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THE DISSEMINATION OF AMERICAN CULTURE THROUGH MISSIONARIES: AMERICAN BOARD SECRETARY NATHANIEL G. CLARK, 1865-1894

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Necdet EKER

ABSTRACT

Master's Thesis

The Dissemination of American Culture through Missionaries: American Board Secretary Nathaniel G. Clark, 1865-1894

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From 1865 to 1894, Nathaniel G. Clark acted as the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board (ABCFM), which was one of the most influential Protestant missionary organizations in the United States. The Corresponding Secretaries conducted correspondence with missionaries in the mission fields, influencing missionaries in line with their political agendas. In this sense, the American Board's policies and missionary methods underwent a significant shift in Clark's tenure. Concentrating on education policies and the issue of women missionaries, Clark reshaped the church and scripture-oriented policies of the American Board. His approach reinforced "social transformation" for the period that followed him. Therefore, Nathaniel G. Clark emerged as an influential figure who shaped missionary policies in the history of the American Board.

This study examines the American Board's missionary policies in the Ottoman State during N. G. Clark's tenure. The first chapter discusses the American Board's roots and foundation of missiological concepts; then, it analyses the executive officials of the American Board and the significance of the Corresponding Secretary through the organization's bylaws. The second chapter delves into Nathaniel G. Clark's missionary policies by focusing on Clark's life and his works. Thereby, Clark's era was compared with that of his predecessor, Corresponding Secretary Rufus Anderson; afterward, Clark's legacy in the James L. Barton period is analyzed. The third chapter examines Central Turkey

College in Aintab and American College for Girls at Constantinople, where Nathaniel G. Clark pioneered the establishment of schools within the Ottoman State that were in line with the policies of higher education and women's missionary work. It highlights the Clark's influence on these colleges and the projections on Ottoman society.

Keywords: USA, American Board (ABCFM), Nathaniel G. Clark, Higher Education, Central Turkey College, American College for Girls at Constantinople

ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans tezi

Amerikan Kültürünün Misyonerlikle Yayılması: Amerikan Board Heyeti Sekreteri Nathaniel G. Clark, 1865-1894

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Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nin en etkili Protestan misyonerlik örgütlerinden biri olan Amerikan Board'un (ABCFM) 1865-1894 yılları arasındaki Sorumlu Sekreterlik (Corresponding Secretary) görevini Nathaniel G. Clark yürütmüştür. Sorumlu Sekreter yurtdışındaki misyonerlerle yazışmaları yürüttüğünden misyonerleri kendi politikaları doğrultusunda etkilemiştir. Clark'ın döneminde de Amerikan Board'un politika ve misyonerlik yöntemleri önemli değişikliklere uğramıştır. Clark'ın eğitim politikalarına ve kadın misyonerliği konusuna odaklanması Amerikan Board'un kilise ve dini metin odaklı politikalarını yeniden şekillendirmiş ve bu yaklaşımı kendinden sonraki dönemde "toplumsal dönüşümü" konusunu güçlendirmiştir. Bu doğrultuda Nathaniel G. Clark, Amerikan Board tarihinde misyonerlik politikalarını şekillendiren etkili bir figür olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Bu çalışma N. G. Clark döneminde American Board'un Osmanlı Devleti'ndeki misyonerlik politikalarını incelemektedir. İlk bölümde Amerikan Board'un köklerinden ve misyonerlik anlayışlarının nasıl şekillendiğinden bahsedildikten sonra Amerikan Board'un tüzüğü üzerinden Amerikan Board'un yönetici kadroları ve Sorumlu Sekreterlik pozisyonunun önemi incelenmektedir. İkinci bölümde, Nathaniel G. Clark'ın hayatı ve eserleri üzerinden Clark'ın misyonerlik politikaları irdelenmektedir. Böylelikle Clark'ın dönemi kendisinden önceki Sorumlu Sekreter Rufus Anderson ile karşılaştırılmakta sonrasında da James L. Barton dönemindeki etkisi analiz edilmektedir.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde ise Nathaniel G. Clark'ın Osmanlı Devleti'nde yükseköğretim ve kadın misyonerliği politikaları doğrultusunda kurulmasına öncülük ettiği Antep'teki Merkezi Türkiye Koleji (Central Turkey College) Amerikan Kız Koleji (Women College for Girls at Constantinople) incelenmekte ve Clark'ın bu kolejler üzerindeki etkisi ile Osmanlı toplumu üzerindeki tasarılar ortaya konmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: ABD, Amerikan Board (ABCFM), Nathaniel G. Clark, Yüksek Öğretim, Merkezi Türkiye Koleji, İstanbul Amerikan Kız Koleji

THE DISSEMINATION OF AMERICAN CULTURE THROUGH MISSIONARIES: AMERICAN BOARD SECRETARY NATHANIEL G. CLARK, 1865-1894

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
USA	United States of America

INTRODUCTION

The propagation of culture constitutes a fundamental element of soft power, which enables nations to expand their global influence. In this sense, missionaries have been the agents of cultural dissemination, thereby ensuring their nations' ideological interests. Following its foundation period, the United States of America promoted its cultural influence and ensured its geopolitical interests in the nineteenth century. Even though the nation officially defined itself as an isolationist with the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, the American missionaries actively promoted American culture and intended to create Protestant communities aligned with American values in foreign lands. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), or the American Board, emerges as one of the most influential American missionary organizations in disseminating Protestantism and American culture in foreign lands.

ABCFM was founded in Massachusetts in 1810 by young students and "professors" of Andover Theological Seminary (Anderson, 1861: 44). The seminary provided a convenient atmosphere for these students to share their ideas of spreading Protestantism in foreign lands, and this environment enhanced the missionary thoughts. However, according to the missionary narrative, ABCFM's roots trace back to a group of students at Williams College. In 1806, these students gathered to pray, yet an "approaching thunderstorm" forced them to shelter behind a haystack in the meadow. During this meeting, students discussed their desire to become missionaries and spread Protestantism to "dark" and "heathen lands." According to the narrative, "the sky was cleared" as these students concluded their meeting about the missionary (Perry, 1899: 359; Anderson, 1861: 17). Thereby, this meeting, called the "Haystack Prayer Meeting", laid the foundation of the American Board. After its foundation in 1810, the American Board defined its object as propagating "the gospel among unevangelized nations and communities, utilizing preachers, catechists, schoolmasters, and the press" (ABCFM, 1833: 5). Regarding the scope of American Board, Rufus Anderson emphasizes that the term "Board of Commissioners" in the organization's name signifies that American Board acts "for all who should choose to employ it; for individual Christians, churches, denominations, whoever saw fit to act through the agency it had to offer" (Anderson, 1861: 79). The first American

missionaries were sent to Asia in 1812, and they were tasked with spreading Protestant "civilization" and "taming" the respective communities through disseminating American culture. In line with the Puritan discourse of "the city upon a hill," ABCFM and American missionaries intended to serve as "a model civilization" for the world. In this sense, William E. Strong compares the American Board's efforts in foreign lands with the Pilgrims' activities among Native Americans and defines ABCFM as the "rebirth of the purpose which animated the Pilgrims' Fathers …" (1910: 9). Thus, American missionaries acted as the agents of American cultural hegemony and ensured American interests in foreign lands.

The American missionary activities in the Ottoman State started in 1820 as the ABCFM sent its missionaries to work in the Holy Lands; nevertheless, the relations between the Ottoman State and the United States trace back to the eighteenth century. The American commercial vessels arrived on the Ottoman shores under "the British Levant Company" in the seventeenth century; however, the first American-flagged ship began direct trade in the 1790s (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 9-13). Afterward, the trade flow increased rapidly at the beginning of the 1800s, and Izmir became the commercial center. With the establishment of the American Trade House led by David Offley in 1811, the American influence began to expand in Izmir since it functioned as "a de facto consulate to resolve disputes with Ottoman bureaucrats and other foreign merchants in the absence of official U.S. representatives" (Güler, 2005: 232). As the first relations developed through commerce, the Ottoman State signed the "Treaty of Commerce and Navigation" with the USA in 1830. This treaty granted the U.S. the status of "the most favored nation," and recognized it as the nation with the most commercial concessions (Güler, 2005: 233). Thereby, American merchants initiated the formation of diplomatic and cultural relations between the Ottoman State and the United States, and missionaries expanded their influence by relying on the economic and diplomatic basis established by these commercial relations.

According to Strong, the American Board focused on the Holy Land from the beginning since its founders considered that leaving Christianity's birthplace in "the grip of Islam" was unacceptable; thus, in 1820, ABCFM sent its missionaries to the Ottoman State to "survey" Jerusalem and the surrounding countries. These missionaries were tasked to seek the following prominent questions:

> *"What good can be done?" and "By what means?" ''What can be done for the Jews? What for pagans? What for Mohammedans? What for Christians? What for the people in Palestine? What for those in Egypt, in Syria, in Persia, in Armenia, in other countries to which your inquiries may be extended?"* (Strong, 1910: 80)

The missionaries' first task was to conduct a detailed analysis of the lands and Ottoman communities to which they were sent; after analyzing the "needs" of these people, they would initiate a process of religious and cultural penetration.

As the American Board's influence expanded over the Ottoman territories, it divided its organizational and administrative structure into missions, stations, and out-stations. The term "mission" included not only a country, but also a specific region within the respective country; every mission was directly obliged to the ABCFM administration in Boston. However, these missions established their own "constitution," "by-laws," and "parliamentary procedures," forming an "autonomous structure" that annually reported the mission's objectives, strategies, and operational agenda to ABCFM. Within each mission, stations acted as administrative entities established in urban centers under the oversight of a missionary. These stations conducted regular inspections to address issues at the out-stations and monitored missionary institutions such as churches, schools, and hospitals. On the other hand, out-stations operated in the rural areas under a Native helper from the local Christian community. Nevertheless, they "lacked the authority" to make decisions and were merely obliged to "implement" decisions of the American Board (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 51-53). Following this structure, the American Board carried out its mission to propagate Protestantism to Ottoman society and established missionary institutions to foster American influence in the Ottoman territories.

According to Gülbadi Alan, the educational institutions emerged as the "most influential" work of American missionaries because they were "the complements of the economic distribution" and "the center of cultural activities" (2002: 20). Since the primary goal of the missionaries was to establish a Protestant community through their schools, which provide "effective social services," the aim was to assert their hegemony over Ottoman lands through cultural assimilation, "achieving what could not be accomplished through wars and political struggles in the past" (Alan, 2002: 20). In this sense, Uygur Kocabaşoğlu compares the missionaries with the U.S. naval force. Missionaries symbolized the "soft," "sympathetic," and "humanitarian" power

mechanism in reinforcing American presence, while the military force formed the "hard" and "cold" face (1989: 13). Consequently, these missionaries' objective was not solely to disseminate Protestantism, but to establish "political dominance" and "cultural imperialism" (Alan, 2002: 21).

The organization's missionary activities were conducted and overseen by the officials of the American Board in Boston. Throughout its history, the American Board's missionary policies have transformed in line with the administrative structure of each period; Nathaniel G. Clark, as the Corresponding Secretary between 1865 and 1894, had an influential role in transforming the American Board's policies. After Rufus Anderson's strict church-oriented approach, N. G. Clark's emphasis on higher education and women missionaries was intended to penetrate a wider section of Ottoman society. In line with Clark's policies and direct support, American missionaries established the foundations of some of the most prominent Protestant schools. These institutions subsequently evolved into American colleges that served as bastions of American culture in the following years. In this sense, the Central Turkey College and the American College for Girls at Constantinople emerged as influential missionary institutions that shaped Ottoman society according to Clark's vision. After N. G. Clark's period, his successor, James L. Barton, maintained Clark's legacy about higher education, and he extended the scope of missionary work through his policies about "humanitarian service." Considering the radical change in the missionary policies during his term of office and his influence upon the policies of the next period, Nathaniel G. Clark emerged as one of the most significant figures who shaped ABCFM's Ottoman policies.

The thesis aims to analyze Nathaniel G. Clark's term and its impact on the missionary activities of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) in the Ottoman State during the nineteenth century in terms of American cultural imperialism. Since the N. G. Clark period lasted between 1865 and 1894, the study primarily focuses on the nineteenth century; it examines the period after Clark and the beginning of the twentieth century in a general outline. The first chapter of the thesis examines the origins of ABCFM, the organization's legislation, and the roles of officials within the American Board. The legislation of ABCFM outlines the American Board's organizational structure and administrative scheme. After outlining the

responsibilities of key positions in the American Board, the study highlights the position of N. G. Clark, Corresponding Secretary, and analyzes this position's influence on the American Board's structure. Consequently, examining the American Board's legislation and the duties of its officials reveals Nathaniel G. Clark's impact on the American Board's policies on the Ottoman State.

The second chapter focuses on Nathaniel G. Clark's life through a biography written by his wife, Elizabeth S. Clark. Throughout this section, the study examines the letters sent to N. G. Clark and explores Clark's missionary discourse in his papers from a post-colonial perspective. Afterward, the secretarial term of N. G. Clark is compared with Rufus Anderson's and James L. Barton's periods through the documents of these secretaries. The examination of Rufus Anderson's period emphasizes the significance of Clark's era in the development of educational institutions and women's education, as Anderson's policies opposed higher education and women missionaries. Following that, the chapter delves into the extent of Clark's reflections in his successor, James L. Barton's era, in terms of education and the mission of social transformation.

Consequently, the final chapter concentrates on N. G. Clark's policies on education and women missionaries in more detail, examining the two American colleges founded with Clark's support. First, a brief history of the Central Turkey College and its educational scope is discussed. Then, the college's impact on the Armenian community is evaluated through the missionaries' documents. Secondly, the study explores the American College of Girls, tracing its origins as the "Home School," and delves into the college's mission to transform Ottoman women in accordance with Protestant ideals. Examining the influence of these educational institutions illuminates N. G. Clark's influence in shaping the culture of the Armenian community and the role of Ottoman women during the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER ONE
THE STRUCTURE OF ABCFM

1.1. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ABCFM

"The fact that the American experience is defined by the idea of 'an imperium' even from the beginning intertwines imperial politics and American culture to justify the domination of other cultures in distant lands in the discourse of American freedom, superiority, and innocence" Edward Said asserts (1994: 8). According to Said's argument, the notion of "imperium" shaped both American identity and its foreign policies, even though the United States officially declared that it followed the Monroe Doctrine (1823) during the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Jerel Rosati and James Scott state that "The United States was never isolationist; from its earliest days as an independent state, the United States had an active foreign policy" (2011: 18). As they suggest, George Washington urged a foreign policy of "nonalignment" rather than isolationism in his "Farewell Address," that advocated the USA must avoid permanent alliances and permanent "entanglements." As a result, most U.S. leaders adhered to this "nonalignment" policy that urged them to focus on the North American continent between the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century, and "during this time, two general goals preoccupied most American leaders: nation building and continental expansion" (Rosati and Scott, 2011: 18-19). Since these two goals were intertwined in American discourse, nation-building meant continental expansion. Declaring that the USA pursues isolationism under the Monroe Doctrine, these policies emerged as an opportunity to expand American influence while protecting the U.S. from the imperial politics of Europe. As the United States expanded through North America, it legitimated its expansionist ambitions by claiming that the U.S. was "destined" to spread civilization. The ideology of "Manifest Destiny" promoted this discourse, portraying the U.S. as a "savior figure" and a "beacon of civilization." In this sense, the U.S. expansionist attitude laid a base for American missionaries and catalyzed the foundation of the ABCFM as a part of cultural dimension of the "civilizing" mission. While the U.S. expanded its political and economic influence on the continent, it

propagated American "cultural superiority" through its missionaries across the globe during the nineteenth century.

The Great Awakening (1730s-1760s) and the Second Great Awakening (1790s-1830s) are other significant movements that formed the fundamentals of American missionaries since these religious revivals catalyzed both interest in revivalism and the mission to spread Protestantism across the nation and beyond. The Great Awakening occurred during the colonial period of the United States. Originating in New England, this movement arose from the Congregational Church members, who were the descendants of the Puritans, and it opposed the "Enlightenment rationalism, which denied innate human depravity." Since the political and economic instability of this period, primarily due to King George's War (1744-1748), led colonists to experience spiritual ambiguity and meaninglessness, they turned to religious revival, which made the colonies more receptive to evangelical doctrine. Nevertheless, opposition to this religious movement also emerged during this period, as the movement fragmented Protestantism in America. These Calvinists were split into two groups: Old Lights and New Lights. Old Lights advocated an orthodox religious tradition centered on structured rituals, while New Lights embraced the evangelical doctrine that emphasized spreading Protestantism and personal salvation. The followers of New Lights considered the world as those who were saved and those who were the damned, regardless of gender, age, or status, and their mission was to save those damned people through evangelization. Furthermore, claiming that they comprehended the will of God better than the elite clergy, they intended to save religion from the authority of the elite and attract ordinary people to the movement by promoting an "egalitarian strain into Anglo-American life" (Norton et al., 2012: 100-102). As a result, the revivals ensured "a foundation for evangelical populism and democratization in America" (Kidd, 2007: 268). The visions of the Great Awakening formed the roots of the missionary organizations' "civilizing" mission of the "heathen" lands and spread personal salvation under Protestantism. Although it was called the Great Awakening, this movement was confined to the New England region and laid the basis for the Second Great Awakening, which would later initiate the institutionalization of missionary activities.

The Great Awakening opposed the institutional hierarchy of Protestantism. It encouraged common people to connect with God without any institution and promoted the democratization of religion in the period leading into the American Revolutionary War. Nevertheless, in the post-revolutionary period, the religious fervor of the First Awakening faded, and an age of skepticism prevailed, leading Americans into a state of ambiguity once more:

> *The tides of religious life had reached a low ebb after the Revolutionary War and before the welcome change began. Infidelity was general and rampant. Educated men boasted of skepticism. The colleges were noisy with it. The reaction from the great awakening and its surge of emotions was complete* (Strong, 1910: 8).

As missionary sources state, educated people's skepticism incited "moral degradation" in American society, and they needed to establish an identity in the post-revolutionary period. This "ambiguity" and "moral degradation" in the social order stem from the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the new nation. As a result of these developments, people who moved to urban areas could not find the social relations they had established before; this estrangement led them to turn to religion to develop this social order again.

The Second Great Awakening is fundamentally based on the belief in "the second coming of Christ" and "the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth." It aimed to establish a "millennial peace on earth" that would herald the second coming of Chris, and the only way to achieve this was by saving all people from their sins through conversion to Protestantism. For this purpose, preachers have spread evangelical beliefs from region to region. Due to the Industrial Revolution, these preachers could reach wider fields, unlike in the Great Awakening, since they used "mass-producing pamphlets and newspapers," and new means of transportation such as railroads and canals (Norton et al., 2012: 289-290). Furthermore, common schools became a significant means of integrating new immigrants into Protestant American society by teaching the basis of Protestantism, which would initiate the educational missionaries following periods. Contextualizing the roots of the Awakening, Mathews (1969) defines the movement as a "social organizing process" to unify American society under a shared religious experience since people needed a purpose and a sense of order in the post-Revolutionary period. This uncertainty and disorder of the new era led even the U.S. government to take repressive measures against its political enemies

with federal laws by indicating a need for a "homogeneous" and "religious" American society:

> *This repression was accepted by many as justified because the revolutionary ideology of human equality was undermining the "deferential society" of pre-Revolutionary America while Deism threatened the presumed orthodoxy of the New England churches. The norms of the old life were changing; its stimuli were gone, its manners inapplicable, its conventions often incapable of being reinforced. For many people there were no educational or religious institutions which automatically acted upon them in the same old-shoe familiar way. The Revolution had created great anticipation for the future; but the kind of future people wanted was not easily realized* (Mathews, 1969: 33).

Thereby, religious revival of the Second Great Awakening led American society to rewrite "the history of the Revolution to make it a 'protest of native piety against foreign impiety,'" and "American 'Protestantism' hoped to reaffirm the faith and meet the threat of barbarism that it perceived in the opening of the West" (Mathews, 1969: 28). In brief, moral degradation and social ambiguities triggered religious revivals during the eighteenth century, and the Second Great Awakening emerged to create a collective vision to unite Americans under Protestant ideals, which led to the spread of Protestantism through missionary.

Protestantism became a means to confront "the barbarism of the frontier," and it catalyzed the institutionalization of Protestant missionaries. Reflecting the religious zeal of the time, Congregationalist students in Andover Theological Seminary established ABCFM in Boston in 1810. The organization determined its mission as "enlightening" the heathens whom it regarded as "sinners" and "heretics," and the organization chosed overseas territories, such as the Ottoman State, China, and India, as new frontiers for its evangelization activities. Even though the primary mission of the American Board was establishing a Protestant community in these "heathen lands," they also intended to "civilize" and "enlighten" the local communities by spreading American values:

> *Although missionary activities started with the aim of evangelizing the nations of the world, over time they have also served the imperialist interests of Western countries with their "recognition" and "promotion" roles ... While some perceive and name this process as "cultural imperialism", others see and evaluate all this as "the culture of imperialism"* (Yetkiner, 2008: 135).

Under the American discourse of "God's chosen people," these missionaries considered their "civilizing" role as their destiny. In 1820, the first missionaries arrived in the Ottoman State with the mission of "civilization." Since the Ottoman State

encompassed the sacred lands of Christianity, it was referred to as “Bible Land” and emerged as another frontier where missionaries sought to “tame” and “civilize” those heathens (Çoban Döşkaya and Öztürk, 2022: 1). Moreover, these missionaries had engaged in religious education and reformation among other Christian communities: “Ottoman Palestine was then chosen as the place where the ‘Gospel’ was to be delivered, with the primary target group being the Jews living there and, if possible, then the Muslims” (Yetkiner, 2008: 140). As a result, Ottoman territories and societies became significant fields in the American Board’s mission.

