

LEARNING TO BE MODERN:

American Missionary Colleges in Beirut and Kyoto 1860-1920

By

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A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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Abstract

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Adviser: Professor Beth Baron

Dissertation Abstract

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In 1874, ABCFM, the richest and one of the most conservative evangelical organizations in North America decided to open in Japan an English-language institution of higher learning with a largely liberal arts curriculum. This was a shift away from its policies against educational work that was not based solely on the Scriptures and done in the local language. This shift and therefore the genesis of Dōshisha English School (today Dōshisha University) in Kyoto, was in large part the result of the successful establishment a decade earlier of the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut. In the early 1860s, a group of renegade ABCFM missionaries, under the pressure from nascent Arab and

expanding Jesuit schools, challenged a long-standing policy of their missionary board on secular education and asked for support in establishing a college, as opposed to a seminary. Their rebellion was successful, the Boston elders relaxed their policies, and in 1866 a college opened its doors in Beirut. Its successful establishment made a Christian college an acceptable use of missionary resources and a model that soon found fertile ground in Japan.

This thesis charts the connected history of the Syrian Protestant College (today the American University of Beirut) and Dōshisha English School in Kyoto (today, Dōshisha University) as sites that catalyzed the debates on religion and science and shaped the discourse on education, progress, and development both in their locales and in the United States. Besides being supported by the same missionary organization, the Beirut and Kyoto colleges were connected by a common benefactor - William E. Dodge, one of the richest merchants in New England who played a key role on both continents. The two colleges also share a particular institutional framework based on the model of nineteenth-century American colleges – a non-sectarian Christian institution with a liberal arts curriculum – such as Amherst, from which both the founders of the Beirut and Kyoto colleges graduated. Finally, their common role in the modern history of the Middle East and Japan connected the two campuses as they quickly became, and remain to this day, important intellectual spaces in their respective regions.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This dissertation started as a study of the early history of Dōshisha English Language School (today's Dōshisha University) established in Kyoto in 1875. Over the course of my research, it morphed into a study of how the Syrian Protestant College (SPC, today's American University of Beirut) made it easier for Dōshisha's founder to gain support for his idea to start in Japan what he called a Christian college. By establishing SPC in 1866, Beirut-based American Protestant missionaries set the precedent of a mission-endorsed collegiate institution with an arts and sciences curriculum. Tracing their connected history and comparing their campuses, students, and teachers, this dissertation examines how the ostensible intellectual anomaly of a secular college established by evangelical missionaries came into being and how these two tension-ridden campuses grew to be intellectually transformative sites, not only for their students but for the missionaries as well.

The tension came from two main sources. First, the campuses were located at the intersection of, on the one hand, unabashed Protestant supremacy and imperial encroachment and, on the other hand, a belief shared by both Arabs and Japanese in the power of education to transform a nation. Second, there was the dialectic relationship between the realities missionaries lived in the field and the doctrinal dictates from the Boston headquarters of their employer -- the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).

How did evangelical Protestants, who were sent to convert the heathens by proclaiming the Gospel to them, decide to redefine their work to include teaching English, medicine, geometry, and economics? This dissertation explains that the decision of the ABCFM -- one of the most conservative U.S. evangelical missionary boards -- to sponsor a college in the 1870s with a largely secular curriculum, namely Dōshisha, was a result of the successful establishment

of the Syrian Protestant College by a group of renegade ABCFM missionaries a decade earlier. When Beirut-based missionaries petitioned Boston for permission to open a collegiate institution, they went against ABCFM's understanding of what education was. They did so because of the pressure they faced in Beirut to either engage in an educational project that would include humanities and scientific training or become intellectually inconsequential. Thus, Dōshisha's founding owed its support, albeit in a circumvented way, to a burgeoning reform movement in Beirut, in which missionaries fought to change the rules of Protestant missionary practice as set in Boston.

Blindness and Insight

In a box of papers of Henry Jessup, an American missionary in Ottoman Syria, I encountered several leather-bound annual agendas. As I opened one of them -- very carefully lest the 150-year-old and quite crisp leather clasp crumble in my hands -- a small cardboard rectangle fell out from between the covers. It was a teaching schedule covered with subjects and recitation hours. Mortified that the archivist had seen the piece falling out of the agenda and might think that I was destroying the material, I quickly put the schedule back among the covers. The only thought on my mind was how much we take the availability of paper for granted nowadays: in the 1860s, something as important as one's weekly schedule had to fit on what could not have been more than a two-by-three inch scrap of paper. It was only later, while reading Jessup's memoirs and his correspondence with the missionary headquarters in Boston, that the little teaching schedule came back to haunt me.

Something about that piece of paper did not match what I knew about the man. Jessup evangelized in Syria for over half a century, and is considered to have faithfully adhered to the

framework of evangelical duties prescribed by the ABCFM. These duties, as depicted on the organization's emblem, were those of a male missionary bestowing the Bible on the kneeling -- and seemingly grateful -- native. Insofar as "education" figured on the agenda, it was defined as a method of inculcating the knowledge of the Gospel and of salvation through Jesus Christ.¹ If, indeed, Jessup was an obedient follower of this model, how can we explain his 1862 teaching schedule packed with subjects of which ABCFM would not approve? A glimpse of an answer can be found in Jessup's memoirs under the heading "Labor of Love."

In 1862, an Arab convert to Protestantism, Mikha'il `Araman, opened a girls' boarding school in Beirut. ABCFM declined to support the school because, in addition to Bible study, the curriculum included instruction in algebra, geography, history, French, and English.² Jessup took it upon himself to help the school by raising funds through personal channels and kept the school running for eight years. Although he never mentions it in his memoirs, his support extended beyond fundraising and included teaching much more than the Bible, as his schedule shows. By 1870, much to Jessup's relief, a change in the missionary establishment's view of professional and literary training -- and of the structure of ABCFM -- made it possible for the women's section of the Presbyterian Missionary Board to take over support and control of this locally initiated institution.

Reevaluating the missionary in light of his teaching schedule, it occurred to me that men like Jessup, who were sent on their missions with strict instructions, did not always stick to them as closely as their employers would have liked. In addition to preaching the Gospel, they often ended up engaging in a whole range of intellectual pursuits outside of the prescribed realm.

¹ On the emphasis on "the knowledge of salvation" as the goal of the mission, see: Rufus Anderson, 8 November 1859, Boston, [circular letter to all mission stations], ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 2.1., reel 20. On the definition of education as inculcating "a knowledge of the Gospel on the minds of certain classes," see Rufus Anderson, *Mission Schools* (Boston, 1836), 21.

² Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, vol. 1 (New York: Fleming H. Ravell Company, 1910), 225.

Reading only Jessup's letters to the Boston headquarters, one could easily miss this, as the letters make no mention of his teaching schedule or his passion for geological exploration. Rather, they are filled with political ruminations on the "imbecile and wicked Turkish rule" and reports of evangelical trials and triumphs.³ Yet according to the teaching schedule, there were years when he spent far more time teaching the girls English and geography than preaching the Gospel to them.

Furthermore, although Jessup was never officially on the SPC faculty, he was connected to the college in numerous ways, many of which would remain unknown to the reader of both his letters to Boston and his memoirs. For example, in 1869, he gave his "valuable cabinet of the Geology of Syria" to the SPC museum under the title "Jessup Collection."⁴ Also, two of his sons briefly worked at the college in the 1890s. And in 1902, at his own expense, Jessup made a stone model of the SPC campus which was exhibited at the American Museum of Natural History and at the Saint Louis World Expo in 1904.⁵ The tension inherent in sidestepping the ABCFM dictates and combining evangelical work with his labor of love -- teaching subjects such as history and English and supporting the budding college -- is indicative of the tensions that characterized the enterprise.

As Jessup's example illustrates and this dissertation shows, the rules and expectations set in Boston had limited relevance in the realities of the missionary field. Often, what Boston prescribed did not work in getting the desired results, yet the ineffective regulations -- such as

³ Henry Jessup to Rufus Anderson, Beirut, 5 July 1860, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16.7.2, reel 546.

⁴ Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the American University of Beirut [the Syrian Protestant College] 1866-1902. typescript, 7. AUB Archives.

⁵ Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 306

the policy against general education -- actually got tightened over time.⁶ This seemed to go against what many missionaries, including Jessup, saw to be the most productive investment of time and resources and here is where policy did not always translate into practice. The `Araman boarding school was Jessup's labor of love and he was willing to put his name and reputation on the line to fundraise for it. But the school was not of interest to the elders in Boston, a point often glossed over in the historiography of the American evangelical missionary enterprise, which is typically seen as characterized by the missionaries' work in the realm of education.

Nineteenth-century Missionary Work through Twentieth-century Lenses

The rebranding of the evangelical project of converting the heathens and preparing for the second coming of Christ into a largely educational and medical enterprise originated in the genre of missionary memoirs written in the early twentieth century about work done in the nineteenth century. For example, writing in 1906, long-time missionary James Dennis claimed that the goal of the missionary project was to make "a new society and a new national life" by preparing "new men and women for activities of a new era." The majority of his illustrations are of schools and medical facilities, and his narrative of missionary work in different locales has a common motif: missionaries "pouring vitalizing forces into the social, national, commercial and religious life of foreign peoples," from China and Mexico to the Ottoman Empire and Madagascar, who are invariably presented as averse to reform.⁷ These and similar accounts make two omissions that are relevant for the argument here.

⁶ For an example of such tightening, compare Rufus Anderson's pamphlet on mission schools from 1838 and 1861. Rufus Anderson, *Mission Schools* (A.B.C.F.M. Pamphlet, 1838); Rufus Anderson, *Missionary Schools* (A.B.C.F.M. Pamphlet, 1861).

⁷ James Dennis, *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, vol. 3 (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1906), 4.

The first occlusion regards the goals of American Protestant missionary work in the second half of the nineteenth century. Today, in historiography and in popular understanding, missionaries are seen as having always combined evangelizing with other tasks, whether medical, educational, or social service. However, the record of ABCFM, the oldest missionary board in North America -- and one of the most influential -- shows that, for the first half century of its existence, it did not allow its men and women to engage in teaching subjects such as English composition, geography, or botany, much less send them on missions for that purpose. While Dennis was not wrong in asserting that evangelical work was about changing men and society, the elders who sent him to his post had a very different idea of the goal of overseas evangelical work, and of what constituted change. Departing missionaries were instructed that their goal was to "proclaim the Gospel as heralds to those who never, till lately, heard of Christ as a Savior; who never listened to the offers of pardon, nor had any just conception of themselves as immortal beings, or of God as the moral Governor of the universe."⁸ This way of proclaiming salvation through Jesus Christ was not initially meant to be done through the kinds of projects illustrated by the photographs in Dennis's book. Rather it was to be achieved through firm and undeviating "reliance on the pure doctrines of revelation." There were no two ways about it, because "no other doctrines, no other moral process but the preaching of these doctrines, will ever prove a remedy for the diseases of the soul."⁹ My point here is not to argue against the missionary work/education dyad as a framing of the Protestant evangelical enterprise, but rather to show how it came about: how and when preachers became teachers, and what that meant for the evangelizing project.

⁸ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Instructions to the Missionaries about to Embark for the Sandwich Islands and to the Rev Messrs. William Goodell & Isaac Bird attached to the Palestine Mission delivered by the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1823), 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 8.

The second occlusion in the rebranding of nineteenth-century Protestant missionary work pertains to agency and synergy. The school Jessup was so eager to help was neither started by missionaries in the field nor supported by the ABCFM headquarters. It was a local initiative that some missionaries joined against Boston's wishes. The cooperation was a result of synergy born from working together in a particular setting, which generated new and innovative forms. More often than not, it was Boston that was reluctant to change. The foundation of the Syrian Protestant College and of Dōshisha University in Kyoto is a larger story of how local demands and initiatives impelled, first, missionaries in the field, and, then, the missionary establishment, to redefine their practice. Although they initially thought that education was a means of proselytizing, they soon found out that the medium was the message and that, through education, their goals had changed. Thus, this is a story about how, in Beirut, Boston, and Kyoto, Arabs and Japanese, working in synergy with Americans, changed the face of the U.S. missionary establishment.

Beyond missionary accounts of their own endeavors, scholarship on the Protestant missionary presence in Japan and Lebanon tended until recently to fall into one of two categories. First, there were those who viewed the presence of missionaries as agents of modernization for their role in bringing modern education and medicine to the disempowered Arabs under the Ottomans and to former samurai in Meiji Japan.¹⁰ Second, there were those who asked a different question: were missionaries imperialists? Their research generally concluded that missionaries were either eager proponents or reluctant, but conscious, participants in the imperial

¹⁰ A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary, and Religious Work* (Oxford: Caledon Press, 1966); Irwin Scheiner, *Christian Converts and Social Protest in Meiji Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970).

enterprise.¹¹ In the past two decades, a novel approach to the missionary movement has brought a more nuanced understanding of how social background, doctrinal limitations, and local political setting shaped the everyday practice of missionary work in different outposts.¹² This line of inquiry has suggested that the missionary encounter with the local population should be viewed as a dynamic two-way process. In such encounters, local communities were transformed while U.S. academic institutions, foreign policy, and Protestant establishment were affected as well.

My research adds another dimension to the analysis of a dialogue between missionaries and the local community. By looking at Beirut, Boston, and Kyoto together, it is clear that missionary encounters were not bilateral, but multi-lateral conversations in which what was talked about in Beirut affected the course of what was planned in Kyoto. In looking beyond the assumption of much of the historiography that Protestant missionaries were always interested in education, I show just how uninterested they initially were, as well as how and why they became interested. Thus, this dissertation contributes to a growing body of literature that has pointed at local agency in what have often been seen as processes directed from the outside. In important ways, it was not American missionaries establishing colleges, but locals, Arabs and Japanese, clamoring so loudly to have them that, in the end, Americans found themselves acting to meet the demand.

The intersection of faith and science is an important part of the narrative. Only a handful of scholars -- Jon Roberts and Roland Numbers chief among them -- have given sustained

¹¹ Mustafa Khalidi and `Umar Farrukh, *al-Tabshir wa-l-Isti`mar fi al-Bilad al-`Arabiyya* [Proselytism and Imperialism in the Arab World], 2nd ed. (Beirut: al-Maktaba al-`Asriyya, 1957); William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

¹² Heather Sharkey, *American Evangelicals in Egypt: Missionary Encounters in the Age of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Ussama Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," *The American Historical Review* 102 (1997) 680-713; idem, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

attention to the relationship between Protestant piety and scientific research in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to what remains the default narrative, in the second half of the nineteenth century, most notably since Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*, a secularized science was somehow cleansed of the theologians who had studied nature and its laws. The fact that much science education in Kyoto and Beirut was taught, albeit not without problems, by American seminary graduates with impeccable scientific credentials complicates this standard narrative. Just as historians of Europe have recently shown faith to be more present than Enlightenment thinkers would have us believe, in the nineteenth century too, piety was sometimes quite intertwined with the pursuit of scientific knowledge.

Connections and Comparisons

This study draws inspiration from both comparative history as proposed by Marc Bloch and connected history as practiced by Sanjay Subrahmaniam. Part I builds the case for the connected history of the two colleges (1860-1875), while Part II places the two colleges alongside one another in comparing their architecture, intellectual spaces, and institutional crises (1870-1900). Chapter 2, "Establishing the Syrian Protestant College" examines how and why a group of American missionaries stationed in Beirut decided to challenge ABCFM's definition of education and its connection to evangelical work. Inspired by *The University and the City*, edited by Thomas Bender, I look at the emergence of the college through the intersection of urban and intellectual history. From this perspective, the Syrian Protestant College turns out to be an intellectual institution born from the urban dynamics of the city of Beirut rather than from the benevolence of faraway Boston.

For several reasons, SPC's founders, although American by birth and often condescending of their host environment, wanted to belong in Beirut and, in many ways, worked hard to be part of the city. Beirut in particular and Ottoman Syria in general were the closest American evangelicals came to their initial goal of Jerusalem and, being part of the biblical landscape, living there was of no small import. Although they left for a sabbatical year in the U.S. every seven or eight years and sent their adolescent children to American schools, missionary families were Beirutis in significant ways: they married and remarried, bore, raised, and sometimes mourned their children, and often lived most of their adult lives and, sometimes, died and were buried in Beirut. Second, although initially ignorant and negligent of local intellectual mores, as years and decades went by, many missionaries became part of the Beirut intellectual scene; they participated in literary and scientific associations, cooperated with local intellectuals in various translation projects, edited newspapers and published articles in the local press.

As the city of Beirut was transformed from a coastal town to a booming Ottoman port city and cultural center of the Arab cultural reform movement known as *al-nahda* or the Arab Renaissance, American missionaries were at least as much a part of it as they were of the evangelical missionary project emanating from Boston. In a moment of crisis in the early 1860s, when demands from Boston to close all teaching facilities contradicted the needs of Beirut to open as many schools as possible, missionaries showed where their loyalties lay. Disobeying the board at no small risk to their livelihoods, they made the priorities of Beirut their own, opposing policies written in Boston. Their rebellion was respectful and successful, in that Boston decided to modify its stand on education and support, up to a point, the project of the college. The chapter ends with the annual meeting of the ABCFM in 1874, by which point SPC was a success

and few of the elders in Boston remembered why it had been considered an evil idea a decade earlier.

In Chapter 3, "The Establishment of Dōshisha University in Kyoto," I trace how a specific annual meeting of the ABCFM in Rutland, Vermont in 1874 and a particular person, William E. Dodge, connected the Syrian Protestant College and Dōshisha. At the same meeting in which Rev. Daniel Bliss, SPC president, and Dodge, one of the college benefactors, were proud to report that SPC was no longer an experiment but solid as a rock, Niijima Jō, a young Japanese missionary, rebelled against the protocol of the meeting, stood up, and, from the podium, asked for money to establish a Christian college in Japan. Many in the audience must have been shocked when the speaker said he would not leave the stage until the money was promised him, but it was not surprising that Dodge and his wife were among a handful of those who responded to the call.

This was only the beginning: just as urban dynamics played an important role in the early history of SPC, so they did in the early history of Dōshisha. In particular, the disestablishment of Kyoto as the imperial capital between 1869 and 1871 prompted city officials to think of innovative ways to keep the city alive. Part of this project was establishing elementary schools, hiring foreign experts to start academies, and modernizing traditional industries. It was Kyoto city officials who suggested to Niijima that he establish his school there and then helped it take off. But while the role of Niijima as a founder, and ABCFM as the supporter, in establishing Dōshisha are well established in the historiography, the Kyoto urban dynamics that helped the college succeed have been either neglected or vilified.

Part II looks at the colleges in comparison with one another. Chapter 4, "Space and American Missionary Collegiate Architecture in Beirut and Kyoto, 1866-1885," examines the

role of spatial structure in the intellectual environment of a missionary campus. An examination of the location of the campus and first structures erected there reveals the anxiety, tensions, and paradox involved in the missionary college project. The missionaries wanted to be a relevant, even important, part of the city but at the same time they needed to create a bubble, a world apart. Even when they were teaching, missionaries remained evangelizers, and converting their charges was an important aspiration. However, their desire to belong to the city led them to offer a curriculum that was intellectually attractive, which usually meant a heavy dose of science and English language and a minimum of Bible study. To bridge the two mandates, they had to teach an arts and sciences curriculum while infusing the extra-curricular life of their students with Protestantism. This meant separating students from families, making all of them board on campus, controlling their movements, and organizing their free time to maximize exposure to pious Protestant role models. Space and architecture were an important aspect of that effort.

The process of designing and constructing collegiate buildings -- College Hall in Beirut (1871-1873) and *Shoeikan* in Kyoto (1882-1884) -- exemplified the synergy between American missionaries and architects on the one hand and Arab and Japanese builders on the other. In terms of architectural design, the two buildings are very different. What they have in common is hybridity of design. In Beirut, the building plan was drawn by George B. Post, a renowned architect famous for designing the New York Stock Exchange. But once plans created in Post's Broadway street studio started materializing on a Beirut promontory, they had to be adapted. Thus, an Arab head mason we know only as `Abd al-Massih added two stories of pointed arches -- a common element in Ottoman civil architecture -- to the main facade of the College Hall. In so doing, he effectively grounded an otherwise odd-looking, if impressive, building in its Beirut context. In Japan, Daniel Greene, an American missionary overseeing the construction of

Shoeikan, imagined it as a red-brick college building on the American model. However, when it came to actually building it, Greene like his Beirut counterparts had to rely on a local builder, who erected a Japanese-style wooden frame with a massive roof of the traditional type. He then laid red brick on the exterior in place of sliding doors that would have otherwise be customary in a Japanese building.¹³

What the building processes in Beirut and Kyoto had in common is that even when specific plans were created to make the college look impressively Western, the result was a hybrid and all the better for it. During the 1892 Nobi earthquake, Dōshisha's Harris School of Science, recently built according to the latest standards of Western architecture, suffered considerable damage, while *Shoeikan*, with its Japanese-style jointed roof holding together the frame and with virtually no foundation, survived intact. In Beirut, the arches that `Abd al-Massih placed on the facade had no structural function, but made the building look not only more approachable than it had in Post's design, but also provided protection from the relentless summer sun and February rains.

Chapter 5, "Intellectual Space: Students, Teachers, and Textbooks" compares those elements of the Beirut and Kyoto colleges. Using the example of students who became teachers, preachers who became faculty, and the textbooks they learned from, I show how intellectual avenues that were opened (and closed) on the two college campuses shaped the careers of American missionary teachers and their Japanese and Arab charges. No matter how hard American teachers worked to influence their students and convert them -- and no matter how successful they often were -- they themselves were also influenced by their experiences on

¹³ *Report on the Conservation of the National Treasure Building Shoeikan at Dōshisha University* (Kyoto: Kyoto district, Department of Education), 1981. For an analysis of the reconstruction study, see Hisao Mae, "Dōshisha no kindai kenchiku," in *Dōshisha Danso*, 1983, vol. 1, no 2., 73-94.

campus, whether lecturing, writing textbooks, advising and parenting students, or generally *being* teachers.

All of the students mentioned in this chapter—Sarruf, Nimr, Shimomura, and Motora—converted to Protestant Christianity. (In the Lebanese case, both students were Christian by birth and their conversion was thus intra-denominational.) They are not thus representative of early Dōshisha and SPC students. There are examples of Muslim students who remained steadfast in their faith throughout their studies in Beirut and of those who arrived as Christians and left as atheists in Kyoto. And there are countless other students who came, studied, and graduated without leaving much of a trace. I spent a week in Damascus trying to locate any record relating to Ibrahim Mishaqa, a graduate of the first medical class of SPC, or a living descendent, with no success. He was the son of a prominent Arab intellectual who was a Maronite convert to Protestantism and an elder in the Damascus Protestant Church. In August 2006, based on a single entry in the SPC Alumni catalogue of 1955, Ibrahim was first on my "to-research list" for student biographies, precisely because he was the John Doe of students, never researched or mentioned in the historiography. Weeks of search yielded nothing, not a shred of evidence in the Damascene press, not a living relative, not one person who knew where he used to live, no one who remembered being treated by him. I left knowing only what the slim entry in the alumni directory said: he had three sons, practiced medicine, and died in 1923. Yet the absence of Ibrahim Mishaqas from this chapter does not necessarily mean that what the Nimrs and Shimomuras tell us about their alma maters is of no import. Indeed, I would like to think that the Nimrs and Shimomuras can tell us at least a bit about the lives of the Mishaqas until Ibrahim and others have the opportunity to "talk to us."

Chapter 6, "Crises that Redefine," describes institutional crises in which the colleges were shaken by acrimonious fights. In Beirut, the conflict was ostensibly over Darwinism and in Kyoto over the definition of Christianity. Yet my analysis suggests that, in both cases, it was a conflict over who was to decide what kind of Protestant piety should be dominant on campus. In Beirut, the college was envisioned to be staffed and, as soon as practicable, run by Arabs. But, this original vision germinated in Beirut jarred with the ideas of the college's funders in New York. At first, both American and Arab teachers lectured, published textbooks, edited journals, and contributed to the local press in the Arabic language. Although this vision of the college as a local Beirut institution was contested as early as 1867, a year after the college opened, it was quite resilient and would be overridden only in the aftermath of a scandal in 1882.

In Kyoto, the death of Niijima Jō in 1890 ended the productive misunderstanding over what the purpose of the college was. For the ABCFM and many missionaries, Dōshisha was a training school for preachers and Christian teachers. For Niijima, it was more: a place for the best and the brightest of Japanese youth to learn modern science along with the Bible. When, in the early 1890s, it became essential for the school to be affiliated with the Japanese educational system and thereby secure military draft exemption for its students, the issue of what mattered more -- broadly defined education or narrowly defined Christianity -- had to be discussed. Absorbed in a decade-long struggle against what they saw as the decline of faith on campus, the missionaries failed to perceive the changes around them, as power of the late Meiji state (1890-1912) replaced the structural drama of the earlier period (1868-1889). Increasingly, matters pertaining to Dōshisha's organization were not merely an internal affair between its Japanese trustees and its American supporters. In order to survive, the college, like other Japanese private schools, had to fit itself into a national educational system. As a Christian school perceived to be

controlled by a foreign body at a time when Japan was increasingly sensitive to encroachments on its sovereignty, Dōshisha had to eliminate the word "Christian" from its constitution to prove its loyalty to Japan. For American missionaries, this was a betrayal while, for Japanese administrators, it was survival.

