Temple University, 1996).

56. For a discussion of these colleges in terms of cultural imperialism, see Connie Shemo, “‘Wants Learn Cut, Finish People’: American Missionary Medical Education for Chinese Women and Cultural Imperialism in the Missionary Enterprise, 1890s–1920,” *Chinese Historical Review* 20, no. 1 (2013), 54–69.

57. Mary Mills Patrick to George A. Plimpton, 13 Sept. 1919, ACG Box 13/7.

58. In Rutan’s oeuvre, the L-shaped plan bears a similarity to his earlier Poynter Hall at the University of Nebraska’s College of Medicine (1913), which was also designed as a small-scale medical school in its entirety. I thank the anonymous reviewer for this reference.

59. Katherine L. Carroll, "Creating the Modern Physician: The Architecture of American Medical Schools in the Era of Medical Education Reform," *JSAH* 75, no. 1 (Mar. 2016), 48–73; Carroll, *Building Schools*, 91–95.
60. Rev. Theo A. Baldwin to the Trustees of the ACG, 7 Mar. 1906, ACG Box 9/13; Mary Mills Patrick to Charles Rutan, 15 Oct. 1908, ACG Box 15/2.
61. Coolidge eventually disagreed with the PUMC's board, especially regarding the Chinese-style roofs and the building costs associated with the hybrid style. The commission was then given to Harry Hussey of the Chicago firm Shattuck and Hussey, who had earlier designed for the YMCA in China, while Coolidge remained on as consultant to the project until 1919, when he replaced Hussey. John Z. Bowers, "The Founding of Peking Union Medical College: Policies and Personalities," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 45, no. 4 (1971), 413. See also Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914–1935* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 74.
62. George A. Plimpton to Mary Mills Patrick, 12 Nov. 1923, ACG Box 13/15.
63. In correspondence to Plimpton in 1924, Patrick discussed at great length this new scenario of ACG's students being sent to the United States by the RF. See ACG Box 13/16.
64. Floyd Henson Black, "The American College for Girls," ca. 1944–55, ACG Box 35/1.
65. Adil Bakıtaya, "Bir diploma sorunundan bir diplomatik soruna: Beyrut St. Joseph Tıp Fakültesi zemininde Osmanlı devleti ile Fransa'nın meşruiyet ve prestij mücadelesi," in *Nuran Yıldırım armağan kitabı: Tıp tarihinin peşinde bir ömür*, ed. Hakan Ertin and M. İnanç Özekmekçi (İstanbul: Betim Kitap, 2016), 485–514.
66. For an account of the detailed curriculum of the medical school, see *Bulletin 1923–24*, 72–74, ACG Box 21/20.
67. Philippe Bourmaud, "Missionary Work, Secularization, and Donor Dependency: Rockefeller-Near East Colleges Cooperation after World War I (1920–1939)," in *Christian Missions and Humanitarianism in the Middle East, 1850–1950: Ideologies, Rhetoric, and Practices*, ed. Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Karène Sanchez Summerer (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 155–82.
68. Quoted in Frank Ninkovich, "The Rockefeller Foundation, China, and Cultural Change," *Journal of American History* 70, no. 4 (Mar. 1984), 805; Mary Brown Bullock, *An American Transplant: The Rockefeller Foundation and Peking Union Medical College* (1980; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2020), 8.
69. Robert Kendall (resident architect), "Report of the Superintendent of Construction," in "Report for the Year 1911–12," ACG Box 19/12; Robert Kendall, "Construction Department," in "Report of the Year 1910–11," 44, ACG Box 19/11. The latter was reprinted from an article by Kendall that appeared in the September 1911 issue of the *Levant Trade Review*.
70. Necdet Sevinç, *Ajan okulları* (İstanbul: Dede Korkut Yayınları, 1975); Hans-Lukas Kieser, *İskalanmış barış: Doğu vilayetleri'nde misyonerlik, etnik kimlik ve devlet, 1839–1938* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları 2000).
71. Zekeriya Sertel, "Kızımı Amerikan: Kız koleji ne halde verdim nasıl aldım," *Resimli Ay*, May 1929, reprinted in Cem Akkaş, *Tepedeki okul ve Robert Koleji'nin üç yüzüylü* (İstanbul: NMC Televizyon ve Reklamcılık, 2017), 332–33.
72. Müfide Ferit Tek, *Pervaneler* (1924; repr., İstanbul: Kaknüs, 2002).