1.2.THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN MISSIONARY

William E. Strong defines the primary mission of the Christian Church as “the welding of the world in the Kingdom of God, wherein it shall appear that all nations are of one blood, of one capacity, and of one destiny in Jesus Christ” (1910: 494). To understand Strong’s notion, it is necessary to consider the Puritan colonial legacy of America since missionary movements in the U.S. had roots in the colonial period due to the social structure of the first New England colonies. The laws of England required English citizens to participate in the Church of England, people could not experience religious freedom in England. In search of religious freedom, these people fled to the Netherlands to find refuge; however, this migration created a new threat: Loss of cultural identity. Therefore, the first pilgrims sailed to America to experience religious freedom and preserve their cultural heritage. Arriving in America, the pilgrims encountered vast “heathen” lands and “uncivilized” Native Americans, as they called them. Converting these communities and establishing the kingdom of God in this land became one of the primary purposes of the pilgrims. John Winthrop asserted that they were destined to establish the “city upon a hill” in his 1630 sermon; according to his belief, God had chosen these pilgrims to establish a model Christian society that would “shine” as a “moral beacon” for the rest of the world. It justified the colonial efforts and promoted the pilgrims’ missionary responsibility as a sacred duty. Consequently, the Puritans considered their colonial activities spiritual and civilizing, and expanding their colonies meant spreading the Protestant ideals to build a moral society for the world. As a result of this notion, the first settlements of New England emerged

"essentially as missionary enterprises" (Tracy, 1840: 11). Moreover, Joseph Tracy defined the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts as missionary "colonies that heralded God's salvation" in heathen lands:

> *But concerning the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, there can be no doubt. They were missionary colonies. They were self-supporting missions, of the only kind that can succeed. And they were composed of men who possessed the qualities indispensable for such an undertaking. They went on their own responsibility, and at their own expense; determined by the help of God, in whom they trusted, to make themselves a home, to live and die and leave their posterity, in the land of the heathen whose salvation they sought* (1840: 13).

According to Tracy, the mission of the New England colonies was not solely about survival, but also about the desire to spread "superior" faith and values among Native Americans. Thus, the notion of "self-supporting missions" demonstrated the settlers' determination to leave "the legacy of God's salvation" in the New World, and it served as a model for future American missionary activities.

Furthermore, as early as 1621, the pilgrims reported to people in England that Native Americans had an "obedient disposition" towards "religion and humanity:"

> *As early as December, 1621, Elder Robert Cushman informed his friends in England that many of the Indians, especially of their youth, were found to be of a very tractable disposition, both to religion and humanity; that if the colonists had means, they would bring up hundreds of their children, both to labor and learning; and that young men in England, who desired " to further the gospel among those poor heathen," would do well to come over an dspend their estates, their time and their labors in that good work* (Tracy, 1840: 11).

Thus, they appealed to English who desired to spread the Gospel and contribute to the "good work" among Native Americans. The first pilgrims aimed to legitimize their "apostolic roles" and encourage more English settlers with missionary zeal to shape the American land according to their vision. The missionary efforts seemed "infeasible" in the early years of the colonies because of survival conditions, insufficient resources, and security problems; however, the pilgrims' missionary zeal molded the religious and cultural foundation of the colonies:

> *It was indeed impossible, during a few of the first years of their contest with hardships and privations, to make such public and systematic efforts for the conversion of the Indians as were desirable; but individuals, both ministers and laymen, appear to have seized such opportunities as they could command, to make known and recommend the gospel to their heathen neighbors; and in this way, much was done towards diffusing a knowledge of Christianity, and producing an impression in its favor* (Tracy, 1840: 11).

As Tracy suggests, these colonists "seized the opportunity" and initiated the evangelization of Native Americans informally. The missionary attitude of the New

England colonists became official in 1636. The government of Plymouth enforced laws to authorize "the preaching of the Gospel among the Native Americans" and, with the approval of the local chiefs, the establishment of Protestant "courts to punish misdemeanors" (Tracy, 1840: 11-12). In 1646, the Massachusetts legislature passed a law to spread the Gospel among the Native Americans, promoting prominent missionaries to begin their missionary endeavors. Learning the language of the natives, they started "preaching regularly" among the natives on Sabbaths (Tracy, 1840: 13). The missionary efforts of the pilgrims and the subsequent laws enforced by the colonies reflect the rising zeal for conversion to Protestantism. Although the first pilgrims arrived in America in the name of religious freedom, they labeled others who did not follow Protestantism as "infidels." Thereby, the colonists created a legacy for the Protestant world to convert the "heathens" of foreign lands, and ABCFM inherited this mission, which was established during the colonial period.

During the Second Awakening, the people's hope for the Second Coming of Christ and the establishment of God's kingdom on earth led to the institutionalization of Protestant missionaries. The belief that Christ would not return until every American was converted to Protestantism urged revivalists to pursue a "moral reform." As the printing press became a crucial instrument during this reformation process, mass-produced religious pamphlets and newspapers "democratized" Protestantism, promoting the missionary institutions to spread religious fervor throughout the nation. The rising institutionalization of Protestantism and evangelic fervor increased the missionary endeavor to disseminate Protestant ideals on the American frontier, and the "civilizing" role of religion was linked to the spread of the Gospel worldwide. These evangelical missions influenced the young students, and the theological seminaries provided the appropriate environment for these students to express their thoughts on the foreign evangelization mission. In 1810, a few students established ABCFM to promote missionary efforts in foreign lands at Andover Theological Seminary. Rufus Anderson states the crucial role of the Andover Seminary in the establishment of the American Board:

> *The institution of the Andover Seminary, at the time when the Holy Spirit was interesting the minds of graduates from different colleges in the work of a foreign mission, is worthy of grateful notice. It was the only way in which they could be brought into circumstances favorable to personal acquaintance, and for associating and acting together. Nor should we omit to notice the important fact,*

> *that the missionary spirit should have been enkindled in the hearts of such men as Worcester, Spring, Evarts, and the Professors at Andover. The Seminary brought the young men where they could combine their action; and these fathers—for such they now seem, though most of them were then in the very prime of life—responded at once and cordially to their appeals. Hence the institution of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Bradford, by the General Association of Massachusetts, on the 29th of June, 1810* (Anderson, 1861: 44).

Thus, the seminary "enkindled" the missionary spirit in the hearts of students and professors at Andover. As the American Board defined its mission as spreading the Gospel among "heathens" in foreign lands, the Ottoman State emerged as the primary target for the organization due to the sacred lands of Christianity. In this context, expanding the influence of Protestantism in the Ottoman State meant "re-entering" the bible lands and "recovering" God's kingdom:

> *From the beginning the American Board had had an eye on the Holy Land. It seemed intolerable to its founders that Christianity's birthplace should be forever in the grip of Islam, or left to exhibit a form of Christianity, ancient and intrenched, but for the most part lifeless* (Strong, 1910: 80).

In brief, saving Christianity's birthplace from "the grip of Islam" determined the Ottoman policies of ABCFM, and this doctrine led the American Board to send its first missionaries to the Ottoman State in 1820. The missionaries who arrived in the Ottoman States learned the languages, cultures, and social structures of the regions they were assigned to and began their century-long work of evangelization, labeling it as the mission of "civilization." In an instruction letter sent to the first missionaries, they were described as "soldiers in a war of conquest," and their struggle in the "holy and promised lands" was compared to an "unarmed crusade" (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 33).

Nathaniel G. Clark (1878) provides an outline of the first period of the American Board in the Ottoman State between 1818 and 1839 in his paper called The *Gospel in the Ottoman Empire.* When the American Board determined the Ottoman State as a "field" for missionary activities, they confronted a vast geography that spread over three continents. As Clark states, the Ottoman State included diverse nationalities, languages, and faiths. Yet these communities were ruled by an "unenlightened" and "barbarous despotism" (1878: 3). According to the paper, the Christian population was dense; they were "degenerate" and "drowned in superstition." Nevertheless, the Christian community in the Ottoman State still maintained the name of Christianity despite their "degeneration," and these Christians

turned into “nominal Christians” for the American Board. As a result, Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons were sent to Jerusalem in 1820 as the first American missionaries to initiate missionary efforts among these communities. After the deaths of Parsons in Alexandria and Fisk in Beirut, William Goodell arrived in Beirut in 1822 to maintain the missionary work; however, due to the “political distractions” in the region caused by the war and plague, the American Board decided to withdraw its activities to Malta and focus on different areas of the Ottoman State (Clark, 1878: 4). During this process, a new strategy was determined, and the missionary activities were renewed in Beirut as the “Syrian Mission” to extend the Board’s mission to the West Coast of Africa through the Arabic-speaking communities. Then, the American Board “discovered” Oriental Christian Churches, which were unknown to the world before, as missionaries traveled through Asia Minor. This “exploration” led Goodell to translate the New Testament into Armeno-Turkish, with a focus on Armenians in Syria. Subsequently, Goodell was appointed to conduct evangelical work among Armenians in Constantinople[1]. According to missionary sources, “the Ottoman State’s political power was in decline” when the first missionary arrived in Constantinople in 1831; since the Russian Empire threatened the Ottoman government with its proximity to Constantinople, the Ottoman Navy had been burnt at Navarin, and Greece had become independent (Clark, 1878: 4). Thus, the political crisis emerged as an opportunity for the American Board to spread Protestantism in the Ottoman State. In the early phase, missionaries did not prioritize the conversion of Muslims, as it was not possible to convert them unless the “nominal Christians” adopted Protestant values. Therefore, the initial mission of the American Board was to convert these “nominal Christians” to Protestantism by reforming their “ancient” but “obsolete” churches in the Ottoman State (Clark, 1878).

In the 1840s, the American missionary activities in Anatolia mainly focused on the Armenian community. “After Rufus Anderson’s second expedition to the region in 1844, the activities towards the Greeks were stopped,” and the whole priority of the mission was shifted to the Armenians, as the mission was renamed as “Mission to Armenians” (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 75). Due to the growth of missionary activities, in

[1] Cities are referred to by the names used in missionary sources.

1860, the American Board divided its activities into three missions, "Western Turkey Mission," "Central Turkey Mission," and "Eastern Turkey Mission." The reason that the American Board prioritized especially Armenians over Greeks was due to Greece's recent independence, its strong central authority over the Greek population in Anatolia, and the inability of Armenians to reorganize even educational institutions:

> *By the 1830s, the Armenian community's inability to solve the problem of reorganizing education and the need for Western-secular educational institutions paved the way for the missionaries to gain a foothold among Armenians. Many uneducated Armenian families handed their children over to the Board missionaries in the hope that they would receive a better education* (Narin, 2014: 4).

Moreover, the fact that Armenians had been scattered and lived under different nations for centuries made them the priority of the American Board's mission. As Leon Arpee states, the Armenian Church in the early nineteenth century faced spiritual stagnation, limited religious education, and deficient access to scripture, creating a gap between the Armenians and their faith. Ultimately, these circumstances led to external influences on Armenians, especially the intervention of missionaries, who provided Bibles "within the means of common people" and promoted more "accessible" religious practices (1909: 1-13).

Initially, Armenians embraced the American missionaries enthusiastically; however, after a short period, the local Gregorian authorities implemented strict measures and repressed the missionaries and those who embraced Protestantism since they realized the rituals imposed by the American missionaries were radically contradictory to theirs. The Gregorian Church "harshly persecuted" and "ostracized" the converts of this religion; and expelled the American missionaries from the region with a decree from the Sultan (Clark, 1878). The Ottoman State granted certain privileges to all its citizens regardless of their religion or ethnicity with Tanzimât Fermânı (The Imperial Edict of Reorganization) in 1839. This edict, based on the rule of law and the equality of all subjects in Ottoman lands, created "a convenient environment" for American missionaries, and the state's guarantee of "security, transportation, and trade facilitated the missionary works (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 71). As a result, American missionaries propagated the Gospel even more freely, and missionary sources state this recent shift in their work as "the darkest hour was just before the dawn" (Clark, 1878: 5). Therefore, American missionaries utilized this

political transformation in Ottoman State as a “great opportunity” to spread evangelical zeal by reforming the Gregorian Church rather than abolishing it. Accordingly, the first Armenian Protestant Church was established in Constantinople in 1846, and the Armenian Protestants were recognized as an independent community the following year. By the decree of Abdulmecid I in 1850, the Armenian Protestant community was granted equal privileges with other Christian denominations in the Ottoman State.

Consequently, the American Board concentrated on converting “nominal Christians” in the Ottoman State, and this policy caused the religious and social transformation in line with American interests. Exploiting the Ottoman States’ political crisis, the missionaries framed their work as a “civilizing mission” to expand their influence. As the American Board’s scope expanded, it also developed an organized administrative structure to conduct its activities, manage resources, and determine its strategy on foreign lands.

1.3.THE LEGISLATION OF ABCFM

Although missionaries were responsible for carrying out the American Board’s mission abroad, the policies that led the missionaries were shaped by the American Board’s officers in Boston. Missionaries in the fields regularly submitted detailed reports on their observations and activities; the American Board’s headquarters evaluated local developments accordingly and refined their approach in the fields in order to ensure that missionary efforts aligned with the American Board’s vision and objectives. To understand the significance of Nathaniel G. Clark in the American Board’s history, it is essential to comprehend the American Board’s administrative structure and the role of its officers.

Following the institutionalization of missionary activities, the American Board established an administrative and operational schema of the organization through legislation to manage its overseas activities. This administrative structure facilitated the effective management of the organization’s activities and the coordination of the various missionaries in different regions. The American Board’s legislation defined a missionary as “any regularly appointed person, regardless of gender,” and a mission

as a structure organized by the appointed missionaries to work within specific territories. In this line, every mission was required to submit an annual report to the Prudential Committee and specify their activities, and "any grants received from local governments for educational initiatives, along with their terms and conditions" (Çoban Döşkaya, 2021b: 1128). According to the Laws and Regulations of the Board of 1832, the Board held annual meetings to evaluate actions and resolutions in line with the mission of "propagation of the gospel." To facilitate bureaucratic affairs efficiently, three members of the Board constituted a "'quorum' for dissolving the meeting," and five members were "needed to transact business" (ABCFM, 1833: 8). The American Board operated within a structured frame composed of the American Board officers, corporate members, corresponding members, and honorary members. Each member was required to perform the roles and duties specified by the legislation; thus, this structure oversaw the efficiency of the organizational process and ensured that it was aligned with the goals of the American Board.

The officers of the American Board maintained the core operation of the organization by directing the Board's policies and monitoring its missionaries. The President, Vice President, Prudential Committee, Treasurer, Auditor, and Secretaries comprised this body of the American Board, and they were elected annually by ballot. Following the executive officer body, other members of the Board formed the auxiliary segment, which promoted the American Board's mission. Corporate members emerged as an influential element within the board, as they had the right to vote at Board meetings. Moreover, they acted as the representatives of the American Board since they were obliged to attend the anniversary meetings of auxiliary societies. The laws and regulations of the American Board defined corporate members' roles as follows:

> *These [Corporate members], according to the Act of Incorporation, must be elected by ballot, and only at the annual meetings. Not less than one third of the corporate members must be laymen. The corporate members, besides being under special obligation to attend the meetings of the Board, are pledged to attend the anniversary meetings of Auxiliary Societies, when required by the Prudential Committee, as a Deputation from the Board; their travelling expenses, in going to and returning from the places of such meetings, being paid out of the Treasury of the Board* (ABCFM, 1833: 6).

Thereafter, clergy and lay people who resided in distant parts of the USA comprised corresponding members. Those members were not required to attend

meetings or to participate in resolution; however, "when occasionally present, [they] may assist in its deliberations, and by communicating information and in other ways, enlighten its course, facilitate its operations, and promote its objects" (ABCFM, 1833: 6). These members' primary responsibility was to promote the American Board's interests in distant parts of the USA. Therefore, the function of this body was related operational field of the mission rather than the administrative. Then, honorary members constituted the last section of Board members; they represented the group of financial contributors since these members were required to pay designated fees. According to the legislation, the clergy were required to pay fifty dollars, while lay people were required to pay one hundred dollars. The honorary members had "all the rights of Corporate members to move resolutions, serve on committees, and assist in the deliberations of the Board," although they could not vote (Anderson, 1861: 83). In brief, these members had the "privilege" of attending the meetings of the Board; however, the legislation restricted this position to financial support only and prohibited them from voting.

Understanding the legislative structure of the American Board requires examining the roles of the Board's officers. Since these officers constituted the organization's administrative body, they were more competent than the other members mentioned. William E. Strong explains that the administration of the American Board was absolutely subordinated to them:

> *The actual administration of the Board's affairs was entrusted to the customary officers, certain corresponding secretaries, and a prudential committee whose votes, as attested by the signatures of its officers and by the corporation seal, constituted the legal basis of its operations* (Strong, 1910: 143).

Therefore, each role of the administrative body is crucial in analyzing the relationship between the individuals and the politics of the American Board.

The President and Vice President presided over each meeting of the Board and performed official duties assigned to them by vote of the American Board during the sessions. In the Board structure, the role of the President was primarily to oversee the meeting, while legislative and executive powers were distributed, among other positions:

> *It shall be the duty of the President, and in his absence of the Vice President, to preside at each meeting of the Board, and to perform such official acts, either during the session of the Board, or at any other time, as shall be assigned to him by any bye-law or vote of the Board. In the absence of both the President and*

> *Vice President, the meeting shall be called to order by the oldest member present, after which a presiding officer shall be chosen for the occasion* (ABCFM, 1833: 6).

Subsequently, the legislation defined the Prudential Committee as the leading authority that oversees all contracts and deeds issued and executed by the American Board. Including the President and Vice President as "regular members," the Prudential Committee consisted of 12 members, and it is elected between annual meetings; the committee usually gathered "every two weeks" to carry out its duties to organize missionary activities (Çoban Döşkaya, 2021b: 1129). Moreover, the committee was responsible for "executing the Board's legislation, conducting the mission, directing the missionaries, and collecting and expending the funds" in accordance with the Board's mission. The legislation outlined the legislative and executive powers of the Prudential Committee as follows:

> *It shall be the duty of the Prudential Committee to carry into effect all resolutions and orders of the Board, the execution of which shall not have been assigned to some other committee;— to cause the more inviting fields for missionary enterprize to be explored, if necessary;—to appoint the places where missions shall be attempted, and determine the scale upon which they shall be conducted, and superintend them;— to appoint, instruct, and direct all the missionaries of the Board;— to prescribe where the Treasurer shall deposit the monies of the Board, and the times and modes of investments and remittances;—to draw orders authorizing the payment of monies from the Treasury ;—to ascertain the state of the Treasury at least twice a year, and as much oftener as they see cause;—to appoint agents at home and abroad, with such powers and duties as they may think are demanded by the best interests of missions;—and, generally, to perform all duties necessary, in their opinion, to promote the objects of the Board ; provided the same shall not be contrary to any resolution or bye¬ law of the Board, nor to the Act of Incorporation* (ABCFM, 1833: 7).

Under the Board's legislation, the Prudential Committee implemented the Board's resolutions and oversaw its operations in order to promote the American Board's objectives.

The duties of the Board's secretaries were also defined under their respective departments. The official documents of ABCFM stated that "the Home Department, Foreign Department, and Editorial Department consisted of three Corresponding Secretaries" (Çoban Döşkaya, 2021b: 1127). The Recording Secretary kept the reports of the proceedings of the Board in a record book and ensured that all significant activities were accurately documented through the official records. The other secretaries, whose numbers were determined by the Board from time to time,

conducted the American Board's foreign and domestic written correspondence, performing duties assigned by the Board:

> *The other Secretaries shall act as the organs of the Board in conducting its written correspondence, both foreign and domestic, except what relates immediately to the Treasurer's department, and they shall prepare and edit its official publications, and perform such other duties as the Board or the Prudential Committee shall particularly direct; dividing the appropriate labors of their department among themselves, under the advice and direction of the Prudential Committee* (ABCFM, 1833: 7).

These Corresponding Secretaries were primarily responsible for implementing the Board's strategy since they conducted domestic and foreign correspondence with institutions, organizations, and missionaries. The Corresponding Secretary in the Foreign Department had "immediate charge and supervision" of foreign missions The secretary informed the Prudential Committee accordingly, and ensured communication between missionaries and the American Board, while the Secretary in the Home Department sought financial support, recruited missionaries, and "promoted a missionary spirit" in the United States. Lastly, the Editorial Secretary prepared and edited "such publications" that were assigned to him by the American Board (ABCFM, 1894: 11-12).

The Treasurer managed all the American Board's funds and financial records, including maintaining money, issuing receipts, and keeping "accurate accounts." In preparation for an annual financial report, the Treasurer "invested" the funds according to the instructions of the Prudential Committee and provided the financial records when requested (ABCFM, 1894: 12). Lastly, the Auditors examined "the books of Treasurer, thoroughly and particularly, at least once a year" and issued a confirmation if the Treasurer documented the accounts properly. Then, the Auditors provided "a duplicate thereof with the Recording Secretary" (ABCFM, 1894: 12 -13). Thus, the American Board adopted a strict attitude towards monetary policies to maintain financial accountability and attract more support. In this structure, the Board's Treasurer inspected the records of each mission's Treasurer:

> *Each mission appoints a treasurer and auditor annually, subject to the approval of the Prudential Committee. These mission treasurers, in turn, approve the station treasurers who work under them. Mission Treasurers operates an account called the "House Fund," in which all received sums are recorded. They are directly responsible to the Prudential Committee. On June 30 and December 31 of each year, they submit to the Board treasurer a balance sheet indicating the status of mission assets and documents showing the receipt of funds from all sources and their disbursements. In making disbursements, mission treasurers*

> *are held personally responsible for all monies paid in excess of the appropriations established by the Prudential Committee or for all payments to missionaries over their salaries and personal allowances* (Çoban Döşkaya, 2021b: 1130).

Thus, the American Board's laws and regulations formed a hierarchical financial management structure in which mission and station treasurers operated under supervision, creating a self-regulating system.

Consequently, the legislation of the ABCFM defined the duties of the respective departments and members of the Board. While the members of the Board represented auxiliary groups for the American Board, the officers held the primary role in shaping the mission and policies of the American Board. Since the study focuses on Nathaniel G. Clark, the role of the Corresponding Secretary of the Foreign Department is particularly crucial within this structure, as this position oversaw communication between the American Board and the missionaries and ensured that strategic decisions of the American Board were aligned with the mission stations in the foreign lands.