Disparity of Archives

Through the years of research for this project, I was often challenged and sometimes inspired by the disparity between Arabic and Japanese sources. For example, the Japanese tradition of collecting and printing primary documents pertaining to the history of an organization in multi-volume collections facilitated my work. Similarly, the lives of students and sometimes teachers too were comparatively easier to uncover in Dōshisha's case, as at least two important sets of diaries and numerous student memoirs were preserved. In Kyoto, even American teachers were more likely to write memoirs than their counterparts in Beirut. To contrast, whatever existed in Arabic for SPC was much easier to read since nineteenth-century Arabic differs less from modern Arabic than the Japanese of most of my sources, some of which were written in *sōrōbun* and *kanbun*.

This archival disparity was both a challenge and an inspiration, as when a particular type of source in Kyoto led me to reexamine what I had missed in Beirut. Inspection records of Dōshisha by the Kyoto prefectural government's Education Department are a case in point. Among the documents transcribed and printed in a four-volume *One Hundred Years of Dōshisha History (dōshisha hyakunen shi)*, are the reports of an undercover inspection of the school by a Kyoto city official who went on a tour of the campus by pretending he was a parent interested in sending his children to Dōshisha. His reports list a handful of breaches of which the school was

allegedly guilty and contradicted the assumption that the Kyoto governor kept the school open because he did not understand what was happening on campus. As these documents show, governor Makimura knew full well that the Bible was taught on campus despite his explicit orders, but kept the school open because he considered it good for the city. I could not but wonder what Ottoman intelligence records at Başbakanlık Archives in Istanbul might have to say about SPC.¹⁴

Terms of Conversation

Some of the most frequently used words here include: the Syrian Protestant College, Dōshisha, college, and missionary. A word of clarification is in order. The term Dōshisha is often used as a short hand for the institution Dōshisha English Academy (*dōshisha eigakko*). Between 1875 and 1923, it underwent several name changes but "Dōshisha" -- commonly translated as "one purpose" -- always remained a part of the name. When referring to SPC and Dōshisha, I have been careful to use the word college, instead of university, as it is a more accurate description of what these institutions strove to be and often were in their nineteenth century contexts. Each came to bear the title of university within three years of each other, SPC in 1920, Dōshisha in 1923.

A number of American Protestant missionaries are important actors in this story. Considering the wide range of American Protestant societies and organizations that sent youth overseas, it is difficult to estimate their number, describe the variety of projects they undertook, and map all the places they established their stations. One of the challenges was to maintain clarity on the kind of Americans, Protestants, and missionaries in question. In rare cases, where the word missionary stands unqualified, it refers to those -- mostly men and sometimes women --

¹⁴ Because these were in Ottoman Turkish, mixed with other intelligence reports from Beirut, and not catalogued I could not pursue this path but hope to do so in the future.

the ABCFM sent to different parts of the world in the nineteenth century. Throughout this work, I adopt a practical definition of evangelicalism which takes the experience of piety seriously. At the same time, I understand personal piety to be both manifested in everyday customs of the body and mind and changed by lived experience. In my model of analysis, a missionary was at the same time a traveler, an intellectual émigré, and a settler.

Besides being under the banner of a missionary board, drawing regular salary and benefits, the interests and talents of missionaries could refract in a number of different ways: studying nature, teaching literacy classes, translating Scripture, learning foreign languages, preaching, or building houses and churches. Such practices defined their senses of self and the communities to which they belonged, just as much as did their connection to a metropolitan missionary board. In the case of American missionaries in Beirut, it was their interest in and sense of belonging to the cultural efflorescence of the Arab Renaissance that initiated an important change in the missionary establishment's understanding of its relationship to education. In Kyoto, it was being part of building enlightened Japan that inspired not only Nijima but his American colleagues as well and made it difficult for missionaries to leave Dōshisha for good, even when the core of their beliefs was shaken. And they did not leave. Instead, they returned and found peace with the absence of the word "Christianity" in the college constitution, the non-traditional uses of chapel, and liberal theology.

Finally, a note on personal names and titles: Although all missionaries mentioned in this dissertation were ordained ministers, in most cases, I have refrained from using the title "Reverend" before their names in the interest of style. English and Arabic proper names are written with the given name preceding the surname, whereas Japanese personal names are written with the surname preceding the given name, as is the custom of the country.

Chapter 2: Establishing the Syrian Protestant College (SPC)

The apparent necessity of such an institution at the present time, was regarded as an evil. We stated to the Committee, however, that the existence of such an institution, under the virtual control of the mission, was probably to be regarded as a necessary choice of evils. [...] We also stated to the Committee our own apprehension, and probably yours, that if some such institution as you propose were not got up in the manner you suggest, one or more such institutions might soon come into being beyond your control and greatly to your injury.[...] Yet you will permit me to say [...]that an institution under the virtual control of the mission, which in its principal tendencies, shall hinder you in laying the foundations of a simple, contented, independent native pastorate all over your field [...] would be a still greater evil. [...] We have found compromises in missions, always to work against us in the end. [...] Evangelical simplicity in aims and pursuits, under the guidance of God's holy word, is our life and strength in mission.¹⁵ (Rufus Anderson to Syrian Mission, March 21, 1861)

The doors of what is today the University of Beirut opened in 1866 under the name Syrian Protestant College as the first institution of higher education sponsored by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Only a few years earlier, this would have been unthinkable because ABCFM's definition of education was inculcating the knowledge of Gospel, and higher education meant seminary, not a liberal arts college with a medical school. This chapter explores how it became possible to have a college with a largely secular curriculum on a missionary dime. In so doing, it sets the establishment of the college within the urban and intellectual history of Beirut, arguing that this history explains aspects of the shift that occurred in Boston to enable the formation of SPC.

Three elements converged and pushed Beirut-based missionaries to successfully strategize about how to change Boston-set rules of missionary engagement, which hitherto had forbidden the teaching of subjects such as English, geography, history, and medicine. First, living and working in the burgeoning port city of Beirut stimulated a number of American

¹⁵ Rufus Anderson to the Syrian Mission, Boston, 21 March 1862. ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 2.1, reel 20.A.

missionaries to pursue “extracurricular” activities such as membership in scientific and literary societies and salons. Second, the 1860 civil unrest shattered the American monopoly on Protestant missionary work in the city by drawing the attention and resources of numerous non-American Protestant organizations and wealthy individuals. Third, the competition from Arab Protestant converts, most notably from Butros al-Bustani whose plans to open a non-sectarian and non-evangelical institution of higher learning, spurred the ABCFM missionaries on the ground to action.

The establishment of the SPC, seen as part of the urban intellectual history of Ottoman Syria, suggests two critical interventions. First, assumptions about the SPC’s founding maintain that the college was “a New England transplant” to the Levantine shores, and a product or even “pearl of the United States educational internationalism.”¹⁶ Yet these assertions oversimplify a much more complex beginning. New York State chartered the college in 1863, and many of the early faculty were New England transplants of sorts. Most of its funding came from and continues to come from the United States, and the language of the classroom and the campus has been English since the 1880s. Physically, it is separate and independent of the city in various ways, not only because of the high walls that encircle it but also because it draws on water and electricity supplies that are independent of the city of Beirut. Indeed, judging by the cafeteria, which serves oatmeal and bagels, and the washrooms (American Standard), the college today looks less of Beirut than true to the “American” part of its name.

However, during the formative years of the campus (1860-1871), the college was not quite a piece of America on the Mediterranean shores. This was a period when the college was *in*

¹⁶ Samir Khalaf, “New England Puritanism and Liberal Education in the Middle East: the Syrian Protestant College as a Cultural Transplant,” in *Cultural Transitions in the Middle East* (Leiden: E.J. Brill 1994); Stephen Penrose, *That They May Have Life*; Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East ; Missionary Influence on American Policy 1810-1927* (University of Minnesota, 1971), 98.

and *of* Beirut, when American teachers not only learned Arabic but also lectured in it. The college was an innovative institutional form inspired by the intersection of intellectuals and the city they inhabited. The complexity of the story makes it tempting to gloss over the details. But it is precisely this messy early history that made the college into what it is today: the oldest and the leading research university not only in Lebanon but in the entire region. Thus, to call the college a transplant misses the point and neglects a history that was more hybrid and complex than the words “American” or “Arab” imply.

The second intervention is to point out that to call the college a “pearl” of American educational internationalism or a prime example of the nineteenth-century American missionary project is to ignore the fact that missionaries in Beirut had to carefully strategize in order not to get fired for coming up with this idea. There is an entrenched assumption both in the historiography and in popular understanding that Protestant missionaries were always keen on education and schooling “the heathen.”¹⁷ In this reading of Protestant history, missionaries (regardless of their considerable denominational and cultural differences and change over time) considered “educational work” to be vital because conversions depend on their charges’ ability to read and understand the Scriptures. The problem is that teaching people to read the Scriptures is not the same as teaching them medicine and geography. While literacy is certainly part of, or arguably the basis of, education as we understand it today, reading and writing cannot be equated with teaching subjects such as mathematics, history, botany, pathology, astronomy, and English composition. Twentieth-century assessments of nineteenth-century missions often dressed up a largely evangelical project as a largely educational one, in the broad sense of the word. In fact, what missionary elders in Boston had in mind was not broad education but teaching reading and

¹⁷ Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and the Evangelical Mission in the Pacific, 1795-1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 58.

writing strictly and only insofar as it was necessary for understanding the Bible. The American evangelicals who figure in this study were sent overseas to spread the Gospel, not to teach botany and English. The ABCFM, one of the oldest and richest missionary boards in North America, had a record of closing schools and dismissing missionaries who forgot that its notion of education was to impart knowledge of Gospel. As late as 1859, the missionaries were reminded in a circular letter that they were sent to bring “the benighted men to knowledge of his [sic] salvation,” which did not include English composition and anatomy.¹⁸ In sum, education broadly conceived did not naturally accompany direct proselytizing from the beginning.

The establishment of the college was not an act of disinterested missionary benevolence aimed at bringing the American model of liberal arts education to the people of Ottoman Syria. Instead, the “American college” was a Beirut product: the college was in and of the city, related to its cultural and urban development, and a result of American missionary attempts to keep their place in it. The missionaries themselves aspired to be, and often were, Beirut intellectuals. In finding a place for themselves in the city, the missionaries were caught between the limits inherent in their job description as dictated by Boston and the dynamics of competition developing in Beirut. The civil unrest in Mt. Lebanon in the summer of 1860 was a key moment in which American missionaries started feeling they were loss ground in Beirut to other Protestant, some Jesuit and local Arab initiatives and organizations. Hence, the foundation of the college was, in a way, an act of self-preservation and compromise. The motion to petition elders in Boston for support in establishing a college was passed unanimously in Beirut; all the missionaries stationed in the city were in favor of it, even knowing that it ran against the ABCFM’s policy and practice. It was thus a respectful but rebellious move. The elders in Boston

¹⁸ Rufus Anderson, 8 November 1859, Boston, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 2.1., reel 20.

gave their blessing to the project reluctantly, but were quick to claim paternity once the college proved itself a success a decade later.

Beirut: From Fishing Village to Port City

Although Beirut is one of the oldest settlements in the eastern Mediterranean, the city was a latecomer to the world of Mediterranean port cities. At the turn of the nineteenth century, when Izmir had a population of 140,000, Beirut was a fishing village of some 6,000 people. But over the course the century the village developed into a major port, with its population growing twenty-fold increase to 120,000, boasting a growing economy and burgeoning cultural scene. The growth of trade in the eastern Mediterranean, the surge in maritime trade, and the incorporation of the Middle East into global trade networks partly explained this development. Another aspect contributing to the rise of Beirut was the demise of two other coastal towns – Tyre and Acre – under the rule of the Ottoman governor Ahmad Pasha, known as al-Jazzar (the Butcher).¹⁹

The surge in maritime trade moved the center of gravity from cities like Aleppo and Damascus in the Ottoman Syrian interior towards the coast. While located on the shoreline, Beirut was not particularly better placed than a dozen other towns from Tripoli to Tyre, and the ports of Acre and Tyre had historically served as points of exit and entry into Ottoman Syria. But al-Jazzar steadily stifled trade in those towns by trying to control it during his rule, and in 1879,

¹⁹ For the early history of the city of Beirut, see: Leila Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983); Kamal Saliba, *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). For a history of the city of Acre, see: Thomas Philipp, *Acre: The Rise and Fall of a Palestinian City, 1730-1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001). For al-Jazzar's policies that earned him the title of the Butcher by an early nineteenth-century historian, see Mikhayil Mshaqa, *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage, and Plunder: The History of Lebanon in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston, Jr. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988), 13-16, 28-31. For al-Jazzar's extortion, confiscation, and monopoly of (mainly cereal and cotton) trade in Palestine, see Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 99-101.

when he arrested Napoleon's advance from Egypt up the Syrian coast at Acre, he expelled all French merchants as far north as Beirut. Despite al-Jazzar's continuous efforts to extend his control over trade in Beirut, and despite his temporary success in the aftermath of his victory against Napoleon's army, Beirut merchants remained largely free of his control under the protection of the Emir Bashir II, who coming from an Arab notable family ruled Mt. Lebanon under Ottoman suzerainty. By the time of al-Jazzar's death, Tyre and Acre had lost their dominance, and Beirut was increasingly taking over as the port of call for trade vessels on the Syrian coast. By the 1820s, as the city became more stable and safer for commerce for longer stretches of time, Lebanese Christian merchants who previously transacted business in Beirut but did not live there, started settling in the city with their families. Prominent merchant families established villas during this period, many of which overlooked the port.²⁰

The passengers coming to Beirut were treated to a beautiful view, but no pier or dock on which to disembark. When ships anchored, people and cargo were brought to shore on small boats. Humble and smelly, the port -- with its nearby markets -- was the heart of the city, connecting it by sea to global and regional markets. Local merchants established a stronghold in the city in this crucial period - (1820-1835), defining its economic character in the absence of a large foreign merchant community. Unlike Izmir or Alexandria, which had politically and commercially strong foreign merchant communities in the 1810s and 1820s, local merchants played the dominant role in Beirut's economic life. From 1825 to 1836 -- before the establishment of British and the return of French trading houses in the city -- there was a 215% increase in imports and a 165% increase in exports through the port of Beirut.²¹ As the volume

²⁰ The families that started settling in this period were the Bustros, Pharons, Bayhums, Medawars, Sursocks, and Naccaches.

²¹ Leila Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983), 68.

of trade grew, so did the nucleus of the local mercantile bourgeoisie. After the initial months of turmoil, decade of Egyptian occupation of Ottoman Syria (1831-1840) fostered a degree of security and political stability that enabled the city to grow along with its native merchant community.

Beirut expanded with emigration from Mount Lebanon, Aleppo, Tripoli, and Sidon, but its migrants came more for political than economic reasons. The immigration of artisans, merchants, and peasants was largely prompted by political turmoil in the interior starting in 1840; Beirut's growth doubled that of Izmir and Alexandria.²² The nature of the migration, largely Christian, affected the social make-up of the city. Flight from their villages with a sense of persecution by their non-Christian neighbours reinforced attachments to family, clan, and community, and migrants settled accordingly. This meant that the city, which previously had no religiously segregated quarters, received an influx of refugees clustering along religious and communal lines. And so between 1840 and 1860, the city experienced unprecedented growth, becoming more Christian but also more divided.

Exhaustion of Old Missionary Methods

The first missionaries who settled in Beirut in the 1820s were the ABCFM's William Goodell and Isaac Bird and their wives Abigail Goodell and Ann Bird. They departed American shores in 1823 with a clear understanding of their task and virtually no idea of the social and political lay of the land at their destination. They came to Beirut with a commission to be part of "a great war" waged by their Savior against the powers of darkness. Their task was to "shine as

²² Resat Kasaba, Caglar Keyder, and Faruk Tabak, "Eastern Mediterranean Port Cities and Their Bourgeoisies: Merchants, Political Projects, and Nation-States," *Review* 10 (1986): 121-125.

lights in the world,” and their goal was to bring salvation by preaching the Gospel.²³ Conversion to a Protestant version of Christianity and its Congregationalist form of worship was the embodiment of their definition of light. Both men had been educated at Andover Theological Seminary and were taught virtually nothing about Islam.²⁴ It is possible that in preparation for their departure, they consulted the famous introduction to George Sale’s translation of the Qur’an, available in Andover’s library, learned to refute the false prophesy, and perhaps retained bits on the “Imposter’s” life.²⁵

The mission of these young men (and their wives) was to spread the Gospel, but the question of why overseas mission became a career option, or of what pushed American evangelicals to venture abroad, remains a puzzle. If one is to take them at their word, the answer is rather simple: the Bible so commands. "And he said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." (Mark 15:16) Goodell and Bird were among many young American men in the nineteenth century who felt themselves called to this work. Yet it is equally important to ask why then and why overseas?

In the historiography of American missionary work and nineteenth-century American religion, it is difficult to find an explanation that balanced respecting the idea of “being called” and examining why was it in 1810 that a Biblical injunction which had long existed began to resonate with hundreds of young men and women, leading them thousands of miles from their place of birth. Some historians have suggested that after the promulgation of the U.S.

²³ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Instructions to the Missionaries about to Embark for the Sandwich Islands and to the Rev Messrs. William Goodell, & Isaac Bird attached to the Palestine Mission delivered by the Corresponding Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston, 1823), 8.

²⁴ An overview of the precepts of Islam was offered in classes on ecclesiastical history, but these classes weren’t taught until the position was filled in 1828, when both men were already in the field.

²⁵ For data on the curriculum at Andover theological seminary, see Ussama Makdisi, “Refusing Comparison: How Middle Eastern Violence is Narrated by American Missionaries,” Paper presented at *The Empire and Its Discontents: Conference in Honor of Professor Robert L. Tignor*, Princeton University, September 16-17, 2005.

Constitution, imminent disestablishment of the Standing Order, and the democratization of American religion, turning overseas enabled a dignified retreat from increasingly secularizing developments in New England.²⁶ Others who study nineteenth-century Congregationalism show that the denomination made a smooth transition from being the only game in town to operating on a voluntary associational model. This suggests that the Congregationalists, doing well despite the change in rules of operations, went into overseas mission from a position of power, not weakness. Why they left is perhaps less important than where they came from and what they did once they arrived. Yet it is a question of no small interest which merits further research across the historiographical boundaries of the U.S. and the Middle East.

Not all early missionaries to the Levant came from Massachusetts or Congregationalist backgrounds. Regardless of their denomination, their seminary training at Andover (in Massachusetts) made them part of a tightly knit and religiously homogenous community that symbolically traced itself to the early Puritans. Although their interpretation of their Puritan heritage gave birth to a distinctly evangelical strand of religiosity that was different from that of their Puritan precursors, their understanding of religious tolerance (as evident from their approach to missionary work in Beirut), was remarkably parallel.

When Puritan settlers followed the Pilgrims in the 1630s, they sought a kind of Protestant theocracy in which reference to the Scriptures would frame the laws of the polity. Based on congregational principles of governance, the Massachusetts General Court controlled who lived in the colony and how they lived there. Membership in a Congregational church and adherence to articles of faith was a precondition for settlement in Massachusetts. This meant that regardless of whether or not one held to Puritan doctrines, in order to live in Massachusetts, one had to

²⁶ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); for iterations of this view in the context of Middle East historiography, see Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008).

submit to a set of religious precepts and rules of personal conduct that emphasized manifestations of piety through abstinence, asceticism, and observance of the Sabbath. This uniformity of belief was designed to establish and maintain tightly knit covenanted communities of believers in which everyone paid taxes for church support and all church members – with the exception of women and religious dissenters – were able to vote.

Dissent in the colony -- the City on the Hill -- was practically illegal and those who did question authority or doctrine were exiled and their books burned.²⁷ A high premium was placed on social conformity, religious orthodoxy, and unity of theological understanding. In the absence of a formal church structure and with the growth of the colony, New England's clergy sought to maintain a "carefully articulated consensus, monitored by an educated core of scholars-pastors and watchful laypeople in the pews."²⁸ Established only several years after the arrival of Puritan settlers, Harvard University was envisioned as a facility for training clergy and creating consensus. On its shoulders rested the intellectual cohesion of the new colony.

As the settlements grew into diverse communities, the clergy found it increasingly difficult to keep their congregations united in doctrine and practice. Among the many divisions of the eighteenth century was the one occasioned by the 1740s revival of religious zeal, known as the Great Awakening. It split the clergy and congregations across New England in two. The battle of the Old and New Lights – a series of sophisticated theological debates – came down either to support of the pious zeal or opposition to the emotional excesses of the revival. In the years after the American Revolution of 1776, political turmoil was added to this ongoing theological conflict. The combination adversely affected New England clergy, which was

²⁷ Two of the most prominent cases of banishment from Massachusetts Bay Colony for holding religious views different from the Puritan beliefs or questioning the established church order were that of Roger Williams (1635) and of Anne Hutchinson (1638).

²⁸ Margaret L. Bendroth, *A School of the Church: Andover Newton across Two Centuries* (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2008), 3.

accustomed to a religious monopoly and tax revenues for their churches. The U.S. Constitution institutionalized the separation of church and state, never once mentioned God, and abolished guaranteed sources of state funding for any church. The brethren in Massachusetts resisted the First Amendment until 1833, and Massachusetts was the last state to bring its laws into concordance with it.²⁹

A series of revivals collectively known as the Second Great Awakening, which swept New England congregations and college campuses from 1790 to 1835, coincided with decades of wrangling over the place of piety in politics. Amidst these millennial spiritual outpourings, pastors and laymen had a hard time maintaining order in their congregations. Harvard University, the pinnacle of theological authority and intellectual life of the young nation, was among the centers of flux. It became the focus of the maelstrom in 1805 because of a theological and academic controversy over the appointment of a Unitarian professor to the Chair of Divinity. Among the results of this crisis was the defeat of conservative Congregationalists and their retreat from Harvard to establish the Andover Theological Seminary near Boston and, some have suggested, a distaste for higher education. The Andover Theological Seminary sought to keep what they perceived to be orthodoxy alive. Their definition of orthodoxy was strict adherence to Calvinist ideals as it stood against Unitarian tendencies which manifested themselves at Harvard with the appointment of Professor Henry Ware to the head of New England's oldest Theological school. Andover became "the training center for ABCFM's missionaries" as it produced the bulk of the early Congregational missionary force.³⁰ "The first American graduate school of any kind," Andover was also a connecting point between Beirut and Kyoto since both Daniel Bliss,

²⁹ Peter S. Field: *The Crisis of the Standing Order: Clerical Intellectuals and Cultural Authority in Massachusetts, 1780-1833*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

³⁰ David W. Kling, "The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," in *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 30.

the first president of the Syrian Protestant College, and Niijima Jo, founder of Doshisha University, were among its alumni.³¹

In contrast to the preservation of orthodoxy by budding evangelicals in the early nineteenth century within the relatively confined geographical space of Massachusetts Bay, the Ottoman Empire of the same period had a very different concept of religious diversity. When the Andover graduates and ABCFM missionaries landed in Beirut, they disembarked on the shores of an empire that was centuries-old and shaken but still confident and eager to maintain a place among the powers of nineteenth-century geopolitics.³² The city of Beirut was part of an empire that straddled three continents and had thirty million subjects of great religious, ethnic, and linguistic diversity within its borders.³³

When the Ottomans conquered Constantinople in 1453, they inherited ancient Christian institutions such as the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate, Holy Mount Athos, and a vast monastic network. The number of institutions, holy sites, and monasteries grew when in 1516-17, the Ottomans established rule over Jerusalem and toppled Mamluk rule in Egypt and Syria. Reigning over Jerusalem, the holy city of three monotheistic religions, and ruling from Constantinople, the capital of the Greek Orthodox world, Ottoman jurists went to work defining how Jewish and Christian communities (as well as Shi`i Muslims) should live under Sunni Ottoman rule, never disputing the right of these groups to preserve their community, property, and way of life. Recognizing Jews and Christians as *ahl al-kitab* -- People of the Book, followers of earlier, if incomplete revelations -- the Sultan ruled over them according to the parameters of the Pact of

³¹ Margaret L. Bendroth, *A School of the Church: Andover Newton Across Two Centuries* (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co, 2008), xi.

³² On how comparatively strong the Ottoman empire was at that point, see Jonathan Grant, "Rethinking the Ottoman 'Decline': Military Technology Diffusion in the Ottoman Empire, Fifteenth to Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 10 (1999):179-201.

³³ For comparison, U.S. census numbers for 1800 measure the population of the United States at 5,300,000. For the Ottoman conception of religious tolerance and how it intersected with American missionaries' ideas on the topic, see Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*.