73. During the 1923–34 academic year, George E. Vincent and Richard M. Pearce of the Rockefeller Foundation visited the ACG as part of their study of the current conditions in medical education in Turkey. Mary Mills Patrick, "President's Report to the Trustees, 1923–4," *Bulletin: Constantinople Woman's College*, 15 June 1924, 25.
74. Tek, *Pervaneler*, 54.
75. Columbia University is mentioned because of the privileged relationship some of the ACG trustees had with that university. Also, several famous people affiliated with the ACG went to the United States to study or lecture, including Halide Edip (Adıvar).
76. "Bu yükseğe ve servete ibadet eden yeni görmüş bir memleketin zevkiyle." Tek, *Pervaneler*, 100. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
77. "Buranın hiçbir şeyini beğenmezler, hepsini Amerika'dan getirirler." Tek, 101.
78. "Bu sene talebesiz olan tıbbiye kısmının loş ve sessiz koridorlarına girerler. Muavine elektrik düğmesinin çevirdi: fakat ziyaya rağmen kalabalık için yapılan laboratuvarların, büyük taş salonların yalnızlıkta takındıkları bir terk edilmişlik hüznüleri vardı." Tek, 102.
79. Paolo Girardelli, "From Andrea Memmo to Alberto Blanc: Metamorphoses of Classicism in the Italian Buildings for Diplomacy (1778–1889)," in *Italian Architects and Builders in the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey: Design across Borders*, ed. Paolo Girardelli and Ezio Godoli (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2017), 5.
80. "Girls' College in Turkey: It Is in Constantinople and the Only One in the Orient," *New York Times*, 12 Mar. 1899, 20.
81. "Annual Report of the President 1923–4," 88–135, ACG Box 21/20.
82. The graduates who went into nursing were Akabie Ketchebashian (class of 1896), Helen Constantine (1901), and Penka Petrova (1915).
83. Şeref Etker, Szabolcs Dobson, and László András Magyar, "Türkiye'nin ilk kadın doktorları: Amália Frisch (1882–1941)," *Yeni Tıp Tarihi Araştırmaları / New History of Medicine Studies*, no. 21 (2015), 59–67; Nuran Yıldırım, *Türkiye'nin ilk kadın doktoru Safiye Ali* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2011), 16.
84. Dr. Alden R. Hoover to Col. Edward H. Haskell, chair of the Medical Committee, 15 Nov. 1921, ACG Box 18/55.
85. Dr. Sabiha Süleyman Sayın (1903–84) specialized in children's diseases and worked in state employment for thirty-four years as chief physician in public health clinics in İzmir and İstanbul. Dr. Hamdiye Abdurrahim (Rauf) Maral (1895–1975) specialized in dermatology, radiotherapy, and physiotherapy. She had a private practice but also supplemented her living by teaching. Şeref Etker and Gülten Dinç, "İstanbul Amerikan Kız Koleji Koleji Tıp Fakültesi ve 29'lu iki öğrencisi," in *Sağlık alanında Türk kadını: Cumhuriyet'in ve Tıp Fakültesi'ne kız öğrenci kabulünün 75. yılı*, ed. Nuran Yıldırım (İstanbul: Novartis, 1998), 60–63.
86. Commissioner to the U.S. Department of Labor, Immigration Service, to Dr. F. P. Gay, College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, to which Lovieco's letter is attached, 3 Mar. 1924, ACG Box 16A/33.
87. Helen Semenenko to Laurence S. Moore, executive secretary, Office of the Near East Colleges, 18 June 1924, ACG Box 16A/33. Semenenko received a bachelor of science degree from the ACG on 15 June 1925. See *Bulletin 1924–25*, 24, ACG Box 21/21.
88. This argument applies specifically to missionary contexts in this geography outside the United States. As one of the anonymous reviewers of this article pointed out, women leaders in the example of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania did not necessarily gain access to high society.
89. Patrick received a PhD from the University of Bern in Switzerland in 1897 for her thesis titled "Sectus Empiricus and Greek Scepticism."
90. Ironically, some American newspapers chose to frame Patrick as the "head" of a "foreign college," as evidenced by clippings held in the ACG Records. See "Head of Foreign College Is Visiting America," *Bridgeport Times and Evening Farmer*, 17 Apr. 1922, 9; "Head of Turkish University," *Norwich Bulletin*, 13 May 1922, 4.