1.4.THE ROLE OF CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

As the study delves into the responsibilities of various American Board officers, it is essential to highlight the role of the Corresponding Secretary to comprehend Nathaniel G. Clark's influence on the changing policy of the American Board. The legislation of the American Board described the Corresponding Secretary as follows:

> *The Secretaries to whom, at any time, is assigned the foreign department shall have the immediate charge and supervision of the foreign field; shall keep the Prudential Committee informed of the condition and needs of the several missions; shall present to the Committee, for its consideration and approval, careful statements of all business relating to the work under their care respectively, and when any missionary or assistant missionary under appointment desires a personal interview with the Prudential Committee shall present to that Committee his request. They shall also perform such other duties as the Board or the Prudential Committee shall direct* (ABCFM, 1894: 11).

These secretaries evaluated mission conditions, compiled reports, and offered strategic recommendations to the American Board's policy-making process. Furthermore, the legislation "extended" their powers by giving them additional responsibilities as directed by the American Board, providing flexibility for managing

missionary challenges. The fact that the Corresponding Secretaries filled the gap between the mission fields and the organization's administration granted them a strategic role in the policy-making process. Conducting foreign correspondence, these secretaries influenced missionaries, directly shaping the execution of the American Board's objectives in foreign lands. Rufus Anderson emphasizes the extensive responsibilities of the secretarial office:

> *The correspondence of the Secretaries with particular missions has been more or less extended, at different times, according to circumstances; and great freedom has always been awarded to them in reasoning upon all subjects, on which they believed it useful to correspond with their brethren, always observing the radical distinction between suggestions, opinions, and arguments, on the one hand, and decisions, instructions, and rules, on the other* (Anderson, 1861: 153).

Accordingly, the secretaries influenced the mission strategy in both formal and informal ways. While they could freely express their reflections on the organization's proceedings with missionaries, they needed to distinguish these informal discussions from official communications. Nevertheless, their personal relationships with the missionaries affected the missionaries in line with their own vision since secretaries conducted all the affairs of missionary candidates until they departed from the country:

> *Correspondence is very far from having been the whole duty of the Secretaries .... The whole intercourse with candidates for missionary employment, up to the time when their papers come before the Prudential Committee, belongs to the Secretaries; and so, afterward, until their embarkation. The Secretaries have also, at different times, been at great pains to prepare and deliver Instructions, on behalf of the Prudential Committee, to missionaries about going forth to their several fields* (Anderson, 1861: 154).

Thus, the Corresponding Secretary could act on behalf of the Prudential Committee, and their political attitudes molded the missionaries directly despite the expectation of impartiality. Considering this extensive influence of secretaries, Nathaniel G. Clark emerges as a crucial figure in analyzing the American Board's policies in the Ottoman State between 1865 and 1894.

Nathaniel G. Clark considered that the future of missions relied on higher education and influenced missionaries accordingly throughout his tenure. During this period, Clark promoted higher education and women's education in the mission fields in the Ottoman State, and he supported the model initiated by Cyrus Hamlin at Robert College. George Washburn, President of Robert College at the time, emphasized Nathaniel G. Clark's support for the college in the condolence letter:

> *From the first he was the unfailing friend and supporter of Robert College, — never afraid that in saying a good word for us he might reduce somebody's contribution to the Board. He appreciated, as but few others did, the work which the college might do in Turkey; and that it was one with the work which was dearest to his heart. His views of the missionary work were broader and more comprehensive than those of almost any man in America; and I think, more Christian and apostolic. He was at the same time orthodox and catholic, with a charity as wide as that of the Master* (E. S. Clark, 1897: 88).

As the Corresponding Secretary, Nathaniel G. Clark emphasized that higher education was crucial for extending missionary activities and guided the missionaries according to this agenda. Believing that institutions like Robert College would shape the future of missions in the Ottoman State, Clark adopted a comprehensive approach to missionary work, prioritizing institution-building and long-term impact over sole proselytization. Furthermore, Clark advocated for women's missionary work and education despite various opposition during the period. The fact that Clark's notion about higher education included women caused a fundamental shift in the American Board's policies. Through Nathaniel G. Clark's reformist policies during his tenure, institutions such as the Central Turkey College and the American College for Girls at Constantinople emerged as pioneering institutions of higher education in the Ottoman State.

CHAPTER TWO
NATHANIEL G. CLARK: MISSIONARY VISION AND INFLUENCE

2.1 THE BIOGRAPHY OF NATHANIEL G. CLARK

"Men pass away, institutions abide; the workers change, the work goes on," Nathaniel G. Clark states (1894: 146). Clark's remark about the institutions highlights his period as Corresponding Secretary from 1865 to 1894 (ABCFM, 1929: 235). Over the years, the American Board's regional focus and mission strategies about the Ottoman State evolved due to both socio-cultural dynamics and the American Board administration's missionary agendas. As the Corresponding Secretary, Nathaniel George Clark reconstructed the future of the American Board. Analyzing Clark's early life, official career, and his works is crucial to grasp the context of his missionary policies and their influence on the American Board. Written by N. G. Clark's wife, Elizabeth S. Clark (1897), *The Memorial of Rev. Nathaniel G. Clark, D.D., LL.D.* is the primary source that includes Clark's biography and his significant papers that reflects his missionary policies.

Nathaniel G. Clark was born in Calais, Vermont, on January 18, 1825, into a family that valued "both faith and intellect." He was the eldest child of Charles Clark and Clarissa Boyden, whose deep religious beliefs played a crucial role in Clark's life. Since "educational and religious privileges, excepting those in his own home, were scanty," his mother, Clarissa Boyden, and Clark's grandmother shaped his moral and intellectual character (E. S. Clark, 1897: 5). As his family moved to Montpelier during his childhood, Clark continued his education at Washington County Grammar School. Then, he attended the University of Vermont at sixteen, succeeding in his academic studies, and graduated in 1845. After graduation, Clark spent the next three years teaching as "principal of the academies" (E. S. Clark, 1897: 6).

Nathaniel G. Clark began his theological studies by attending Andover Theological Seminary in 1848. His seminary training at Andover marked a milestone in Clark's education since "the institution was founded in opposition to Harvard College, which represented the liberal view of the period," and became one of the most important "missionary training institutions" of the 19th century (Yetkiner, 2008: 138-

39). Andover Theological Seminary was strictly selective in the students to be admitted, and the seminary expected "good morals and solid references" in addition to academic success; thus, Clark's education in this seminary foreshadowed that he would rise to the American Board's administrative structure (Aksu, 2010: 38). His theological studies in the Andover were interrupted by one year as he began working as a tutor at the University of Vermont; then, he attended Auburn Theological Seminary in New York for his senior year. Initially inspired by the missionary work, Clark would have worked as a "home missionary" in the western part of the United States if he had not suffered from pulmonary diseases:

> *His chosen work in these early years had been that of a home missionary, and it had been his purpose to become one of a pioneer band in the far West. One of his earliest attempts at preaching, however, was followed by a hemorrhage from the lungs; and physicians, in view of a consumptive tendency in the family, advised that for a time at least he should give up further efforts in that direction* (E. S. Clark, 1897: 7).

Thus, Clark's health problems led him to a career in academia, and his early experiences as a tutor and theologian formed the foundation for his theological studies and missionary endeavors. After graduating from the Auburn seminary, Clark went "to Germany for further study at the University of Halle" (E. S. Clark, 1897: 6). His experience in Germany prepared him for the professorship of English Literature at the University of Vermont.

Although Nathaniel G. Clark pursued an academic career, he was "superintendent" in the church, leading Sunday schools and conducting "Bible class whenever possible." Over time, he started to preach in the church, and in 1860, he was even invited to become a pastor in Vermont. In 1861, Clark married Elizabeth Sargent Worcester, "elder daughter of the Rev. Isaac R. Worcester, for many years editor of the *Missionary Herald."* In 1863, the Union College in New York offered a teaching position to Clark (E. S. Clark, 1897: 9-11). During his two years in this college, Clark published a manual for students called *An Outline of the Elements of the English Language,* and he began to prepare a more extensive study on English Literature when he received a call from the American Board in Boston.

After his academic career as a professor of English Literature at institutions such as the University of Vermont and Union College, Nathaniel G. Clark was called by the American Board in 1865. After working as an associate secretary with Rufus

Anderson for one year, Clark succeeded Anderson as Corresponding Secretary. Elizabeth S. Clark defines N. G. Clark's new mission as a "call of God to the Board," which implies it was Clark's "manifested destiny:"

> *Many doubted the wisdom of turning from his successful work as a teacher to duties so wholly new. Especially did his pupils and associates in college work wonder at the change; but from so many quarters was it urged upon him, and so unexpected was the call, that it seemed to him to come from God* (E. S. Clark, 1897: 13).

Despite his resignation from the academic career, Clark's dedication to higher education remained unchanged, shaping his missionary policies in the American Board.

Significant transformation in missionary educational institutions marked Nathaniel G. Clark's tenure in the American Board. Embracing the notion of the educated native clergy, Clark advocated the establishment of seminaries and institutions of higher education in mission fields. According to Clark, these institutions "fostered self-support" among the native churches, as the educated community would naturally develop the fields both economically and culturally. Besides the higher education model, Clark had prominent visions of women's missionaries and education. He promoted the higher education of women as a trustee of Mount Holyoke and "chair of the executive committee" of Wellesley College, then its "president" from 1888 to 1893 (E. S. Clark, 1897: 14). Most of the Board's officials at the time opposed Clark's notions about the women missionary, yet he insisted on the potential of women roles in the missionary efforts, as the women missionaries could reach the homes and families within the communities they served.

During his twenty-nine-year tenure, Nathaniel G. Clark traveled mission fields in the Ottoman State in 1871 and 1883. On his first visit, Clark recognized the deficiencies in the mission's higher education system due to his academic background and sought to improve the educational institutions in mission fields accordingly. During this period, he argued that the structure of missionary colleges was "obsolete" since these schools solely focused on scripture-based education and promoted a radical shift from the orthodox methods of the past to the modern university model. In this context, Clark's vision emerged as an attempt to create an educated and "enlightened" Protestant community that would align with the American Board's interest within Ottoman society. Promoting higher education for women in the United States through

the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary and Wellesley Female Seminary, Clark also envisioned extending this Protestant model of education for women to Ottoman lands. Through Clark's policies and support, Central Turkey College and American College for Girls at Constantinople were founded, serving as a prototype for subsequent American Board educational institutions.

Nathaniel G. Clark suffered significant difficulties throughout the late stage of his tenure due to earlier health problems. In 1874, he suffered "pulmonary trouble," which was a "fatal" illness. In the following years, "a disease of the optic nerve" caused eye blindness. Throughout the remaining years of his official life, Clark conducted correspondence through others, despite the loss of his eyesight (E. S. Clark, 1897: 24-25). At the annual meeting in 1893 in Worcester, Nathaniel G. Clark announced his retirement the following year and requested a successor for his position. As Clark invited James L. Barton, who was returning to the Ottoman State as president of Euphrates College, to assist him in the transition period, Barton was officially elected as Clark's successor at the 1894 annual meeting. Consequently, Nathaniel G. Clark was a prominent figure in the American Board due to his academic background, theological education, and radical perspective on missionary efforts throughout his tenure between 1865 and 1894. As the missionary sources suggest, his retirement marked "the end of an era" as he initiated significant developments in the American Board's policies, such as the development of educational institutions, the promotion of self-support among native churches, and the focus on women's participation in missionary. In 1895, Clark's health gradually declined, his condition "confined" him to his bed, and he died on January 3, 1896 (E. S. Clark, 1897: 52).

2.2 NATHANIEL G. CLARK'S WORKS AND HIS MISSIONARY DISCOURSE

The officials of the American Board gathered in the annual meetings to discuss the condition of the missions from the field reports. During his term of office, Nathaniel G. Clark presented several papers at these meetings of the American Board, in which he evaluated the current conditions and promoted his strategies to influence the organization's missionary activities. Elizabeth S. Clark included some of Nathaniel

G. Clark's papers, along with Clark's biography and various missionary letters sent to Clark, in *The Memorial of Rev. Nathaniel G. Clark, D.D., LL.D*. In addition to these papers, Clark had written a manual for students about English Literature before starting his official career at the American Board. Clark's works generally emphasized the significant role of education in disseminating American culture through the spread of Protestantism. According to Clark, the "heathen" communities in the Ottoman State would turn to Protestantism as they realized that American culture was "civilizing" them through missionary education. To justify this "civilizing" mission, Clark demonstrated specific communities in the Ottoman State as a "demonic other" within the Orientalist perspective. From this standpoint, these people were depicted as "dangerous savages" who adhered to "heathen" ways, and this depiction positioned Protestantism and American culture as the only means of their redemption. Consequently, N. G. Clark's works reinforced the cultural hegemony in the Ottoman State; thus, it is essential to analyze a selection of Nathaniel G. Clark's works in order to trace his orientalist perspective towards these communities and examine how his agenda influenced the American Board.

First, understanding N. G. Clark's concept of Protestant education requires examining his views on the English language. *An Outline of the Elements of the English Language* (1864) explains the relation between language and cultural hegemony; it portrays American culture as "the inheritor" of the entire human culture. In the book, Clark conveys the evolution of the English language with emphasis on the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Latin influences. Clark's Orientalist perspective frames the English language as the outcome of human "civilization" by marginalizing non-European cultures as others and advocating cultural hierarchy. Clark justifies this notion by referring to the Latin heritage:

> *As was to be expected, the language of literature for the educated classes was the Latin. In this tongue were composed not only the theological and moral treatises, but the philosophical and scientific works of the time, and a large number of historical works* (Clark, 1864: 74).

Clark's statement about Latin as the "language of literature for the educated classes" positions Latin as a medium of "cultural and intellectual" heritage. This depiction confines all knowledge to these "civilized" groups and enhances cultural dominance through education and language. Therefore, Clark implies that the successor of Latin culture inherits the civilization of humanity. In line with this cultural

dichotomy between "civilized" and "primitive," Clark presents the Anglo-Saxon legacy as inherently rational against "the mystic" and "unsophisticated" Celtic culture through their languages:

> *It is not strange that a people so radically distinct in spirit and character should have had so little affinity with the stern practical spirit of the Romans, and later, of the Saxon race. The grammatical forms of these languages were never interchanged, and but comparatively few words from their vocabularies. And these few were commonly such names of objects as were new to the respective languages that adopted them* (Clark, 1864: 19).

Thus, Clark's Orientalist discourse portrays the Anglo-Saxon and Norman legacies as "superior" elements; the English language emerges as the "civilizing" factor in the cultural hierarchy in Clark's mind.

In the book, education is a significant instrument for linguistic and cultural domination over other cultures. Clark's statement about the role of Latin in education during the medieval era and the eventual standardization of English demonstrates the language's role in establishing hegemonic power. This theme is essential to grasp the influence of educational institutions on the dissemination of American and British cultural ideals. The practice of standardized language in schools, government, and literature ensures that the language "imposes" cultural and ideological values. Clark emphasizes that aspect of language, by stating that English literature and language have intertwined with "moral" and "religious education" in the Anglo-Saxon tradition:

> *Anglo-Saxon writers preferred to poetize moral and religious maxims or doctrines, and practical information for the benefit of their fellowmen. This was due in part, of course, to the fact that the literature, such as it was, was cultivated by men devoted to the interests of the Church* (Clark, 1864: 31).

The fact that language and literature promoted moral and religious doctrines of Christianity reflects that English has served as a hegemonic medium to spread American interests through missionary education. Moreover, Clark highlights the distinction between American and British English in the book and argues that American English carries authentic features shaped by democratic ideals, economic growth, and cultural assimilation due to a distinctive historical trajectory. The emphasis on American English's influence on U.S. political rhetoric and statesmanship reflects how English shapes the institutions of authority.

> *The state papers of the Revolution and the works of our great statesmen, Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, the Adamses, and Webster, have taken up and carried forward to greater completeness the work begun by Milton and Sidney,*

> *and others, noted in the political discussions of the seventeenth century on British soil* (Clark, 1864: 153).

Thus, Clarks establishes a parallel narrative between American political rhetoric and British intellectual tradition, which carries the "noble tradition" of humanity. Then, he frames the American cultural hegemony as a justified extension of the Anglo-European tradition:

> *The written language of the two nationalities, as the inheritor of all the literature of the past, and the embodiment of the utmost variety of thought on all human interests, must remain substantially the same. The great truths which underlie all human progress, the conditions of the world's evangelization, and the triumph of a Christian civilization, have been committed to it. Its extension and the conservation of its powers are thus intimately connected with the progress of culture and of humanity* (Clark, 1864: 153).

According to Clark, disseminating the English language is a necessity and a "benevolent" feature for the "progress of culture and humanity." His statements in the book support the "civilizing mission," which is related to American expansionist policies. This approach demonstrates the Orientalist perspective that commonly justified colonialist expansion and cultural imperialism in the academic literature of the nineteenth century.

Following his book about the role of the English language in education, Nathaniel G. Clark's papers must be analyzed to examine his missionary policies. In his 1876 paper *A Century of Christian Progress*, Clark proclaims:

> *The field is the world. As never before in human history, the field is the world. The church is prepared for the work as never before. All things are ready, waiting for the grand forward movement, that shall put the Word of Life into the hands of every son and daughter of the human race. The results of missionary effort are already indicative of such a consummation at no distant day. It is only a question of time* (Clark, 1876: 9).

In this paper, Clark provides a retrospective on the moral and Christian progress, which concentrates on religious revivals, missionary activities, and the rise of evangelical Christianity. The text compares the intellectual and moral rigors of the eighteenth century, which was "marked by infidelity," with religious revivals of the nineteenth century, which included the growth of missionary institutions, the spread of evangelical efforts, and the impact of Christian thought on the world. According to Clark, since the "infidel philosophies," especially those promoted during the Enlightenment, undermined traditional Christian values, the late eighteenth century was characterized by "intellectual upheaval" against religion. The decline in religious

beliefs in Catholic and non-Christian communities urged Protestants to provide a "purer" faith. He states that as Roman Catholicism faced severe adversity such as "the expulsion of the Jesuits" and "the humiliation of the Papacy" during this period, Protestants, especially English-speaking ones, became the leaders of global progress (Clark, 1876: 3). This paper, presented at the 1877 meeting of the American Board, reflects Clark's earlier ideas about language and education since the text suggests that Americans inherited "the noble thought" of European tradition and the American Independence is a "divine sign" to spread "superior American culture:"

> *The Declaration of Independence, by its recognition of the rights of man, gave a new impulse to political morality. The age of Walpole, of Madame de Pompadour, of Frederick the Great, is no longer possible in Europe. The growth of constitutional governments, the extension of the right of suffrage, the progress in legislation, popular education by the state, the legal recognition of woman, the abolition of slavery and serfdom, are but so many steps in the development of a purer and more comprehensive political morality. A moral sense has been awakened that is shocked by political abuses in high places, as never before* (Clark, 1876: 5).

Moreover, Nathaniel G. Clark argues that the English language serves as an instrument of cultural imperialism in the expansion of Christian civilization throughout the world:

> *It is now the English language, saturated with Christian ideas, gathering up into itself the best thought of all the ages, that is the great agent of Christian civilization throughout the world; at this moment affecting the destinies and moulding the character of half the human race. French influence, so dominant in the literary world, has passed away* (Clark, 1876: 5).

Amid the debate over whether English or the vernacular language would be the educational language in mission schools, Nathaniel G. Clark's views on language influenced the American Board's policy and promoted the establishment of English as the primary medium of instruction in these institutions.

Nathaniel G. Clark (1878) outlines the history of the American Board's missionary activities in the Ottoman State in *The Gospel in the Ottoman Empire.* Clark divides the progress of missionary efforts in the Ottoman State into three periods. The first era covers the period between 1818 and 1839, which was marked by the expansion of missionaries in the Ottoman territories. In this period, the first missionaries traveled through the inner parts of the Ottoman State; they formed the basis of their mission strategy by examining the possible mission fields, the geography of the regions they visited, and the socio-cultural aspects of the local communities. The second period,

which lasted between 1839 and 1860, was an era in which the American Board's activities expanded due to the privileges granted under the reformation process in the Ottoman State. This period ultimately culminated in establishing the Armenian Protestant Society as a separate religious entity. Lastly, the third era, from 1860-1878, was marked by the development of self-supporting churches, the growth of native preachers, and the change in the socio-cultural conditions of the target communities through education. Demonstrating the trajectory of missionary activities through these three periods, Clark asserts that the communities within the Ottoman State were liberated from the so-called "atrocities" and "savagery" of Islam while emphasizing the "savior" aspects of Protestantism:

> *The power of Islam is broken; her military prestige destroyed; one third of the population delivered from their bondage; and religious liberty secured to a large portion of the remainder, under the protection of England…. The object set forth by Russia as her motive for engaging in the war is realized; the Christian races of the Turkish Empire are delivered from their bondage; the compensation justly anticipated by Russia as her due for the service is magnanimously given up; and that portion of the Empire where the great work of Protestant missions has been carried on is place under the Protectorate of Protestant England* (Clark, 1878: 10).

The phrases "breaking the power of Islam" and "releasing from the bondage" promote the imperialist discourse of Western civilization, defining the missionary as the "religious conquest" and glorifying American intervention as essential for freedom and stability. In the following sections of the paper, Clark reinforces discourses of American hegemony and the construct of "Christian superiority" as he delegitimizes the religious foundation of the Ottoman State. Through pejorative rhetoric, Clark refers to Muslims as the "followers of the false prophet" and asserts that they eventually recognized "the doom of Islam:"

> *Now, as never before, does it become us to push forward, and to turn to account the vantage-ground now gained and the preparation now so complete. Many of the followers of the false prophet recognize the doom of Islam and the speedy triumph of Christianity. It is only a question of time, and whether sooner or later depends, under the blessing of God, on the expectant faith and efforts of American Christians, to whom, preeminently, has been accorded this great privilege of republishing the unsearchable riches of Christ in Bible lands* (Clark, 1878: 11).