‘Umar, a distillation of centuries of custom and practice of Muslim rule over non-Muslim communities. The pact entitled non-Muslims to protection of property and rites in exchange for their submission to Muslim rule. In addition, Jewish and various Christian communities were granted autonomy in the realm of civil law involving property, family, and contract law among its members.³⁴

This is not to say that the spirit of the Pact of ‘Umar was upheld at all times. Rather, the social fabric was based on Muslim supremacy in public venues, and a distinct class structure was upheld in which local elites, Ottoman governors, and the Sultan negotiated over money, privilege, and power. For example, in the aftermath of the Ottoman general al-Jazzar’s victory over Napoleon at Acre in 1799, when the Ottoman Sublime Porte expelled French merchants from Beirut and imposed severe restrictions on their activities in the empire, many Christian merchants feared that the retaliatory measures would spill over onto native Christians. The Christian merchants abandoned Beirut as a place of residence and shrank their businesses in the city. Christian collaboration with Napoleon in Palestine and Beirut's merchants' ties to the French capital were plausible pretexts for persecution but they were not the root causes of their flight.³⁵ Rather, Ahmad Pasha al-Jazzar’s long-held desire to control trade in Beirut for his own profit prompted merchants to flee at a time when the Pasha had a ready pretext for abuse of power. They were especially vulnerable because the only check on al-Jazzar’s power came from the Sultan, who was reluctant to act swiftly against the hero who had defeated Napoleon’s invading

³⁴ Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

³⁵ On Napoleon’s invasion of Syria and Christian collaboration with the French troops in Galilee, see A.L. Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria Including Lebanon and Palestine* (London: Macmillan, 1965), 36-39.

army. So from 1799 to 1804, the number of Christians in Beirut was so small that they could fit into one church for worship.³⁶

As was the case with the ambitious governor of Tyre and Acre, Ottoman rulers occasionally allowed the provisions of the Pact of ‘Umar to lapse. Yet episodes of rebellion against the Ottoman order and persecution of non-Muslims were part of what historian Ussama Makdisi has called the rhythm of rebellion and reconciliation that reflected the Ottoman imperial social order, which privileged rank at least as much as it did religion.³⁷ The order recognized the principle of coexistence based on difference, asserted Muslim preeminence, and accorded respect to non-Muslim elites and by extension the communities they represented. In this social order, public challenging of one's religion was either illegal (if you were Muslim) or socially taboo and in bad taste if you were a member of a religious minority. Such was the world to which American missionaries arrived in the 1820s.³⁸

Early Missionary Methods and the Meaning of Education

Upon landing in Beirut in 1823, missionaries applied themselves to their commission of spreading the Gospel by preaching, publishing polemics, distributing tracts, and learning Arabic. Not speaking the language did not deter missionaries from preaching to their visitors and questioning their religious knowledge. “I cannot converse with them in Arabic,” wrote one missionary, “but I have learned the ten commandments and some other portions of [the]

³⁶ Shayikh Taha al-Wali, as quoted in Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants*, 44.

³⁷ Ussama Makdisi, “Corrupting the Sublime Sultanate: The Revolt of Tanyus Shahin in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (2000), 180-208.

³⁸ Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 88-91.

scriptures which I frequently read to those visitors who are themselves unable to read.”³⁹

Another part of missionary work was interacting with intellectuals by hiring them as language teachers and translators. For the missionaries, these curious and intellectually adventurous young men were an important point of contact with the world around them.

There is little evidence that settling in Beirut initially inspired reflection about the plurality of the political and religious landscape of the host community, even when dramatic circumstances, such as persecution of converts, afforded an opportunity for reflection. While learning the decorum of the region, American missionaries arrogantly disregarded the underlying Ottoman code of conduct shared by different communities, which had more or less learned to live together and not question others’ religious beliefs. To missionaries converting the heathen, initially, did not presuppose learning the culture or faith of those one was trying to convert.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the missionaries seemed unconcerned with the political implications of antagonizing the ecclesiastical authorities who were entrusted with direct control and responsibility for the people among whom the missionaries worked.

Accordingly, the results of missionary work in the first decade were abysmal: seven converts, a few friends, and several anathemas issued by different local patriarchs and bishops. Yet one cannot deny that there was something attractive about the Biblemen – as Arabs called them – and something powerful about their ways. A handful of intellectually curious and educated came to associate with the mission as tutors, translators, business agents, and teachers. They were all Christian as American missionaries were not proselytizing among the Muslims

³⁹ William Goodell, 24 January 1824. ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 6. reel 515; also cited in A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary, and Religious Work* (Oxford: Caledon Press, 1966), 48.

⁴⁰ Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 91.

due to Ottoman laws which mandated death sentence for apostasy.⁴¹ These inquisitive men - such as Asa'd Shidyah and Gregory Wortabet - were an invaluable asset to the mission, acting as mediators between the newcomers and the Ottoman world around them. Yet there is little evidence that their advice was sought out or their counsel heeded in matters of strategy, procedure, or conduct.

Behind the front lines of evangelizing, two missionary wives – who in general were considered by the mission to be mere helpmeets -- hired an Arab convert, Tannus al-Haddad, to instruct the local children in reading and writing Arabic. The school established by Abigail Goodell and Ann Bird was little different from other schools in the Beirut vicinity at the time. It could barely be called a one-room school and operated for only two or three hours a day. According to historian A.L. Tibawi, these mission-supported schools did not offer education in the broad sense of the word, but were rather “a mixture of philanthropy and religious instruction, relief and teaching, for a missionary purpose.”⁴² Despite the opposition of ecclesiastical authorities to what they perceived as Protestant incursions into their communities in the guise of a home-school, this initiative survived for several years. By 1826, at a time when men’s work of direct preaching was at a virtual standstill because their modus operandi often disturbed the public order and thus attracted the attention of both Ottoman and Church authorities, there were three hundred students in six to eight local schools that received some kind of missionary aid in addition to the home-school in the Bird residence. ⁴³

⁴¹ Although the letter of the law was clear, in reality the law was rarely implemented. For more on how apostasy from Islam was treated in practice see Selim Deringil. "There is No Compulsion in Religion": On Conversion and Aposasy in the Late Ottoman Empire: 1839-1856." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (3), 2000:547-575.

⁴² Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 64.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 42.

This success was short-lived because when the effects of the Greek fight for independence pitting the Ottomans against the British Empire reached Beirut in March 1828, the American missionaries left the city and evacuated to Malta. They brought two converts and their families along, while leaving behind friends such as Tannus al-Haddad for reasons that remain unclear. Mission work in Beirut was suspended for the next two years. When the missionaries returned to Beirut in May 1830, they restarted their preaching activities, re-opening only one teaching point amidst the renewed opposition of ecclesiastical authorities in both Beirut and the ABCFM's headquarters in Boston.

The occupation of Syria from 1831 to 1839 by Mehmed Ali, a renegade Ottoman governor of Egypt, brought two developments that benefited the city's economy and the missionary enterprise. First, it established firm control over the land, which provided the security necessary to promote an increase in trade. Second, it relaxed restrictions on the work of foreigners in the province, enabling both foreign commercial agents and missionaries to now move freely around Syria. This was the beginning of the missionaries' spread into the Lebanese mountains, but it was not until the early 1840s that attempts were made to help establish village schools. Even when the effort was made, these schools, without Boston's full support, could not last. Eight small schools were opened in 1843; but by the following year three had been suspended because of the difficulty in running them.⁴⁴ The teaching text -- the Bible -- was provided by the mission, and the salary of the teacher was underwritten by the budget of the missionary station. This was a way of spreading the network of influence, as the teachers in these small schools were missionary charges, either converts or aspirants. At the end of the Egyptian occupation in 1839, there were over two dozen schools from Jerusalem to Tripoli receiving small

⁴⁴ Letter of C.V.A. Van Dyck to Eli Smith, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16.8.1, reel 537.

grants from the Beirut mission, and missionaries in the field sent letters to Boston pleading for more support.

Despite the fact that schools were the most promising lines of missionary work, Boston kindly but sternly advised missionaries never to forget what they went to do – spread the faith, not open schools. Letters from the field listed reasons why the schools were crucial for, and not distractions from, missionary work:

They serve greatly to extend the acquaintance and influence of the mission. By having the children in our school we [...] become acquainted with the parents, who regard us as benefactors and friends. It gives us an excuse for visiting them at their home, and ensures us a welcome reception. It gives us something to say in the village where the school is established and a right to be there and hold intercourse with the people. [...] They form nuclei for congregation to which the gospel may be preached clearly and pointedly. ⁴⁵

In this case, young ABCFM missionary C.V.A. Van Dyck plead with Boston in a report to Eli Smith, his fellow missionary stationed in Syria, explaining how the village schools worked and helped missionaries gain entry into the homes and potentially the hearts of villagers.

Such pleas fell on deaf ears in Boston, which wanted churches planted, native pastors ordained, and converts accepting the Lord Jesus Christ as their Savior. So the schools remained marginal in the Board's budgetary allocations, despite being the most active and, in practice, the most effective field of labor. As missionaries faced similar constraints in various fields across the world, one of the Board's most influential officials felt compelled to publish his polemic against mission schools, arguing that education was a proper field of missionary labor only if by education one means "simply ... inculcating a knowledge of the gospel."⁴⁶ Doctrinally keen on direct preaching of the Gospel, the Board was unwilling to accept the stubborn realities of the

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Rufus Anderson, *Mission Schools* (Boston, 1836), 21.

field: teaching reading, writing, and rudimentary arithmetic had a ready audience, while hearing the Gospel mattered to very few.

The ABCFM remained adamantly opposed to the addition of literary and scientific subjects to seminary curriculum, let alone the establishment of a Christian college, even if it had a provision for mandatory Chapel attendance. First, ABCFM dispatched evangelizers, not teachers, and they did not go to Beirut, or anywhere else, with the task of starting colleges and teaching sciences. They were commissioned to preach and teach the Bible. Second, a considerable portion of contributions to missionary work came from church members in North America, “many of whom were unable to send their own children to college.”⁴⁷

Burgeoning Beirut - Continued

Another reality in the field was that as missionaries learned the language and built lives in a city that was growing at an extraordinary pace, they engaged in a range of activities that did not fit Boston's definition of missionary work. This was in part because they were educated and intellectually curious men. But it was also because of the city that surrounded them. When they settled in Beirut after the Greek war of independence (1829) and during Mehmed Ali's occupation (1831-1841), American missionaries lived in the Beirut neighborhood of Zokak el-Blat. This was the first residential quarter outside of the city walls, which started to develop around this time. Prominent Arab intellectuals of different religious affiliations came to this part of the city during and after the Ottoman-Egyptian occupation. The neighborhood became a home to a network of writers, teachers, politicians, and later journalists, who created an intellectual

⁴⁷ Fred Field Goodsell, *The American Board and Higher Education: Historical Sketches of Higher Education Institutions Related to the American Board*, 1959. [typescript] RG1200, Box 5, Congregational Library, Boston.

community, which in some sense overrode their sectarian and religious identities.⁴⁸ American evangelicals, coming from small towns in New England that were relatively homogeneous in religious terms, found themselves in an intellectually interesting and religiously diverse environment.

In his pioneering study of the neighborhood, historian Jens Hanssen described the neighborhood in the last third of the nineteenth century as a "a tightly-knit network of neighbors who visited each other, participated in the same regular salons and were employed in the same institutions."⁴⁹ From glimpses into the early Beirut press and other sources, we know that salons took place in "splendidly decorated and lit-up" homes, and that forms of "leisurely play [were] performed," where "reforms of customs and morals" were the topics of conversation. Literati such as encyclopedist Butros al-Bustani, printer and writer Khalil Sarkis, intellectual and politician Abd el-Kader Kabbani, silk merchant Hussein Beyhum, and Muslim intellectual Ahmad al-Azhari lived and worked a short walk from one another. Young American missionaries, arriving from rural New England, grew comfortable in the cosmopolitan atmosphere afforded by the burgeoning city's economy.

It remains unknown to what extent American missionaries allowed themselves to participate in salons and evening gatherings where there was non-devotional music, tobacco, and occasionally alcohol – all of which ran counter to missionary morality. However, the degree of interaction can be glimpsed from the nature and necessity of their daily work. For example, the wife of the ABCFM missionary Henry de Forest opened a day school in her Zokak el-Blat home, and the point of teaching algebra and geography in addition to reading and writing, as articulated

⁴⁸ In this sense, these migrants and the community they created in Zokak el-Blat were an exception, not the rule in the pattern of rural-urban migrant settling in nineteenth-century Beirut.

⁴⁹ Jens Hanssen, "The Birth of an Education Quarter," in *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat*, ed. Hans Gebhardt et. al. (Beirut: Orient Institute, 2005), 144.

by another missionary with regard to the village schools, was that it "gives us an excuse for visiting them at their home, and ensures us a welcome reception."⁵⁰ What happened in those neighborly visits remained largely undocumented, but it may have been more than missionaries preaching salvation through Jesus Christ. Another ABCFM missionary, Eli Smith, spent most of his time from 1848 to 1853 on a translation of the Bible into Arabic which, like any large-scale translation project, required intensive intellectual collaboration and interaction with the Arabic-speaking locals, who were in many cases his neighbors, though often not his co-religionists. By the late 1840s and early 1850s, the neighborhood had become home to a number of literary and cultural associations, in which missionaries actively engaged.

By this time, Rufus Anderson, the powerful foreign secretary of the ABCFM who was suspicious of missionary activities outside direct proselytizing, grew increasingly impatient. On a visit to the region in 1844, Anderson urged the missionaries not to become a book-making and educational mission. Judging by his comments during the second visit in 1855, the missionaries in Beirut had not taken the advice to heart. He had to remind them that "the object of every mission and of every missionary should not be to liberate, to educate, to enlighten, to polish, but to convert men."⁵¹ He consistently stressed spiritual conversion over intellectual enlightenment, and attempted to curb the enthusiasm of missionaries in the field for participating in the intellectual life of the neighborhood by forbidding them to use mission funds to support scientific and literary associations.

The opposition of the elders in Boston to how missionaries would spend their time and some of their resources was in some ways irrelevant. Henry De Forest and Eli Smith, both of

⁵⁰ Letter of C.V.A. Van Dyck to Eli Smith, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16.8.1, reel 537.

⁵¹ Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Syrian Mission Held in September and October, 1855, on Occasion of the Visit of One of the Secretaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Boston, (1856): 9, ABCFM papers, A.B. C. 16. 8.1, reel 548.

whom lived in the neighborhood, and Cornelius Van Dyck and William Thomson, who visited occasionally, were among the American missionaries participating in the work of the new societies. Between 1847 and 1859, three scientific and literary organizations emerged and added their lectures and activities to Zokak el-Blat's busy social agenda: first was the short-lived Society for Improvement (*Majma`at al-Tahdib*), followed by the Syrian Society for Science and Arts (*al-Jam`iyya al-Suriyya li-l-`Ulum wa-Funun*) in 1847, and the Association for the Promotion of Printing Arabic Books (*al-`Umda al-Adabiyya li-l-Ishhar al-Kutub al-`Arabiyya*) in 1859. Although these "extracurricular activities" bothered elders in Boston, it seems that it was through such societies that eager evangelizers were transformed into urban, and in a sense Beirut, intellectuals. They were no longer single-mindedly focused on recitation of the Bible verses they had learned by heart in the Arabic that they did not otherwise speak; they were now able to engage in a conversation. And judging by what ensued, they were increasingly interested in continuing the conversation.

1860: Two Wars and the Budget Crisis

Historians agree that the civil unrest of 1860 constituted a turning point in the modern history of Lebanon.⁵² During a few weeks in the early summer, Maronite and Druze communities in Mount Lebanon clashed violently. The conflict between these two groups was not over faith but over power and control of a mountainous stretch of religiously mixed

⁵² Leila Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1994); Kamal Saliba, *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988); Ussama Makdisi, "After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform, and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34 (2002): 601-617; Fawwaz Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon* (London: Pluto Press, 2007).

districts.⁵³ The Druze fighters overpowered the Maronite fighters and pillaged every Maronite town within their reach, burning an estimated two hundred villages. Those villagers who did not flee were killed, with estimates ranging from 5,000 up to 11,000 people.⁵⁴ Three to seven percent of the Maronite population in the mountains, estimated at 150,000 total, was massacred in the short space of a few weeks. Many of those Christians who fled descended on Beirut, straining city resources to their limit and significantly affecting the city's confessional makeup. Muslims dropped from being a solid majority to just over one third of the population, and Christians increased to almost two thirds.⁵⁵ By August 1860, order was restored through trials of Druze and compensation for Maronites, as Ottoman authorities struggled to shift the conflict out of the realm of international politics into an internal matter of the Ottoman Empire's provincial administration.⁵⁶

The mayhem of the Druze-Maronite clash presented the American missionaries with an opportunity, albeit at a very inopportune moment. Since they had arrived in the Ottoman Empire, American missionaries had been unable to proselytize among Muslims, because they were forbidden to do so by the state, which protected the Muslim population. Thus, their work was limited to various Eastern Christians denominations to whom they referred in their writing and treated in their conduct as nominal Christians. In this they differed from some of the other Protestant missionaries active in the region, such as the Anglicans. The flood of a destitute population of Christian refugees dramatically expanded the potential audience for missionary activity. As the Ottoman state was unable to provide adequate relief, the field was open to

⁵³ Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 146-148.

⁵⁴ Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 226. This was a large number of victims, considering that Fawaz estimates that there were 150,000 Maronites and 35,000 Druze in the entire mountain stretch. *Ibid.*, 207-208. Traboulsi estimates that there were 5,000 dead, 100,000 refugees, and 200 villages burned. Traboulsi, *A History of Modern Lebanon*, 39.

⁵⁵ Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*, 131.

⁵⁶ For a detailed account of the conflict, see Fawaz, *An Occasion for War*; for an analysis of the conflict's aftermath, see: Makdisi, "After 1860"; *idem*, *The Culture of Sectarianism*, 146-168.

whoever had the resources, affording American missionaries an opportunity to mix evangelizing with relief work.

This opportunity could not have come at a worse moment. Early that year, due to a rising sense of crisis in the lead up to the Civil War, the ABCFM cut budget allocations to all of its outposts in half and implemented a hiring freeze. Before 1860, the mission had supported the operation of some thirty primary schools with 743 boys and 277 girls, and operated two seminaries with a dozen boarding students.⁵⁷ When the budget cut announcement came from Boston, all these schools were closed, and the operation of the mission was reduced to the bare minimum. With scant resources, American missionaries could do little to take advantage of these tragic but promising times. In August 1860, there were 7,000 Maronite, Greek Catholic, and Greek Orthodox refugees and about 100 Protestants; by November that year there were 29,000 refugees on the relief committee's list, and only about eleven missionaries with families to tap into what effectively amounted to a captive audience.⁵⁸

The End of the American Monopoly on Protestant Missionary Work in Beirut

In the first decades of the American mission, there had been an agreement on the division of missionary turf, in which Beirut was left to the Americans, while British missions occupied Jerusalem and other parts of Palestine. The conflict and its immediate aftermath not only strained already scarce missionary resources but also ended the American monopoly over Protestant work in Beirut. The 1860 conflict in the Lebanese mountains was not just another violent episode in a distant Arab Ottoman province; it was an international event covered by the Western press. For

⁵⁷ A.L. Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," *Middle East Journal* 21 (Winter 1967): 9.

⁵⁸ The first set of data is from Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 151. The November estimate of 29,000 refugees is from Caesar E. Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 634.

over a year, the Druze-Maronite violence and the international negotiations for its resolution occupied not only the Ottoman government but also the governments of Great Britain, Prussia, France, Austria, and Russia. The blow-by-blow reports and accounts from eyewitnesses and participants appeared on the pages of newspapers from San Francisco to Saint Petersburg. In the aftermath of the 1860 clashes, Americans struggled to keep operating despite the crippling budget cuts from Boston. The press coverage of the refugee crisis in Beirut attracted the attention, and in the words of one historian "pointed out a way," to various Protestant orders, benevolent societies, and missionary groups in Britain, Scotland, Prussia, and Switzerland.⁵⁹

In addition to a whole host of Catholic relief efforts, the summer of 1860 saw the burgeoning of Protestant initiatives originating in Europe. Under the patronage of Lord Shaftesbury, the British Ladies Association for Social and Religious Improvement of Syrian Females set up a relief facility for widows and girls in Beirut. The enterprising Elizabeth Thomson hired a Greek Orthodox Arab, Salim Kassab, as a teaching assistant. The shelter housed about thirty widows and employed them in sewing. Soon, the project included an evening school for boys and men, a boarding school for girls, and projects with the blind and disabled.⁶⁰ Another English woman, with no organizational affiliation, purchased a house in a village outside of Beirut, next to the suspended ABCFM's seminary for girls, and opened a school with seventeen boarding students and a few day pupils.⁶¹ As the British paid better, one ABCFM missionary complained, even the cooks of the American missionaries were tempted to switch

⁵⁹ Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (New York: Fleming H Revell, 1910), 203.

⁶⁰ J.D. Maitland-Kirwan, *Sunrise in Syria: A Short History of the British Syrian Mission from 1860 to 1930* (London: 1930), 20-21.

⁶¹ Daniel Bliss to Rufus Anderson, Beirut, 23 August 1861, A.B.C.F.M. papers, A.B.C. 16.8.1, reel 544.

employers.⁶² In addition, the Prussian Deaconesses of Kaiserswerth encroached on American educational work by establishing a school and an orphanage for girls in 1860 in Beirut.

The influx of these well-funded, European Protestant organizations and wealthy individuals spelled the end of the virtual American monopoly on Protestant missionary work in Beirut, and the institutions the newcomers set up had long-term ambitions. At a time when American missionary work came to a virtual standstill and mission-affiliated schools were closed, the British Syrian Mission's school was growing daily. In addition to the Protestants, there were Catholic newcomers as well. In 1861, the Prussian Order of St. John opened a hospital in Beirut (Johanniter Hospital) and staffed it with Deaconesses, setting it up as a one of its permanent outposts in the Middle East. In many ways, these initiatives were driven by the local demand for education and health services. With greater means and without many of the restrictions on the kind of work they could do, the British, Scottish, and Prussian humanitarians, religious orders, missionaries, and laymen and women opened schools in which they taught a wide range of subjects.⁶³ In 1861, the Scottish mission established a Lebanon School Association and opened eight schools for boys and girls.⁶⁴ At the same time, the Americans could not reopen even their seminary for girls and were having trouble keeping the missionary press open. Coming on the heels of an emergency and initially dedicated to providing relief, these organizations soon widened the scope of their work and set up long-term projects. The Americans were not only outnumbered and outmoded but also increasingly irrelevant; the limits of bending rules written in Boston were exhausted.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 153-159.

⁶⁴ Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (New York: Fleming H Revell, 1910), 205.

Competition from the Arab Converts: the National Academy of Butros al-Bustani

In addition to what they saw as other Protestant societies' incursion into their turf, the missionaries also faced hitherto unacknowledged pressure and competition from Arab converts, most notably from Butros al-Bustani. While the conflict was still far from settled, Bustani, who was deeply disturbed by the violence in the mountains, wrote a pamphlet addressed to his compatriots (*abna' al-watan* or "sons of the country"). Over the next eight months he produced a total of eleven pamphlets, each longer than the previous one. These pamphlets or "advice sheets" to his fellow Syrians -- later collected and published under the title *Clarion of Syria (Nafir Suriya)* -- expressed the opinions of an intellectual who was alarmed at seeing violence "amidst civilized people."⁶⁵ Unlike Ottoman officials who were ready to let bygones be bygones, Bustani insisted on drawing lessons and thinking through the causes of the violent episode. Blaming the incident on backwardness, defined as the absence of civilization (*tamaddun*), he asserted that it was urgent to bring his compatriots out of ignorance "through schools, printing presses, publications, commerce, and other ways to increase communications and proximity between people to make them one family"⁶⁶

In the two decades after he wrote these words, Bustani implemented three out of four of his own suggestions: he opened a nonsectarian school, established a printing press, and started three journals. The first of his many projects aimed at "increasing communication" between members of different religious groups. Bustani's National Academy (*al-madrasa al-wataniyya*) or just *wataniyya* (national), as it was called in Lebanese colloquial Arabic, remains little known. The school opened probably in September 1862, accepted students of all religious communities,

⁶⁵ Butros al-Bustani, *Nafir Suriya* [Clarion of Syria], ed. Yusuf Kozma Khuri, (Beirut: Dar Fakr li-l-Abhath wa-l-Nashr, 1990), 29 July 1860; 9.

⁶⁶Ibid., 49.

employed Arabic as the language of instruction, and did not condition admission on adherence to any specific creed or doctrine. The curriculum emphasized literary and scientific subjects along with language training in Arabic, English, French, and Ottoman Turkish.⁶⁷ Many of *wataniyya*'s teachers were active participants and sometimes founders of scientific and literary societies in Beirut. Bustani's daughter Sara taught English in the academy, thus becoming the first woman known to have taught in an all boys' school in Beirut. Among the famous literary figures who taught at the academy was Ahmad Abbas, fresh from al-Azhar, whom Bustani engaged to teach Islamic philosophy. The academy had the capacity to board about 150 students, who came not only from different parts of Ottoman Syria but also from Greece, Istanbul, Palestine, and Egypt. Several graduates of *wataniyya* went on to careers in municipal politics, and, in at least one case, into Ottoman parliamentary politics.⁶⁸ The school lasted for about two decades and closed sometime between the deaths of Butros al-Bustani in 1883 and his son Salim in 1884.

American missionaries may have found the size of Bustani's school threatening. The only known depictions of the school show that the *wataniyya*'s grounds consisted of three buildings: one housing classrooms and two others which served as dormitories, one for younger and one for older students.⁶⁹ A project of such scale required in-depth planning before it could open. The size of the complex is important in two ways: first, construction on this scale probably took at least a year to build and several months to plan. Working backwards from its opening, this dates

⁶⁷ Benjamin Fortna, "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman "Secular" Schools," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32 (2000): 369-393; Butros Abu-Maneh, *Studies on Islam and the Ottoman Empire in the 19th Century, 1826-1876* (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2001).

⁶⁸ For example, `Abd al-Qadir al-Qabbani, who was educated in Bustani's *wataniyya* went on to have a career in various provincial public offices. Suleyman al-Bustani, who also studied in the school and earned his fame as the translator of *The Iliad*, was also a member of the Ottoman Parliament and the Minister of Finance in the last Ottoman government.

⁶⁹ The sketches were found in the papers of Eli Smith, Bustani's longtime missionary friend, and were sent to Smith's son who deposited them with his father's papers at Yale Divinity Library. At some point, probably in the 1870s, due to the growth of the student population the capacity was enlarged by joining all three buildings into one continuous structure which stands to this day and was designated a National Treasure.

the planning of the school to at least late 1861, right around the time American missionaries started talking about rebelling against the ABCFM's policy on higher education. Another reason why the academy's size was of import is that it makes amply clear that Bustani's project was far larger than any the American missionaries had achieved in the past or at that moment. Both the mission-sponsored one-room elementary schools and the mission-run Protestant seminary had enrolled a dozen students each on average and were closed in 1861-62. In view of the demand for education and American missionaries' impotence to satisfy that need, it is not difficult to imagine that the news of Bustani's plans to open an academy would have been viewed by the ABCFM missionaries as a threat.

Yet missionaries, with one exception, failed to mention Bustani's school in connection with their own idea of establishing the Protestant academy that would become the SPC. While American missionaries exploited competition from the Jesuits (who did not have a school in Beirut at this point) to raise funds for their proposed college, and did not hesitate to cite the competition of other foreign organizations as an incentive for their own actions, they never mentioned Bustani's school in this light. It can nonetheless be surmised that his school was a threat, and, in certain ways, an inspiration to the American missionaries, one that was closer to home than the Jesuit competition they often invoked in fundraising.

I would suggest that there are two reasons for the silence about Bustani's project in missionary writings (and in subsequent historiography based on the missionary archives). First and foremost, the school was an embarrassment for the mission. Although Bustani was arguably *the* most prominent of the handful of Arab Christians the missionaries succeeded in converting over the course of three decades, his school was not going to be a Protestant school. Although a pious Protestant, Bustani had no intention of bringing his faith to his compatriots as missionaries

had hoped, and rather had every intention of telling his students to keep their different religious beliefs at home, to themselves:⁷⁰

So long as our people do not distinguish between religions which must be left to the believer and his Creator, and the civil affairs which must regulate [a person's conduct] with his compatriots, or with his government, and upon must be built the institutions of human society and political relation, so long as they do not erect a dividing line between these two principles [...], they cannot hope to succeed in either one, or in both, as is evident [by recent events.]⁷¹

The way Bustani applied this lesson to his school was by arranging for students to attend to their religious needs outside of school. This was in stark contrast to missionary schools, where students, converted or not, had to attend Protestant worship and follow the Protestant holiday calendar.

From the perspective of modern Lebanese history, Bustani's National Academy was an unprecedented project, in that before it opened, schools sprung exclusively out of religious communities and had a vested interest in "affirming religious differences" and "not, in any secular sense, to supersede them."⁷² In addition to being the first educational institution unaffiliated with any particular sect, and one of only a handful of such schools in Lebanese history since that time, the near-revolutionary character of the school was that it kept religious practice outside of the school but gave students "full license to carry out their religious duties" and permitted absences on their religious holidays.⁷³ The school made no attempt to sever communal affiliations. At the same time, by being a place where students of different faiths sat in

⁷⁰ Although this was disappointing for the missionaries, Bustani could not be accused of abandoning his faith. He and his wife remained active members of Beirut's Arab Protestant Church and were both buried in a Protestant cemetery. For Bustani's conception of his faith, see Ussama Makdisi, "Rethinking American Missionaries and the Nineteenth-Century Historiography of the Middle East," in *From the Syrian Land to the States of Syria and Lebanon*, ed. Thomas Philipp and Christoph Schumann (Beirut: Orient Institute, 2004), 209-224.

⁷¹ Butros al-Bustani. *Nafir Suriya* [Clarion of Syria], ed. Yusuf Kozma Khuri, 14 January 1861 (Beirut: Dar Fakr li-l-Abhath wa-l-Nashr, 1990), 49.

⁷² Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 209.

⁷³ "Al-Madrassa al-Wataniyya," 627.

the same classroom only a few years after the civil war in the mountains, the school allowed youth to build stronger transcommunal ties and identities. This vision, for all practical purposes, emphasized belonging to a broadly defined nation (*al-watan*) above personal religious affiliation.

Although the American missionaries never mention Bustani's school as having any impact on their decision to plead with Boston for permission to open what would become SPC, it seemed to have influenced their plans. From the American missionary perspective, Bustani's insistence that faith was a matter between the believer and his Creator, something to be left out of the public sphere, went against the main principles of evangelical work, which challenged (often publicly) the religious beliefs of others. The size and the apparent financial stability of Bustani's project, his reputation among the literati, the attractive curriculum, and the absence of proselytizing, virtually guaranteed the success of the school. A non-evangelical school established by an Arab convert, who although a pious Protestant rejected missionary evangelical dictates, may have added insult to the injury of the Jesuit, British, and Prussian competition. Therefore, what Bustani did was perhaps better unmentioned to Boston as it would bespeak a missionary failure more than it would help win the blessing, support, and resources for the college project American missionaries in Beirut had in mind. Moreover, if such a school of higher education already existed, why would the missionaries need to start their own college?

"Syria Will Have a College"

When missionaries stationed in Ottoman Syria gathered for their annual meeting in January 1862, it seemed clear that the early missionary methods of direct proselytizing that discouraged education, prescribed and still upheld by Boston, were exhausted in Beirut. The youth of the burgeoning port city and its hinterland wanted a new kind of education for the new

times. As people who themselves were well educated by the standards of their time, missionaries were in theory well placed to provide new educational venues but in practice unable to re-open even their seminary or support small elementary schools as they had before. Since Boston remained unconvinced or unable to change its policies about education, the missionaries decided to dissent.⁷⁴ The issue to them was clear: they either had to work on opening schools, or "to abandon the whole cause of education, even for Protestant children, to the Jesuits, Sisters of Charity and other enemies of evangelical religion."⁷⁵ Since leaving prospective and hard-won converts to Catholic orders was not *really* an option, they decided to put together a carefully argued petition asking Boston's "sanction" for a "collegiate literary institution."⁷⁶

The American missionaries in Beirut voted the following motion:

Whereas the rapidly increasing demand amongst large numbers of Arab speaking people for a more varied and complete system of education than has heretofore been enjoyed renders the establishment of a literary institution of a high character an imperative necessity in order to prevent Protestant and Protestantly inclined youth from being drawn into papal institutions, and Whereas there is manifested, at the present time, an earnest desire on the part of many benevolent persons in England and elsewhere to see such an institution commenced, and a willingness to aid its endowment should the enterprise be undertaken by our mission, and

Whereas it is deemed essential for the success of the undertaking that the contemplated institution should be guided and guarded by the combined wisdom and experience of the mission, and have for its principal a person who shall be able, with the divine blessing, to infuse into it that elevated moral and religious influence, without which scientific and literary education may prove a curse and not a blessing-

Therefore, Resolved that this important subject be submitted to the Prudential Committee [of the ABCFM in Boston] for their consideration and sanction, if they

⁷⁴ Henry H. Jessup, *History of the Syrian Mission* [manuscript], notebook F 1860-1880, RG-183-4-3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

⁷⁵ A.L. Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," 11; I wonder if the reference to "other non-evangelical enemies," who remain unnamed, is a hint at Bustani's project. Other than Catholics, the only non-evangelical competition was coming from Bustani and other Arab intellectuals opening schools in the region. The first Ottoman schools were opened in the 1880s, which eliminates them as the only other probable "non-evangelical enemies."

⁷⁶ Minutes of the annual meeting of the Syrian Mission Station, 27 January 1862, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 8.1, reel 545.

approve of it, with the request that the mission be authorized to appoint Mr. Bliss to be the principal of the institution, it being understood that, for the present at least and until the expected endowment of the institution is secured, Mr. Bliss shall retain his connection with the mission and derive his support from the Board.

Voted that Messrs. Thomson and Bliss be appointed to communicate the above preamble and resolution to the Prudential Committee, with the necessary explanation.⁷⁷

What kind of an institution did the missionaries have in mind? The *Prospectus and Programme of the Syrian Collegiate Institution*, printed in preparation for the negotiations with the Boston headquarters, defined its goal as offering "literary, scientific, and professional education."⁷⁸ The preliminary course of study envisioned six or seven departments and the language of instruction was to be Arabic. The first department listed was Arabic Language and Literature, which would teach grammar, rhetoric, prosody, geography, history, composition, and book-keeping. The Department of Mathematics would include astronomy and practical engineering while the Department of Chemistry would encompass natural sciences. The Department of Medicine would teach clinical subjects "adapted to the condition and wants of the Arab people." Finally, the Department of Modern Languages (which did not include Arabic) would offer instruction in (Ottoman) Turkish, English, French, Italian, and modern Greek. The *Prospectus* also makes mention of teaching Ottoman jurisprudence but that suggestion never went far.

The missionaries in and around Beirut knew quite well that their 1862 proposition was not going to be applauded in Boston. On the contrary, success was not likely if judged by known precedents. In the 1850s, the ABCFM had cracked down on missionaries' experiments with literary and scientific education in several mission stations across the globe, most notably in Sri Lanka, India, and Anatolia. The ABCFM's response to any divergence from its doctrines was to

⁷⁷ Minutes of the annual meeting of the Syrian Mission Station, 27 January 1862. ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 8.1, reel 545.

⁷⁸ *Prospectus and Programme of the Syrian Protestant Collegiate Institute, Beirut. circa 1862*, 1, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 8.1, reel 545.

either close the offending school or dismiss the rebellious missionary with the understanding (and hope) that this would nip the project in the bud. In 1855, Rufus Anderson closed a number of schools in India and a seminary in Jaffna, Sri Lanka. The justification was the failure to produce converts, which was blamed on too little evangelizing and too much “general education,” i.e. instruction in arithmetic, chemistry, and the rudiments of medicine.⁷⁹ In 1859, only four years before the petition from Beirut, Cyrus Hamlin, a senior missionary, resigned after failing to get the support of the Board for his experiment to add vocational training to the curriculum of a Protestant seminary in Istanbul.⁸⁰

Between Boston's opposition and competition in Beirut, the missionaries felt they were in a difficult situation. “Syria will have a College of some sort,” wrote Henry Jessup, an American missionary and one of the main architects of the planned school, in an article for the *New York Evangelist*, and “if our religious influence is not thrown in, to found and control it, irreligious men will do it. And we shall have an infidel breeding institution growing up as the bane and curse of Syria forever.”⁸¹ The plea reveals the realization that the decision to found a college in Beirut had already been taken on the ground. Continuing to follow the old course and refrain from involvement in educational work would render missionaries marginal or practically useless in Beirut. This was an important consideration because, by this time, Beirut was a place where they lived and worked and had made life-long friendships, where some of them had buried wives and children, and where some chose to die, and thus a place which for all practical purposes many considered home.

⁷⁹ M.D. Sanders, “The Batticotta Seminary, and the Proposed Jaffna College,” *The Missionary Herald* 66 (September 1870): 9.

⁸⁰ Rufus Anderson to Cyrus Hamlin, Boston, 15 October 1859, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 2.1, reel 20.

⁸¹ Henry H. Jessup. *History of the Syrian Mission*. [manuscript], notebook F 1860-1880, RG-183-4-3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

With Hamlin's example fresh in their memories and harboring the hope of an even bolder departure from Boston's policy on literary and scientific education, the petition treaded carefully and was launched strategically. Its careful wording was primarily about financial issues: the petition asked for sanction, not financial assistance. For the strategic launching, two names appear as "the committee" who drafted the document: William M. Thomson and Daniel Bliss. Daniel Bliss's name remains well known in connection with SPC. He was the father of the second president, the grandfather-in-law of the third, and great-grandfather of the current president. Yet in 1862, Daniel Bliss was "the recording clerk" in the two-man committee and his role probably amounted to noting down Thomson's ideas about the proposed institution, thereby making it a document produced by committee rather than a proposal by one man. Another strategic move was to have the document by "the committee" forwarded to Boston for consideration by unanimous vote of the mission. Unlike Hamlin, who did not have the support of his fellow missionaries in Istanbul in 1857-59, Thomson was speaking for the entire mission. If Boston tried to fire someone, it would have to fire the whole mission, and both parties involved knew that this was unlikely.

The final point of the strategy to secure the success of the petition in Boston was to have William Thomson stand behind the idea. In 1862, Thomson was the equivalent of a missionary superstar. A sought-out correspondent for several U.S. journals, most notably *New York Evangelists*, he was the author of a popular book, *The Land and the Book* (1859), which would later become a staple of Sunday School classes and a frequently used as a *de facto* travel guide for American visitors and pilgrims to the Holy Land.⁸² Thomson put his name and his influence behind the Beirut enterprise and endorsed it in the press, writing: "In all soberness and as the

⁸² On the popularity of Thomson's *The Land and the Book*, see Hilton Obenzinger, *American Palestine: Melville, Twain, and the Holy Land Mania* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 4, 55-56.

result of some observation and experience in the East for more than thirty years, I can present this enterprise as the one, with which, if I had the means, I would like my name and memory to be perpetuated in all time; for whatever other race is to fade away and disappear, the Arab never will.”⁸³

With a person of William Thomson's weight behind the project of educating Arabs, which he considered worthy of the investments in rise-and-fall-of-civilizations terms, and with the united front of the entire missionary body in Ottoman Syria, Boston's elders could not easily dismiss the petition. To reject it outright would risk some bad press and potential dissent in a mission that had great symbolic value as the closest American evangelicals ever got to their goal of settling in Jerusalem.

The Board had been successful in excluding Cyrus Hamlin from the missionary ranks in Istanbul, but this did not prevent the implementation of his idea. After leaving ABCFM's employ, Hamlin successfully raised funds through personal channels and subsequently set up Roberts College in 1863, independent of the ABCFM. With William Thomson's name attached to the petition coming from Beirut in 1862, and with the knowledge that Hamlin's project was becoming a reality in Istanbul regardless of ABCFM's opposition, the elders in Boston may have understood that dismissing the idea would not necessarily have led to its abandonment. But this did not mean that they warmed to it. In the words of Rufus Anderson:

The apparent necessity of such an institution at the present time, was regarded as an evil. We stated to the Committee, however, that the existence of such an institution, under the virtual control of the mission, was probably to be regarded as a necessary choice of evils. ...We also stated to the Committee our own apprehension, and probably yours, that if some such institution as you propose were not got up in the manner you suggest, one or more such institutions might soon come into being beyond your control and greatly to your injury.[...] Yet you will permit me to say [...]that an institution under the virtual control of the

⁸³ Henry H. Jessup. *History of the Syrian Mission*. [manuscript], notebook F 1860-1880, RG-183-4-3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

mission, which in its principal tendencies, shall hinder you in laying the foundations of a simple, contented, independent native pastorate all over your field.⁸⁴

This response made it clear that the problem with the idea was not only the college itself, but the assumptions about missionary work that lead to such an idea. Boston wanted the missionaries to content themselves with "evangelical simplicity in aims and pursuits" and work to produce "a simple and content native pastorate." This meant that, as far as Boston's ABCFM was concerned, the preachers did not need the kind of education for which the missionaries in Beirut were petitioning. Yet circumstances seem to have overwritten the doctrine.

In view of their disagreement with the missionaries in Beirut over whether the college was a good idea or an evil one, ABCFM's support for the project seems remarkable. The reason reluctant support was extended to the project was that Boston could not turn down the project by dismissing the originator, as this would mean firing an entire mission station. Even if the ABCFM was able to exclude the project from the missionary agenda, it was likely (as evident from the examples of Hamlin and Jaffna) that whether the ABCFM wanted it or not, there would be a college in Beirut. And thus, the elders in Boston decided to affiliate themselves with the project, as any reluctant supporter would have, by claiming that the college was separate from the mission *and* by proceeding with elaborate guidelines and support to remain in control of the project. There were three main ways in which the ABCFM supported the college. First, it paid the salary of Daniel Bliss – who would become the first president of the college – while he was fundraising for the school in the U.S. and England, providing him with both livelihood and status. Second, the Board provided introductions for Bliss's fundraising campaign and his eighteen-

⁸⁴ Rufus Anderson to the Syrian Mission, 1862. ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 2.1, reel 20.

month-long stay in England.⁸⁵ Third, ABCFM gave Bliss speaking opportunities for fundraising in the U.S., which became crucial for determining the path the school would take, and moved it away from the original conception.

The College and the City

In the 1862 *Prospectus*, three important points emerged about the relationship between the college and the city, and by extension the Arab communities among which it would operate. First, the kind of education proposed was a response to local demand. Beirut was *the* right place for the college, which was to be an Arab institution. References to "relieving the demand of higher education in Beirut and Syria" and the "exigencies of the community demand" are frequent in missionary letters and early documents pertaining to the college.⁸⁶ Singularly absent are any references to the initiative as American: there are no mentions of Amherst or Andover, no comparison of their curricula with that of the proposed college, nothing of the sort one would expect to find if indeed the college was a transplant. Second, according to the 1862 *Prospectus*, one of the two main goals was "to make the Institution indigenous, self-governing, and self-sustaining."⁸⁷ The way to make it indigenous was to hire Arab teachers. Because "one of the fundamental objects of the college [was] to qualify native professors and teachers to assume the entire management of the Institution as soon as possible," the *Prospectus* informs us, the

⁸⁵ The money collected there was crucial for the project because the English pound stood strong, while the rampant inflation caused by the outbreak of the American Civil War made money pledged in the U.S. of little immediate use. With the money collected in England, trustees of the SPC were able to hold onto dollars and wait for them to regain value, while financing the early stages of the project with the money raised in England.

⁸⁶ Henry H. Jessup to Stuart D. Dodge, Beirut, 17 October 1861, as quoted in Henry H. Jessup, *History of the Syrian Mission*. [manuscript], notebook F 1860-1880, RG-183-4-3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia; *Prospectus and Programme of the Syrian Protestant Collegiate Institute, Beirut. circa 1862*, 1, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 8.1, reel 545.

⁸⁷ *Prospectus and Programme of the Syrian Protestant Collegiate Institute, Beirut. circa 1862*, 1, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 8.1, reel 545.

"professors and tutors [...] shall be [elected], as far as practicable, from the commencement, [from among the] educated and pious natives of the country."⁸⁸

Finally, in petitioning Boston, the missionaries were not solely seeking sanction to have a college but argued for a college *in* the city, as opposed to a rural setting, where the vices and temptations of the big city were absent: "Beirut was the only place in [Ottoman] Syria where native and foreign teachers, pupils and apparatus could be easily secured," the petitioners argued.⁸⁹ Setting aside whether Beirut was indeed the only place for the school, what this claim asserts is that missionaries *themselves* thought of Beirut as the place for the college and as a city in which they aspired to live and work. This went against ABCFM's practice at the time, which was to move seminaries out of major urban centers.

Knowing the kind of institution missionaries in Beirut decided to open, remembering how different that project was from the one for which they had been sent, and understanding the relationship missionaries had with the city and its intellectual landscape, it is possible to argue that the college was the product of Beirut in opposition to dictates from Boston. The college was *of the city* in at least two ways: first, as a port city that was burgeoning and becoming a new intellectual space, it gave birth to many schools and colleges, of which SPC was one. Second, the college was *of the city* because it was part of an attempt by the American missionaries to remain intellectually relevant in this new landscape. In Boston, it may not have been relevant that schools, elementary and post-elementary, were mushrooming in Beirut and that Americans were falling by the wayside by not opening one themselves, because for the ABCFM good evangelical work did not require a college anyway. But belonging to the Beiruti literati, which was on several levels important to the missionaries in the field, required intellectual engagement with the

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Rufus Anderson to Syrian Mission, Boston, 18 March 1862, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 2.1, reel 20. Also mentioned in Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," 12.

community, and establishing and running a college was an ideal way of engagement. For these reasons, the college can be viewed as a product of the missionary desire to engage with the trends of an expanding city. Unfortunately, their desire to engage in such intellectual pursuits, which they claimed were still evangelical, did not fit the ABCFM's definition of evangelical simplicity. For American missionaries in Beirut, this turned out not to be a sufficient reason to give up on the idea. At some point in their life and work in the city, Beirut had begun to trump Boston.

Fundraising and the Beginning of the Change in Thomson's Vision

After the petition from Beirut received wary approval from Boston, the missionaries agreed to send Daniel Bliss to the U.S. on a pretext of poor health but with the aim of negotiating with the Prudential Committee, the ruling body of the ABCFM. Immediately after his arrival in New York, Bliss rushed to attend ABCFM's annual meeting in Springfield, Massachusetts, the largest regular gathering of ABCFM missionaries from around the world with their American benefactors. This was an ideal opportunity for Bliss not only to plead the cause of the college to the Board but also to lay the groundwork for the fundraising campaign ahead. Addressing the attendees of the annual meeting as a representative of the Syrian mission, Bliss delivered an address, pleading for reinforcements for overworked missionaries in the Bible Lands. He was careful not to mention that new men were needed in part because the college he was charged with helping to establish would deplete the evangelizing force. William E. Dodge, one of Wall Street's wealthiest merchants, was in the audience. Moved by what he heard from Bliss and what he already knew about plans of the missionaries in Beirut, he invited Bliss to lunch.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Daniel Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss, Edited and Supplemented by His Eldest Son* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920), 168-169.

Sitting at a private table on the top floor of a Springfield hotel, Bliss spoke of the plans for the college and explained “the needs and the objectives of the enterprise,” knowing that he was talking to one of the richest men at the conference.⁹¹ William E. Dodge was one of a handful of New York merchants who virtually controlled the U.S. stock market in the years before the Civil War. His wealth came from one of America’s largest copper mining companies, and his business, which was based in New York, later expanded into timber and railroad construction.⁹² Bliss knew, as a matter of public knowledge, that for Dodge wealth came with responsibility to use part of it to improve society. He was an officer of the National Temperance Society, a member of ABCFM’s governing body, and a founding member of the YMCA. Bliss may have known that William E. Dodge had a soft spot for education, and that, for a man who did not go to college himself, gave generously to the causes of higher education in the U.S. He also supported higher education for African Americans, by giving generously to “the negro schools” in the South and to what would become Lincoln University -- the first institution for African American higher education, established in Pennsylvania several years before the abolition of slavery.⁹³

The lunch meeting was a success. Present at the same lunch table was Rev. Stuart D. Dodge, William E. Dodge’s younger son. The young Dodge was reportedly interested in

⁹¹ *Idem.*, 169. Although Bliss wrote that he did not know Dodge except by name before the Springfield meeting, Dodge may have known about the plan to establish the college, since Henry Jessup wrote to Stuart Dodge in October 1861, telling him about the plan to establish a collegiate institution in Beirut. See Henry H. Jessup, *History of the Syrian Mission*. [manuscript], notebook F 1860-1880, RG-183-4-3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

⁹² For accounts of Dodge’s business dealings, see: Richard Lowitt, *A Merchant Prince of the Nineteenth Century: William E. Dodge* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); William Carlos Martyn, *William E. Dodge: the Christian Merchant* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1890); *Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Statue of William E. Dodge* (New York: New York Chamber of Commerce, 1886).

⁹³ “William E. Dodge: Largest Bequest to Charitable and Religious Institutions,” *New York Times*, 18 February 1883, Obituary. Upon his death, Dodge’s estate was estimated at five million dollars and his will left \$350,000 (conservatively estimated at eight million dollars in 2010 values) to various civil groups and Christian institutions such as the ABCFM, the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, several schools in the South, two New York museums -- the Metropolitan Museum and the American Museum of Natural History -- and the Syrian Protestant College. For money value estimates, see Samuel H. Williamson, “Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to present,” *MeasuringWorth*, April 2010, <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/>.

becoming a missionary to Syria but gave up on the idea for unknown reasons.⁹⁴ After the meeting, Stuart Dodge reportedly became “a hearty advocate of the new College scheme not only in his own family but in the pulpit and the Press.”⁹⁵ In addition to general interest in the Holy Land, young Dodge may have understood the proposed college as an opportunity to engage in missionary work part-time. Over the course of the next four decades, the young Dodge would travel several times to Beirut and spend extended periods helping to set up the college. And so, in the short span of a few months, the Dodges recruited a Board of Trustees, the college was chartered by New York State, and the young Dodge “decided to give himself to the work of the College” by leaving New York and going to Beirut to help set up the school.⁹⁶ That fateful lunch at Massasoit House Hotel, where Bliss had the ear of the Dodges, spearheaded the financial basis of the institution. But it also set the proposed college on a path different from that originally envisioned in Beirut.

The first change was that of the scale of the planned college. Initially, the missionaries in Beirut planned to raise \$20,000 dollars, expecting to cover the first three years of the school’s operation with that amount.⁹⁷ In February 1863, the newly created Board of Trustees suggested the fundraising target be an endowment fund of \$100,000 (an estimated 1.5 million dollars in 2010 dollars).⁹⁸ By setting a goal five times the size of the original plan and by establishing an endowment -- instead of a fund for operating expenses -- the Dodges brought the project to a higher level and provided it with sound financial footing.

⁹⁴ Henry H. Jessup. *History of the Syrian Mission*. [manuscript], notebook F 1860-1880, RG-183-4-3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. p.105 [Presbyterian Historical Society], 105.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid

⁹⁸For money value estimates, see Williamson, "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar."

With the money came an agenda, and thus the second change was a steady push to exclude Arabs from the faculty ranks. This was not immediately obvious, but Stuart Dodge's vision of the college was less Arab-centered and more American. The original idea had been that "where suitable persons could be obtained, the native Arab element should be introduced as fast as possible into the professorships and other teaching positions, in all departments of the College, in order that the Syrians might have every facility for qualifying themselves to assume, at no distant day, the entire management of the institution."⁹⁹ But when, at the opening of the college, missionaries nominated one such candidate, Dr. John (Juhana) Wortabet, son of a Protestant convert who had obtained his medical degree in England, the nomination encountered opposition from the Board. The objection came from Stuart Dodge and "was made on the ground that he was not an American but a native of Syria."¹⁰⁰ William Thomson, who advocated for an Arab institution pressured for the appointment using his weight as an important voice of endorsement. Thomson threatened that, "If the appointment of native professors is to be impossible, simply because they are native, I must decline to have anything more to do with the College."¹⁰¹ Considering the importance of having Thomson's name attached to the project, this was not an idle threat, and Wortabet was hired as a professor in 1867.