Then, Clark portrays the Berling Congress (1878), in which European imperial powers reinforced their hegemony over the Ottoman State, as a "herald of Christian triumph:"

> *The action of the Berlin Congress, in opening the way for the free development of the work of evangelization in the Ottoman Empire, constitutes an era in the history of modern missions. It was the recognition of the missionary enterprise on the part of the Great Powers of the world. Freedom of religious opinion for all men, whatever their nationality or religion, finds acknowledgment in elaborate phrase five times over in the language of the treaty,—not altogether unlike, in solemn import for the destinies of an Empire, to the refrain that comes in again and again in the 107th Psalm: 'Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!* (Clark, 1878: 10).

The paper conceals the imperialistic nature of the missionary by using euphemisms such as "the free development" and "recognition of the missionary enterprise." It portrays it as an "organic process" of cultural development and religious freedom as a "Western gift."

Clark's paper, *Higher Christian Education as Related to Foreign Missionary Work* (1890), advocates for an equilibrium between evangelization and higher education in order to establish self-supporting Christian communities. As Clark asserts, higher education in Christian institutions is a means to overcome modernity's "intellectual oppositions" and cultivate native Protestant leaders who would ensure the long-term triumph of evangelization. However, according to Clark, a complete secular education without the moral and spiritual guide of Christianity would undermine the traditional values of the Protestant community and it would lead them to their "doom;" therefore, the paper suggests that the church should be involved in higher education immediately to shape this kind of education in terms of Protestantism:

> *The awakened thought of the world must be met. Education of some sort is soon to be had everywhere; a knowledge of nature for the uses that can be made of it; a knowledge of the arts for the convenience and comfort and pride of man; a knowledge of men to use them for selfish ends. Education here, education there, but education without God and without the revelation of his love and grace — this style of education is in demand the world over, and can only be met by the most strenuous efforts of the Christian Church to establish institutions of the highest grade and imbued with the spirit of the gospel. Only so can the religious sentiment, now liable to be lost, be saved and made the means of a new life and a new Christian civilization* (Clark, 1890: 201).

In Clark's vision, the achievement of the American Board's mission primarily hinges on the establishment of native education institutions. Thereafter, Clark asserts Christianity as the "highest thought of humanity," which reinforces his imperial discourse:

> *As Christianity is akin to the highest thought of man, it demands an education that shall not only be high, but higher than that of any other system of religion. It*

> *is only such higher Christian education, whether at home or abroad, that can secure the triumph of Christian ideas of Christian institutions; in short, of the kingdom of God upon the earth* (Clark, 1890: 191).

The fact that Clark advocates "a high education in Protestantism" that is "superior" to all models of education caused the marginalization of the local knowledge system of communities in the Ottoman State. This approach, outlined from a Western Christian perspective, symbolizes an example of epistemic violence imposed through missionary education.

In the following two papers, N. G. Clark outlines his idea of self-supporting institutions. *True and False Economy in Missions* (1891) defines these Christian institutions as a "permanent" means to achieve "the conversion of individuals' souls" that fosters Christian culture and discipline. To establish this order, Clark advocates building stations within proximity of each other instead of being "scattered over a wide field for the sake of holding" the region (Clark, 1891: 175-177). These self-supporting stations would sustain each other when necessary and raise native agencies and preachers. Clark emphasizes "cultivating this native Protestant generation" as the ultimate strategy of the missionaries in this paper. The article stresses a fundamental principle for missionaries, which urged missionaries to avoid performing tasks that the local people could do:

> *It is a good rule for a missionary never to do anything that he can get a native to do, and to give his time and strength to what the native cannot do …. No country was ever yet evangelized but by its own sons. It is false economy to send out men and women from this country, or from any Christian country, to attempt the evangelization of the masses in the heathen or the uncivilized world* (Clark, 1891: 181).

Thus, it was strategically and economically imprudent to send missionaries from the United States for evangelization anymore, as missionaries could compel local people to perform their missions.

The paper defines Armenian and Greek communities in the Ottoman State as "barbarous races," while the children of the first generation of converted were seen as the "civilized" ones who adopted the Western Protestantism ways of life:

> *Among uncivilized and barbarous races, long saturated with heathen superstitions and usages, converts of the first generation as a rule can never be so freed from the influence of their old life as to become more than valuable helpers under missionary direction. … for a reliable native agency we must look to the children of the first generation of believers, children whose lives have been formed in Christian homes and in Christian schools* (Clark, 1891: 181-182).

The fact that these second generations were defined as "crowns and the joy of missionaries" reveals that these communities were an apparatus in the American Board's ultimate mission. In line with this perspective, *Two Unsolved Mission Problems* (1893) proposes solutions to foster self-sufficient churches. Clark addresses two significant issues in this paper: the role of industrial education and the unity in disseminating evangelical thought. Industrial education was a crucial factor in establishing a self-sufficient Protestant community; however, it had to support the Gospel rather than replace it. Only when this equilibrium was sustained could the educated and skilled communities establish self-sufficient institutions:

> *A mere intellectual training, however, is not sufficient. It is not well to bring young men and young women from their heathen or unchristian homes to receive simply this; the result is not favorable to their personal character; it lowers their estimate of manual labor, and unfits them to engage in it whether as a means of livelihood or of benefiting their fellows. The best work yet done by any native pastors or preachers has been done by men who were trained to industrial habits and pursuits at the Bebek Seminary by Dr. Hamlin. The young men whom he brought together were all taught some useful occupation in connection with their studies. These men have made their mark wherever they have gone throughout the Turkish empire; they have been the strongest men, whether as pastors or business laymen, to be found in the Christian communities* (Clark, 1893: 148-149).

Unlike previous notions about self-supporting churches that were based solely on conversion, Clark's self-sustaining policy emphasizes the economic independence of the target community by teaching them industrial skills as well. Because only this approach would cultivate a "talented" and "wealthy" Protestant community that supports each other. Moreover, the paper criticizes the diversity of denominations in missionary work by arguing that this diversity leads to a "schism" that confuses the local people. Thus, unity in evangelization was necessary to eradicate the "jealous rivalry of denominations:"

> *Let there be no more jealous rivalry of denominational interests, no more waste of men or means in building up separate sects, but one gospel, one Christian life, one united movement on the part of all evangelical denominations. Then would the great offence of Christianity — the multiplicity of sects and creeds be done away; then would the Church be one in her mission enterprise; then would she rise and shine, the glory of the Lord being risen upon her* (Clark, 1893: 165).

Clark's insistence on the singular "gospel" and "Christian life" reflects a narrative that seeks to establish a unified, hegemonic form of Protestantism.

Lastly, Clark's last paper, *Retrospect* (1894), reflects the American Board's missionary efforts, significant developments, challenges, and ongoing objectives over

the past thirty years. Nathaniel G. Clark provides a detailed retrospective of his tenure; this paper is essential to understanding his period as the Corresponding Secretary and how his policies differed from those of his predecessor, Rufus Anderson. The paper emphasizes the American Board's evangelization efforts, the promotion of self-sustaining churches, and the desire for growth in communities' social and moral lives. It also delves into substantial transitions in the American Board's policies. Clark provides an overview of the situation of self-supporting institutions, especially churches, before his tenure:

> *Thirty years ago very little had been done in this direction beyond setting forth the general principle. The churches were gathered from the humblest classes, and no little effort was required to arouse in them any sense of personal responsibility for the support of their own churches and schools. Their condition was so wretched in most instances as to lead the missionaries to feel that any attempt to secure funds from them would be utterly useless* (Clark, 1894: 137-138).

Succeeding Anderson's legacy, Clark shaped the American Board's policies in accordance with this economic independence vision and promoted the colleges and seminaries that could raise native preachers. To achieve this objective, the American Board prioritized industrial education to promote self-sufficiency in "deprived regions," as he asserted in his previous papers. It also highlights the increasing role of women through auxiliary organizations such as the Woman's Board of Mission, which expanded missionary activities to include women's education, unlike in the earlier period. Then, according to Clark, his term underwent a significant expansion of Protestant ideals, which he described as the "best thought of the world," through the educational institutions:

> *The same period has also witnessed the establishment of our eleven Christian colleges, including three for women, and our seven theological seminaries, to whose students the best thought of the world is now accessible through the medium of the English language* (E. S. Clark, 1894: 142).

Thus, these institutions have turned into intellectual centers primarily because of the hegemonic power of English, as he argued in *An Outline of the Elements of the English Language* before his official career in the American Board.

As a result, Nathaniel G. Clark's tenure as the Corresponding Secretary was marked by fundamental changes in the American Board's policies, including the dissemination of Anglo-Saxon culture, higher Christian education, and self-supporting institutions. Clark's works symbolize the frame of the evangelic "civilizing" mission by reinforcing the American hegemony through the English language and education.

Thereby, Clark's approach to missionary activities extended the institutional scope of the American Board; it also justified the so-called "cultural and moral superiority" of missionaries from the Orientalist perspective.

2.3 THE COMPARISON OF THE SECRETARIAL TERMS OF RUFUS ANDERSON AND NATHANIEL G. CLARK

In 1865, ABCFM appointed Nathaniel G. Clark to the position of Corresponding Secretary. After working with Rufus Anderson for a year, Clark succeeded him in 1866 and began reshaping the missionary policies of Anderson's term in accordance with the new era. In analyzing N. G. Clark's impact on ABCFM policies, it is essential to examine the Rufus Anderson period and how the sociocultural issues of the period defined Anderson's tenure. As the Corresponding Secretaries, Anderson and Clark had a crucial role in leading the American Board's strategies and determining its priorities; however, their approaches to the missionary activities reflected different ideological practices. Anderson advocated the "Three-Self" principle, which suggested "self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating churches" to raise Protestant leaders with minimal external dependence, while Clark promoted an institutionalized and education-centered model that reinforces the cultural and religious hegemony of Protestantism through the missionary schools. A comparison of the periods of these two prominent figures reveals how the policies of the American Board changed in the Ottoman State.

Rufus Anderson's terms as a Corresponding Secretary lasted between 1832 and 1866 (ABCFM, 1929: 235). During Anderson's term of office, the Second Great Awakening reached its peak, which was marked by the intensified emphasis on personal salvation, moral reform, and missionary zeal. As the concept of "Christianizing the world" became the center of the ABCFM, the Protestant moral discipline and self-sufficiency influenced the means of evangelical thought. In this sense, Anderson's "Three-Self" (self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating churches) stemmed from the basis of this religious revivalism. This period also coincided with the ideology of "Manifest Destiny," which emerged in the 1840s. It asserted that the United States was destined to expand through North America and

spread “civilization” to so-called “primitive” societies. “Implicit in manifest destiny was the belief that American Indians and Hispanics, much like people of African descent, were inferior peoples best controlled or conquered” (Norton et al., 2012: 336-337). Although this ideological approach was used to justify the United States’ territorial expansion on the continent, it also reinforced the U.S. imperialistic aspirations through cultural and religious spheres.

Moreover, the anti-slavery movement, called Abolitionism, gained momentum in the U.S. during the early 1800s. This movement was initially an evangelical Protestant movement, and it defined slavery as “moral wickedness,” reinforcing the religious emphasis on “human dignity” in the spiritual sphere. The struggle against slavery was seen as a divine mission for them. The Abolitionist perspective, influenced by the evangelical notion, advocated that individuals “determined their spiritual fate by choosing good or evil” rather than God, and it argued that the millennium would come when everyone was equal before God to make such decisions (Norton et al., 2012: 298). In that sense, Protestant abolitionists asserted that slavery was a fundamental sin that hindered the progress of the Christian civilization since the millennium would occur through the conversion of all souls to Christianity as Norton et al. state: “Slavery, however, denied enslaved men and women the ability to make such choices, the ability to act as what Finney called ‘moral free agents.’ For every day that slavery continued, the millennium was postponed” (2012: 298). From a missionary perspective, Rufus Anderson relates slavery to “the fears of old times:” which “faded” with the rise of Protestantism:

> *The old issues and specters of fear are passing. The papacy is reeling; the crescent is waning; idolatry is tottering; infidelity is shifting its ground and hesitating; the masses are upheaving. The power of those great principles of liberty and equality, which are Christ’s gospel on its human side, is beneath them, like that of the earthquake, and oppression and slavery are seeing the hand writing upon the wall, and the joints of their loins are being loosed* (Anderson, 1861: 37).

Anderson constructs a binary opposition between liberty, equality, and the Gospel on one side and idolatry, infidelity, oppression, and slavery on the other. This dichotomy implies that missionaries advocated liberating all people from the “oppression” along with slavery. Therefore, the abolitionist movement urged Protestant missionaries to extend this “moral struggle” into a broader sphere; they associated this with liberating “uncivilized” societies from “the physical and

spiritual oppression" of other religions. In this sense, Rufus Anderson's policies about the education of native preachers and the development of local churches to maintain self-sufficient missions could be associated with the context of his period.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Ottoman State underwent political turmoil due to external pressures from Western powers and internal uprisings. The revolt of Mehmet Ali Pasha emerged as one of these crises that posed a threat to the stability of the Ottoman State. Although Sultan Abdulmecid managed to suppress revolts with the support of the Western powers, "this external assistance cost the Ottoman State heavily" since the external pressure urged the Ottoman government to sign Tanzimât Fermânı in 1839. With this decree, the Ottoman State officially pledged to protect the rights of its subjects regardless of their religion. Although it was a measure towards equality for all subjects, "the external powers justified the intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman State by stating that the Ottoman State violated those guarantees" (Yetkiner, 2008: 152). Missionary sources depicted this rebellion as a crucial milestone in evangelization; it was an event that removed all the restrictions in establishing a Protestant community. Before the revolt and the privileges obtained, the Greek and Armenian churches recognized the missionaries' activities in their communities as dangerous, as they considered these missionaries intended to destabilize and divide their society. Thus, the local Greek and Armenian churches enacted harsh measures against American missionaries and converts to protect their society; American missionaries labeled these responses as "persecutions:"

> *Arrests were made and terror spread. Repeated pronouncements by both Greek and Armenian ecclesiastics denounced the missionaries as "Satanic heresiarchs from the caverns of hell and the abyss of the northern ocean." Schools were broken up; the press was silenced; books were burned in bonfires upon city squares. A systematic effort to expel the missionaries was likely to have succeeded had not war broken out between the pasha of Egypt and the sultan, which terminated in the defeat and death of the latter, and stayed the persecution* (Strong, 1910: 93).

Thus, the missionaries utilized the "political instability" as an opportunity to extend the mission. Obtaining extensive privileges after the decree, American missionaries and native preachers intensified their efforts considerably; however, the "persecution" against Protestants continued, as missionary sources stated. In 1846, the Armenian Patriarchate in Constantinople issued a declaration of ex-communication against Armenian Protestants. The Patriarchate ordered the declaration that

condemned those converts with harsh accusations to be read publicly every year in all Armenian Churches throughout the Ottoman State. The persecutions led these excommunicated Protestants to "seek assistance" from American missionaries to establish the first Armenian Protestant Church in 1846. However, the situation of the Armenian Protestant church remained precarious until 1847, when the Grand Vizier issued an official edict that recognized the Protestant community and granted them "the same rights as other communities" in the Ottoman State (Strong, 1910: 105-106).

In the following years, the Crimean War (1853-1856) emerged as another occasion for the growth of missionary work since the European powers utilized this conflict as a pressure to extend the rights of non-Muslim Ottoman subjects. The support of Great Britain and France to the Ottoman State in this war urged the Ottoman State to issue a decree called "Islahat Fermanı" (Edict of Reform) in 1856, which granted more extensive rights to non-Muslims. By this decree, Western powers intended to increase their influence on the Ottoman State through these communities. Strong describes this period from the missionary perspective as follows:

> *The outbreak of the Crimean War the next year occasioned especial alarm to the missionaries. But their fears were happily dispelled, for, aside from the distraction of thought and some disorder among the more lawless races, this war scarcely interfered with the Board's undertaking. No missionary was driven from his post; no mission establishment was injured. Indeed, the event was to their advantage, as there was forced from the sultan in 1856 the famous Hatti Humayoun, a firman granting full freedom of conscience and religious profession to all his subjects. Religious liberty was now secured, at least by decree* (Strong, 1910: 196).

Thus, political instability in the Ottoman State provided opportunities for evangelical efforts, as Strong emphasizes that missionaries did not experience persecution due to Western intervention. Under Rufus Anderson's tenure, this "unstable environment" allowed ABCFM to expand its mission to exploit the political opportunities in the Ottoman State by establishing local churches and utilizing native helpers.

William E. Strong defines the history of the ABCFM in three periods: The Planting (1810-1850), the Watering (1850-1880), and the Increase (1880-1910) (Strong, 1910: xi). In this sense, Rufus Anderson's term coincides with the Planting Period, which focused on the growth of the local churches and native preachers. This period metaphorically suggested "sowing the seeds of Protestantism" in the respective missionary fields. Since the primary purpose of the American Board's early years in the Middle East was to conduct an intensive exploration of the new field in which they

worked, the missionaries' duty in this first phase resembled "a major drilling operation" (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 29). Mary S. Blaufuss describes that the American Board had adopted the mission of civilizing through the spread of American culture before Rufus Anderson's period. After Anderson assumed the office as the Corresponding Secretary in 1832, he opposed this policy and advocated that "evangelization" had to precede the "civilizing" mission. According to him, the establishment of native churches was far more essential than "social transformation." In this sense, the American Board had to adopt the "Apostolic Mission;" missionaries should have gathered the converts in a church, assigned a native preacher to their congregation, and proceeded to the next field, just as the apostles had done before. From Anderson's perspective, missionary schools had to act not as an instrument for spreading Protestantism but as an institution for educating the local community that had already converted to Protestantism since the most crucial mission was establishing "local churches" (Blaufuss, 2000: 55-61). In this context, Anderson pressed his conviction to be practiced on all the missions, remaining consistent with his standpoint that self-governing churches should be encouraged to be self-supported. "Only in exceptional cases should they be helped in the building of their churches. The native church and ministry were to be honored as of equal standing, ecclesiastically, with the home churches and ministry" (Strong, 1910: 320). Strong describes the emphasis on the "native Christians and native churches" as follows:

> *The Turkish missions accepted heartily the plan of putting much responsibility on native Christians and native churches. Not only for their own sakes, but for the sake of the Moslems yet to be reached, it was important that the evangelical Armenians should manifest a self-reliant and self-devoted spirit. If these responsibilities of the native church were to be worthily met, the training of a native ministry and the development of theological seminaries was a matter of prime concern* (Strong, 1910: 216).

Thus, the native Armenian Protestants were envisioned as instruments for the conversion of other Ottoman subjects, especially Muslims, to Protestantism.

Furthermore, Corresponding Secretary Rufus Anderson's view on the language of missionary education formed the fundamental aspect of his policies. Anderson discouraged "English studies even for the native ministry" since his policies excluded European languages from the mission schools' curriculum for nearly a generation, and he urged an education in the "vernacular" language (Strong, 1910: 216). According to

Anderson, English education would divert students from the "spiritual path," as Blaufuss states:

> *Anderson feared that training students in the English language tempted them to look for better paying government jobs upon their graduation, instead of staying as mission helpers .... In addition, Anderson feared that English-medium education ruined mission workers because they refused to go back to the villages to live. Anderson considered villages and their churches the primary settings for mission* (Blaufuss, 2000: 62).

Anderson associated English education with materialism, which contradicted missionary teachings since it would "ruin" the missionary's goal and estrange students from their culture. Thereby, Anderson intended to limit the cultural assimilation of the native preachers by advocating education in the local language and isolating these communities to utilize them in line with the American Board's interests.

Frank A. Stone (2006) outlines the consequences of Anderson's policies and their impact on missionary education. In alignment with the "Apostolic Mission," Anderson urged mission schools to abandon instruction in "manual arts and English." He formalized education at the fundamental level and in vernacular languages by using his influence on the American Board's Prudential Committee; the local language and dialect became "the sole vehicle of instruction" for the local preachers. Anderson's approach to education caused a severe dispute with Cyrus Hamlin, the founder of the Bebek Seminary, since Hamlin advocated that access to the English language was essential for native preachers to overcome the limitations of their vernacular language. As Hamlin resigned from his position in the Bebek Seminary in 1857, Rev. William Clark took over the seminary's management. Advocating Anderson's policies, William Clark intended to turn the Bebek Seminary into a "strictly theological institution," and he excluded "general education" and teaching English from the curriculum. However, the seminary, which lost its students and faced financial issues during this period, was relocated from Constantinople to Marsovan (Merzifon). The relocation aimed to reduce "the commercial temptations of the city," minimize "the hostility of the Armenian Patriarch," and avoid "the competition of the Jesuits." Meanwhile, Anderson's strict policies led Cyrus Hamlin to pursue the idea of a "non-sectarian liberal arts college" in Constantinople (Stone, 2006: 67-68). After Hamlin severed ties with ABCFM, he founded Robert College in 1863, which would form a college model for the American Board during Nathaniel G. Clark's period. Frank A.

Stone's narrative of this process reflects the outcome of Rufus Anderson's policies on religious education.

Unlike Rufus Anderson, his successor, Nathaniel G. Clark, argued that self-sufficient Christians could only be raised through inclusive education. In this context, Nathaniel G. Clark endorsed Cyrus Hamlin's earlier plans that had been prevented before at the Bebek Seminary by stating that Hamlin's education model would extend the missionary efforts in the respective fields. According to N. G. Clark, missionary activity in the Ottoman State had reached its limits; "this was true not only in terms of the expansion of activities in terms of space but also in terms of the introduction of new functions such as higher education, medical aid, and care" (Köse, 2003: 146). Although Rufus Anderson left the Corresponding Secretary position in 1866, he remained a significant figure in the Prudential Committee until he died in 1880, and his "Three-self" policy provided a foundation for N. G. Clark. Accordingly, N. G. Clark upheld the principle of Anderson's self-supporting; however, their interpretation of this idea differed significantly. Blaufuss argues this difference: "While Anderson carefully integrated the three parts of his self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating church goal, he tended to emphasize self-propagation as the most crucial. Clark, on the other hand, emphasized self-support" (Blaufuss, 2000: 66). In brief, Anderson's idea of self-sufficiency was based on the "natural" evangelization of the population through independent churches that support themselves. In contrast, Clark's self-support emphasizes the vocational training of students to make them economically independent, which would lead them to maintain a skilled and wealthy Protestant community.