Hostility by a powerful New York trustee to the appointment of a native professor, because he was native, in an institution that was envisioned to have as many Arab teachers as possible and an Arab president at "no distant day," may have come as unpleasant surprise for some among the missionaries. But it was the first sign of a different vision, one which would later crystallize around the events of 1882 recounted in chapter 6. The appointment of Dr.

⁹⁹ Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, 168; see also *Prospectus and Programme of the Syrian Protestant Collegiate Institute, Beirut. circa 1862*, 1, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 8.1, reel 545.

¹⁰⁰ Henry H. Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*. vol. 1 (New York: Fleming H. Revell Compnay, 1910), 303.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

Wortabet to the SPC faculty appears to have been Thomson's last victory and a vestige of the original concept for the college. When Wortabet resigned from the faculty nineteen years later, in 1886, Dodge was relieved that the vision that Wortabet's position on the faculty symbolized could be declared dead. "What a blessing," he wrote to Daniel Bliss, "to be rid of the last of the half-hearted, half-educated (in the best sense), unwilling, un-American, missionary line of Professors."¹⁰² No other Arab professor was appointed until well into the twentieth century, and even today there is a disparity of pay between Arab and American professors.

Epilogue

Having successfully raised funds on both sides of the Atlantic with the support of ABCFM-fostered connections but without his ABCFM salary, Bliss became the president of a college that opened its doors in 1866. The college was *de jure* autonomous from and *de facto* affiliated with the ABCFM, "the child of the Syrian mission."¹⁰³ Even though Bliss had to officially resign his ABCFM post to assume the presidency of the college, he remained affiliated with it and with the missionary community in Beirut throughout his life as an active pastor and evangelizer.

The college opened in a rented house in Beirut's *Zokak el-Blat* neighborhood and occupied three different houses in the same neighborhood for its first eight years. Being in what Bliss called "an unsettled state" meant that the college was "looked upon by the natives as an experiment which might succeed or not."¹⁰⁴ SPC's enrollment started at sixteen in 1866 and

¹⁰² As quoted in Shafik Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department* (Beirut: Syrian Protestant College Press, 2004), 90.

¹⁰³ Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, 298.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

increased to eighty-four in 1872. At the same time, Bustani's School operated at full capacity by its third year (1866), with 150 students paying tuition, room, and board.¹⁰⁵

Building a large college far from the bustle of the *Zokak el-Blat* neighborhood was a way of solving the problem of being "unsettled." A big building, preferably on a hill, would impress Beirutis and would speak volumes about the founders' ambition to remain relevant in Beirut's intellectual landscape. An isolated location would ensure that all students had to board, and thus the teachers could "mold the student traditions" and implement "a military and an iron rule."¹⁰⁶ In addition to increasing the amount of time students spent at the school, Bliss also worked to increasing the number of students attending the school. With SPC's enrollment lagging behind Bustani's National Academy, Bliss was hoping that, "the erection of these substantial buildings upon a site at once so commanding and beautiful" would lead to "larger accession of students."¹⁰⁷ Contrary to Bliss' hope that a new building would bring new students, the enrollment at SPC for 1873/4 actually dropped to seventy-four students. It picked up gradually, though never matching the enrollment at Bustani's school. The year in which SPC enrollment passed the 150-student mark is exactly the year that the National Academy closed.¹⁰⁸

In 1869, Phelps, Dodge, and Company purchased a sixty thousand dollars large tract of land of approximately 48,000 square meters overlooking the Mediterranean Sea.¹⁰⁹ Two years

¹⁰⁵ For SPC enrollment numbers, see Henry H. Jessup. *History of the Syrian Mission*. [manuscript], notebook F 1860-1880, RG-183-4-3, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. For the student number at Bustani's National Academy, see "al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya," 627.

¹⁰⁶ Daniel Bliss, *Letters from a New Campus: Written to His Wife Abby and Their Four Children During Their Visit to Amherst, Massachusetts, 1873-1874* (Beirut: Syrian Protestant College Press, 1994), 59.

¹⁰⁷ Annual Report of the Board of Managers President's Report of The Syrian Protestant College, [typescript], ABCFM, reel 551, p. 28.

¹⁰⁸ For enrollment numbers, see Jessup, *History of the Syrian Mission*; "al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya," 627.

¹⁰⁹ Annual Report of the Board of Managers President's Report of The Syrian Protestant College, [typescript], ABCFM vol. 2, reel 551, p. 22. Subsequently, much effort went into negotiating purchases of adjacent plots to enable the continuity of the campus as it grew. Stuart Dodge remained an ardent advocate of land purchase and was ready to expend from his personal account if the opportunity arose to purchase a piece of land he considered strategic, as was the case of a plot for the Observatory he purchased in 1873.

later, Stuart Dodge commissioned plans for the new college building from George B. Post, a prominent and expensive New York architect. The construction took two years, and in 1873, SPC moved to a splendid new College Hall amidst orchards and cacti, far from the busy streets of Zokak el-Blat. Over the next year, in its new building, the college began to grow into a community.

After a year spent on the new campus, Bliss returned to the United States, where, once again on landing in New York, he rushed to the annual meeting of the ABCFM held in Rutland, Vermont. There he was to meet the Dodges. In a way, this 1874 Rutland meeting was a moment of triumph for those sympathetic to the cause of higher education as a missionary tool. Not only had the Syrian Protestant College taken off, but it had done so with the support of one of the most respected members of the ABCFM Prudential Committee – William E. Dodge. The Rutland conference was also the moment that connected Beirut to Kyoto.

Chapter 3: From Beirut to Kyoto: Establishing Dōshisha English School

American missionaries stationed in Beirut decided to go against the aversion of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission (ABCFM) to professional and literary education and strategized to obtain that organization's support for the Syrian Protestant College (SPC), an institution of scientific and literary higher education. Unbeknownst to the Beirut missionaries, their actions had significant consequences in Japan. By successfully founding a college with the ABCFM's endorsement and support, however reluctant, the Beirut missionaries set a precedent for mission-supported college as an option for missionary work. In so doing, they enabled a young Japanese missionary to argue for a college in his native land. By 1874, the college in Beirut had an impressive new campus and the full endorsement of William Dodge, who was among the richest members of the ABCFM's governing structure. At the same time, the influential opponents of indirect proselytizing through education, including Rufus Anderson, were nearing retirement. Just how much the Syrian Protestant College had galvanized a change of attitudes in the Boston missionary establishment becomes clear when a young Japanese missionary faced the ABCFM's annual meeting in 1874.

The Rutland Intersection

In October 1874, twelve years after Daniel Bliss had addressed the annual meeting of the Board in Springfield, not daring to speak of his planned college in Beirut, he traveled to Rutland, Vermont to enjoy his hour of glory. With the backing of the Dodge family, the Syrian Protestant College was as solid as the stones from which its new campus was built. As Anderson's influence waned and SPC's star rose, the writing was on the wall: the college in Beirut, and by

extension the cause of higher education with evangelical aims, was at least a solid proposition, if not a winning combination, for future missionary work. The change of mood was evident.

On the last day of the meeting, Rev. Joseph Niijima, the first Japanese graduate of Amherst and Andover Theological Seminary, rose to address the audience. Instead of offering the words of farewell typical of a departing missionary, Niijima issued a plea to establish a Christian educational institution in Japan. A local paper reported Niijima as having said:

Our country has sent about 300 students to different parts of the world to learn the best things they can. But I am sorry that most of them are under infidel influence in Europe. But we need more than education, we must have spiritual teaching for our nation. ... The church in Kobe has no educational institution, but she must have something of the kind. It is repulsive to the Japanese mind to beg, but I fear we must beg for that for Christ says, ask and ye shall receive. Therefore I ask you to give help enough to start the training institution, to raise up teachers and preachers and help some 33,000,000 people. Will you do it? I will not sit down until you promise it.¹¹⁰

In an extraordinarily bold move covered on the front page of the *Rutland Herald*, the young speaker refused to get off the stage until he received an answer and insisted he would not leave for Japan without the necessary funds. By the close of his address, more than \$3,000 (conservatively estimated at 58,300 in 2010 dollars) had been pledged.¹¹¹ Accounts of who pledged money at the meeting and who gave immediately afterward vary, but most of the initial grant came from three sources: Governor Page of Vermont, the state hosting the meeting; Dr. Peter Parker of Washington, a retired missionary with a keen interest in bringing the gospel to Japan; and William E. Dodge and his wife, the generous patrons of the Syrian Protestant College.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ "The American Board," *Rutland Herald* 80 (October 15, 1874 [morning edition]), 1.

¹¹¹ Samuel H. Williamson, "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1790 to Present," MeasuringWorth, 2010, <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/>.

¹¹² For accounts of the events at Rutland, see: Arthur Sherburne Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*. 8th ed. (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1894), 168-170; Otis Cary, "Ratorando to niijima jō to dōshisha" [Rutland, Niijima, and Dōshisha] in Kitagaki, Muneharu, ed. *Niijima jō no sekai: eimin hyakunen jitenkara* [Niijima

Oddly, Niijima never mentioned the Dodges or acknowledged that they were his largest single donors when speaking about the inception of Dōshisha at Rutland. He (and most subsequent accounts) mentioned only two Rutland donors — Parker and Page:

Towards the end of my stay [in the United States] in 1874, I was thinking about my return to Japan. A large meeting of Christians took place and I participated in it to say the words of farewell. I turned towards the large audience there present and expressed my long-held desire to establish a school in Japan upon my return. I asked [the audience] if there was anyone willing to help me and wondered if the prospects of establishing [a school] were indeed poor. Before the address was over, Dr. Parker — a friend of mine — called out saying “I will give \$1000.” Following [him], former governor of Vermont Mr. Page donated another thousand. Other people donated — some \$500, \$300, \$200 or \$100, others \$50 or \$30, some scraped \$2 or \$1 and in five or six minutes the amount pledged mounted to several thousand dollars.¹¹³

This version of events may reflect the fact that at a tense moment, when Niijima shocked the audience by breaching protocol and asking for money instead of saying his goodbyes, the pledges from an acquaintance, Governor Page, and from a friend, Dr. Parker, were memorable. What ever may be the reason behind the silence, it can be surmised that for several reasons the pledge from the Dodges had great impact on Niijima’s cause, whether he knew it or not.

Aside from being the largest single donation at Rutland (\$1,250, approximately \$24,300 in 2010 dollars), William Dodge’s pledge was an important endorsement.¹¹⁴ There likely was no richer man at the Rutland meeting nor one commanding comparable respect among both the rich and the evangelically inclined in the American public; his subscription provided a significant

Jō’s World:100 Years After His Death] (Kyoto: Kōyōshobo, 1990), 316(15); Dōshisha University, *Dōshisha hyakunen shi: shiryohen 1*. [Centennial History of Dōshisha: Records vol 1] (Kyoto: Dōshisha University Press, 1989), 9-27.

¹¹³ “*Dōshisha keiei ni kanshite seifu he no benmei*” [Explanation to the Government about the Management of Dōshisha] in *niijima jō zenshū*, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Dōshisha University Press, 1983), 9.

¹¹⁴ For Dodge’s standing in the merchant community, see: Richard Lowitt. *A Merchant Prince of the Nineteenth Century: William E. Dodge*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); William Carlos Martyn. *William E. Dodge: the Christian Merchant*. (New York: Funk&Wagnalls, 1890); *Proceedings at the Unveiling of the statue of William E. Dodge* (New York: New York Chamber of Commerce, 1886). For the present day value of Dodge’s donation, see Samuel H. Williamson, “Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1790 to Present,” MeasuringWorth, 2010, <http://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/>.

seal of approval. His support was even more valuable for its being an informed endorsement, based on his experience with the Syrian Protestant College. Dodge was one of the few men in that room who had first-hand experience with the sole mission college ABCFM had supported to date.

In his support, Dodge connected the Syrian Protestant College and Dōshisha University in Kyoto. Yet Nijjima and his fellow missionary teachers at Dōshisha never mentioned the college in Beirut beyond several obscure references to “colleges in Turkey.”¹¹⁵ Although Nijjima and Bliss had both been at the Rutland meeting, there is no indication or evidence that they ever met or corresponded. Yet Nijjima was surely aware of the missionary efforts in Beirut and could follow the news from the college in the pages of the *Missionary Herald*, the official and widely read periodical of the ABCFM. Thus, the absence of direct contact between Nijjima and the missionaries in Beirut does not mean the absence of influence or inspiration. Considering the nature of his objectives, it seems unlikely that Nijjima could be aware of the successful establishment of the American University in Beirut. Even if Nijjima came to the idea of a missionary college independently, the battles fought and won by the missionaries in Beirut over the issue of a mission-supported institution of higher learning affected how elders in Boston viewed the matter. Even if Thomson and Bliss did not influence Nijjima’s vision for a college in Japan, it is certain that their position improved his chances of success in winning Boston’s approval. In front of the Boston elders, Nijjima could call for a “training institution to raise teachers and preachers” largely because, in the decade leading up to the Rutland gathering, the Syrian Protestant College had gone from an "evil" heresy to the cutting edge of missionary work.

¹¹⁵ It is unclear if by Turkey the missionaries refer to institutions in the Ottoman Empire as a whole, which would include Beirut or a mission in Turkey, which would exclude it. For example, a missionary stationed in Kyoto wrote to Boston: “The present condition of the educational institutions in Turkey may seem unpromising but I firmly believe that the wisdom of the policy which led to their foundation will within twenty years be fully justified.” Daniel Greene to N. G. Clark, Kyoto, 29 October 1883, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 4. 1, reel 341.

When Niijima stood on that stage, his success was due less to boldness than to timing. Because he pleaded for support at the exact moment when a missionary college in Beirut had assumed the shape of a solid institution and come to be understood as a legitimate missionary cause, Niijima escaped the fate of those who had tried to do the same thing in the 1850s. He was not obliged to fundraise for years and officially resign from the ABCFM as Bliss had been, and despite the fact that his way of asking for support might have raised a few eyebrows, his idea was not considered evil, as has been the case in Beirut in 1862; nor was it dismissed, as had happened for Istanbul and Jaffna in the 1850s. Instead, Niijima received a total of \$5,000 and permission to open a Christian college in Japan. By all measures, Niijima's fundraising plea was a great success, and by the end of the month, he was on his way back to Japan to open his college.

Niijima's Path to Rutland

Several months after the plan expressed at Rutland unfolded in Niijima's favor, allowing him to open the second ABCFM missionary college with a largely secular curriculum and the first to be *entirely* funded by the Boston board, Niijima landed in a Japan that was familiar and yet very unlike the one he had left a decade before as a twenty-two year old. Niijima was born Niijima Shimeta in Edo (present day Tokyo) in 1843, the first son in a lower-ranking samurai family serving Lord Itakura, the *daimyo* of Annaka (present Gunma prefecture). Most biographies of Niijima and accounts of the founding of Dōshisha English School (today's Dōshisha University) posit its founder's stay in the United States as the formative experience of his life.¹¹⁶ The unstated assumption is that Niijima landed in the United States as a *tabula rasa*. The decade he spent studying in the United States was surely of great significance. But, far from

¹¹⁶ Yasuhiro Motoi, *Ganso riberaarisuto* [Pioneering Liberal] (Kyoto: Shibunkaku suppan, 2008); Katsuya Inoue, *Niijima jō:hito to shisō* [Niijima Jō: Person and Thought] (Kyoto: Kōyōshobo, 1990), 121-122; Muneharu Kitagaki, *Niijima jō to āmosuto daigaku* [Niijima Jō and Amherst College] (Kyoto: Deguchi shoten, 1993), 291-313.

being an empty vessel waiting to be filled, Niijima arrived in Boston as a well-educated and informed young man with a clear, if complex, goal in mind. The first step had been to leave and work his way to New England. The next step was to get the best possible education with the financial support of some benevolent society, an idea that had fascinated him since reading Elijah Bridgman's *A Brief History of the United States*. The final step was to return to Japan having "achieved something."¹¹⁷

As the oldest son and heir of a samurai family, the study of Chinese classics (*kangaku*) was the bedrock of Niijima's education. He studied under the renowned scholar Soekawa Rensai, a follower of the Wang Yang Ming school of Confucianism, which emphasized action as the path to knowledge. Having a keen interest in the world outside Japan and believing that *doing* was the only way of *learning*, Soekawa opened Niijima's mind to the world beyond Edo and Japan.¹¹⁸ Niijima's subsequent trans-Pacific voyage amounted to learning the world in the Wang Yang Ming tradition — by exploring it. Having obtained a solid grounding in Chinese classics, Niijima pursued Dutch Learning (*rangaku*), the study of Dutch books about military, medical, and world affairs. This line of inquiry brought him into the orbit of eminent *rangaku* scholars such as Tajima Junsuke and the Sugitas. Sugita Renkei and Sugita Gentan, who came from a famous line of Dutch Learning scholars, proved to be inspiring teachers, and their library became a springboard for Niijima's exploration of the world beyond Japan.

It was there that Niijima had found the Chinese book *A Brief History of the United States*, by Elijah Bridgman, which gave him concrete ideas on how to proceed. Niijima described it as an atlas of the United States written by an American minister in China. He "read it many times,"

¹¹⁷ In a letter to his father, Niijima writes: "I may be mad but I am determined not to come back without having achieved something." Niijima Jō to Niijima Tamiharu, 26 February 1866, in *Niijima jō zenshu*, vol. 3 (Kyoto: Dōshisha University, 1987), 27.

¹¹⁸ Susumu Kawanishi, "Teachers and Friends of Niijima Jō," Kitagaki, Muneharu, ed. *Niijima Jō no sekai: eimin hyakunen jitenkara*. [Niijima Jō's World: 100 Years After His Death] (Kyoto: Kōyōshobo, 1990), 316(15).

describing a sensation of awe, because, as he wrote, “I liked it very much.”¹¹⁹ Written by an ABCFM missionary to China eager to extol the U.S. political system to a foreign audience, Bridgman praised American political institutions and their mechanisms. Ironically, his idealistic depiction contrasted with the disappointment felt by many New England hard-line Protestants over the direction the United States had taken, particularly following the proclamation of the U.S. Constitution, which separated church and state and which, to the horror of New England’s standing order, had no safeguards for Protestant monopoly over the religious life of the young republic.¹²⁰ Conveniently, Bridgman’s account also excluded discussion of religious liberalization and the gruesome realities of settler colonialism in the westward push unfolding as he was writing the book in 1834. For Nijjima’s purposes, perhaps the most important part of the book was a lengthy description of a great many benevolent societies and their charity and educational work.¹²¹ Judging by what followed Nijjima understood these benevolent institutions and their liberal patrons as his ticket to a good education.

In March 1863, young Nijjima exchanged farewell cups of sake with his family, as was the custom “when we expect no fair chance of seeing each other again,” and boarded a schooner for the port of Hakodate on Japan’s northern island of Hokkaido, his stepping-stone to Boston.¹²² Having convinced a captain of a Shanghai-bound ship to smuggle him out of the country and with this became an outlaw - unauthorized departure from the country was a capital crime in Tokugawa Japan. In Shanghai, he managed to board an American commercial ship that traded between Boston and various ports in East Asia. After a year at sea, paying for his voyage by

¹¹⁹ Jerome D. Davis, *A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Hardy Neesima* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1894), 17-18.

¹²⁰ Jonathan Sassi, “The First Party Competition and Southern New England’s Public Christianity,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 21, (2001), 261-299.

¹²¹ Jerome D. Davis, *A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Hardy Neesima* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1894), 19.

¹²² Jō Nijjima, *My Younger Days* (Kyoto: Alumni of Dōshisha University, 1934), 43

working as a sailor, Niijima landed in Boston in 1864. Following the hints from Bridgman's book, Niijima's next move was to find a benefactor; the ship's owner Alpheus Hardy was his first call. True to Niijima's expectation Hardy agreed to send young Niijima to Philips Academy in Andover, where he was baptized in December 1866. From Philips Academy, Niijima went to Amherst College and, in 1870, became its first Japanese graduate.

In 1868, as Niijima was plowing through Latin and Botany at Amherst College, a group of samurai overthrew the Shogun and enthroned a seventeen-year-old emperor as the head of state. The political upheaval was not entirely unexpected as the tensions and fissures in the Tokugawa rule had been visible long before Niijima's trans-Pacific voyage. In 1853, when he was ten years old, the U.S. fleet had sailed into Tokyo Bay and shaken the late Tokugawa world at the precise point when gradual decline was becoming a breakdown of the social and political order.¹²³ The sight of Commodore Perry's "black ships" marked a generation and spearheaded political debate. As Niijima described it in a letter four years after Perry's arrival:

Whenever two men meet, one is for opening trade, saying that it will bring peace to the whole world, and the other is against it, insisting that if we barter with foreign nations which are much bigger than our country, nothing will be left for us in the end as they will take away our scanty good products and give us their bad ones in abundance. [...] As no two share the same opinion, so hundreds of people have as many opinions. That is why I feel there will be internal disturbance in this country.¹²⁴

The news of what later became known as the Meiji Restoration reached Niijima through the Boston newspapers, conversations with a Japanese student from the Satsuma domain at Monson

¹²³ Shogunate was subsequently forced to navigate international treaty negotiations while struggling to contain domestic strife and near bankruptcy. After several months of negotiations, the U.S. and Japan signed a treaty opening two Japanese ports to American ships. In 1858, the Treaty of Amity and Commerce opened six more ports to U.S. ships. Following the U.S., similar agreements -- commonly referred to as "unequal treaties" -- were signed with the European powers, most notably Great Britain, France, and Russia, and re-signed with the Netherlands.

¹²⁴ Niijima to Ozaki as quoted in Susumu Kawanishi, "Teachers and Friends of Niijima Jō," in Kitagaki, Muneharu, ed. *Niijima jō no sekai: eimin hyakunen jitenkara*. [Niijima Jō's World: 100 Years After His Death]. (Kyoto: Kōyō shobo, 1990), 312.

Academy in Massachusetts, and letters from his family. Niijima tried to demonstrate calm and in letters to his benefactor claimed that he did “not feel anxious about [his] folks because I demand [sic] them under the protection of the Almighty Hand,”¹²⁵ but it is evident from his roommate’s letters home that Niijima was quite worried for the safety of his family and hungry for news of them.¹²⁶ Just as he enrolled in Andover Theological Seminary, the hereditary stipends for samurai families were abolished, and feudal lords were ordered to give their domain lands to the Emperor. Hoping that the changes would make his amnesty easier, Niijima wrote to high-ranking officials of his domain asking whether an official pardon could be procured in Tokyo, but with no success.¹²⁷ In the new, as in the old, Japan, Niijima was still an outlaw. Then, in 1872, an unexpected solution came Niijima’s way, in the form of Mori Arinori, a Japanese envoy to the United States, who approached Niijima for help in organizing the New England itinerary for the Iwakura mission — a large-scale government deputation that visited Europe and the United States in 1871-72 with the aim of studying “the conditions of the West” and preparing the ground for revising the "unequal treaties" signed with the US and other Western Powers after 1858.

Mori’s offer was a golden opportunity, because the job came with two things Niijima was desperate to obtain: a passport and a retroactive permission to study abroad that cancelled his status as a criminal in the eyes of Japanese law. This job also proved to be an important opportunity for Niijima to make friends among the new Meiji leaders such as Mori Arinori, Kido Takayoshi, and Tanaka Fujimaro. In 1872, Niijima took a leave of absence from Andover and entered the Japanese government service, but he took pains to ensure that the contract was not

¹²⁵ Arthur Shenbrun Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*, 8th ed. (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1894), 81.

¹²⁶ Muneharu Kitagaki, “Niijima jō to horando” [Niijima and Holland], in Kitagaki, Muneharu, ed. *Niijima jō no sekai: eimin hyakunen jitenkara*. [Niijima Jō’s World: 100 Years After His Death]. (Kyoto: Kōyō shobo, 1990), 137-138.

¹²⁷ Jō Niijima to Itsunosuke Iida, 25 December 1867, in *Niijima jō zenshu*, vol. 3 (Kyoto: Dōshisha University, 1987), 51-53.

making him into “the slave of the Japanese government.”¹²⁸ He did so by refusing to take Mori’s offer to repay all his tuition expenses since 1864, thus avoiding becoming a government-sponsored student abroad, a status that came with strings attached. He also secured a contract that allowed him to practice his faith openly, to avoid traveling on Sundays, and to terminate the contract if he wished. Assigned to Tanaka Fujimaro, who was interested in visiting educational facilities and later became minister of education in the early Meiji government, Niijima was able to use what he had learned about American education as well as the contacts he had made in Massachusetts over the years. His performance was impressive, and Tanaka asked Niijima to follow him to Europe for a tour of schools in France and Germany.

During the time he spent with Tanaka, Niijima became convinced that he had been “called” to be involved in setting up the new education system in Japan. At one point in October 1872, while with Tanaka in Germany, Niijima was ready to abandon his studies of theology and return to Japan directly from Europe.¹²⁹ Eventually he changed his mind, realizing that returning with Tanaka would bind him in duty to the Meiji government, an idea he found unappealing. Instead he decided to return to Andover, finish his theological training, and apply for a position with the ABCFM, a job that came with a secure income and a degree of freedom allowed by the breadth of overseas missionary work. The only significant problem with this plan was that ABCFM had never hired a foreigner. Despite Niijima’s credentials as an Andover graduate and an ordained minister and Alpheus Hardy’s weight on the Prudential Committee, ABCFM did not appoint Niijima as a full-time missionary. Instead, Niijima was appointed as a corresponding missionary, which came with half the regular salary and no voting rights in meetings, a significant handicap in a structure where most major decisions were made by vote.

¹²⁸ Arthur Sherburne Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*, 8th ed. (Cambridge : The Riverside Press, 1894), 120.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 152-154.

Niijima was similar to other young men of his generation. They learned Chinese classics, moved on to the study of Dutch and English, and went abroad to complete their educations before returning with ideas of how to reform Japan and strengthen it as a nation.¹³⁰ He distinguished himself by being among the handful of those who did not wait for an official route and by leaving without a penny to his name. He returned with the backing of the largest and richest American missionary board. When he stood up at Rutland, he pleaded not only for the bold idea of a Christian college but also for the fulfillment of his dream.

Early Meiji Kyoto

The timing of Niijima's plea at Rutland was matched only by the opportune moment of Niijima's arrival in Kyoto. First, the ban on Christianity in effect since the seventeenth-century was lifted in 1873, a year before Niijima returned to Japan. Second, the imperial court had completed its move from Kyoto to Tokyo, taking with it a sizable court population, dealing a blow to the city's economy and pride. Although he initially did not think of Kyoto as a possible location for the school, these two factors converged to ensure that his idea was given a warm welcome in a city fearful of losing its luster. Born and raised in Tokyo, Niijima had considered that city a natural place for his college, but the dictates of missionary turf delineations allotted Tokyo to the Presbyterians, leaving the port cities of Osaka and Kobe to the ABCFM Congregationalists. Niijima first considered locating the school in Osaka, but the plan quickly fell apart because of the vehemently anti-Christian attitude of the Osaka governor. Exhausted by the negotiations and disappointed by the failure, Niijima embarked on his first trip to Kyoto with the intention of resting his strained mind and body.

¹³⁰ For example of a statesman following this path, see: Kengi Hamada, *Prince Ito* (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1979). For an example of an influential educator, see Yukichi Fukuzawa, *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*, trans. Eiji Kyōka. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).

Although Kyoto had been the seat of the imperial court since the eighth century, by the Tokugawa period (1603-1868) it was no longer the political center of the country. Power resided with the Shogun in Edo, while Kyoto was politically irrelevant. The city was home to the emperor and his courtiers, to head-temples of Buddhist sects, and to artists serving both groups. In the last decade of Tokugawa rule, the tranquility was disrupted when Emperor Kōmei, departing from the longstanding practice of the court's staying out of politics, began to seek a stake in the governing of the country. By the early 1860s, Kyoto had become the center of anti-Shogunal agitation and a venue for the political strife that surrounded the issues of unequal treaties, foreign trade, and the presence of foreigners in the country.¹³¹ Groups of young and ambitious samurai critical of Shogunate's decision to open the country descended on Kyoto and swelled its population. With them came an increasingly politically charged atmosphere, complete with assassinations, intra-domain clashes and a flexing of military muscle that shook Kyoto and shocked its inhabitants.¹³² In March 1862, the lord of Satsuma marched 1,000 well-armed and foreign-trained men through Kyoto, causing panic in a city that had not seen such a large military formation for hundreds of years.¹³³ Satsuma aimed at calming anti-Shogunal sentiment in Kyoto, and the event was a harbinger of the upheaval that was to come.¹³⁴

In spring 1863, Emperor Kōmei, who bitterly resented foreigners' presence in the country, issued an edict with a deadline for their expulsion and caused a lot of commotion stirrings of the "expel the barbarians" type as well as anti-Shogunal agitation. This put Kyoto into the whirlpool

¹³¹ Marius Jansen, *The Emergence of Modern Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 167-168. For a virtually blow-by-blow account of disturbance in Kyoto in the late 1860s, see: Magoya Katsuta, *Okubo toshimichi den* [Biography of Toshimichi Okubo], vol 1 (Tokyo: Dōbunkan, 1910); Toshimichi Okubo, *Okubo toshimichi nikki*. [Diary of Toshimichi Okubo] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1983).

¹³² Kyūbei Ueda, *Bakumatus kyōto no seikyoku to chyōtei : higohan Kyōto rusui hayaku no shojō nikki kara mita*. [Late Tokugawa Kyoto Politics and Imperial Court: From a Diary of the Higo Domain Representative in Kyoto] Masato Miyachi, ed. (Tokyo : Meicho kankokai, 2002).

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 134-135.

¹³⁴ Donald Calman, *The Nature and Origins of Japanese Imperialism: A Reinterpretation of the Great Crisis of 1873* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 84.

of late-Tokugawa politics and took a toll on the city. In one such clash in the summer of 1864, as the Chōshū army marching on the Imperial Palace collided with the forces of Satsuma and Aizu in charge of guarding it, a fire broke out.¹³⁵ Later named the “boom-boom fire” (*don don yaki*) — for it was considered to have been started by the sparks from firearms — it raged for three days and burned one-third of Kyoto, including the entire commercial district and large parts of the Imperial Palace, which had barely recovered from the effects of a large fire a decade before.

The culmination of violence and destruction in Kyoto came in 1868 with the Edict on the Restoration of Imperial Rule, the ascension of Emperor Meiji (who replaced his prematurely deceased father, Emperor Kōmei, in 1867) to the throne, and the battle of Toba-Fushimi.¹³⁶ On January 3, the Restoration was declared, and the Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, agreed to a transfer of power while keeping a stake in the evolving political order. But after the confiscation of Tokugawa family land was put on the table by the Satsuma domain and after considerable provocation Shogunal forces marched on Kyoto and suffered a defeat. This battle (The Battle of Toba-Fushimi) turned out to be the tipping point, after which previously neutral lords rushed to declare their loyalty to the emperor and to sent military support to prove it.¹³⁷

Between 1868 and 1871, Kyoto witnessed a gradual and virtually complete (albeit never officially declared) transfer of authority to Tokyo. This transfer began with the renaming of the city of Edo, which became Tokyo or Eastern Capital in 1868, continued with the emperor’s trip to Tokyo in 1868-69; the 1871 order to the courtiers to establish residence in the Eastern Capital; and ended with the abolition of the post of *rusukan*, the caretaker government for the emperor

¹³⁵ This incident was later named Hamguri-gomon incident as the clash took place in front of the Hamaguri gate of the Imperial Palace.

¹³⁶ Brief accounts of the battle can be found in William G. Beasley, *Modern Japan: Aspects of History, Literature, and Society* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1975), 48 ; Paul Akamatus, *1868 : Revolution and Counter-revolution in Japan* (London : Allen and Uwin, 1972), 309 ; Ernest Mason Satow, *Diplomat in Japan: The Inner History of the Critical years in the Evolution of Japan When the Ports Were Opened and the Monarchy Restored.* (Berkeley : Stone Bridge Classics, 2006), 337-346.

¹³⁷ Marius Jansen, *The Emergence of Modern Japan* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

and the Grand Council of State in Kyoto. The political divestment from Kyoto prompted several thousands of its most prominent citizens to move to Tokyo. Artisans serving the court population followed suit and threatened Kyoto's reputation as the bastion of the arts. The city of Kyoto in the 1870s found itself in dire straits.

The most pressing business of the Kyoto prefectural government in the wake of the court's move to Tokyo was to reinvent itself economically.¹³⁸ This process was complicated by the fact that at the time there was confusion among the Meiji leaders about what was to become of Kyoto. No major decisions were made, no large funds were allocated to support the city through its transition. And, while it was clear what the city was moving *from*, it was not clear what it was moving *to*. Eventually, Kyoto acquired symbolic importance for the polity as a second capital, in part inspired by the Russian precedent of Moscow and St. Petersburg, whereby Kyoto remained the heart of the nation's history and culture and Tokyo its present political theater and symbol of its future.¹³⁹ This development triggered what Takeshi Fujitani called "the museumification of Kyoto" — a selective conservation with the purpose of turning it into a representation of the imperial family and by extension of the nation's past.¹⁴⁰

Schools that Can Save the City

Nijjima arrived in Kyoto in 1875 amidst uncertainty regarding the city's future and at a time of economic crisis. The city had several powerful advocates among the prominent Meiji figures, including court nobles such as Sanjō Sanetomi and Iwakura Tomomi (former

¹³⁸ I use "Kyoto prefecture" because that is the translation most commonly used in the literature. However, I am aware that in the Meiji administrative divisions Kyoto was technically designated as a *fu* [a district] and not *ken* [prefecture].

¹³⁹ For more on the dual capital system, see: Takeshi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

¹⁴⁰ Takeshi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 60.

chamberlain of Emperor Kōmei), as well as the young Meiji emperor himself, who repeatedly lamented the state of the city. In terms of concrete steps to remedy the situation, however, the prefectural government was largely on its own until 1883, when the Imperial Household Ministry was put in charge and given a budget for the conservation of the imperial complex in Kyoto. During the fifteen years between the move of the emperor from Kyoto and the central government's decision to invest in the city's imperial heritage, the survival of Kyoto was the task of several city bureaucrats concentrated around Makimura Masanao, an ambitious and powerful Kyoto prefectural bureaucrat, and his successor Kitagaki Kunimichi.

In 1871, as the government was settling in Tokyo, Makimura proposed a three-point industrial revival policy for Kyoto: establishing an annual industrial exhibition, modernizing Kyoto's textile and pottery manufacturing, and promoting the city as a travel destination.¹⁴¹ A special Office for the Promotion of Industry was established "with the sole purpose of encouragement of industry, stimulating the production, safeguarding private enterprise, starting factories and ensuring the growth of adequate foodstuff."¹⁴² The first goal on this list was to be accomplished by organizing an annual industrial exhibition (*hakurankai*) starting in 1871. In a shrewd move, which ensured that the promotion of industry and tourism were intertwined, the imperial complex was chosen as the venue for the exposition. Previously off-limits to most Kyotoites, the palace grounds were opened to visitors and became a site of entertainment. The local daily, *Kyoto Shinbun*, described the site: "The pond and the marsh of the Sento Palace now have strange and rare animals and are now a place where ordinary people come for leisure. And a

¹⁴¹ Kyoto Prefectural Archives, "*Koto no dappi* [The Rise of the Former Capital], in *Kyōto no rekishi* [*The History of Kyoto: Old Capital's Modernity*] vol. 8 (Kyoto: Kyoto Prefectural Archives, 1975), 43-35.

¹⁴² Keigyō jimuisoku [The Regulations for the Office for Promotion of Industry], kyoto-shi kaigi jiroku [The minutes of the city [council] meeting], 11 April 1871, Kyoto Prefectural Archive.

former house of one relative of a prince has become a venue for sumo wrestling and a theater.”¹⁴³ The exposition was open for one hundred days at the time, and the pairing of industry and entertainment ensured that tourists from far and wide came to see what only a few years before had been the interior of a forbidden city.

Education reform was part and parcel of the sweeping changes Makimura introduced in Kyoto. While the central government was still unsure how to organize the education system, Makimura used neighborhood associations as both the school district unit and a support network for his plan of opening an elementary school in every corner of the city. Makimura’s right-hand man and consultant in matters of education (and tourism) was Yamamoto Kakuma, a military man hired for his expertise in things western and for his contacts among the foreigners residing in Japan. His hiring was remarkable in part because he came from Aizu, a domain on the losing side of the Restoration conflict between Shogunal and Imperial forces. This usually limited any opportunity for government service in Meiji Japan, which was dominated by Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa men. Even more interesting is that he was hired practically from prison, based on an essay he had written during captivity. This shrewd man would become one of Nijijima’s main allies.

Yamamoto (1828-1892) came to Kyoto in 1864 as part of a new Imperial guard unit created by the Shogun, using trusted men from loyal domains such as Aizu to keep a closer watch on the anti-Shogunal activities at the Imperial Palace. In January 1868, after the battle of Toba-Fushimi, Yamamoto was imprisoned by the Satsuma domain in a temple next door to their Kyoto clan house. While others were playing gō, Yamamoto was writing his way out of prison

¹⁴³ *Kyoto Shinbun*, no. 70, April 1873, 1

and onto the winning side of the Restoration.¹⁴⁴ Because he was blind, he dictated a 22-point proposal outlining what he considered the best future course for Japan. He had it sent to his captor, Shimazu Hisamitsu (the regent of the Satsuma lord).¹⁴⁵ By writing on a diverse set of topics — from parliament, land reform, inheritance law, and education to iron casting, diet, and clothing — Yamamoto systematically built his reputation as a man informed about the outside world and connected with the foreign community in Nagasaki.

A Prussian called Lehman told me that in the United States they have a steam plow manned by two people and it does the work of seventy men. Also a Dutchman Garatama told me that the cause of England's wealth is the invention of steam engine and that is why their production is rising. When I visited Nagasaki, I met a Dutch man and an English man. When they first came to Japan they had only 10.000 yen but now they have tens of thousands of yen and sixty or seventy ships trading between Shanghai and Nagasaki, earning 250.000 or 260.000 yen a month. The [average] monthly profit is between 150.000 and 160.000 yen. This is the profit of only one merchant [house].¹⁴⁶

Yamamoto's strategy proved successful, and after a year in prison he was released and soon employed by the Kyoto government, with the rationale that "there is no one more knowledgeable about things Western."¹⁴⁷ This statement is more a testament to Yamamoto's political and marketing skills than to the extent of his knowledge of Europe and the United States at the time; his Dutch was questionable and his contacts among foreigners scant, but he was a fast learner, put old contacts to good use, and quickly made new ones.

¹⁴⁴ Gō is a board game for two players, similar in some aspects to chess. It is noted for simple rules which allow and necessitate complex strategies for winning.

¹⁴⁵ Reform proposals were common around the time of the Meiji Restoration and constituted a genre of political writing. For a comparison in terms of genre see "Eight-point proposal" by Sakamoto Ryōma and a letter of Saigō Takamori and Ōkubo Toshimichi on the Imperial Restoration in 1867. *Sources of Japanese Tradition*. Second Edition, vol. 2 (Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2006), 661-664.

¹⁴⁶ Yamamoto Kakuma, *My Humble View* [manuscript at Dōshisha main library]. For a transcription see Hideaki Kōno, *The Life of Yamamoto Kakuma and Yamamoto Yae* (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1989), 7-31.

¹⁴⁷ Hideaki Kōno, *Yamamoto Kakuma to Yamamoto Yae shōgai* [The Life of Yamamoto Kakuma and Yamamoto Yae] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1989), 7

Although he was a military man, Yamamoto considered education to be one of the most important points of focus in reforming the polity. Under the heading of “Schools” — his third point after discussing the form the new government should take and how the assembly should work — Yamamoto wrote:

It is our most pressing priority to make our country civilized, comparable to the Western countries. Thus, we need to educate people to become competent. Schools should be established in the Kyoto, Osaka and in other cities. Men of great erudition should teach there. Useless studies should be abandoned and only the books useful to the country should be taught. There are four kinds of learning. First, state craft, natural law, public speaking and economy. International law falls into this category. Second, the study of ethics and training of virtue. Third, just adjudication, and fourth philosophy, physics, and military science (if medicine is added it constitutes the fifth category).¹⁴⁸

Having some experience with foreigners and considerable interest in education as a means of bringing Japan to the level of western countries, the main aims of Yamamoto’s labor in the employ of the city of Kyoto was to start schools with foreign teachers and to attract foreign tourists to Kyoto for the industrial exhibition, launched in 1871.¹⁴⁹

The first new school, opened in 1871, was the German Academy where Rudolph Lehman, one of Yamamoto’s few pre-Meiji foreign contacts, was hired to teach English, French, Dutch, German, and mathematics. The school was an instant success, attracting over 300 students, and within one month a middle school was opened, with Lehman’s brother and an American friend Charles Baldwin hired as additional teachers. Enforcements were also needed because Rudolph Lehman found himself increasingly busy helping the Kyoto prefectural government with a host

¹⁴⁸ One of several existing manuscripts of Yamamoto’s *Kanken* [My Humble View] is held at Dōshisha University library. For a transcription see Hideaki Kōno, *Yamamoto Kakuma to Yamamoto Yae shōgai* [The Life of Yamamoto Kakuma and Yamamoto Yae] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1989), 9.

¹⁴⁹ In the realm of tourism, Yamamoto authored an English-language tourist guide to Kyoto. It was published in 1873, at a moment when foreigners were not allowed to travel or reside in inland Japan, including Kyoto, except by special permission. The guide was to accompany a hundred-day industrial expo during which foreigners were allowed to reside in the city.

of other projects, including starting a pharmaceutical college and consulting on several engineering projects. A year later, in 1872, Yamamoto helped with the opening of a French Academy, where Léon Julie — originally approached to set up the training of Kyoto textile workers in the silk mills of Lyon — became a teacher. In April 1872, aiming to offer a new kind of education to the daughters of the vanishing nobility and samurai class, Yamamoto worked to open the first English Girls' School, where his sister taught.

When Nijjima visited Kyoto, he had little idea that he was entering an ancient capital seeking to renew itself by attracting people and resources. Introduced to Yamamoto by a missionary colleague who had previously visited Kyoto during the industrial expo, Nijjima received a warm welcome. Yamamoto questioned him about the Christian literature he had been given by missionaries the year before and Nijjima's intention to open a school. Not surprisingly, Yamamoto jumped at the idea of having a fellow Japanese who had studied in the United States open a school in the country and persuaded Nijjima to consider Kyoto as a potential location. As a result, Nijjima reported to his former teacher at Amherst that he was “persuaded by one of the prominent men in that place to bring my future College there instead of having it in Osaka.”¹⁵⁰

Yamamoto's push to have the college in Kyoto went far beyond a suggestion. He took Nijjima into his home in the summer of 1875 and co-signed a petition to the then-Kyoto governor, his friend Makimura, for permission to open an English Language School in the fall. The permission was promptly granted. The second important contribution of Yamamoto to the establishment of the school in Kyoto was his brokering the rental of two abandoned houses in the Imperial place complex — one as a school residence and the other as a home for Jerome Davis. This was no small contribution considering that Kyotoites were known for not welcoming

¹⁵⁰Jō Nijjima Jo to Julius Seeley, Osaka, 27 April 1875. In *nijjima jō zenshu*. vol. 6, (Kyoto: Dōshisha University, 1987), 1875.

outsiders and had been a center of the “expel the barbarians” sentiment a decade earlier. Not only would it have been very difficult to rent a space for a foreigner without a guarantee from a government official, but Niijima, as a child of Edo and thus an outsider, would have been given a cold shoulder in Kyoto.

Both the young Niijima and the middle-aged Yamamoto were passionate about the idea of schools. While neither of them had an elaborate philosophy of education, both viewed it as an instrument of progress and a path towards change. They even agreed that the kind of progress they were looking for was not only material but also social, requiring a new moral base. Both men were well versed in Confucian classics and both found them unsatisfactory and irrelevant to the situation Japan was facing at the time. Niijima considered “the cultivation of talented men who are an [essential] element of civilization” the nation’s most pressing task.¹⁵¹ Yamamoto agreed that cultivating the talent of its people was the best approach to civilizing the nation.¹⁵² However, while Niijima was confident that Japan should be rebuilt on the basis of Protestant morality, which would replace Confucianism, Yamamoto was not convinced. Although he read the missionary literature, which he said “cleared away many of [his] doubts regarding Christianity,” he was uncertain about what salvation through Lord Jesus Christ could contribute to Japan’s path out of feudalism. Yamamoto was willing to sign onto the project of starting a college in Kyoto because it spoke both to his job in Kyoto’s prefectural service and to his understanding of what Japan ought to be doing to catch up with the West. But he was unwilling to become Christian until two decades later.

¹⁵¹Jō Niijima, “Dōshisha setsuritsu wo yōsuru shui” [The motive for establishing Dōshisha]. In *niijima jō zenshu*. vol. 1, (Kyoto: Dōshisha University, 1983), 44.

¹⁵² Yamamoto Kakuma, *My Humble View* [manuscript at Dōshisha main library]. For a transcription see Hideaki Kōno, *The Life of Yamamoto Kakuma and Yamamoto Yae* (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1989), 9.

While the Yamamoto-Niijima petition to the city government did not mention Christianity, Makimura was likely aware of Niijima's intention to preach and hire an ABCFM missionary from Kobe as a teacher. The next step was to acquire permission for Jerome Davis to reside in the city and teach at the school. Even if Kyoto was willing to grant Davis's residency permit, his work permit had to be approved by the Ministry of Education in Tokyo. The problem was that the ministry had an explicit policy banning the hiring of missionaries in teaching capacities. Niijima's hope was that his friendship, dating from the Iwakura mission in the United States, with Tanaka Fujimaro — head of that department — could help him get an exemption. After three days of intense negotiations in which Tanaka tried to recruit Niijima to work for the ministry, permission was reluctantly granted for Davis to teach at the new school in Kyoto.

Using Yamamoto's leverage with the city and Niijima's connections in the central government, Davis was able to come to Kyoto, and Dōshisha English Language School (named by Yamamoto) was ready to open its doors in what seemed like a relatively smooth start. But trouble began soon thereafter. Realizing that Davis was not just another foreign expert but also a missionary, the Buddhist establishment, concentrated around the powerful Honganji temple complex, protested and over one thousand monks petitioned Makimura to close the school and expel Davis from Kyoto.¹⁵³ This was not unexpected in a city that was one of the most important centers of Buddhism in the country. Neither was it surprising that the petition came from the Honganji temple, as its priests and economic weight made it one of two important players in local politics, the other being the entertainment quarter of Gion. If a politician made enemies in either camp, staying in office was virtually impossible.

¹⁵³ Most missionary accounts mention the petition; however, I was not able to locate a document that fits the description in the Kyoto Prefectural Archive. The petition may have been lost or may have been made in the format of delegations from various temples visiting Makimura's office to petition the cause verbally and in negotiations with the aim of closing the school and expelling Davis from the city.

At the same time, this was a precarious moment, when the wind of imperial restoration had dealt a blow to the Buddhist institutions of the country. After 1868, Meiji oligarchs were increasingly eager to enforce a *shinbutsu bunri*, a separation of the previously intertwined religious landscape into separate worlds of “native” *kami* (gods) and “imported” Buddhas.¹⁵⁴ They argued that the deities imported from India sullied the pure native gods and by extension the emperor, who was a descendent of the Sun goddess Amaterasu. An additional level of animosity toward Buddhism stemmed from its close ties with the Tokugawa political order and what it stood for in Meiji — backwardness and the feudal age. Turning back to Buddhist customs was in part identified with turning back to the old regime. In the early years of the Meiji period, the movement for abolishing Buddhism — *haibitsu kishaku* — was at its height, resulting in the destruction of temple property (by appropriating it for other uses), the closing of temples, and the forced defrocking of priests and nuns. Kyoto and its vicinity were not spared. Kōfukuji, the three-storied pagoda in Nara (now a National Treasure and a World Heritage Site), was destroyed during that period. In 1873, *Kyoto shinbun* reported that the stone base of the Buddha from one temple “was used [to build] a bridge over Horikawa river at Nakadachiuri,” while “in various places throughout the city, huts protecting small Jizō statues [on street corners] were turned into [public] toilets.”¹⁵⁵

Under these conditions, the conflict over a missionary coming into the city was also about reasserting the influence of the Honganji priests on city politics. The political culture of the city precluded a governor making enemies of either the Buddhist establishment or the entertainment quarters of Gion. An ambitious politician, Makimura would have known he could not afford an open conflict with Honganji. At the same time, he could not pass up the

¹⁵⁴ Sarah Thal, *Rearranging the Landscape of Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 6-8

¹⁵⁵ Jizō statues were stone representations of the Bodhisattva guardian of Travelers and Children commonly found on street corners and road intersections. *Kyoto Shinbun*, no. 70, April 1873, 4.

opportunity represented by Niijima's expertise, his budget, and his plan for the school. Hence, Makimura had to tread carefully and orchestrate a sophisticated response, appeasing the Buddhists while making sure that Dōshisha remained open. He did so by maintaining the appearance of hostility towards the school while stopping short of closing it. He terminated his friendship with Yamamoto, fired him and two of his family members from city service, and urged the landlord who rented classroom space to Niijima to void the lease.¹⁵⁶ Most importantly and strategically, Makimura summoned Niijima and insisted that he sign a pledge that there would be no preaching or Bible study on school grounds. To the utter consternation of his missionary colleagues, Niijima signed. He did so not because he prioritized education over preaching education for to him these were part of the one whole. He signed because he understood that once the school is set up, even on Makimura's terms, the rules can be negotiated. In the meantime, the Bible instruction could take place in teachers' homes.