After Rufus Anderson's last years in office during the American Civil War (1861-1865), N. G. Clark succeeded him as the Corresponding Secretary. Since the Civil War devastated the southern states, the post-Civil War period led to extensive political and social reconstruction to reintegrate those states into the United States, which is known as the Reconstruction Era (1865-1877). The beginning of the Clark term was marked by economic difficulties caused by the Civil War and Reconstruction, which rendered the self-support policies significant. As Blaufuss states, "Clark especially emphasized the self-support piece of Anderson's tripartite goal" since this tenuous financial situation reduced the donations from mission

supporters, urging ABCFM to limit "appropriations to the various missions in 1862" (Blaufuss, 2000: 69-70). Thereby, N. G. Clark advocates a self-supporting institution in economic spheres as well to ensure the stability of the mission and the welfare of the Protestant community in the Ottoman State.

The opposition to racial discrimination emerged as a significant issue in missionary efforts during the Reconstruction. As slavery was formally abolished in the U.S. with the ratification of the 13th Amendment (1865), the legal inclusion of the formerly enslaved African Americans progressed with the 14th Amendment (1868), which granted citizenship, and the 15th Amendment, which prohibited racial discrimination in voting rights. However, this social transformation was hindered since Southerners opposed Reconstruction because of their slavery-based social and economic structures, and the North "lost interest" in Reconstruction due to the economic growth in the North and the dilemma about the balance between federal and state powers. Thereby, the lynching and persecution of African Americans continued with the Ku Klux Klan, and "as the wartime pressure declined, Americans, especially northerners, retreated from Reconstruction …. Racism transformed into Klan terror and theories of black degeneration" (Norton et al., 2012: 430). Due to the failure of Reconstruction and the subsequent Jim Crow laws, racial oppression, which stemmed from slavery, persisted in the U.S. for another century. During the Reconstruction era, Protestant organizations such as the American Missionary Association were involved in educating freedmen and promoting the moral and religious population among this emancipated population. Stone asserts that the American Missionary Association, another branch of the Congregationalist Church like ABCFM, "sponsored the hundreds of teachers" to be sent to schools for the emancipated people in the South (Stone, 2006: 16). The reason was that "Emancipation had not settled the conscience of New England Congregationalists. The South, they believed, required schools dedicated to the mental and moral uplifting of the freed people" (Zipf, 1997: 114). These developments in the U.S. influenced the missionaries of the American Board schools in the Ottoman State since American missionaries considered slavery was "tolerated" in the Ottoman State in seven forms, such as "female harem domestic slaves, the military and civil kuls of the the Sultan, court and elite eunuchs, domestic slaves, Circassian agricultural slaves, slave dealers, and slave owners" (Stone, 2006:

16). Thus, the idea of emancipating these communities from so-called slavery, was reflected in N. G. Clark's policies of higher education, vocational training, and self-sufficiency.

Moreover, N. G. Clark's tenure in later years coincided with the rapid industrialization and economic growth of the Gilded Age (1870s-1890s), which was characterized by gross materialism and political corruption. The growth in industry and corporations during this period reinforced a group of entrepreneurs and led to the growth of monopolies in sectors such as steel, oil, and transportation. The new wealthy class of industrial tycoons considered the missionary efforts as the extension of Protestant moral and social responsibility within the "philanthropic discourse." Due to these factors during this period, the American Board obtained extensive economic funding to expand its missionary works. Clark relates the aspects of industrialization to the evangelical progress:

> *In marvelous correspondence with this awakened missionary spirit, and opening the way for its exercise, have been the developments of Providence. The barriers that separated nations have been broken down; peoples afar off have been brought nigh, even to our doors; the inventions, the discoveries of science, the railway, the steamer, the telegraph, the improved press, the respect won for Christian nations by every advance in social progress — all are tributary to the cause of Christ* (Clark, 1876: 7).

From Clark's perspective, the fact that "the barriers that separated nations have been broken" resulted in the emergence of a "greater" social order, which was shaped by Protestant values in mission lands.

The Ottoman State's political and economic conflicts were intensified during N. G. Clark's term. The turmoil in the Balkans and perpetual wars caused "high external debt" in the Ottoman State, which subjected the government to confront "severe external pressure both politically and economically" (Kieser, 2005: 163). Therefore, this pressure accelerated the modernization efforts in the Ottoman State; missionary sources assert that the modernization process in this period provided significant opportunities for missionary activities. According to Mary M. Patrick, the structure of the Ottoman State was a nation that was "held together only by a strong, centralized military régime" in which freedom of the press and liberal government were practically non-existent (1934: 5). She characterizes the Ottoman government as trapped between its traditional foundations and the constraints of modernity. From this perspective, Sultan Abdulaziz emerges as a "modern yet overwhelmed" figure under

the burden of tradition due to his attitude towards reformations, modernization of administration, and establishment of educational institutions. In this sense, Patrick praises Sultan Abdulaziz's "internationalism" and "tolerance" as his "most remarkable trait" since he granted significant positions to non-Muslims (1934: 24-26).

Patrick's idealization of Sultan Abdulaziz through the term "tolerance" portrays that the American missionaries favored the Ottoman modernization process, as long as it aligned with their objectives. The social and political turmoil caused by external pressures further led missionaries to expand their influence under the guise of modernization. From the missionary perspective, Strong explains this "volatile period" as "the dawn of brighter days" after the Ottoman-Russian War (1877-1878):

> *When, by the treaty of Berlin, following the Russo-Turkish war, an edict was issued which assured absolute and unequivocal religious liberty to all in the empire, upon the "voluntary" assurance of the Sublime Porte, and when, at the same time, with the sanction of the great powers, a form of British oversight was provided for Asia Minor, it seemed that a brighter day had dawned for the missions in the Ottoman empire* (Strong, 1910: 226).

In the following years, due to the threat to stability, the Ottoman State under Sultan Abdulhamid II implemented policies that "pursued Muslim interests" and aimed to "strengthen the state against Western separatist movements" (Kieser, 2005: 159). While the early years of Abdülhamid II's reign were characterized by "anti-Christian" policies, a significant number of Protestant schools were established during this period (Yazıcı, 2014: 235). A prominent factor in the expansion of the American Board's colleges during this period was the secular-looking education model, which was endorsed by Nathaniel G. Clark. These colleges, such as Central Turkey College and American College for Girls at Constantinople, were involved in the sociocultural transformation of Ottoman society through their curriculum and educational mission.

Most of Nathaniel G. Clark's term coincided with the Watering Period of ABCFM history. As the term "watering" suggests, this era focused on strengthening what had already been done during the Planting Period. It was a period where missionaries expanded their influence and reinforced their activities among local populations through educational institutions and printing presses. During this period, N. G. Clark implemented his policies about self-support, higher education, and women missionaries to solidify the presence of Protestantism and make it more sustainable within the communities.

In terms of Clark's policies, the report sent from Constantinople on May 21, 1868, conveys the annual meeting of the Western Turkey Mission. The report reflects the process of self-support in the Western Turkey Mission:

> *The important measures adopted by the last annual meeting in the matter of self-support have been carried out with a good degree of success. A few feeble churches have found it difficult to pay the full fourth of their preachers' salaries, but the stronger churches have done better than was anticipated. It remains that the Mission go forward in the same line of policy, firmly and in the spirit of Christ. The independence of the churches in pecuniary matters will simplify our relations with them and solve many difficult questions, but will, at the same time, be attended with no little danger* (PABCFM, Reel 583: 230-231).

Then, it asserts that the Western Turkey Mission "unanimously, although not formally," focused on the native preachers in accordance with N. G. Clark's previous suggestions.

> *The meeting gave prolonged and very careful attention to the suggestions of your letters of April 3rd on the subject of spiritual cooperation and sympathy with native fellow laborers, and came to quite unanimous, though not formal, conclusions. It was felt that we need not so much new official relations to pastors and others as more intimate social and spiritual relations. It was quite generally confessed that we have come short in praying with the pastors and helpers as well as for them, and in seeking their prayers for ourselves, and it was the generally expressed determination of the members of the meeting to lose no time establishing regular devotional meetings at every station with our fellow laborers. While we look not for the success of any policy without spirituality, yet with steady perseverance in the matter of self-support and with fervent sympathy between ourselves and our brethren in our spiritual labors, we think that a few years will witness decided changes for the better in the aspect of our work. The prayer of faith both with and for our brethren is undoubtedly the one thing we lack.* (PABCFM, Reel 583: 233).

According to the report, the formal structure of the church "inhibited" building social and spiritual connections with the local communities; this deficiency must be addressed by conducting regular rites. Eventually, this "spiritual relationship" between missionaries, native preachers, and locals would sustain the "self-supporting churches" and Protestant communities. The report suggests N. G. Clark emphasized that institutions such as churches alone were insufficient to establish "self-supporting" communities; it implied the necessity to grow more qualified native helpers to achieve that mission. Furthermore, Clark's attitude towards "self-sufficiency" maintains Rufus Anderson's "Apostolic Mission," which advocated proceeding to the next mission fields as the native preachers were raised.

N. G. Clark's letter to the Armenian Evangelical Churches in the Ottoman State, dated January 1, 1881, elaborates on the Apostolic approach. In the letter, Clark

compares the whole denominations of Protestantism to "troops" under a commander as these denominations, despite their differences, strive for the same cause, just like soldiers in a war:

> *Christians in the country, as you know, are divided into several distinct denominations like so many divisions of an army all under One Leader and working together in harmony, though having each a separate field of labor. The principal denominations, besides sustaining their own religious institutions, are engaged in home missionary efforts to build up churches and Christian schools in those parts of the country formerly occupied by the Indian tribes, but now filling up with a new population — in part from the older communities of our country and in part immigrants from other lands* (PABCFM, Reel 536: 530-531).

Since the Congregationalists comprised the majority of the American Board and conducted most missionary work in the Ottoman State, Clark aimed to enhance the American Board's influence through this analogy by referring to unity and non-sectarian purpose. According to Clark, the Armenian Evangelicals in the Ottoman State had already converted to the path of God; the American Board must concentrate on other "disadvantaged" communities. In this sense, Clark informed that the American Board would cease providing economic aid to these churches even though the organization had a "deep sympathy" for Armenian suffering due to war and plagues:

> *In these circumstances, you will agree with us that we ought not to continue our labors among you any longer than may be really necessary to enable you to care for yourselves, and to make the Gospel known to your fellow-countrymen. Rather, you will wish us to turn to other nations who have not the Gospel as you now have it, and you will wish to engage with us actively in efforts to secure the triumph of the kingdom of our Lord in all the world. We have felt great sympathy for you in the past years when you have suffered from the results of war and famine* (PABCFM, Reel 536: 531-532).

Furthermore, he stated that the American Board sent "the best educated men & women" of their churches to Armenian communities and converted them into the most "influential" community in the region. The dissemination of the Gospel among Gregorian Armenians and other Ottoman communities solely depended on the Armenian Protestants in the following period (PABCFM, Reel 536: 532). In brief, N. G. Clark advocated that the conversion of Armenians was mostly accomplished and that Armenian Protestants must sustain themselves independently in terms of "self-reliance."

As his most revisionist policy, Nathaniel G. Clark's higher education model fundamentally reshaped Rufus Anderson's church- and Gospel-oriented education

approach. To comprehend Clark's education model, it is essential to examine the American Board's education structure first. It comprised common schools, Sabbath schools, high schools, colleges, seminaries, and theological seminaries. As Ayşe Aksu (2010) states, common schools taught students literacy, arithmetic, and geography at the primary school level. The goals of the common school were "making people able to read the Bible," "reaching out to every child in the area to make them aware of new ideas," and "choosing the best and most talented of the students who came here and directing them to higher education." Sabbath schools, on the other hand, were "separate from the church" and "course rather than a school." Participants of all ages would attend these programs to listen to sermons and learn "the fundamental values of Protestantism" through stories from the Bible. High schools emerged as educational institutions that were equivalent to secondary schools, which mainly provided positive science courses. High schools formed a "transition" between these institutions since students were assigned to colleges or seminaries according to their disposition. This situation turned high schools into "nurseries" that supplied these institutions (Aksu, 2010: 34-37).

Colleges and seminaries were educational institutions situated between high schools and theological seminaries. Colleges, which had a secular appearance, and seminaries, which aimed to train qualified church officials, evolved as distinctly different institutions. Aksu states that students of seminaries were expected to "embrace Protestantism through the life of piety," while colleges aimed to educate these students "who did not convert to Protestantism" or "who were Protestant but did not want to become clergy." Therefore, these missionary colleges merged the "fundamental doctrines" of Protestantism with a secular curriculum in order to "provide the young persons with a religious conception," presenting an alternative to Rufus Anderson's Gospel-oriented education concept (Aksu, 2010, 37-40). N. G. Clark's higher education model was based on the mentioned secular-looking college structure.

With the transition from the Anderson to the Clark period, missionaries celebrated the "brighter days" for Protestant higher education. The American Board realized the "restrictions upon higher education were unwise and even intolerable"

since schools and colleges were established based on an extensive higher education during this period. As N. G. Clark asserted:

> *The history of missions has shown that for the development of a Christian community, whose membership should be vigorous and self-reliant, competent to support and advance the religious institutions necessary for a permanent Christian civilization, some broader view of the education required must be adopted* (Clark, as cited in Strong, 1910: 319).

In this context, a letter from Ira F. Pettibone, Secretary of Western Turkey Mission, to N. G. Clark in 1881 portrays the influence of Clark's policies on the mission fields. Pettibone's letter conveys that the Board of Trustees was "facing difficulties" in acquiring a property for the Home School due to "the high costs" and "the rise in property values" in the region; the discussions centered on a reasonable price for these issues. Later in his letter, Pettibone emphasizes the significance of higher education as a strategic solution to raise the education quality and address the small, station-based class:

> *I note what you say about High Schools. My impression in reference to them is this. [He went] for several years in the plan of having at nearly every station. Station-Classes for the preparation of young men for [new] Theo. Seminaries. As all the expense of this fell upon the Board, & as the demand for a higher Education in all our stations increased it was deemed wise to [have] in most of our stations' high schools. Tuition [would] be charged to these schools [would thus soon] be self-supporting*[2] (PABCFM, Reel 603: 1479-1480).

The Western Turkey Mission adopted an approach to maintain a self-sustaining education institution through tuition fees in the long term. As Pettibone's statement suggests, Clark's educational policies ultimately provided an extensive model, unlike Anderson's, which would ensure long-term stability in missionary institutions.

Women missionaries and education for women were another significant topic during Nathaniel G. Clark's term. Before Clark's era, women's roles in the mission were restricted to a "subsidiary" position by his predecessor, Rufus Anderson. Since building Christian families in a "heathen land" was considered the "sublime missionary duty" by the American Board, the primary role of women became "being wives of the missionaries," who were responsible for managing their Christian households (Çoban Döşkaya, 2021a: 526). In the following periods, these women in foreign territories shaped their roles in missionary activities as they reported to the

[2] The words in brackets indicates editorial reconstructions of the partially illegible words in the original text.

American Board the conditions of local women and girls in their respective fields they visited as missionary wives; furthermore, these women "demanded unmarried women missionaries" were to be sent to care for these people in fields. These activities of women led to the establishment of Women Boards in 1868 (Çoban Döşkaya, 2021a: 527). It can be said that N. G. Clark's emphasis on women missionaries stemmed from the belief that women would reach children and other women in the community more effectively. Since they could "infiltrate" the core structure of society, families, their primary duty emerged "both teaching in schools and spreading Protestantism door to door" (Narin, 2018: 251). Thereby, the traditional role of women as missionaries' wives was shifted from "subsidiary wife" to "women missionaries," and "women missionaries promoted cultural and social changes among local peoples through the mission they represented" (Narin, 2018: 253).

Examining the change in women's roles in missionary activities in two periods is essential. As Fred Field Goodsell states, during the first period from 1810 to 1868, these American women remained in the background as "dedicated yet relatively silent" figures. Nevertheless, from 1868 to 1927, the second period was marked by women demonstrating "their talent and absolute commitment" (Çoban Döşkaya, 2021a: 525). The increase in women's participation in the American Board in the second period seems to be associated with the beginning of N. G. Clark's term in 1865. Concerning the women's role in the American Board, Strong asserts that although "women had shared with men the perils and labors of the mission field," it was not possible for them to be involved in the "direct labors;" however, the change had begun with N. G. Clark. He provided his "cordial support" to the women missionary despite the "misgivings, criticisms, and even opposition" of his peers (Strong, 1910: 311). Thereby, Clark's effort led to the establishment of the Woman's Board of Mission. In his paper *A Retrospect,* N. G. Clark conveys his policies about the women missionaries in the American Board:

> *The great work of this Board was only begun, and could never look to completion till woman was reached. Yet the position of woman everywhere in mission fields has been such as to make it practically impossible to reach her. Now, however, through the power of the gospel over the hearts of converted men and through the influence of missionary homes, the time had come when something more might be attempted in her behalf. Recognizing the situation, the Foreign Secretary was only too glad to welcome this new movement and to render every aid in his power to such women as Mrs. Albert Bowker, Mrs. Homer Bartlett,*

> *Mrs. Daniel Safford, Mrs. Charles Scudder, Mrs. Samuel Hubbard, Mrs. Linus Child, not to mention others of like spirit, whose names are worthy to be recorded with those of the women whom Paul commends as his helpers in the gospel. Out of a conference with some of these came the first organization of a Woman's Board of Missions, whose headquarters were at Bosto* (Clark, 1894: 117-118).

N. G. Clark emphasized the role of women missionaries through the analogy of "Paul's helpers" by attributing a "sacred duty" from the Bible to these women. It legitimizes the dissemination of Protestant moral and cultural values through a religious discourse. Later in the paper, Clark defines these Women Boards as the "most valuable auxiliaries at home and abroad" as they extended their influence into churches throughout the United States (Clark, 1894: 118). Clark's influence on the role of women missionaries is evident in a letter dated May 21, 1868, sent from the Constantinople station. Conveying the annual meeting of the Western Turkey Mission, the letter reflects the change in missionaries' attitude toward women's role in the mission fields. Although the Western Turkey Mission acknowledged "the potential of American women missionaries" in education and in reaching the local women and children, missionaries approached this topic cautiously, asserting that they did not intend to implement any hasty changes in strategy. Nevertheless, they declared that the Western Turkey Mission would "adopt" its policies accordingly if the number of women missionaries increased in the fields:

> *The Mission is prepared heartily to welcome a larger number of female missionaries, and believes that the Lord has a work for them to do in this land. Yet in the judgment of the Mission it does not devolve on us to take action on many points brought up in Mr. Washburn's paper. So far at least as the foreign field is concerned, we need not the adoption of new plans for the employment of female missionary labor, but to go forward in the line of policy already pursued, with such changes from time to time and in the different stations as the increase of female missionaries may call for. When their number of such missionaries shall have considerably increased, the Mission will undoubtedly adopt some general principles in regard to their relation to the Mission, to the male missionaries in the station where they labor, and in regard to their work…. The Mission will be happy at any time to get suggestions on the subject from the Secretaries of the Board* (PABCFM, Reel 583: 232-233).

The mission requested N. G. Clark's guidance on the issue of female missionaries. Considering Clark's views on the subject, he aimed to provide a basis for the integration of women missionaries into the Western Turkey Mission. As the women missionaries assumed prominent roles within the American Board, women's education became a fundamental pillar of N. G. Clark's policies. Elizabeth S. Clark (1897) asserts that N. G. Clark's standpoint "opened the door" for women's education,

which was impossible before. Clark's experience as a teacher led him to integrate an education system which was "a blessing to the untrained children for untrained mothers:"

> *The door was now open for an educational work among women also, for which at first there had been no opportunity. His experience as a teacher enabled him to grasp the situation and to inaugurate a system which has resulted in theological seminaries, colleges for both men and women, training schools for Bible women, and also for nurses in connection with the medical schools and hospitals, and schools of lower grade down even to the kindergarten, which is proving a blessing to the untrained children of untrained mothers in many homes of the far east* (E. S. Clark, 1897: 18).

In brief, Nathaniel G. Clark shaped the missionary education and reinforced the growth of women missionaries who would mold local communities in terms of Protestant values through education.

Consequently, after Rufus Anderson left the Corresponding Secretary position in 1865, Nathaniel G. Clark initiated a radical transformation in education, missionary institutions, and women missionaries. Anderson's mere evangelical approach was replaced by education-centered policies that promoted self-sufficiency through vocational training and higher education. Moreover, Clark's support for Cyrus Hamlin's secular-looking college structure provided a model for the American Board's college in the Ottoman State, shaping missionary education in the long term.

In addition, Clark expanded Anderson's "Three-self" policies in terms of socio-economic developments in the U.S.. Since the beginning of Clark's term coincided with the Reconstruction Era, the economic support for foreign missionaries was in decline. Therefore, he aimed to provide an economic "self-efficiency" model for the American Board's institutions by intending to increase the socio-economic condition of the local communities in contrast to Anderson's church-oriented "self-support" policies.

Lastly, while Anderson's policies confined women missionaries to "supporting roles" as the "wives of the missionaries," N. G. Clark's support for women missionaries laid a basis for the development of Women's Boards. Furthermore, Clark's emphasis on women's education expanded the women's role and it reinforced the cultural and religious hegemony of the United States through social transformation. Thus, aligning his policies with the economic and political realities of his era, Nathaniel G. Clark provided a course for the future of the American Board.

2.4 THE LEGACY OF CLARK DURING JAMES L. BARTON'S TERM

"Christianity alone, altruistic, enlightened, aggressive, can create the motive and furnish the training required by individuals and by society ... to produce the highest type of social and national life," James L. Barton stated (1912: 96). In line with his statement, altruism and humanitarian service became the central themes during his term as the Corresponding Secretary. After N. G. Clark, James L. Barton acted as a Corresponding Secretary of ABCFM between 1894 and 1927 (ABCFM, 1929: 235). During N. G. Clark's period, ABCFM gradually shifted its focus from "sole emphasis on churches" to "the direct impact of Christianity on society." The establishment of the Women Boards and women's duty as missionary teachers increased "the importance of schools for the mission enterprise" as a tool in shaping society (Blaufuss, 2000: 71-72). As a result, the last periods of Clark's term marked a transition towards a social transformation. As Blaufuss states, the transition in the American Board's policies led to the election of James L. Barton as the next Corresponding Secretary, and "Barton's views on the relationship between mission and society both reflected current trends in ABCFM mission theory and helped shape those trends" (Blaufuss, 2000: 72). Thereby, Barton's policies maintained the social aspects of Clark's term, with an approach to health and social welfare to build close relations with local communities.