Makimura's actions in the wake of the petition of the Honganji priests are often cited to substantiate the claims that he was the enemy of Dōshisha and anti-Christian. Yet, what Makimura did not do is also significant. He did not expel Davis from the city, and he allowed other missionaries to come to Kyoto, albeit with delays in issuing paperwork. He also did not close the school or punish the trustees (Niijima and Makimura's former advisor and friend Yamamoto Kakuma) when it was clear that Christianity was being taught on campus in spite of the governor's request. Makimura's office conducted several inspections of the school over the

¹⁵⁶ The landlord, a Kyoto courtier now living in Tokyo, politely declined governor Makimura's request because, pressed for cash, he could not return one year's worth of rent.

course of its first few years. Several of those were undercover investigations, and each yielded a litany of breaches, the most serious involving religious instruction.¹⁵⁷

Makimura got one such report on May 28, 1879, from a covert inspection of Dōshisha facilities that described a classroom scene as follows:

All students in the classroom held a book and read in turn after being called out by the teacher. The book turned out to be the Holy Bible. After students read in turns, the teacher lectured for about twenty minutes about the life after death and talked about Mohammedan religion. Then, he turned to me and apologized saying: “In teaching moral science I must talk about the life after death and cannot but quote a bit from the Bible.”¹⁵⁸

Despite clear evidence that the Bible was being taught under the guise of moral science, Makimura turned a blind eye and allowed Dōshisha to remain open. Makimura was far from the vehement anti-Christian or anti-Dōshisha character depicted in many histories.¹⁵⁹ Rather he was pro-Kyoto; as long as Dōshisha was bringing cash, community, and construction to a depressed and deserted neighborhood, Dōshisha was good for Kyoto.¹⁶⁰ As long as Dōshisha was good for Kyoto, Christian or not, Makimura was ready to keep it open. Of course, the school’s reputation as a Christian institution did present a challenge and thus placed limits on Makimura’s support, but interpreting those limits as the acts of a hostile governor flattens the political landscape of a struggling city and does injustice to the governor’s efforts to keep Dōshisha open and Kyoto alive.

¹⁵⁷ These records are for inspections between February 1879 and June 1883 are collected under “*Dōshisha shisatsu no ki*”[Record of Inspections at Dōshisha]. In Dōshisha University. *Dōshisha hyakunen shi: shiryohen 1*. [Centennial History of Dōshisha: Records vol 1] (Kyoto: Dōshisha University Press, 1989), 124-149.

¹⁵⁸ Inspection of May 28, 1879. “*Dōshisha shisatsu no ki*”[Record of Inspections at Dōshisha]. In Dōshisha University. *Dōshisha hyakunen shi: shiryohen 1*. [Centennial History of Dōshisha: Records vol 1] (Kyoto: Dōshisha University Press, 1989), 124-125.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 124.

¹⁶⁰ The reports of the breach of pledge did result in Niijima being summoned and Yamamoto attempting to intercede on the school’s behalf with the governor. Yet the fact that an authoritarian man of Makimura’s caliber allowed the breach to go unpunished indicates his tacit support of the school even if it came with some Bible.

Missionary Opposition to Dōshisha

Makimura's ban on teaching the Bible and preaching on school premises blunted the protest by the Honganji group, but it enraged some missionaries. Davis, who later became Niijima's ally, was determined to pack his bags and leave in response; he was only prevented by the fact that his wife was not strong enough to travel, having just delivered their first son. Others claimed that the Dōshisha project should be abandoned if teachers there were obliged to abandon preaching and become in fact what they already were on paper — *oyatoi gaikokujin* — foreigners hired to teach in a school opened by a Japanese national. In March 1876, after several months of fierce debate, the missionaries in Japan put the issue to a vote and narrowly passed a decision to keep Niijima and Davis in Kyoto and Dōshisha open.

Worried that in the next round of voting (in which Niijima did not have a say), the school might be wiped off the map, Yamamoto, Niijima, and Davis considered ways to secure the school's survival by literally building it up and thus rooting it in the urban landscape. Again, Yamamoto's contribution was instrumental: at a price surpassing his annual income, he purchased a plot of land just north of the Imperial complex. Niijima and Davis pushed through a vote approving the construction of two school buildings on the plot. Within three months of the reluctant vote of the mission to remain in Kyoto, another vote was passed to construct three new buildings. These buildings were put up almost immediately and "dedicated to the Lord" on September 18, 1876, establishing what to this day remains Dōshisha's main campus. Erecting buildings with a capacity for forty students, at a time when the school had enrolled merely eight, improved its chances of survival. Building it in the depressed neighborhood around the former palace brought life and resources back to that area of the city, which must have pleased the governor. For the mission, it served to plant roots in the much-coveted interior of the country.

From 1854, when Japan and the United States signed their first treaty, until 1899, when Japanese treaties with foreign powers were revised, foreigners were not allowed to reside outside the handful of treaty ports and designated market areas of Kobe, Nagasaki, Niigata, Osaka, Yokohama, and Tokyo. Kyoto was outside of that perimeter and foreigners were not allowed in the city except by special permission of the governor. But not all the missionaries were content with the conditions under which the school had opened.

Conclusion

Despite claims to the contrary, the opening of Dōshisha English School, like that of the Syrian Protestant College, was not an initiative of benevolent American missionaries bringing liberal education to a world wrapped in darkness. It was the initiative of Kyoto government officials and their warm welcome that made Dōshisha possible. Niijima's English academy allied perfectly with local plans to revitalize the city by stimulating education and industry.

Like its Beirut counterpart, Dōshisha is often portrayed as a pioneering institution of its kind; this is certainly true, but not in the sense most often meant. While Dōshisha was the first "English academy," it was certainly neither the first nor the largest "modern school" in the city. Several years before Dōshisha, Yamamoto, under Makimura's directives, set up German and French academies for boys and a girls' school where English was one of the subjects. The support Yamamoto, and by extension the Kyoto prefectural government, extended to Niijima's project was very much in line with efforts to make new kinds of skills available to youth. Claims that connect the welcome Dōshisha was given in Kyoto to the religious inclinations of Makimura's advisor Yamamoto are misleading. They obscure the very practical interest Governor Makimura had in locating the school in Kyoto. Yamamoto did not support Niijima

solely because of his sympathy toward Christianity nor did that sympathy translate into his dismissal from Makimura's staff. Yamamoto converted to Christianity many years after he had met Niijima, after he supported the opening of Dōshisha, and after was dismissed by Makimura.

Yamamoto's investment in Dōshisha was rather part of a broad set of reforms implemented by the Kyoto Governor Makimura Masanao and his aides in the aftermath of the removal of the imperial court to Tokyo in 1869. As Makimura's friend and influential advisor in charge of education, Yamamoto supported Dōshisha as a part of a range of new schools emphasizing the teaching of foreign languages and sciences. His ties to Dōshisha were deeper than his ties to any of the other schools he helped start; this was in part because Yamamoto joined Dōshisha's Board of Trustees and also because Niijima married Yamamoto's sister. After he was dismissed from the city government's service, he remained the Trustee of Dōshisha until his death and was its acting president on several occasions. Although Yamamoto's ties to Dōshisha outlived his appointment in the Kyoto government, his initial support came from the city's pressing need to revitalize its economy; Dōshisha was part of that program. Thus, rather than being an enlightened initiative of the American missionaries fighting against ignorant and Christianity-hating Japanese officials, Dōshisha was nurtured by Kyoto's intense drive to reinvent itself as an industrial and educational center.

There are two main differences between early SPC and Dōshisha — one legal and the other financial — both of which became important in determining their futures. The financial support given to the Beirut project pales in comparison to the full-fledged funding and support given to Kyoto by the Board only nine years later. While the monetary support ABCFM gave to SPC was minimal, the support for Dōshisha was generous and covered all the school's expenses. In contrast, the total operating budget of the two schools differed. While Dōshisha started with

approximately \$5,000, the Syrian Protestant College started with a \$20,000 endowment. Dōshisha's budget was tied to the ebbs and flows of ABCFM's yearly appropriations; SPC had the support of wealthy donors on both sides of the Atlantic who gave liberally. One example of how this affected the campuses will be discussed in the following chapter.

This brings me to the second, legal point. Unlike SPC, which had a two-fold legal identity as both an American and an Ottoman institution (the college was chartered by the State of New York but also registered as a *waqf*, a charitable religious trust, under Ottoman law), Dōshisha was an entirely Japanese legal entity. For SPC, that meant having a Board of Trustees with a fundraising capacity beyond that of Dōshisha. Instead, Niijima and Yamamoto (and later several other Japanese Christians) served on a Board of Trustees that faced severe obstacles in fundraising locally and had little support for fundraising in the United States beyond the ABCFM. Occasionally Dōshisha was able to gain funds from sources other than the Board (most notably for the Harris School of Science [1890] and Clarke Memorial Hall [1893]); however, such donations were an exception in the early history of Dōshisha, while at SPC, resources for special projects (mostly buildings and equipment) found their way to Beirut far more easily. While the financial implications of the legal status of these organizations did not seem to matter initially, in the end, they would play an important role in how the two institutions developed.

Chapter 4: Space and American Missionary Collegiate Architecture in Beirut and Kyoto, 1866-1885

Today, the campuses of the Syrian Protestant College and Dōshisha University in Kyoto are landmarks in their respective cities. Yet there was a time in the second half of the nineteenth century when their collegiate architecture seemed quite out of place. Their construction was driven and shaped by the desires and anxieties of the founding fathers. The size of the earliest buildings was overstated relative to the needs of each college; the founding fathers were building for several times their current enrollment and their plans were more grandiose than their budgets allowed. An examination of the construction material and building methods indicates the dual purpose to impress the eye of the Beirut and Kyotoite beholder with the message of permanence and stability and to establish metaphorical roots; by erecting them in masonry the missionary teachers were claiming a place in the city landscape. Indeed, the urgency with which new buildings were planned by the missionaries-turned-teachers stemmed from an acute fear that circumstances could conspire to either render them irrelevant or push them out entirely.

Campus for Conversion: Space and Location in Building a Christian College

The idea of a Christian college -- as missionary-founded overseas institutions of higher education were often called -- rested on two components. The first component was an arts and sciences curriculum that grafted the idea of progress onto the base of Protestant ethics, following the assumption that the progress of the United States and the United Kingdom was based on their Protestant faith. If Japanese and Arabs wanted progress, they could not aim only for the outward

manifestation of advancement, but had to embrace its very roots. The second component was a campus that fostered a tightly bound intellectual community and had a code of conduct that inevitably isolated the students from ethnic communities and from the city at large. The close-knit school community and its isolation from the outside world, although never as comprehensive as planned, were essential for the slow work of conversion. They enabled teachers to slowly and steadily initiate students into the Protestant faith mostly through extracurricular proselytizing.

Thus, the idea of the Christian college, emerging in the 1860s and 1870s, came with a new view of conversion. In the first half of the nineteenth century, ABCFM missionaries were sent out with the idea that conversion was an affair of the heart and were discouraged from using any method except preaching in their commission to spread the glad tiding to all nations. They were told to have faith in the power of pure Gospel and "the Pauline operation on the heart."¹⁶¹ As the millennial zeal subsided and the reality of work in the field sank in, indirect proselytizing, ideally leading to a gradual and incremental conversion, became the common understanding of missionary process. American missionaries in different parts of the world came to realize the limits of preaching and reading the Gospel as the conversion method because, against Boston's expectations, once abroad, they found few whose hearts could be instantly stirred by hearing the Gospel and many more willing to listen but not easily persuaded that "He was the Way, the Truth, and the Life."¹⁶² Thus, missionaries came to understand conversion as a slow process of letting light into a dark room and leaving the impression that conversion was a rational choice. The key element of this kind of approach was prolonged and intimate contact between the potential

¹⁶¹ St. Paul was considered the predecessor of all missionary work. Departing missionaries were encouraged to follow his method of "pure preaching" and not get distracted with medical or education work.

¹⁶² John 14:6: "Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me" (King James Bible).

converts (students) and the missionaries (teachers) as living models of what it meant to be a Protestant Christian. "Direct proselytism is not attempted," wrote Daniel Bliss, adding that an "effort is made by the personal intercourse of Professors and Instructors, in the class-room and at other times and by the general exercises and arrangements of the Institution, to bring each member into contact with distinctive features of Evangelical truth."¹⁶³

It is worth noting that, for the missionaries, it was not the curriculum that was at the crux of the project. Rather, it was the personal intercourse and the arrangements of the college -- largely spatial -- that were the necessary conditions of success. Indeed, Bible instruction had no significant part in the curriculum, which included English, history, algebra, geometry, physiology, astronomy, and botany. From the missionaries' perspective, these subjects were in theory auxiliary to the truth of the Gospel. But, in practice, the Bible was limited to mandatory chapel attendance before classes, occasional use in English-language instruction, and more frequent use in ethics study. The importance given to science in the curriculum was part of a tactical shift from traditional evangelical techniques but it was not the goal; the idea was still to convert, but under the guise of arts and sciences education. Within the framework of a secular college with evangelical principles, missionaries also set out to prove that religion and science were not incompatible.

Students, in contrast, were attracted to such schools because of the education they offered at a relatively modest price. In particular, the emphasis on theoretical and applied sciences allowed students to tackle what was becoming a seemingly paralyzing distinction between Western and Eastern knowledge. Students embraced language training and a "modern education" based on science and rationality, while weathering the proselytizing that came with them. In

¹⁶³ *Syrian Protestant College* (Beirut: American Mission Press), ca. 1869.

Beirut, there were sporadic petitions by Muslim and Jewish students and their parents against the mandatory Chapel attendance and there was at least one major student strike protesting it.¹⁶⁴ Although the petitions were unsuccessful and Chapel remained mandatory until after World War II, according to college legends and at least one account from a later period students resisted by occasionally missing chapel (which was easier in Kyoto than in Beirut), declining to sing hymns, and, in Beirut, substituting Allah or Mohammad for the Lord or Jesus in prayer.¹⁶⁵ For different reasons, both students and faculty embraced the most recent scientific and positivist epistemology, diverging only in its connection to Protestantism.

For the missionaries' capillary strategy to work, the college had to be not only a site of instruction, but also a community, built around a common use of space. Time spent outside of the classroom was as important as time spent inside; it was a precious opportunity for the missionary-teachers to convince students that science leads to progress *only if* coupled with the "pure morality and rational religious faith" offered during Chapel hours.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the campus had two roles in the gradual conversion scheme. First, it put distance -- spatial and emotional -- between the students and their communities. Second, it limited their movement and kept them near pious men who helped them develop a critical perspective on -- and distance from -- life outside the college walls. By locating each college in a remote corner of the city and making boarding on campus affordable, available, and often mandatory, missionaries maximized the time students spent in school after class. With ample dormitory and housing facilities, the faculty and their families could live among the students and serve as models of progress and virtue.

¹⁶⁴ Anne-Laure Dupont, "Une école missionnaire et étrangère dans la tourment de la révolution constitutionnelle ottomane," *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 75 (2007): 39-57.

¹⁶⁵ For attitudes of a Muslim student towards mandatory chapel attendance and resistance strategies, see Mohammed Fadhel Jamali, "Mohammed Fadhel Jamali," in *Remembering Childhood in the Middle East: Memoirs From a Century of Change*, ed. Elizabeth Warnock Fernea (Austin: University of Texas Press), 2002, p. 9-18.

¹⁶⁶ Annual Report of the Board of Managers President's Report of The Syrian Protestant College, [typescript], ABCFM Papers, A.B.C. 16.8.2.5, reel 551, p. 18.

Rarely mentioned but no less important was the effect the campuses had on the missionary teachers. The confines of the campus isolated teachers as much as students and put distance between them and their colleagues outside the college. Decades of grueling routine lecturing and mentoring students while living on campus made them less preachers and more teachers, even when the lines between the two were blurred. Just as they expected students to become Protestant through the prolonged living and practicing of a pious routine, through their own prolonged "doing of teaching," their daily lives gradually but steadily shifted from pulpit to classroom, from pure faith to critical reasoning. Although there was no initial distinction between the two, the daily habits of missionary work were slowly transformed by the teaching schedule, office hours, committee work, and student supervision.

Building a Big Bubble – Beirut

Bustani's school being an incentive and an inspiration to the American missionaries as much as it was disturbing, even more so because it was not a small operation. ¹⁶⁷ Bustani secured three buildings for his school -- a dormitory with a capacity of 150 students, a classroom building, and a refectory. [Figure 1] When it opened, the school was sure to attract exactly the type of Arab youth the missionaries were targeting for conversion.

¹⁶⁷ Butros al-Bustani was a Protestant convert and although he cultivated a close relationship with several missionaries, by the time of his school's opening, his ties to them were virtually severed. The founding principal of the college had little respect for Bustani and part of his design for SPC had to do with his desire to absorb or overshadow Bustani's school.



Figure 1. **Bustani's National Academy.** Describing the school grounds, Bustani wrote: "The National Academy is located in one of the best quarters of Beirut; its buildings are among the finest in the city and the setting is healthy. The school is surrounded by extensive grounds, planted with leafy trees which provide an agreeable setting for the students' daily lives." (*al-Jinan* 4 (1873): 62). The above four drawings are the only known images of the National Academy (*al-Madrasa al-Wataniyya*) established by Butros Bustani in 1862 and closed in 1883. A folio with four drawings was sent to the son of Bustani's late friend Eli Smith and is preserved at Yale Divinity Library among his papers. [copyright © Yale University]

The Syrian Protestant College opened in a rented house in Beirut's *Zokak el-Blat* neighborhood in a property adjacent to the *wataniyyeh* and rented from Bustani. But it soon moved away from it and changed location two other times during its first eight years. Developed in the 1820s, *Zokak el-Blat* was one of the first residential quarters outside of Beirut's city walls and quickly grew into the educational heart of the city. A host of schools small and large opened between the 1860s and the 1910s and "over 2,500 children passed through *Zokak el-Blat* streets

daily on their way to school."¹⁶⁸ Bustani's *National Academy* and later SPC were part of a diverse intellectual and educational landscape.

SPC's location and competition were not conducive to the atmosphere necessary for a missionary college to succeed and the school's location soon became a hindrance to its mission. Because SPC operated within a limited space and in the middle of the city, many students boarded downtown and did not stay at school after class hours, which was prime time for the teachers' evangelical work. Moreover, because the neighborhood bustled with literary life and intellectual and social stimuli, it was difficult to contain even the few boarding students the college accommodated. Another problem was that the school's buildings were rented. Moving each time a lease expired did not project the permanence and stability the missionaries wanted the school to project. The anxiety of SPC's principal Daniel Bliss about how the school appeared to locals pervaded his reports to the trustees. "During all these seven years, we felt in an unsettled state and the College looked upon by the natives as an experiment which might succeed or not."¹⁶⁹ Even decades later, Bliss recalled that concern: "During these seven years, we scarcely had a name to live up to, although we were very much alive. A college on wheels does not impress the East with the idea of stability. We were not anxious to appear great, but we were anxious to lay foundations upon which greatness could be built."¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ Jens Hanssen, "The Birth of An Educational Quarter: Zokak el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World," in *History Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat*, ed. Hans Gebhardt et al. (Beirut: Orient-Institut), 2005, 148.

¹⁶⁹ Annual Report of the Board of Managers President's Report of The Syrian Protestant College, [typescript], ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16.8.2.5, reel 551, 34.

¹⁷⁰ Daniel Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, Edited and Supplemented by His Eldest Son (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920), 188.



Figure 2. **The City of Beirut 1876-1926.** The school ran away from the city but the city came to the school. The process of the city coming to the school can be seen on these two maps. On the 1876 Julius Löytved map of Beirut there is a handful of scattered residences and farmhouses in the vicinity of the College Hall [numbered 21]. By 1926, which is around the time Ras Beirut lived through its first development boom, there is a far greater concentration of buildings in the vicinity of the campus. This is obvious from the areal photo made by the French mandate authorities. [Maps are courtesy of the Bureau Stephan, Lebanon <http://www.bureaustephan.com>]

Besides increasing the time students spent at school, Bliss was also worried about increasing the number of students. With SPC enrollment still lagging behind Bustani's National Academy, Bliss hoped that "the erection of these substantial buildings upon a site at once so commanding and beautiful" would lead to "larger accession of students."¹⁷¹ Thus, with the seemingly unlimited backing of Phelps, Dodge & Co., the \$60,000 plot was promptly purchased.¹⁷² Two years later, the deed was transferred and drawings were commissioned from George B. Post, a prominent New York architect.¹⁷³

Design and Execution: George B. Post and `Abd al-Massih

The commission of George B. Post -- the father of the skyscraper -- was atypical and revealing of the grandeur the founding fathers sought. Post was a rising star in the architectural scene of New York, one of the most expensive architects in the city, and not famous for being a college architect.¹⁷⁴ He primarily designed townhouses around Central Park and business buildings in downtown Manhattan (the New York Stock Exchange being one of the few surviving examples). The choice was also atypical because few missionary establishments could boast of employing such a distinguished architect. Finally, it was unusual because Post did not design for overseas locations.¹⁷⁵ Interestingly, Post's remaining papers bear only a single mention of a college building in Beirut and it is filed under a question mark regarding the

¹⁷¹ Annual Report of the Board of Managers President's Report of The Syrian Protestant College, [typescript], ABCFM, A.B.C. 16.8.2.5, reel 551, 28.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 22.

¹⁷³ George B. Post Papers, Records of Payments, vol. 2, New York Historical Society.

¹⁷⁴ Post designed a total of only five collegiate buildings in his career, four between 1869 and 1871 (Princeton University and the Syrian Protestant College) and one in early 1900s (City College, New York).

¹⁷⁵ The only other overseas building Post designed was SPC's Chapel, erected in 1900. The Chapel stands to this day while the College Hall was substantially damaged in an explosion in 1991, after which the building was rebuilt and enlarged. The new College Hall serves as a classroom and office building, housing the office of the current SPC President, Peter F. Dorman, great-great grandson of founding president Daniel Bliss. The stone salvaged from the old building was reused on campus.

implementation of the plans. Ironically, while those familiar with Post's work lamented the destruction of his buildings in New York, few realized that two of his designs still stand in Beirut today.¹⁷⁶

Unusual and ambitious as it was, there were three reasons why Post got the commission. First, in 1871, when Dodge started looking for an architect, Post was in the limelight because of his involvement in the construction of the Equitable Life Insurance Co. building (1868-70) in New York. An extraordinary engineering contractor, at age thirty Post designed and installed a passenger elevator, the first of its kind in the city; the attraction and the talk of New York, where the Dodges resided. Second, between 1869 and 1870, Post designed three buildings for Princeton University, with which Dodges had a connection. Thus, although not a specialist, he was at least a credible collegiate architect [Figure 3]. Finally, there was a personal connection that mattered a great deal: George E. Post, a missionary in Beirut and professor of medicine at the Syrian Protestant College was a relative. The fact that Post donated his architectural services when the SPC needed a chapel three decades later speaks to the longevity and vitality of this connection.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ For a survey of George B. Post's work, see Sarah B. Landau, *George B. Post, Architect: Picturesque Designer and Determined Realist* (New York: Monacell Press, 1998); Russell Sturgis, *A Review of the Work of George B. Post* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1977).

¹⁷⁷ George E. Post was also an amateur architect. While the College Hall was being built, according to the plans of the *New Yorker Post*, the new building of the Medical School, designs of the Beirut-based missionary Post, was under way with much less pomp and money.



Figure 3. **Hundnut's Aerial View of Princeton (1875)**. Non of the three buildings that Post designed for Princeton University in 1869 survives. Boner-Marquand Gymnasium -- considered the first college gymnasium in the country and famous for its bronze statue of a gladiator -- was torn town in 1907. Dickinson Hall, the first building given entirely to classrooms at Princeton, was lost to a fire in 1920. Reunion Hall was an unpopular dormitory building because "every bit of fun" students had could be heard in the President's House next door. Later housing offices and student publications, the building was torn down in 1965. [copyright © Princeton University]

Although Post was commissioned to draw plans, he was not the only person involved in design. In Beirut, with Post's plans nothing but measured drawings without detailed instructions, the success of the project depended on a person who could analyze the plans and adapt them for local conditions -- from the elevation of terrain to the availability of construction material. Initially, Daniel Bliss considered implementing the plan on his own and no attempt was made to hire a head mason locally for several months. In the spring of 1872, as it became apparent that leading the project was beyond Bliss' ability, he hired `Abd al-Massih from the city of Mardin in

present-day Turkey for the position of head mason. Although not credited in the scholarship to date, `Abd al-Masih was instrumental in adjusting Post's plans to local needs.

While we know little of `Abd al-Masih, we can discern some of his talents. He was well respected both by his masons and his clients. For eighteen months, `Abd al-Masih had charge of up to 200 masons without a single record of accident or major injury, which was uncommon for a construction site in New York at the time.

He also earned the respect of his employers. Usually tight-fisted on praise and even derogatory of Arab converts, Bliss praised `Abd al-Masih for proving "to be heartily engaged in doing everything and anything to promote the interest of the College - who has shown himself to be a born ruler of men - quick to learn - having the boldness of a lion and the delicacy, in some things, of a woman - frank, truthful and most conscientious, never employing friends to the *disadvantage* of his employers - a thorough man and a Christian."¹⁷⁸

`Abd al-Masih modified Post's project in one significant aspect. On the north side of the College Hall, he added a colonnade with arches on the ground floor and an arched balcony on the floor above. [Figure 4] The arches are what is often called Venetian-style, typical of nineteenth-century Ottoman architecture in the Arab provinces.¹⁷⁹ They represent the only Levantine element on an otherwise New England collegiate building. Those arches were important for shelter from February rains and protection from the burning summer sun. [Figure 5] They were `Abd al-Masih's signature of sorts as a two-dimensional image drawn on Broadway Street in New York gives way to a three-dimensional object soaring in *Ras Beirut*.

¹⁷⁸ Daniel Bliss, *Letters from a New Campus: Written to His Wife Abby and Their Four Children During Their Visit to Amherst, Massachusetts, 1873-1874* (Beirut: Syrian Protestant College Press, 1994), 106 [emphasis in the original].

¹⁷⁹ For a debate on the origins and characteristics of the triple arch in the architecture of Ottoman Syria and Lebanon, see Michel Davie. For a sketch of Beirut's Ottoman Architecture, see Robert Saliba, "The Genesis of Modern Architecture in Beirut, 1840-1940," in *Architecture Re-introduced: New Projects in Societies in Change*, ed. Jamal Abed (Geneva: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 2004).