Examining the historical context is necessary to comprehend the ideological dynamics of Barton's era. During this period, the USA officially began to adopt imperialist policies and to enforce American interests globally, after abandoning isolationism. With the Spanish-American War (1898), the U.S. expanded its territories by annexing Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines. As the U.S. annexed Hawaii during this conflict, "the war enabled the United States to establish its predominance in the Caribbean region and to pursue its strategic and economic interests in Asia" (Office of the Historian, n.d). The foreign policies of the United States, such as the Open Door Policy and the Roosevelt Corollary, played a significant role in expanding American imperialist objectives. The Open Door Policy aimed to ensure American commercial interests in China, while the Roosevelt Corollary intended to justify the

U.S. intervention in the Western hemisphere. These policies transformed the nation into a Pacific power. As the U.S. officially adopted the role of the world's policeman in this period through hard power, the significance of the missionary educational, healthcare, and social welfare institutions increased as soft power instruments to spread American imperialism in accordance with Barton's policies.

Additionally, the Social Gospel Movement (1870-1920) emerged as a significant factor that influenced James L. Barton's tenure. The movement emphasized using Protestant values to solve societal issues. Maurice C. Latta (1936) advocates that the Social Gospel emerged as a response to the failures of industrial capitalism, urbanization, and the moral deficiency of the economic system and religious doctrines. Therefore, the movement intended to restore the prominence of Christian ethics in public life in terms of societal rights, economic justice, and the moral responsibilities of society: "The Social Gospel was in its very essence a reassertion of the validity of Christian principles for all of life, an attempt to recover the ground so tragically lost with the rise of capitalism" (Latta, 1936: 260). In this context, American missionaries expanded their roles from mere preaching to addressing societal issues in their respective communities, which would align the missionary institutions with the Social Gospel ideals such as social transformation and development. As a result, this approach justified Barton's society-oriented policies.

By the end of the nineteenth century, a new period for the American missionary in the Ottoman State began. Barton defined the Ottoman State in this period as a "government in conflict with modernity:"

> *The political situation in Turkey can well be summed up as "A fifteenth century Oriental government in conflict with modern civilization" This condition is aggravated by the existence of European rivalries and jealousies and Mohammedan fanaticism…. So long as the government of Turkey is conducted according to Oriental fifteenth century ideals, it is inevitable that there must be a conflict, trying both to the government and to the governed"* (Barton, 1908: 267).

Constructing a dichotomy between the "underdeveloped Orient" and "civilized Occident," Barton asserted that the Ottoman government's "oppressive methods" from centuries ago would collapse in front of "the modern thought of civilization." He defined this process as an "enlightening dawn:"

> *One thing is sure, the methods of government which were successful there six centuries ago cannot be continued indefinitely. Modern thought and ideas will not submit in patience and quietness forever to the oppressive measures of the*

> *middle ages. Dawn is breaking and it is useless for the night to rail at its coming. Intelligent belief will win in the end, and justice and righteousness must triumph* (Barton, 1908: 271-272).

Meanwhile, Kocabaşoğlu (1989) states that this period was marked by a radical change in both the international balance and the attitudes of international actors towards the Ottoman State. The Western Powers' perception of the Ottoman State shifted from the "sick man" who must be kept alive to the "terminally ill man" whose heritage was to be shared. Thereby, these imperialist nations sought to "enforce their interest through the non-Muslim communities" in the Ottoman State under the discourse of reformation (Kocabaşoğlu 1989: 119). This situation offered a new period for the American missionary, especially as internal uprisings became more frequent. The Ottoman State endured widespread political unrest, particularly due to the uprising of the Armenians. With the modernization discourse, American missionaries incited the Armenian community against the Ottoman State and urged them to embrace "American culture, philosophy, and lifestyle." Missionary efforts escalated the activities of armed groups, which were supported by the foreign powers, and these Armenian uprisings "laid the base" for the emergence of the Armenian Question (Çoban Döşkaya and Öztürk, 2022: 4).

American missionaries reported the incidents in their fields and participated in humanitarian aid activities through international organizations. The missionary document reports that "the glory" of this period was the "Christian loyalty" of both missionaries and Armenians and portrays these uprisings as "the test of martyrdom" that Armenian communities faced (Strong, 1910: 394). These political crises created an opportunity for the American Board to expand its missionary activities in the Ottoman State through humanitarian aid programs, escalating ethnic and political tensions.

James L. Barton's tenure coincided with the Increase Period in ABCFM history. As the term suggests, the missionaries began to experience the outcome of their activities in this period. From the missionary perspective, the metaphor of "increase" reflects the harvest of the seeds that were planted and nurtured in the previous periods. This suggests that Barton's period was marked by institutional and commercial growth due to missionary auxiliary, welfare, and health programs. During this period, the self-supporting institutions that had been targeted from the first era

have thrived, and this expansion enabled these churches and colleges in the mission fields to become largely self-sufficient. Due to this gradual growth, these institutions raise the local Protestant community independently. J. L. Barton defines the self-support system as the "fixed part of the work in Turkey" to which people were committed. Furthermore, this system urged the local population to recognize that the mission was to cultivate "native" institutions instead of "transplanting" them from abroad:

> *This principle of self-support has become a fixed part of the work in Turkey. The people are now thoroughly committed to it. They recognize that the mission is not there to transplant institutions from abroad, but to sow seed from which institutions may grow in the soil of Turkey, watered by Turkish showers, warmed by the Turkish sun, cultivated and cared for by Turkish hands* (Barton, 1908: 227).

According to Barton, the American Board could reach the local population only after establishing native institutions that thrived on Turkish soil. The self-supporting principle formed the foundations of the American Board's policies during Barton's era. Furthermore, Blaufuss advocates that Barton committed to the same mission of "self-governance, self-support, and self-propagation" as Anderson and Clark. Barton argued that these principles shaped the churches founded by missionaries; therefore, these self-efficient churches emerged as "the finished products of mission" (Blaufuss, 2000: 77).

The missionary approach underwent a gradual shift over time. The early missionary approach centered solely on the establishment of churches and defined missionaries as "oral proclaimers of the Gospel" who only urged people to attend churches; however, it gradually expanded to a societal field in which education, health care, and social reforms were included. As Barton advocates it:

> *It was inevitable, in the very nature of the case, that Christianity planted in Eastern communities would build churches, but, more than that, it proved to be absolutely essential that it should build schools and hospitals and asylums; that it should prepare and distribute enlightening and elevating literature; and that it should stand as an advocate of peace, temperance and fraternal love … in fact, it was inevitable that the Church, planted within a pagan civilization, should produce a new society* (Barton, 1912: 16).

According to James L. Barton's vision, social transformation was the most prominent topic for the missionary effort. As he asserts, the missionary approach in the East "regenerates society" even from the beginning:

> *The method of missionary approach in the East has from the first tended to lift up the community and regenerate society. Mission stations in all countries are always social settlements in that the home of the missionary is the centre of the new life. In the midst of the people whom the missionary expects to reach he plants his home and rears his children* (Barton, 1912: 54).

Due to the social developments in this period, the prominent issue that distinguished Barton's period from his predecessors was the focus on humanitarian service. Besides, he intended to develop Nathaniel G. Clark's policies about industrial growth, education, and women missionaries since these principles ensured self-sufficient communities.

As James L. Barton considered the American Board to serve a "divine purpose," he believed Protestant civilization had to be a global force for progress for humanity through missionary works that contributed to fields such as commerce, education, and social order. Therefore, Barton emphasized issues such as humanitarian service and relief organizations to influence social life and foster a social reform centered on Protestantism. Further, he describes all the works of missionaries as "social service:"

> *The Christian home planted in the midst of paganism, the family reared in accordance with the principles of Christian civilization, the interchange of visits, the ministrations to the sick in the homes, the enlargement of the industrial horizon, and the awakened conception of neighborliness and brotherhood all are but a part of the social service rendered through this missionary and Christian settlement method of approach to the civilizations of the East* (Barton, 1915: 4).

He argues that social services gained particular significance during periods of war, famine, and plague since these crises led to the expansion of missionary activity through relief services:

> *Times of great national distress like war, massacres, famine, and plague, had given the missionaries unusual opportunity to prove to the people that they were there, not for their own personal comfort but to bind up the broken heart and give cheer to the downcast and the dying* (Barton, 1908: 214-215).

Barton defines the "times of great national distress" as an "unusual opportunity." Moreover, Barton states that these "immeasurable hardships" created a "desire to relieve" people through missionaries:

> *While these disasters have been terrible to contemplate and have brought immeasurable hardship and care upon the missionaries, they have yet opened new opportunities of approach to the people and have revealed the sincere desire to relieve them in their supreme distress. All classes have learned to trust the missionaries, and in times of trouble, all races appeal to them for assistance* (Barton, 1908: 219).

According to Barton, these "new opportunities" fostered trust in missionaries during desperate times. The relief programs served the "divine purpose" of ensuring Protestant influence through humanitarian aid. Following this policy, Barton ushered in the establishment of Armenian and Syrian Relief, which would later evolve into the Near East Foundation. These organizations reinforced Barton's policy of portraying Protestantism as the "highest model of civilization" by providing food, clothing, and social aid during wartime.

Furthermore, James L. Barton defines medical work as the highest missionary work, which did not need any explanation due to its immediate humanitarian impact:

> *It [medical work] carries comfort, blessing, and a demonstration of the value of human life to every land it enters, and, under the hand of the Christian physician and nurse, preaches the compassionate Christ in a language that cannot be misunderstood. It is a powerful arm of the service that reaches beyond the parish of the preacher, penetrates beneath the sluggish intellect of the mentally dull, and appeals to the conscious needs of every class in every land* (Barton, 1915, 3-4).

By calling medical work a form of preaching in a "language that cannot be misunderstood," Barton emphasizes the importance of medical missionaries in evangelization. In this sense, these missionaries represent "Christian compassion," which exceeded the boundaries of traditional Evangelization. Then, Barton compares medical missionaries with clerical missionaries, defining them as the "silent preachers:"

> *The medical missionary preaches by the silent practice of his profession as powerfully and at times even more eloquently than does the clerical missionary speaking from the sacred desk. The medical missionary and his dispensary and hospital are not a by-product; they are among the most irresistible forces for the Christianization of the East* (Barton, 1912: 61).

In line with this view, the medical missionary emerges as a fundamental factor in Barton's humanitarian service policy since these missionaries would provide the required "relief service" in times of national distress. Thereby, they served as a means to influence local populations in accordance with the strategic interests of the American Board.

James L. Barton was dedicated to Nathaniel G. Clark's educational missionary policies. He emphasized education as an intrinsic pillar of Protestant missionary activities. According to him, Christianity symbolized an "intelligent faith" in the East; therefore, the American Board had to secure Christianity's influence through education:

> *It has been demonstrated that without such methods of education, including the college and theological seminary, the missionary can never raise up native leaders upon whom the responsibilities of the work can be placed…. The Christian communities in the East to-day command an influence far in excess of their numbers because of their superior spirit and intelligence, and this superiority is secured through the unusual Christian educational advantages afforded them by the missionary institutions. Christianity stands as an intelligent faith to the people of the East, and as such it must be maintained in order that it may have the commanding influence it deserves* (Barton, 1912: 33).

Barton positions education as a means of social transformation to secure Christianity's "intelligent faith" position against Eastern religions. In this context, he quotes Pieters: "Evangelization has to do with the present generation, education with the next. Evangelization gathers men into churches, while education secures the permanence of the institutions that evangelization calls into existence" (Barton, 1913: 3). The fact that James L. Barton relates education with the next generation and the persistence of institutions portrays Nathaniel G. Clark's influence in Barton's policies. Higher education served to incite fundamental Protestant ideals that would shape civil progress in line with American interests. The "democratic values" of missionary colleges formed the meanings of "individuality and liberty" in their students:

> *The spirit of democracy and of free institutions has grown with amazing rapidity and with many of the leaders of these nations amounts almost to a passion Here young men learned the lesson of the worth of the individual; and this is the soul of democracy. They learned the meaning and value of liberty. They studied the history of Western nations and grasped the significance of popular government and free institutions. They received these visions and ideals which soon become related in their minds to the possibilities in their own lands either in mission schools or in Government institutions whose standards and curricula were pioneered by the missionaries* (Barton, 1913: 44-45).

Then, Barton underlined the social and political implications of Western education in the East, as he asserted that missionary education could act as a social catalyst while shaping individual character:

> *Educational missions have also promoted an acquaintance with the ideals and institutions of other lands which has led to social, commercial and political readjustments among Eastern races….It has necessarily created a community of interest which has developed into cooperative effort on the part of the graduates of mission institutions and the missionaries by helping to build up in those countries institutions called for by the modern Christian movement* (Barton, 1913: 47).

Thus, following the missionaries' ideals of individualism and democracy, the new Protestant generation would exploit, in Barton's words, "the possibilities in their own lands," and cause political unrest within the Ottoman State. In addition to its role

in raising native Protestant leaders, Barton regarded higher education as a philanthropic endeavor for moral, intellectual, and social progress. In accordance with Clark's education policies, Barton insisted that missionary schools had to evolve in response to the "unprecedented awakening in the East:"

> *Indeed, missionary education has now reached a stage of development where it must make rapid and even radical advance in its higher departments, or yield its leadership. This is due largely to the unprecedented awakening in the East during the last few years, and to the new demands made upon all departments of educational work. There is loud call not only for advance, but for better adaptation to the new conditions rapidly sweeping over some of the most powerful Asiatic races* (Barton, 1913: 51-52).

The lack of "rapid" and "radical" change in higher education would jeopardize the American Board's influence on the mission fields. Therefore, he underscored the necessity of a revised curriculum and methodologies that were in line with the recent developments. Defining the emergence of "special lines of instruction" as an opportunity in higher education, he argued that ABCFM had to prioritize key academic departments such as "pedagogy, economics, sociology, and English language and literature" in order to meet the growing demand for education in the East for social transformation (Barton, 1913: 191).

Additionally, James L. Barton endorsed Clark's approach to the language of missionary education, which was a controversial topic for the American Board in developing native Protestant leaders. According to Barton, English proficiency was crucial to access international intellectual developments, especially Western thought. He believed that only those who were proficient in English could achieve "leadership positions:"

> *All are agreed, however, that to the college graduate a reading knowledge of English is necessary in order to open to him the great wealth in literature, science, art and religion which can be obtained only through the English language. Experience has shown that those who have received thorough education in English readily maintain their position of leadership, while those who have been trained only in the vernacular are, almost without exception, unable to keep pace with the onward progress of thought and life in the world and even in their own country* (Barton, 1913: 135).

Nevertheless, the American Board had to include the local languages in the curriculum of missionary schools. Education in vernacular language was essential to maintain the influence among the local population; therefore, Barton advocated a balanced approach to the language of education:

> *The general agreement, however, seems to be that a modern Western language is essential for the proper education of the young men and the young women of the East, while, at the same time, the vernacular must be taught scientifically and thoroughly in order that the graduates of these schools may not be deficient in the use of their mother tongue* (Barton, 1913: 136).

Thus, Barton's educational policies almost entirely reflected the legacy of Clark's term, portraying higher education and the English language as a means of social progress.

Lastly, James L. Barton extended the policies of women's education and missionaries, adopting Clark's vision of improving women's social and moral condition in non-Christian societies. He claimed that all the non-Christian approaches degraded women to an inferior social, intellectual, and spiritual status, causing the marginalization of women:

> *No non-Christian religion accords to woman a position at all commensurate with the position demanded by Christianity, and the farther one goes down in the scale of religions the less humane is the treatment which the women receive. Condemned by her religion to an inferior rank, it is not surprising that the social status granted to women in Eastern lands was very low and that the men of these countries have made almost no efforts to educate her* (Barton, 1913: 107).

Especially Barton's statement "the scale of religion" relegated other religions to a lower position and legitimized missionary efforts among non-Christian women in the Ottoman State. In this aspect, Barton's policies urged missionaries to "improve" not only the daily lives of women but also their condition in social and public life. The education of Ottoman women was crucial for the development of the Protestant community since the status of women forms the foundation of the entire family and society. From a missionary perspective, women with Protestant education could affect children, household dynamics, and religious practice; most of the time, the women's roles were indispensable pillars in the conversion of other people or the family's attendance at the church. Barton defines women's significance in missionary work as follows:

> *To reach the child, the missionary found that he must make his approach through the home, and, in most cases, the mother was found to be the dominating force in the home. If the mother favored the child's education in a Christian school, there was little prospect that the father's attitude would materially change the situation* (Barton, 1913: 114).

According to Barton, only the "properly equipped" Protestant institutions could prepare women to seize the emerging opportunities for "Christian leadership" in the Ottoman State: "The East is conceding to woman the rights of Christian leadership.

She must be prepared to assume the responsibility as rapidly as opportunity offers, and she can be thus prepared only through the agency of properly equipped schools" (Barton, 1913: 125). In this sense, Barton's commitment to women's education reflected his interest in higher education as a means for social progress. These policies reinforced the women's position as moral, intellectual, and spiritual figures and aimed to nurture Protestant communities in line with the ideals of Christian civilization. Barton's education approach for both men and women revealed that Barton's policies sustained the legacy of Nathaniel G. Clark and maintained the perspective that higher education was the primary catalyst for long-term social change.

Consequently, James L. Barton expanded the scope of missionary efforts to a social sphere by adopting N. G. Clark's fundamental policies. In line with the Social Gospel Movement, Barton emphasized missionary schools, medical missions, and humanitarian aid programs as the means of cultural transformation; this perspective aimed to depict Protestant civilization as both "spiritually superior" and socially progressive. His belief that Christianity must address the material and spiritual demands of societies in crisis positions the missionary institutions as instruments of hegemonic control.

Furthermore, Barton's educational policies aimed to promote "democratic values" and "individualism" in the East. As he advocated English as the instruction language in missionary schools, Barton reinforced the perceived cultural and intellectual "superiority" associated with Protestant civilization by positioning missionary education as a bridge to modern thought. Following the Clark period, higher education in the Barton era served to nurture intellectual Protestant communities rather than mere evangelization, and the focus on women missionaries reveals a vision of gender-based social change.

CHAPTER THREE
THE IMPACT OF NATHANIEL G. CLARK ON INSTITUTIONS

The chapter provides a further analysis of Nathaniel G. Clark's educational policies, with a particular focus on his approach to higher education and women's education. As mentioned before, Rufus Anderson's policies shaped the missionary activities of the American Board until Clark succeeded him in 1866. Since Anderson advocated the principle of establishing independent, self-governing, and self-propagating churches, he condemned all educational policies that did not emphasize the church and the Bible. Nevertheless, the demand for higher education increased in the Ottoman State during the 1840s, and Anderson's policies could not respond to this demand. Kocabaşoğlu (1989) conveys the course of educational missionary activities. As he states, the Ottoman State underwent a structural transformation in the nineteenth century, and with the Tanzimât reforms, education became a priority topic for the whole segments of society. The demand for education became prominent, especially among Armenians, who "predominantly engaged in trade and crafts" (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 78). Realizing that necessity, Cyrus Hamlin emphasized the significance of establishing New England-style general education colleges in the Ottoman State. The environment of freedom provided by the Tanzimât and the recognition of Protestants as a distinct nation "fostered the interest in American colleges." The economic and social transformation increased the need for "quality education," and the rivalry with Catholic missionaries also "compelled American missionaries to expand their educational activities" (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 79-80). In brief, the rising demand for higher education contradicted Anderson's strict principles, leading to a fundamental change in the American Board's education policies as N. G. Clark's term began.

Unlike Rufus Anderson, Nathaniel G. Clark argued that a solely Bible-based approach to education would fail to expand missionary efforts:

> *Confidence was felt in the gospel as the one great agency to be used in the furtherance of this work. Education, except for the native preachers, was limited to the reading of the Scriptures in the language of the people. Churches had been organized, but no adequate preparation had been made in any field for the training of a native ministry to care for them and to push on the work of evangelization* (Clark, 1894: 114-115).

According to Clark, Anderson's vision of establishing self-sufficient churches confined higher education, which was the crucial pillar for the development of the mission, to only scripture readings. After assuming office, N. G. Clark supported Cyrus Hamlin's educational model that developed in Robert College, and Clark restructured the American Board's educational approach according to Hamlin's system. In *Higher Christian Education as Related to Foreign Missionary Work,* Nathaniel G. Clarke expressed his "cordial" devotion to the secular-looking college models and emphasized it as the fundamental factor that would ensure the success of their efforts:

> *Our first great object is the conversion of individual souls; and the second is the development of Christian institutions for their nurture; and the end we seek is the triumph of the kingdom of God in all the varied relations and possibilities of human life. Without the first, the conversion of souls, nothing is accomplished; without the second, the establishment of Christian institutions, no permanent results follow* (Clark, 1890: 189).

For Clark, propagating God's message would incite to "the conversion of individual souls;" however, only a reformed Protestant college model could accomplish the American Board's ultimate mission. The primary reason for Clark's focus on college education was the increase in accessibility to higher education and the influence of modern universities' liberal values, which overshadowed theological seminaries in the nineteenth century. Thus, Clark's higher education policies were not only a religious endeavor but also part of a strategy of cultural and social transformation. In this sense, Kocabaşoğlu underlines the essence of missionary education by stating that missionary educational institutions serve a "profane" purpose rather than an ethereal one "because missionary activity, contrary to its own claims, is not only a religious phenomenon. It transcends religious dimensions and extends to economic-social-cultural dimensions as a means of infiltration" (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 24).

Due to his academic background, N. G. Clark realized that the conventional educational system could not adapt to the requirements of the era. For Clark, a higher standard of Christian education was required to raise Christian leaders among the "relatively civilized" communities. In response to the growing influence of secular ideologies, Clark emphasized the need to counter modern intellectual trends on a theological basis:

> *By reason of the present rapid means of intercommunication, nations are brought together, and no Christian community, even on mission ground, can escape the invasion of false theories of science, of morals, or of religion. The conceptions of materialism and humanitarianism must be met by the larger conceptions of Christian thought. In view of these considerations, it is with special satisfaction that we note the progress of higher Christian education in all our mission fields during the last twenty-five years* (Clark, 1894: 141).

Only if materialism and Christian thought were combined could Christian values be reintroduced to education. Eventually, it would lead to more intellectual Protestant communities in foreign lands. After combining these two concepts, the native Protestants could understand the requirements of the local population better than a foreign missionary and take an active role in Evangelization. According to Clark, it depended on missionaries and a generation of Protestant intellectuals to promote "not only the Gospel, but the germinating principles of a better social life:"

> *Now in establishing missions among uncivilized races it becomes us to introduce not simply the gospel but the germinant principles of a better social life, and to take the lead and keep the lead in all educational effort ... not by means of a large number of missionaries, but by a few through training and normal schools for both sexes. Among highly civilized races, as among the higher classes of India, in China, and in Japan, the problem is essentially the same, only more difficult. A higher education than is already known must compel and command attention, or if it be not higher on the intellectual side it must assert its superiority on the religious side by its results on moral character* (Clark, 1890: 193-194).

Clark's strategy, disguised as intellectual progress, established a hierarchy of civilizations that positions Western models as superior. Briefly, he advocated the promotion of American cultural imperialism under the disguise of secular-looking institutions.

The fact that the American-standard colleges offered an intellectual environment for those non-Muslims who lacked the opportunity to access education in the Ottoman State rendered these institutions an influential agent of cultural power. In this sense, Clark's college model served as "centers of intellectual and spiritual life" and nurtured a native Protestant community which was "enlightened" by American values, or at least a new generation, which was "tolerant" of Protestantism (E. S. Clark, 1894: 142). As Kocabaşoğlu states, the education institutions that were established to spread God's word rapidly became a system that "conveyed the values and, to some extent, the knowledge and competence of Western capitalism" since the majority of graduates of these colleges embarked on careers in "foreign companies" rather than pursuing theological aspirations (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 178). Furthermore, these

institutions continued to exert their influence over Ottoman society as agents of ideological hegemony that imposed American cultural and social norms after N. G. Clark's term. As Uğur İnan argued, these schools promoted "national identity" among Armenians in Ottoman society and caused the emergence of the notion of independence. Disrupting public order through propaganda against the Ottoman State, "they had an impact on the occurrence of riots and insurrections" (2023: 23). Consequently, Clark's education approaches were not limited to a theoretical vision; it was implemented in the field through the institutions he promoted. In this context, especially Central Turkey College and the American College for Girls at Constantinople were among the prominent examples, which was shaped by Clark's secularized Protestant education model.

3.1 CENTRAL TURKEY COLLEGE

Central Turkey College was founded in 1876 in Aintab and served as one of the influential institutions of the Central Turkey Mission until 1924. To understand the college's impact, it is essential first to consider the strategic role of Aintab in missionary activities. Barton asserts that the missionary field in Aintab was established in 1849, and missionaries called that region "Southern Armenia" at that time. This region served as "the center for operations" for "a large population dwelling in northern Syria, extending from Urfa on the east into the Tarsus mountains upon the west," and it evolved into "the center of the Central Turkey Mission" in the following years (Barton, 1908: 139-140). Kocabaşoğlu refers to Aintab as the capital city of the "Southern Armenia Mission" (1989: 93). Thereafter, he conveys the story of the American missionaries in Aintab and how it was "occupied" by American missionaries. The American Board's missionary activities in Aintab began in 1830 when the missionaries Parnell, Hamilton, and Newman first arrived in the city. In these initial contacts, missionaries distributed copies of the Turkish Bible in Armenian letters and sent various religious publications from İzmir. In 1848, following the recommendation of the Armenian community in Boston, missionary Van Lennep was sent to Aintab; he founded the first Protestant church with twelve members. Although the missionaries faced opposition from local clergy and officials, the Protestant church

rapidly expanded, reaching 86 members by the end of the same year. The budget of 58 dollars allocated for Aintab in 1848 increased to 150 dollars after a year and reached 200 dollars in 1851. During this period, the American Board founded educational institutions at the primary and secondary levels, and these schools educated 128 students under five teachers. In 1852, high school education began, and the number of missionaries and students rapidly increased. By 1860, Aintab became the capital of the Central Turkey Mission with "five stations and 20 out-stations;" the region included 12 churches, a Protestant community of 3690 members, 26 schools, and approximately 2000 students (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 92-94). As the missionary activities expanded through the Central Turkey Mission, the idea of a new institution of higher education appeared as an opportunity for the American Board to influence the local population.

In the spring of 1871, Nathaniel G. Clark traveled to the Levant to oversee the missionary activities in the region; then he visited the stations of Tarsus, Adana, Aintab, Marash, and Hatay in order to inspect the Central Turkey Mission areas at the same time. Considering Clark's emphasis on "social and spiritual connection" with local communities to sustain self-efficacy, his visits were intended to inspect the missions and foster symbolic unity with the local communities. Clark's visits were greeted with great enthusiasm by the local Protestant communities; as a matter of fact, Kara Krekore, Chairman of the Aleppo Evangelical Union, expressed his admiration and devotion to missionary efforts in his letter dated January 27, 1871:

> *When, some years ago, our Father Doctor Anderson, visited the churches in these parts, there can be no doubt that the churches were strengthened and received important advantages from his visit … I beg you, if possible, give my kind regards to him, my Father, though it is long since I saw him, I still bear him and shall continue to bear him as a real engraven on my heart. Last year I heard that you also were about to come into these parts; we were all rejoiced, but we did not enjoy the pleasure of seeing you. If this [want?] should come to pass this year our joy will be two-fold; first, we shall be comforted for our disappointment of last year and second, we shall be honored by your presence and, in consultations in regard to the work of Christ, we may discover better and clearer methods. Our Annual Meeting will this year will be in the city of Adana and will begin on the 13th of April. By this letter, I invite you to be present at our meeting; if possible, we trust that you will accept this invitation. We are praying our Heavenly Father that He will direct your course to us and thus meeting us carry forward the kingdom of His Son* (PABCFM, Reel 641: 187-188).

Rufus Anderson's visit granted "advantages" to the local Protestant community so that Anderson was "engraved" in the heart of Krekore. Considering the increasing

demand for quality education from the local Armenian middle class, Krekore's request implied the vision to address these demands with "better and clearer methods."

The demand for a local college became a priority for the Armenian Protestant churches, yet "the closest Christian colleges to the region were the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut and Robert College in Constantinople" (Taşkın, 2012: 416). The motivation behind this demand was to ensure that the Protestant youth in the region could maintain their cultural identity:

> *Attending either of these institutions [the Syrian Protestant College and Robert College] involved risks for young people from southeastern Turkey. The long and hazardous trip to either site was, in itself, a major deterrent. Also, the school in Beirut catered to Arabs, while Robert College had quite a diverse student body studying in English. It was feared that foreign languages might alienate youths from Cilicia, where the common language of most Armenians was Turkish* (Stone, 2006: 142).

Thereby, the Commission of the Protestants of Aintep expressed the demand for higher education in their letter dated 1871. In the letter, the Protestant commission requested the American Board of Trustees and the Board of Trustees of the Central Turkish College to establish the college in Aintab instead of Marash by highlighting the "superior" resources in Aintab, such as abundant construction materials, low construction costs, a qualified labor force, and a "friendlier" climate. The letter conveys the enthusiasm for higher education in Aintab as follows:

> *The Bible is truly a wonderful book; it has promise of the "life that now is and of that which is to come"; it purifies the heart, it enlightens the mind, it makes man the child of God, while, at the same time, it develops within him all his noblest powers as a man. Our own experience and present condition are ample proof of this statement. We well remember what that condition was twenty-five or thirty years ago. Not only did we spend our care and strength on things that were worthless and unsatisfying, but we can truly say that we had not even a thought about the necessity or advantages of Education or Civilization. Then a population of [illegible] thousand Armenians was contented with one common school, and in that one school the only branches taught were ordinary reading and writing. When, however, through the agency of the American Board, the Bible was translated into our modern language, we can hardly explain how, but we know that it soon changed our opinions as to the importance of Education. In a short time, the Evangelical Armenians in this city, not to mention the members of the old Armenian churches, were not content with three or four schools …. All the churches within the bounds of this "Mission" are convinced of the necessity of a more thoroughly educated Ministry, and hence, as you are probably aware, for a long time have desired the establishment of a College in this section of the country* (PABCFM, Reel 641: 199-200).

The letter implies that Armenians barely had an idea about "education" and "civilization," and this insinuation creates an unequal power dynamic. This discourse

imposed that local communities could only develop with the intervention of American missionaries. In this sense, it signifies that due to the missionary schools, Armenians had overcome their "uncivilized" condition within 30 years, and they discovered that "mere reading and writing were not enough," as they were craving for a higher educational missionary. Furthermore, the Commission of Protestants of Aintep highlights Aintab's strategic position that would serve both Arabic and Armenian-speaking populations:

> *The Armenian population south of the Taurus range, almost [illegible] use the Turkish language; north of the Taurus they speak Armenian. On this account we sincerely hope and expect that, before many years, a college in which the language used shall be Armenian, will be established on the north side of the Taurus mountains, perhaps at Erzeroom or Van. In a word, we consider Aintab midway between the Arabic-speaking population on the south and the Armenian-speaking population of the Taurus mountains and the regions beyond* (PABCFM, Reel 641: 203).

In this sense, missionaries envisioned that Aintab would serve as a bridge between Protestants and other communities and become the "spiritual center" of the region.

During his visit in 1871, Nathaniel G. Clark attended a meeting of the Cilicia Union of Armenian churches at Adana and evaluated the local people's demand for a new college. These sessions led Clark to "hold a conference the following evening with native Christians as well as missionaries, which resulted in the establishment, a few years later, of the Central Turkey College" (E. S. Clark, 1894: 123). As the "spiritual center," He considered this new college would advance the missionary efforts since the Cilicia Union had the mission's largest churches in Aintab and Marash. According to Clark, "the theological seminary already in operation" and "the college in prospect" would lead to "the early close of distinctively missionary work" in the respective regions of the Ottoman State (E. S. Clark, 1894: 123-124). Clark's statements suggest that the college would ensure the American influence in the region by creating a local Protestant intellectual class. The Prudential Committee of the American Board's report "A Christian College in Central Turkey," dated 1872, conveyed the role of the college that was to be founded (PABCFM, Reel 673: No 487). According to the report, the Central Turkey Mission faced several problems, even though Protestantism expanded considerably. The college was established to handle these issues by training qualified native helpers to replace the missionaries who left

the region. As a response to the demands of the local people for higher education, it aimed to prepare the local people to "sacrifice" themselves to the mission through Christian education and counter the threat of "unchristian civilization" and "wiles of Romanism" to Protestant missionary efforts. The report outlines the college's strategic role in the missionary efforts as follows:

> *The considerations just named are all applicable to the immediate question before us, of a College in Central Turkey. The work of evangelization is already so far advanced, and the native churches have become so strong, that measures have already been inaugurated, looking to an early close of our proper missionary work in this field. The Churches in Aintab, Marash, Oorfa and Kessad are not only able to sustain their own institutions, but to contribute to the aid of weaker Churches, and to the cause of home evangelization .... But what is of special moment in this matter, is the clearly recognized sense of responsibility for the further prosecution of the work of Christ, on the part of the native pastors and Churches. In order to maintain the ground already gained; to withstand the unchristian influences of European civilization, now coming in like a flood, and the persistent and increased efforts of Romanism, as well as to extend the work of evangelization, the more thoughtful of the native Christians, lay as well as clerical, are convinced of the necessity for a more thorough preparation of the ministry* (PABCFM, Reel 673: 762).

In brief, the Prudential Committee states that the Central American College could serve as a "great Christian agency," that would assume the role of Harvard and Yale Universities in the foundation of New England (PABCFM, Reel 673: 763).

With Nathaniel G. Clark's support, the Central Turkey College was officially established in 1876; it remained influential in the region as the "first American college established in Anatolia" by the American Board missionaries until its relocation to Aleppo in 1924 (Taşkın, 2012: 417). At the beginning of 1879, the college had 80 students, and its curriculum offered some of the following courses:

> *World Literature, Rhetoric, Political Economy, World History, History of Civilization, Chemistry, Analytical Chemistry, Mineralogy, Physical Geography, Moral Philosophy, Accounting, Anatomy, Physiology, Geometry, Algebra, History of Turkey, American History, Turkish, Advanced Algebra, Natural History, Vocal Music, Armenian Language and Literature, Armenian and English Fine Writing* (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 182).

The college offered various courses in line with its mission of raising native Protestant leaders. With its alternative education curriculum in the Ottoman State, the Central Turkey College was considered "the bastion of civilization" from the missionary discourse. Taşkın highlights the college's ideal of being the "centre of civilization" just like Harvard and Yale Universities:

> *Research on literature, vernacular languages, Eastern history, and archaeological studies, which were uncommon, especially among Turks, were significant college duties. Board sources emphasize that the college's interest in conducting archaeological studies in the region would lead to an inclination towards Christian roots and claiming the "Bible Land"* (Taşkın, 2012: 418).

Limited access to higher education during this period rendered the Central Turkey College, which was established in modern standards in the interior of Anatolia, a strategic mission center. In 1914, the Ottoman government recognized colleges' "junior and senior classes as being on the *ali* (university) level" and granted rights to provide courses in "agriculture, commerce, education, civil and mining engineering, and law." As a result, those graduates who took the mentioned courses "could take government examinations and be officially recognized as professionals when they had passed them" (Stone, 2006: 147). Combining Christian thought with the new concepts of "materialism" and "humanitarianism" in line with N. G. Clark's vision, Central Turkey College reinforced the mission's influence with its diverse student base from various parts of Anatolia. As Stone asserts, the number of students in the college was 246 in the 1912-1913 academic year;

> *Two-thirds were Armenian Evangelicals, and a third from the Armenian Apostolic community. Besides the one hundred ten from Aintab itself, there were fifteen boys 15 from Diarbekir, fourteen from Kilis, twelve from Urfa, twelve from Kessab, seven from Hasanbeyli, and five from Marash, Unraniyeh and Siverek had each sent four students. There were three boys each from Eybez, Kayseri, and Zeitoun, and twenty other locations were represented by one or two students* (Stone, 2006: 246-247).

With its student base, Central Turkey College served as an institution that introduced the Armenian community to "the principles of a better social life" as N. G. Clark envisioned. Accordingly, this college transformed "an illiterate society into a society with higher education" (Taşkın, 2012: 420).

The college's curriculum focused on certain courses to promote local identity while fostering nationalist ideas. Since the Armenians in the region spoke Turkish, the college offered courses such as Armenian, Armenian history, Armenian geography, and Armenian literature in Turkish. Teaching these courses in a language that local people understood "increased the national consciousness of the Armenian community" (Taşkın, 2012: 424). Gradually, the Central Turkey College became the center of political disputes since its educational ideals aligned with the political movements of the period. Although missionary sources asserted that "national enlightenment" was

not a direct mission of the American Board's colleges, they were influenced by the political atmosphere of the period, assuming a key role in the establishment of political organizations. In the following periods, the unification of these organizations caused the formation of Armenian political parties that "advocated revolt against the repressive Ottoman regime" and the establishment of the Huntchak organization in Genoa in 1887 (Stone, 2006: 153). Thus, the "national enlightenment" in the region led the Ottoman society to a conflict, which was based on cultural identity. The report of the president of Central Turkey College, called "Central Turkey College: Years Before the War," indicates the impact of the college on this conflict:

> *The college has followed for many years the policy of giving to its students a large degree of personal freedom. At the same time it has been necessary to restrict this freedom in certain ways, owing to political conditions and to the immaturity of the students. Political conditions have changed. Many new influences, also, from without have come to bear on students' lives, for better or for worse. The college can not prevent this, and if it could, it might result in the production of weaklings instead of sturdy men. The faculty has found it necessary to recognize this situation. Teachers may attempt to guide their students, but, in the end, character, taste, thought and experience must teach each one the wisest use of his liberty* (Central Turkey College, 1914: 29-30).

Accordingly, the political sentiments of the era infiltrated the college's student base, and the college administration increased disciplinary measures to oversee its students. The administration attempted to prevent the college's role in this political movement by prohibiting the circulation of books that were deemed to contain political propaganda:

> *Books which are objectionable can always be obtained from the city, and are read surreptitiously. Books in the college library which are barred from circulation become the special desire of the students, and of course are secured and read. …. A student now is obliged to use his judgment, and to bear penalty, if he wastes his time. In working out this policy, it became necessary to announce that no students in the preparatory department would be allowed to read any books aside from their textbooks during study hours* (Central Turkey College, 1914: 12-13).

The college administration attempted to control the political unrest among its students, yet their efforts were unsuccessful. Although missionaries and the college administration did not support this "Marxist movement," which they considered "godless and materialistic," some of the college's professors and their wives favored the Huntchak organization and even served as active members (Stone, 2006: 153). In this context, the Central Turkey College turned into an influential missionary

institution in the outbreak of political conflicts in the region with its academic staff and student base.

By the early twentieth century, Central Turkey College was accused of being the center of uprisings; it was closed in 1916 after "the buildings of Central Turkey College were requisitioned by the Ottoman army" during World War I (Stone, 2006: 157). Regarding the college's relation to the uprisings and European powers, Kocabaşoğlu reports İsmet İnönü's speech at the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1920:

> *There are American schools and colleges in the region of Aintab …. Today, these American colleges are the base of the forces of the French. They take the American schools as a base to harm us and kill our people. They attack and place artillery there and use it as a warehouse. In other words, it is not a school; it is thought to be built as a fortress in our* country (İnönü, as cited in, Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 188).

The Central Turkey College reopened in 1921; however, it moved to Aleppo in the following years since most of the Armenian population left Aintab for refuge in Syria, which remained under the French mandate" (Stone, 2006: 158). Imposing "separatists and liberal values" on the Armenian community, the college promoted Nathaniel G. Clark's vision of raising an "enlightened" Protestant community for nearly 50 years.

3.2 HOME SCHOOL & THE AMERICAN COLLEGE FOR GIRLS

Before Nathaniel G. Clark's period, Rufus Anderson's policies limited women's roles in the mission in the early nineteenth century since Anderson considered them as the "helpers of real missionaries." However, Clark recognized the opportunities that women missionaries could provide, especially in shaping the population through education. After Anderson's period, Clark's education policies raised "the topic of girls' education," which increased "the need for single women missionaries" (Çoban Döşkaya, 2021a: 527). To address the need for women missionaries and girls' education, Woman's Board of Missions (WBM) was founded in Boston in 1868, Woman's Board of Missions of the Interior (WBMI) in Chicago in the same year, and Woman's Board of the Pacific (WBP) in San Francisco in 1873. These Women Board were founded under the American Board structure, and "the

wages of female missionaries working in schools for girls and funds for supporting school activities, which previously had been paid by the American Board, was transferred over to these new associations beginning in 1868" (Alan and Bolat, 2011: 111). Thus, the missionaries' focus shifted to women's education, to raise "free and independent" women who would be "potential Protestant mothers" for the next generations (Narin, 2018: 254). The missionary sources asserted that the women in the Ottoman State were in "degrading positions" as "the beasts of burden in the fields, drudges in the house, or idle prisoners in the harem" (Strong, 1910: 221). Moreover, N. G. Clark defines the position of Ottoman women as "the slave of his man" and legitimizes the American Board's activities among women:

> *The great offense of Islam against the highest civilization of mankind, and constituting a bar to all true progress, is the treatment of woman. Woman, the drudge and slave of man in this life, is denied the hope of immortality, because denied even the possession of a soul. More wisely than we thought have we been preparing for her restoration to her true place in the social economy* (Clark, 1878: 8).

The missionaries faced challenges in promoting missionary efforts among women due to their position in society. In this regard, Clark states that only missionaries could "restore" women's place in society. Accordingly, N. G. Clark promoted a college in Constantinople for women's education to shape their role as "independent women" in terms of the American Board's interest. With Clark's support, the "Home School," which would later become "the American College for Girls at Constantinople," was established for this mission. In order to ensure that the school's mission would correspond to the expectations of all segments of the American Board, the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, which was founded by Mary Lyon in 1837, was adopted. It offered "the model for a school that combined preparation for proselytizing work with a rigorous education that provided a springboard for women to pursue other opportunities" (Reeves-Ellington, 2015: 57). Before examining the college, however, it is essential to highlight Constantinople's significance for American missionaries.

In 1829, the Corresponding Secretary, Rufus Anderson, traveled to the Ottoman State. His visit led the American Board to reinforce missionary activities, especially in Constantinople and Anatolia. After Anderson's visit, the American Board designated the Armenian community in the respective region as the focus of its

missionary activities; Eli Smith and Harrison Gray Otis Dwight conducted an "expedition" in Eastern Anatolia, reporting that the area was "suitable" for conversion to Protestantism. Since reaching the Muslims directly was challenging and dangerous, the missionaries adopted an alternative method, which aimed to reach Christian sects first. As this approach failed to succeed, the American Board "directed most of its activities towards the so-called 'reformed' Armenian Apostolic Church of the East for years to come" (Yetkiner, 2008: 146). Thus, William Goodell was sent to Constantinople to work among Armenian communities in 1831. In this way, the missionary efforts on Armenians in Constantinople began, and Constantinople became the center of the Western Turkey Mission. According to Kocabaşoğlu (1989), the Western Turkey Mission was the largest American mission in the Ottoman State due to its size and workforce. The mission included seven stations at Trebizond, Marsovan, Sivas, Cesarea, Brousa, Smyrna, and Constantinople[3] and 102 out-stations. In the last quarter of the century, the Western Turkey Mission increased by 38%, "the number of American staff by 40%, and the number of native staff by 78%." For both the Western Turkey Mission and all missionary activities in the Ottoman State, Constantinople served as "a headquarters of the missionary activity" and "the center of printing and publishing" (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 143-144). Similarly, James L. Barton described Constantinople as the "headquarters of missionary work" because it was the "center of important religious sects:"

> *Opposition to mission work must emanate from that center and difficulties could best be overcome right at their beginning. As it was also the seat of government from which governors and civil officers were sent to every part of the empire, this made it still more important that a strong mission force should reside here, in order that these men should not receive the impression that Christian missionaries are advancing upon the empire only through remote interior districts. The capital was occupied as a mission station of the Board in 1831, and has since been the base of operations for the work of the American Board in the country* (Barton, 1908: 137-138).

According to Barton, the American missionaries "occupied" Constantinople in 1831 to monitor other religious sects and to control the potential opposition against their missionaries from the Ottoman government before it spread to interior Anatolia. Moreover, in the letter to N. G. Clark in 1867, Tillman C. Trowbridge conveys the

[3] Trabzon, Merzifon, Sivas, Kayseri, Bursa, İzmir, and İstanbul are referred to as such in missionary sources.

situation of the missionary activities in Constantinople. In the letter, Trowbridge reports that "the spiritual siege" of Constantinople was hindered because of fellow missionary Van Lennep's attitude, comparing him to an insubordinate officer in the American Civil War. In the letter, Trowbridge defines Constantinople as the "most difficult yet the important point" in the Ottoman State:

> *When the Mission urged one to remain at Constantinople Mr. Van Lennep, with all the others, solemnly & publicly pledged himself to do all in his power to sustain Mr. Washburn and myself in carrying out the new measures in regard to self-support here at Constantinople; this is the way in which he redeems his pledge! This city was felt by all the Mission to be the most difficult yet the most important point in Turkey to conquer and hold. As Mr. Barnum says — "it is the Richmond of the Confederacy!" — In pressing the siege of this place we are astonished to find one of our number acting the part of Fitz John Porter in the Campaign in Virginia* (PABCFM, Reel 642: 1091).

The Richmond analogy emerges as a significant theme in Trowbridge's letter. Since Richmond was the capital of the Confederate States of America during the American Civil War, it was a heavily defended strategic center and industrial core of the South. Comparing Richmond with Constantinople, Barton defined the evangelization as a military siege and Constantinople as the "stronghold of Islam." Thereby, "occupying" Constantinople symbolized "the spiritual conquest" of the Ottoman State from missionary discourse.

For Nathaniel G. Clark, education would ensure Protestant "occupation" in these strategic stations. The increase of women missionaries and Constantinople's significance in missionary activities raised the demand for a home school for girls, similar to the institutions in the United States. The journal of the Women Board *Life and Light* conveyed this urgent need" for a Christian school as follows:

> *When seven years ago, soon after the formation of the Woman's Board, missionaries in Constantinople began to see urgent need of a Christian home school in that city, which would correspond, in the value of the education given, with our better schools in America, we were not surprised. Where has Christianity entered, and done its legitimate work, and left women contented in their degradation?* (Woman's Board of Missions, 1876: 289).

Thus, the proposed schools were intended to raise resentment among Ottoman women for "their degradation." In this way, the proposed school was envisioned as an institution that would transform the gender norms of the local community.

After examining the Levant region in 1871, Nathaniel G. Clark visited Constantinople. During his visit, Clark recognized the deficiency in women's education in the Western Turkey Mission, and he urged the Women Boards to "save"

the girls in this land with a Protestant home school. E. Harriet Stanwood, the secretary pro tem of the American College for Girls at Constantinople, emphasizes N. G. Clark's impact and his support on the foundation of the school in her condolence letter dated 1896:

> *In the departure from this world of Secretary N. G. Clark, D.D., LL. D., on Friday, January 3d, 1896, the American College for Girls at Constantinople, which had its origin in the Home School commenced in 1871, has lost its earliest and constant advocate. The strong faith and wide reach of vision which permeated all his missionary work made his conception for this institution, at the beginning, embrace all which it is now accomplishing; and he laid before the Woman's Board of Missions broad plans which they adopted* (E. S. Clark, 1897: 99).

According to Stanwood's letter, N. G. Clark's policies shaped the college's institutional principles and educational philosophy.

With N. G. Clark's support, "Home School" was founded in Gedikpaşa in 1871. The school's name stemmed from Clark's statement in 1869, in which he asserted that Christian women in Constantinople needed "a home in Constantinople," intended to become a religious center (Köse, 2003: 203). According to Reeves-Ellington, "home" conveyed the mission and ideals of the school in three fundamental principles for the evangelicals in the U.S. First, the school would serve as "the center of women's missionary operations" within the Western Turkey Mission. Second, it aimed to promote Protestantism in the "domestic sphere" of Ottoman society. Third, the institution intended to provide "a living space for the single women missionaries … where they could enjoy a sense of family, nurture their ambitions, and manage their affairs" (Reeves-Ellington, 2015: 57). *Life and Light* defines the mission of Home School as a center of Christian work that educate "Christian workers" and "afford opportunity of culture" to the girls. Thus, the school was established to serve "Christian missionary:"

> *The design of the Home is to be a centre of Christian work that of the home-school, or seminary, is to train Christian workers, and at the same time afford opportunity of culture such as we may give to daughters of parents desiring it for their children. The school is, therefore, to be thoroughly Christian, and also missionary in its aim. All its arrangements and administration are to be such as to secure, as largely as possible, with the divine blessing, these results; viz., a true and symmetrical Christian char- acter in the pupils; well-ordered Christian homes; well-qualified teachers of native female seminaries and higher schools, wives of pastors, and Bible-women* (Woman's Board of Missions, 1876: 290).

The number of students rapidly increased, and the Home School began to obtain results for missionary activities with 25 students by the end of its second year. According to the missionary sources, the school had already began to "tame" Armenian girls with the American school life:

> *In the mean time, the school had been growing rapidly in numbers and popularity. By the close of the second year, very satisfactory results had been attained. The most perfect order and discipline had been established. Untamed Armenian girls, used to no restraint in their homes, had become accustomed to go through the routine of school-life, with the regularity and punctuality seen in our best American schools. The awkward shyness of girls hitherto secluded from society had given way to a quiet repose of manner, and ladylike demeanor. Their thorough scholarship was shown in the public examinations, which were the wonder and delight of all* (Woman's Board of Missions, 1876: 293).

The missionary education replaced girls' "Oriental savagery" with a "ladylike demeanor" based on the Protestant ethic. Mary M. Patrick conveys the "transformative effects" of missionary education among Armenian girls in her letter to N.G. Clark. In the letter, an Armenian girl was portrayed as religiously "undecided" and "indifferent" before the conversion. However, she was transformed by missionary education so that her "decided character" began to spread a "positive influence" on other Armenian girls. In the letter, the transformation of the individual with Protestant values became the narration of "spiritual triumph," and the students turned agents in spreading Protestantism (PABCFM, Reel 603: 692-693). Additionally, the school curriculum shaped students' academic performance as well. In 1873, the graduation exams of the school included the following courses: "Modern and Classical Armenian, Armenian History, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geography, English Reading-Writing-Spelling-Explanation, Physiology, Natural Physiology, Recitation of Poetry, Composition," as well as skill and gymnastics performances such as "singing, playing piano and organ" (Aksu, 2010: 280). Through its academic and "ornamental" courses, the curriculum of the Home School was designed to foster Armenian national identity and instill a "ladylike demeanor" among the girls.

After the completion of the school campus in Scutari (Üsküdar), the Home School moved to its new campus in 1876 and was renamed as "Üsküdar High School." Then, the school received college status in 1890, and its name became "American College for Girls at Constantinople." In 1908, the college "severed its ties" with the American Board. Then, in 1914, the American College for Girls moved to a new campus in Arnavutköy (the campus of Robert College today) (Çoban Döşkaya, 2020,

1059). Since Gedikpaşa, the first location of the college, was an "Armenian enclave," the school's instruction language was exclusively Armenian due to ABCFM's vernacular education policies. However, after the school moved to Scutari, "English was used for the core subjects in order to attract students from other ethnic communities" (Stone, 2006: 77). In other words, the school adopted Clark's policies about English education to integrate its students into American culture. In a letter dated 1878, Mary M. Patrick reported the respective academic year to N. G. Clark, and she emphasized that the school aimed to attract students from various ethnicities through the influence of the English language:

> *We long for the day to come when our home shall be full of girls from all the nationalities around us. We shall hope very much from English influence, in future, to help us at least indirectly, for naturally the English language will prevail more than it has done. I heard the other day that some of the Armenians are sorry to have the English course here. They say, "Now the Protestants will have their own away"* (PABCFM, Reel 593: 404).

Some students expressed concern about the English curriculum, as English was used to promote Protestant ideals and values. However, Clark's approach, described by some students as the American Board's policy of "having their own way," continued to shape Ottoman women until the school merged with Robert College in 1972.

Regarding the role of the American College for Girls at Constantinople in missionary activities, S. H. Hayes defined the college as a "beacon-light" in *Life and Light:* "Our Constantinople Home stands, upon its beautiful height, a beacon-light to the thousands of women who sit in darkness, as lofty in its ideal, as beautiful in its promise, as it is in situation" (Hayes, 1880: 122). Hayes' statement suggests that the American College for Girls symbolized the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) ideal of "city upon a hill." It symbolized a "beacon" that led the "infidels" to salvation from missionary discourse. Moreover, N. G. Clark asserted that the college, similar to Robert College, was a manifestation of American values in Constantinople:

> *Points of deep interest to the Secretary[4] in this ancient and world-renowned city were the new Bible Houe a center of Christian influence for the whole Turkish empire —and Robert College, flying the American flag on the heights of the Bosphorus and already gathering in pupils from every nationality of the Orient, an outgrowth of our work and a memorial of the indomitable energy of Cyrus Hamlin. The success of this latter enterprise had encouraged the Woman's Board*

[4] N. G. Clark refers to himself in the third person in this text.

> *to undertake a work for the higher education of young women of the better classes and thus to give a wider range to the best Christian influences; and while in this city the Secretary assisted in the final arrangements for opening the Constantinople Home, since developed into the American College for Girls* (Clark, 1894: 124).

Thereby, the college served as the citadel of Protestantism, which was "flying the American flag on the height of the Bosphorus" and promoting "the best Christian influences" among Ottoman women. Aligning with this mission, the college intended to educate women as "virtuous wives" and teachers, who would propagate the "enlightened Christian womanhood" figure (Özpala, 2017: 26).

Furthermore, the American College for Girls aimed to raise women "reformers" in Ottoman society in line with the ideals of nationalism and liberalism of the nineteenth century. In *Life and Light,* Florence A. Fensham explains this envisioned role for these women:

> *In such a state of society the kind of young women which the American College is sending into the homes of Turkey is of great importance, for these women are to be reformers, in the noblest sense. Thev must understand their respective circles of society, and carefully discriminate between the foreign influence which makes for the good of societv, and that which will do it harm. A controlled, intelligent judgment is of prime importance in this work. But more than this, a deep religious devotion, the simple love of Christ, appreciation of his teaching and devotion to his cause, will give unerring directions to a purpose which might be lost among the problems of a society just emerging from mediaeval mists* (Fensham, 1902: 12-13).

From an Orientalist perspective, Fernsham's portrayal of Ottoman society as obscured in "mediaeval mists" depicts the Ottoman State as "stagnant" and "uncivilized." Through the "simple love of Christ," she portrays missionary education as the sole path to salvation. In this sense, "the value of selfless humanitarian service" that the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary instilled in its students was emphasized as a concept to achieve this mission at the Home School. This approach led graduate students to confidently accept teaching positions in "remote and backward" communities in distant lands (Stone, 2006: 78). With a belief in their own cultural and moral superiority, American missionaries perceived humanitarian aid as a way of guiding people to "salvation." In this context, the college instilled American

exceptionalism[5] in its students through humanitarian service, positioning missionary education as cultural and moral "advancement."

The total number of students at the college was 137 in 1892, 147 in 1893, and 161 in 1895. The base of students' ethnicity in 1892 was as follows: "Armenian 51, Bulgarian 29, Greek 22, English 14, American 10, Jewish 6, Turkish 4, French 1" (Kocabaşoğlu, 1989: 204). Although the American College for Girls initially educated solely the children of Christian families, with the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Era (1908), its education policies underwent a significant shift. The college began to prioritize the education of Muslim girls as well. In 1910, it organized "special classes" for Ottoman Turkish women, most of whom were mothers, and offered classes in "cooking, childcare, Turkish history, organizing clubs and English through an interpreter" (Toprak, 1999: 49). Although the school provided basic courses for the Muslim girls initially, the school's program with courses such as Turkish history demonstrated that their education was shaped from its very foundations by a Protestant perspective. With the rising nationalistic ideologies of the twentieth century, the college encouraged local nationalism, similar to other American colleges. Zafer Toprak expresses the role of these colleges in this topic as follows:

> *These schools helped different ethnic groups develop a cultural identity and encouraged local nationalism, despite being at a cultural level ... Altough American schools did not directly promote such nationalism, the education of vernacular languages, literature, and culture, and teaching the Western European political though in their curriculum significantly contributed to the formation of national consciousness. (Toprak, 1999: 49-50)*

In this sense, Halide Edip Adıvar emerges as the prominent representative of the image of modern women that the college aimed for.

Graduating from the American College for Girls in 1901, Adıvar symbolized a redefined image of a Turkish woman who was "liberated from medieval mists" from a missionary perspective. According to Özpala, Halide Edip attributes to Anglo-Saxon culture "a lofty moral position in the world's civilization," and Adıvar's admiration stemmed from her conviction that this culture was based on "sacred ideas of womanhood and home." Özpala conveys the impact of Protestant education on

[5] American Exceptionalism refers to an ideological approach that places Unites States in a superior position over other nations. According to this notion, U.S. represents a special nation due to its democratic values, individual freedom and moral superiority. Therefore, the US has a mission to spread its values and guide the world.

Adıvar's through her statements: "More than for bread and water, more than any other want, we cry for knowledge and healthy Anglo-Saxon influence" (Adıvar, as cited in Özpala, 2017: 47). Adıvar's statements suggest that these colleges transformed American culture into a "God's favor" which must be "begged for." Furthermore, Halide Edip Adıvar expressed her "unconditional" devotion to the American College for Girls in her memoirs:

> *In the dark days when our country was covered by a dense cloud, in the midst of disaster and despair, to you I lifted my eyes. With the finest subtleties and the broadest realities of civilization and humanity, you extended knowledge to the darkest horizon of Turkey, O Institution. And you, honored women, yea, you teachers, who left your own land and your own people to elevate and enlighten the dark corner of this freedomless, portionless land, sacrificing your finest years in your piety; you have struggled to bring light to Ottoman soil, to Ottoman civilization, fighting for learning and culture* (Adıvar, as cited in Özpala, 2017: 47-48).

Through a missionary discourse, Adıvar depicts the American College for Girls in biblical terms by attributing it to a role of "sacred" institutions. Adıvar's stance towards the college highlighted its influence on women students and its role in missionary activities.

Consequently, Nathaniel G. Clark's approach towards women's education laid the foundation of the American College of Girls at Constantinople and intended to define the position of women in Ottoman society. After graduating from the college that encouraged Clark's education model based on American ideals, the students disseminated the knowledge and skills that they acquired from Protestants to their families; thus, the education provided in the American Board's schools moved from "the education of individuals in society" to "penetration to society through individuals" (Demir, 2012: 1410). In this sense, the American College for Girls became an agent of cultural hegemony that disseminates the Protestant values and American ideals.

CONCLUSION

American missionaries played a significant part as the soft power of American foreign policy. Although the U.S. officially declared an isolationist policy with the Monroe Doctrine, the American missionaries directly intended to ensure American cultural influence by aiming to create Protestant communities overseas. By disseminating American culture, these missionaries expanded the global influence of the United States and promoted their ideological interests. In this sense, the American Board, founded in 1810, emerged as one of the most influential American missionary organizations that aimed to propagate the "superior" Christian civilization by "civilizing" the "heathen" communities in line with the Puritan ideal of "city upon a hill."

The American Board activities in the Ottoman State began in 1820 as the organization's founders asserted that it was unacceptable to leave the Holy Lands in "the grip of Islam." As missionaries expanded their activities within the Ottoman territories, they focused on communities that they defined as "nominal Christians" in the Ottoman State; these American missionaries endeavored to shape Armenian and Greek communities through Protestant education. Meanwhile, the American Board's administrative office in Boston oversaw the American missionary activities, and the missionary policies evolved along with the administrative body of each period over time. As the Corresponding Secretary, Nathaniel G. Clark emerges as an influential figure in shaping the missionary policies in the American Board's history. During his tenure between 1865 and 1894, N. G. Clark fundamentally changed the church-oriented policies of his predecessor, Rufus Anderson. Through higher education policies and women's missionary work, Clark intended to reach a wider range of the community and encouraged Protestant institutions as "the cultural and spiritual centers" of American culture. Then, Clark's policies extended beyond his tenure and influenced the James L. Barton era in terms of social transformation through education.

Initially, it is crucial to examine the role of the Corresponding Secretary to comprehend Nathaniel G. Clark's impact on the missionary policies. Establishing an organized administrative structure through its legislation, ABCFM conducted its missionary activities overseas effectively. In this structure, the President and Vice-

President were obliged to oversee the American Board's annual meetings and perform duties that were assigned to them in these meetings. The Prudential Committee formed the core of the administrative body of the organization since it conducted the implementation of decided policies, missionary appointments, and financial management. Treasurer and Auditors ensured the financial accountability from mission stations to the central office in Boston. Lastly, the Corresponding Secretary emerged as a vital position in this structure since it conducted foreign correspondence, oversaw overseas missions, coordinated the work of missionaries, and influenced policy decisions. Their duty allowed them to shape mission strategies in the fields formally and informally in line with their agenda due to their relationships with missionaries. In this sense, Nathaniel G. Clark shaped the missionaries' policies of the American Board in the Ottoman State during his tenure as Corresponding Secretary, promoting his agenda over the missionaries.

During Rufus Anderson's term of office between 1832 and 1866, the American Board adopted the "Three-self" policy that encourages "self-governing, self-supporting, self-propagating churches." Apart from the Protestant church, other issues such as missionary education, women missionaries, and cultural propagation were insignificant, according to Anderson. The primary concern was to build Protestant churches and to proceed to the next field, similar to the first apostles. After Anderson's term, N. G. Clark expanded Anderson's "Apostolic Mission" with education policies that included higher education and vocational training and promoted self-support. Clark endorsed Cyrus Hamlin's secular college model, implementing this college model at American Board institutions in the Ottoman State. While Anderson's policies confined women as "missionaries' wives," Clark's vision about women missionaries promoted the Women Boards. It expanded the missionary reach to the domestic level by educating local women and creating new missionary opportunities. Thereby, Clark expanded Anderson's "Three-Self" policies in accordance with the socio-economic issues in the United States. Since Clark's term coincided with the Reconstruction Era, the economic aid to the missionary work had been reduced. In this context, Anderson's church-oriented "self-support" vision shifted towards Clark's economic "self-support" system in order to allow the American Board's institutions to improve the conditions of the local communities.

The last period of N. G. Clark's term marked a movement towards social transformation. This situation led to the election of James L. Barton as the Corresponding Secretary in 1894 since Barton's missionary ideals aligned with the inclination of the era. Thereby, Barton's notions about the relationship between the mission and society influenced the policies of the American Board. Maintaining Clark's legacy, Barton's policies induced significant growth in the mission through the humanitarian aid program and health services that aimed to improve relations with local communities. The self-sustaining institutions that were established earlier thrived during Barton's term, and these institutions ensured that local communities nurtured themselves autonomously. Moreover, James L. Barton was dedicated to N. G. Clark's higher education policies, and he considered education a crucial instrument of Protestant missionary efforts. From his perspective, missionary education was securing Christianity's position as an "intelligent faith" against "Eastern religions" in order to promote social transformation. Under the education policies, Barton also endorsed Clark's standpoint about English as the education language. Learning English was essential for students to participate in global intellectual movements; he emphasized that only those who were proficient in English could attain "leadership positions." Lastly, Barton's policies aimed to expand women's social positions in the community by concentrating on missionary education for women. This demonstrated that James L. Barton adhered to Nathaniel G. Clark's legacy and extended his approach to social transformation.

In examining Nathaniel G. Clark's policies about higher education and women missionaries, Central Turkey College and the Home School (The American College for Girls at Constantinople) emerged as significant institutions that were established with Clark's support and operated in the Ottoman State in accordance with his policies. Between 1876 and 1916, Central Turkey College played a significant role in shaping the Armenian community and the political sphere of the Central Turkey Mission. In the beginning, the college served as the spiritual and cultural center of Protestantism; nevertheless, it transformed into an institution that encouraged the Armenian national consciousness and political activities through its curriculum. Although missionaries asserted that the college aimed to remain impartial in the ongoing political conflicts, the courses that promoted Armenian national consciousness, such as in Armenian

history and literature, encouraged political expression. Thereby, Central Turkey College was actively involved in fostering the Armenian Protestant community in line with Clark's policies until it was moved to Aleppo in 1924.

Home School emerged as the foundation of Nathaniel G. Clark's women-centered missionary agenda. The school evolved from a "Home School" to a college, which was an instrument of Protestant influence and cultural dissemination over Ottoman women. While the college aimed to improve the condition of women by educating "virtuous wives" and Christian reformers, it legitimized the Orientalist and imperialist perspective of the missionary by positioning Ottoman women as "degraded" and "desperate" for salvation under American influence. Inspired by Mount Holyoke's school model, it combined Protestant spirituality with humanitarian service and envisioned its graduates as agents who would spread American values into local spheres. Over time, the American College for Girls extended its scope and provided educational opportunities for women from various backgrounds, including Muslim women; this approach caused the growth of cultural hegemony of the United States.

Consequently, Corresponding Secretary Nathaniel G. Clark was a crucial figure in the American Board between 1865 and 1894. He transformed the churched-oriented policies of the American Board by advocating higher education and women missionaries. His policies expanded the reach of the American Board and led missionaries to infiltrate every segment of Ottoman society. After his tenure, James L. Barton adopted most of his policies to promote the humanitarian service aspect of missionary work and aimed to achieve a social transformation in Ottoman society through Clark's education model.

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