Figure 4. **Arches in Ottoman Architecture.** Top: The arches on the new collegiate building were not part of Post's original design. They were added to the design during the construction process and are an Ottoman architectural element, conventionally called Venetian-style arches. As evident from the picture of the building erected about the same time, such arched passageways were common elements of nineteenth-century Ottoman architecture in the Arab provinces. Bottom: Khan Antoun Bey Najjar – caravan serial built around 1860. [copyright © Fouad Debbas]

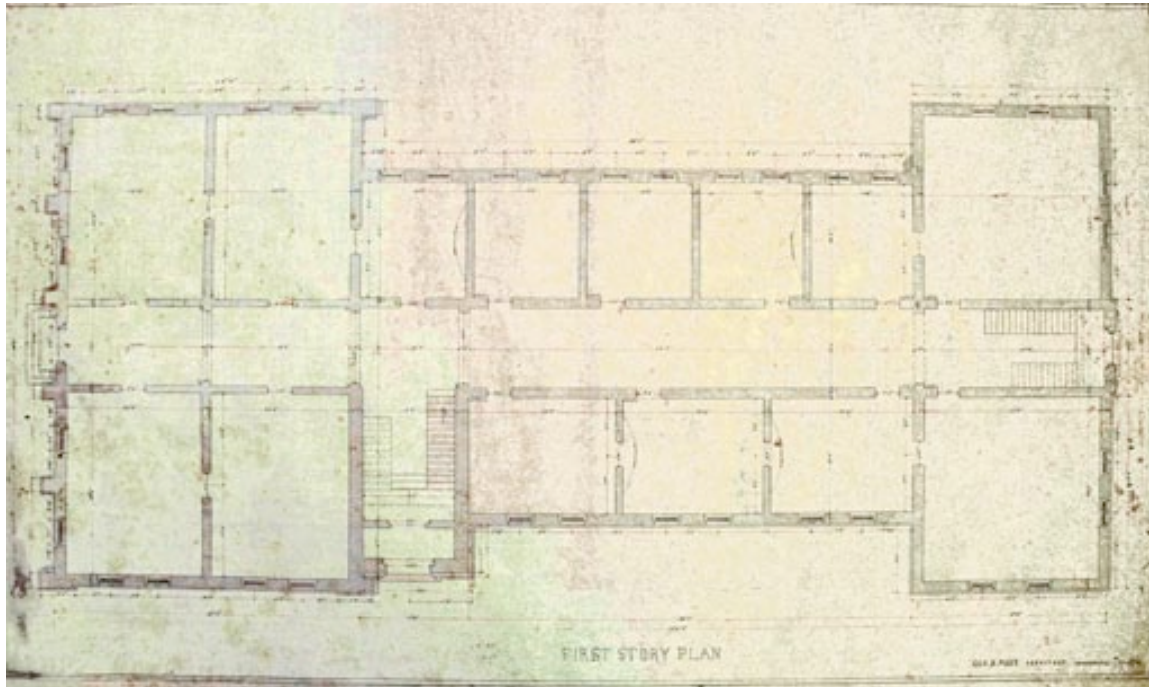


Figure 5. **Post's Design for College Hall.** First Story Plan. The floor plan, discovered in 2008 at SPC's Physical Plant Department, shows no indication of the balcony or pillars necessary for the arches which can be attributed to the head mason `Abd al-Massih. Unfortunately, the north elevation in Post's plan is missing and thus it is impossible to know with certainty what Post's design of the main façade looked like. [copyright © Syrian Protestant College]

When the building was completed, it was approximately nineteen meters high and a likely candidate for the tallest building in Beirut. Its only match in terms of size was the Grand Serail, the seat of Ottoman administration, which had been gradually built between 1843 and 1894. Dodge wrote: "No official or stranger can round or pass the 'Râs' without being impressed, not to say oppressed, by the sight of those buildings."¹⁸⁰ Not only was the building larger than its contemporaries, but it looked different from the other educational establishments in the city.

¹⁸⁰ D.S. Dodge, Letter to Daniel Bliss, June 21, 1873 [AUB Archives and Special Collections, AA2/100].

Enhanced by its position on top of a hill, College Hall indeed amounted to an impressive and overwhelming construction, out of place and attractive at the same time. Indeed, missionaries and their version of Christianity looked as if they “had come to Syria to stay and not merely to pitch a tent and then decamp. [...] There should be substantial buildings of a superior character in our chief centers of labor and influence.”¹⁸¹

Concepts in Stone

The College Hall was much more than a sizable four-story multipurpose building with a bell and a clock tower. It was a vertical projection of the missionaries’ desire to establish a foothold in Beirut and to “enforce the great fact upon the mind of the students that a *pure* morality and a *rational* religious faith are in accordance with the construction of the human mind, and a necessity to its highest well-being.”¹⁸² The missionaries sought to express abstract concepts such as rationality, order, and purity in material reality through details such as how stones were cut, the meticulousness of the campus landscape, and the prominent place given to the clock-and-bell tower in campus life.

The College Hall was built with the most expensive local sandstone and lumber. Anonymous in missionary records, the stonecutters likely came from the mountain village of Shweir. The Shweiris were renowned masons and stonecutters who built the palace of the Emirs ruling the Lebanese mountains during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. American missionaries were connected to the village through some of its early converts, and, since the 1840s, had solicited the help of the Shweiris in building their own houses.¹⁸³ Although local

¹⁸¹ Henry Harris Jessup, *Fifty-three Years in Syria* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 411.

¹⁸² Annual Report of the Board of Managers President’s Report of The Syrian Protestant College, [typescript], ABCFM, reel 551, p. 18.

¹⁸³ Jean Said Makdisi, *Teta, Mother, and Me* (New York: W. V. Norton, 2006), 138-139, 141.

masons cut the stone, it was cut in a way quite atypical for the region.¹⁸⁴ Usually, in order to use the material most effectively, the masons would cut the largest stone possible out of a given piece. At construction time, they would adjust for varying size with smaller stones, mortar, or fillings. However, the stones used for building the College Hall were all cut to the same size, which must have seemed odd and wasteful to the Shweiris. But, for their clients this was a matter of architectural style with a point to be made; the orderly manner in which the stones were laid would be the embodiment of the orderly and systematic world that the missionaries were trying to create. The waste of material and the associated cost went against the principles of Protestant frugality. But in the mind of Daniel Bliss, it would be the price to pay for making a powerful statement.

While the evenly cut stones represented the rationality of the Protestant message, its purity was projected through the beauty, cleanliness, and greenery of the campus. Over the last century, many visitors have praised the campus as a green oasis, with its tall trees and their welcoming shade in the heat of the Beirut summer. Many of them are unaware that most of the campus vegetation is not native flora. A dry hill dotted with cacti in the 1860s, the campus was meticulously landscaped from its inception, at first with pines, eucalyptus, palms, olive trees, fig trees, pepper trees, and bougainvilleas and, later, with shrubs and lawns. Despite the risk that older trees would not survive the transplantation, in the choice of trees, too, bigger was better. In one instance, a dozen men spent two days dragging a five-meter tall tree several kilometers uphill from the port.¹⁸⁵

Protestant punctuality showed in the combined clock and bell tower, which was the symbolic heart of the college. The clock also demonstrated superiority, in that it was the first

¹⁸⁴ I am grateful to the discerning eye of Camil Malouf AIA, Associate at Butler Rogers Baskett Architects, for pointing this out.

¹⁸⁵ Bliss, Letters from a New Campus, 161-162.

clock tower in Beirut. With the College Hall nearly completed and the bell on its way, Bliss declared to his wife: "I can say it to you - that the College *is* a power now."¹⁸⁶ The tower was a powerful marker of their presence in the urban landscape because of its size, position atop a hill, and the sound of its bell. The importance of the bell is evident from Bliss's concern about the bell falling and being damaged during mounting and not about the possibility that students and workmen might be injured in such a case: "How thankful I was when it was fairly in. The risk was not small, for had it fallen it would have been broken. The students pulled well at the rope."¹⁸⁷

The practical importance of the bell and the clock tower was that it segmented the day into sets of punctual routines. It also made implementing discipline for tardiness easier as no one could claim not to know the time. In a typical class schedule, the bell rang first at 6:15 a.m. and last at 5:30 p.m. and more than eleven times in between, lasting from several seconds to two minutes. Its sound carried far beyond the campus and ensured that the college was heard as much as seen.

Kyoto Bubble

In addition to severe restrictions on foreign entry, Kyoto itself was smaller and, as bastion of classical art forms and Buddhist establishment, more conservative than Tokyo. Child of a Dōshisha teacher, raised in Kyoto, explains the difference between Kyoto and Tokyo as that between old and new:

In sharp contrast with such modernized cities as Kobe and Yokohama, Kyoto in the early eighties [1880s] preserved much of the spirit and outward aspect of the old regime. It was then a city of some 300,000 people, less than in its golden age, when it was the actual, as well as the nominal, capital of the Empire.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 244 [emphasis in the original].

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 250. The bell was mounted on March 13, 1874.

¹⁸⁸ Evarts Boutell Green, *A New Englander in Japan: Daniel Crosby Greene* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), 190.

Although less developed than Tokyo and the port cities, Kyoto had considerable and unparalleled symbolic weight in the political geography of Japan. "Kyoto rather successfully became the representation of the imperial family's and by extension the nation's past, even as Tokyo became the theatre for the majority of public state rituals and the symbol of its present and future."¹⁸⁹

The symbolic status of Kyoto, as the heart of the nation and treasurer of its past, made a Christian school difficult to imagine in the city. It was rumored that "Neesima [sic] and Davis might as well try to throw Mt. Hiei into Lake Biwa, as to attempt to start a Christian school in Kyoto."¹⁹⁰ The physical condition of the buildings surrounding the Imperial grounds, including those housing Dōshisha English School, were far from splendid. Jerome Davis, the American missionary assigned to help Niijima run the school, describes them in the following way:

The old house, a part of which we occupy, has not been opened since the Mikado moved to Tokyo, eight years ago, and the mats were so worm-eaten that many of them fell to pieces when lifted up. The floors, sills and supports were rotten in many places and had to be renewed.¹⁹¹

Despite the inconvenience of converting the dilapidated building into a school, Dōshisha opened relatively smoothly.

Erecting school buildings was part of Niijima's strategy to increase Dōshisha's chances of taking root in Kyoto. A few months after the vote was passed, fearing that a future vote could shut it down or that city politics would conspire to annihilate it, Niijima and Davis pushed through a decision to erect two buildings and a refectory with a capacity of more than forty.

¹⁸⁹ Takeshi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 85.

¹⁹⁰ John Merle Davis, *Davis: Soldier, Missionary: A Biography of Rev. Jerome D. Davis, D.D., Lieut-colonel of Volunteers and for Thirty-nine Years a Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Japan* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1916), 146.

¹⁹¹ John Merle Davis, *Davis: Soldier, Missionary: A Biography of Rev. Jerome D. Davis, D.D., Lieut-colonel of Volunteers and for Thirty-nine Years a Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Japan* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1916), 145.

Niijima also managed to get Yamamoto to purchase a sizable plot of land and donate it to the school.¹⁹² The plot of five acres -- previously belonging to the feudal lord of Satsuma domain -- was located just north of the Imperial Palace in the area the city was desperately trying to bring back to life and hence must have pleased the governor.

As speed was essential, the construction was completed in a matter of weeks and the buildings were dedicated to The Lord on September 18, 1876. In Niijima's words: "the buildings are three in number, two of which contain recitation rooms and twenty-four rooms for students; while the other is a small structure and is used for a kitchen and dining room. They are simple but solid and look very pretty in the large open space about them."¹⁹³ At the time, the school had a total of eight students, using only four of the twenty-four rooms and the prospects of recruiting new students were close to zero. Thus, the first buildings at Dōshisha were erected not to satisfy demand, but to plant the school deep enough that it would become a fact before its opponents -- American and Japanese -- could wipe it out of existence.¹⁹⁴

The site was just as isolated as the location of its Beirut counterpart: two kilometers from the heart of the *Teramachi* commercial district and five kilometers and a river-crossing away from the entertainment quarter of *Gion*. The site of the campus was even further away from the site designated for the new Kyoto railway station. Made by local builders, the ground floor was covered with wood and equipped with chairs and desks, while the second floor was covered with straw *tatami* mats. [figure 6]

¹⁹² Ibid., 142.

¹⁹³ Ibid., 204. Letter from Niijima Jo to Mr. and Mrs. Hardy, Mar. 1875. Arthur Sherburn Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1894), 206.

¹⁹⁴ Unexpectedly, just a few weeks after the buildings were finished, the number of students increased several-fold. Out of forty-seven students, over two-thirds came from Kumamoto on the island of Kyushu. Their American teacher led forty of his students through a public conversion to Christianity. The outrage of the authorities and parents led the boys to flee to Dōshisha to escape persecution, just when the new buildings became available.

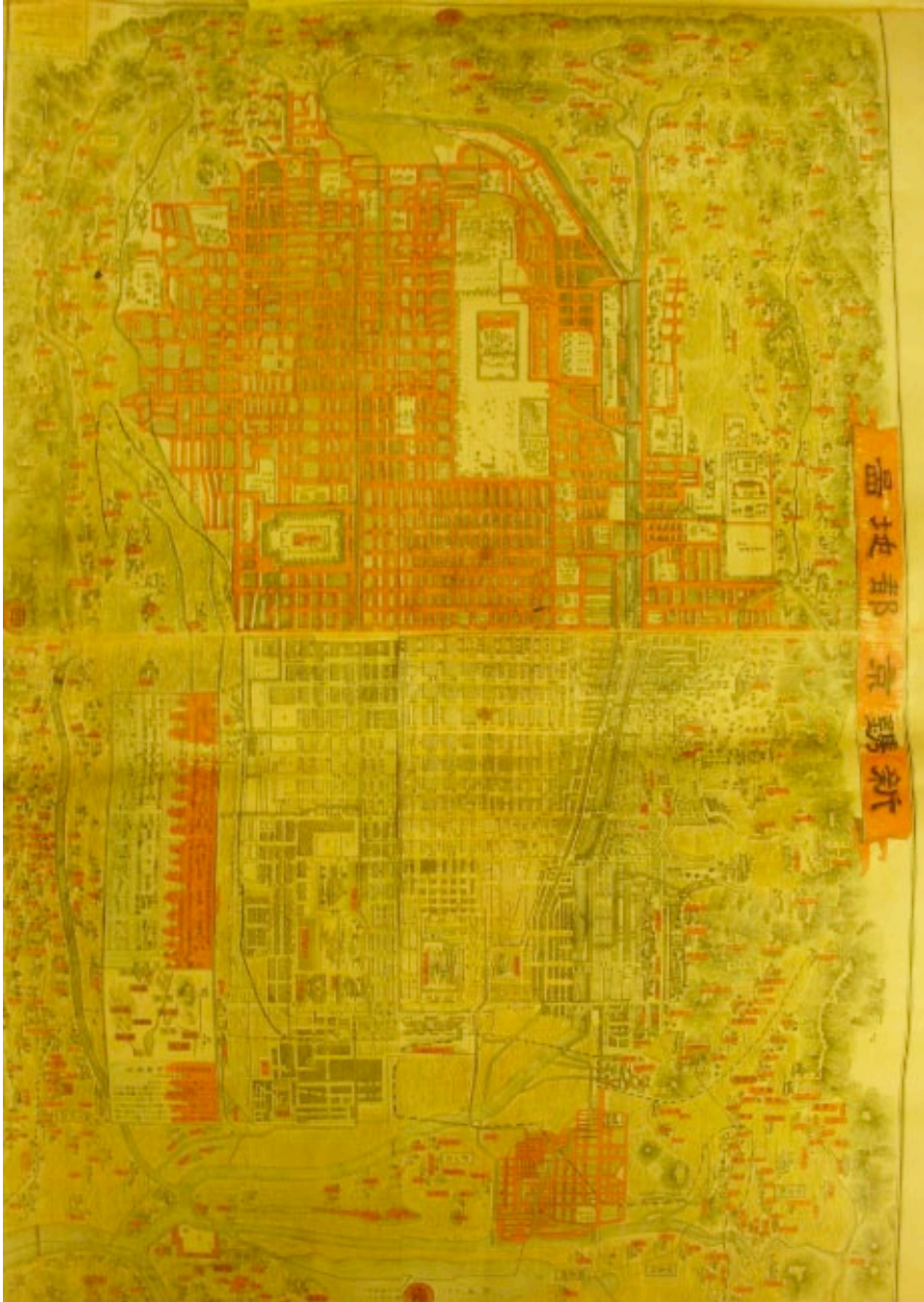


Figure 6: **Map of the City of Kyoto from 1896.** On the 1878 map of the city of Kyoto (three years after it opened and two years after the first three buildings were erected), Dōshisha was not considered important enough to merit mention. However, by 1896 it figures, with letters just as big as those marking *Shokoku-ji*, an important Zen Buddhist temple complex in Japan. The map also shows just how far away Dōshisha was from the heart of the city center. [copyright © Kyoto Prefectural Archives]

Like the founders of SPC, Nijijima soon realized that starting a school was only the beginning; it had to become a close-knit community if it was to have a strong influence over its students and thus perform its mission. While the unremarkable wooden buildings helped the school survive by serving as an anchor in the turbulent sea of city and mission politics, it failed to register, let alone impress, the visual field of Kyotoites. The ordinariness of the buildings worked against the attempts to separate the campus from the outside world. [Figure 7] Thus, Nijijima soon proceeded with plans for erecting the first permanent building. It was to set the tone of the school and make the college into a community.



Figure 7. **Dōshisha's First Buildings** Built in haste in the summer of 1875, the two school buildings with a refectory between them. [copyright © Dōshisha Archives]

Building a Brick Bubble in Kyoto

The Collegiate Hall, or Glory Revealing Hall as it is known in Japanese, was the first brick building on campus and the second such building in Kyoto, after the completion of the railway station in 1877. Beginning in the 1870s, the Japanese government employed foreign advisors and contractors to fill a range of government posts. Among them was a group of British architects charged with raising a generation of modern Japanese architects. In British eyes, wood was fragile and combustible, while brick was robust and fire-resistant. Consequently, they told their Japanese students that they should embrace brick and stone as the way of building a modern nation.¹⁹⁵ Thus, brick came to stand for modernity, strength, and durability, and, not surprisingly, it was chosen as the building material for the second round of development on Dōshisha campus. The choice of brick was more symbolic than substantial. It was symbolic because at the time, brick buildings were a rare sight, restricted to the treaty ports, Tokyo's Ginza quarter, and the new genre of public buildings such as railway stations, banks, museums, and government ministries. The choice to erect the college building in brick was to deliver a message to the skeptics in ABCFM circles about what they saw as American missionary money being used for Japanese secular higher education. In Japan, building with brick was, by then, a deliberate statement of association with the Meiji modernization project and Dōshisha aspired to play an important role in it.

In that, the brick was ornamental since what held the building together was its wooden roof structure supported by wooden columns. The choice of brick as building material posed two serious obstacles. First, it was expensive, considering the limited availability of brick kilns in Japan, and it put ABCFM's understanding of a reasonable construction budget to a hard test.

¹⁹⁵ For more on the relationship of stone to civilization, see Gregory Clancey, *Earthquake Nation: The Cultural Politics of Japanese Seismicity, 1868-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 14-19.

Second, building with brick meant there had to be someone who knew how to work with it. Without funds to hire an architect and no budget to hire a foreign brick worker, who was going to design the building, lay the bricks, and make sure that the building stood?

Design and Execution: D. C. Greene and Otaki Kikutaro

The design and supervision of work on Collegiate Hall were entrusted to Daniel Crosby Greene, one of ABCFM's first missionaries to Japan. He heartily embraced the prospect of architectural design and planning, particularly because he liked architecture and did not thrive as a teacher.¹⁹⁶ As one of the few missionaries who built his own house when he arrived in Kyoto in 1882, Greene was not entirely without experience in masonry and construction. He brought to the construction site a vision of how the building should look from the outside, the passion to make it happen, and the wisdom to trust the Japanese builder with the rest.

In October 1883, the auction for the contract was held at Greene's home and was won by Otaki Kikutaro of Kyoto. While it is difficult to state with certainty, it is probable that for Otaki, the Collegiate Hall was one of his first brick projects, if not the first. For D. C. Greene, it was the first of three buildings whose construction he would supervise on campus. While Greene had a clear idea of what a red brick college building should look like, only an experienced builder like Otaki could implement his idea. Interestingly, what was most important for Greene -- the façade and the outward look of the building -- was least important to his Japanese collaborator: Otaki's primary concern was the roof.

In traditional Japanese building style, the roof is the principal structural *and* aesthetical carrier of the building. Unlike in the United States and Europe, Japanese roofs are not a simple

¹⁹⁶ For hints on Greene's disposition as a teacher, see Dōshisha Archives, *Sōritsuki no dōshisha: sotsugyōseitachi no kaisorokoku* [Early Dōshisha: Alumni Memories] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1986), 213-217; Abe Isō Nikki [Abe Isō Diary] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2009), 68-101 *passim*.

line up of trusses, but a large timber structure jointed together in a pyramidal crib. The roofs are not supported by the walls, but by wooden posts placed on stone embedded in the ground. An American building has a foundation, walls, and roof set on top of it. A Japanese construction has a roof that keeps the construction together, not a foundation dug in the ground. While an American may think of walls as giving form and structure to a building, a Japanese carpenter (*daiku*) considers them a secondary element of little structural value.¹⁹⁷

Thus, it would be wrong to say that the building was designed by Greene and executed by Otaki. As in the United States, the idea of an "architect" was a new one in Japan. Well into the Meiji period, most new construction work was done by *daiku*, who had the largest artisanal guild and the same high rank reserved for tea ceremony masters. They performed a wide range of activities: officiating over ceremonies associated with the different stages of building, drawing the designs, and jointing, while sub-contracting work such as flooring and plastering to other craftsmen. The heart of the *daiku* work -- what was most important to Otaki -- was the roof structure, while the heart of the missionary collegiate architecture was its appearance. Thus, both men designed the building by focusing on different but complementary parts -- what was important for Greene was secondary to Otaki and vice versa. [Figure 7]

¹⁹⁷ For more on *daiku*, their work, and the role of the roof in traditional Japanese building, see Clancey, *Earthquake Nation*, 11-38.





Figure 8: **The Importance of a Roof.** Although from the outside *Shoeikan* looked like a New England college building, it was built using a set of standard Japanese architectural tools, as pictures 1 and 2 show. The beams of the roof construction are connected in complex ways using many different types of joints, requiring the kind of annotation seen in picture 3. One of the main challenges of any reconstruction requiring roof removal is the procedure of dismantling that would enable it to be put back together, a painstaking process that only a handful of carpenters still know how to perform. [copyright © Dōshisha University Archives]

The conservation study done in 1981 when the building was declared a national landmark, or *jūyō bunkazai* (important cultural property), showed that though the building looked Western from the outside, it had Japanese inwards.¹⁹⁸ While Otaki took special care to build an exterior to the taste of the client, for the interior he used a combination of local techniques and innovative

¹⁹⁸ *Report on the Conservation of the National Treasure Building Shoaikan at Dōshisha University* (Kyoto: Kyoto district, Department of Education), 1981. For an analysis of the reconstruction study, see Hisao Mae, “Dōshisha no kindai kenchiku,” in *Dōshisha Danso*, 1983, vol. 1, no 2. 73-94.

practices *daiku* had learned since the opening of the treaty ports in the 1850s. White plaster was used for the walls, and beams were exposed as in all Japanese houses. Because there were no blackboards, sections of the walls were painted black for the purpose, and each classroom had a fireplace.¹⁹⁹ Dōshisha faculty, including Nijima, who usually wore western clothes and did not take off their shoes upon entering a building, as is customary in Japan, voted to forbid students from entering the new building wearing clogs with metal soles because they were damaging to the floors.²⁰⁰ Thus, somewhat paradoxically, a student walking up to Collegiate Hall in 1884 would have approached a Western building, but would have to enter it as he would a Japanese house.

Greene never spoke of himself as an architect, but served the mission by supervising the project and cutting costs by drawing up plans himself. When he did equate his design with the work of a professional architect, he never acknowledged the expertise of Otaki, which was crucial to the structural and functional integrity of the construction. Today, it remains the oldest standing brick building in Kyoto. After Collegiate Hall, Greene designed two other buildings on the Dōshisha campus; both buildings are landmarked and stand to this day.

Once finished, the new building was named *Shoeikan* (彰栄館) or Glory Revealing Hall. This was another sign of the building's function in the missionary imagery. Like College Hall in Beirut, it was to impress upon the observer the permanence of the missionary presence in Kyoto and embody the superiority of Protestant principles. Greene insisted that the name was not "to indicate its purpose," nor was it "a compliment to the building which makes no special pretensions to architectural merit."²⁰¹ Yet undoubtedly, *Shoeikan* was a visual statement that

¹⁹⁹ Ikebukuro Seifu, *Diary of Ikebukuro Seifu* (Kyoto: Dōshisha University Press 1985), 72.

²⁰⁰ *Dōshisha Faculty Records 1879-1895* (Kyoto: Dōshisha Humanities Center, 2004), 34.

²⁰¹ Greene, *A New Englander in Japan*, 190-191.

Dōshisha was there to stay and one of many statements connecting the spiritual superiority of evangelical truth with the physical prominence of mission buildings. [figure 8]

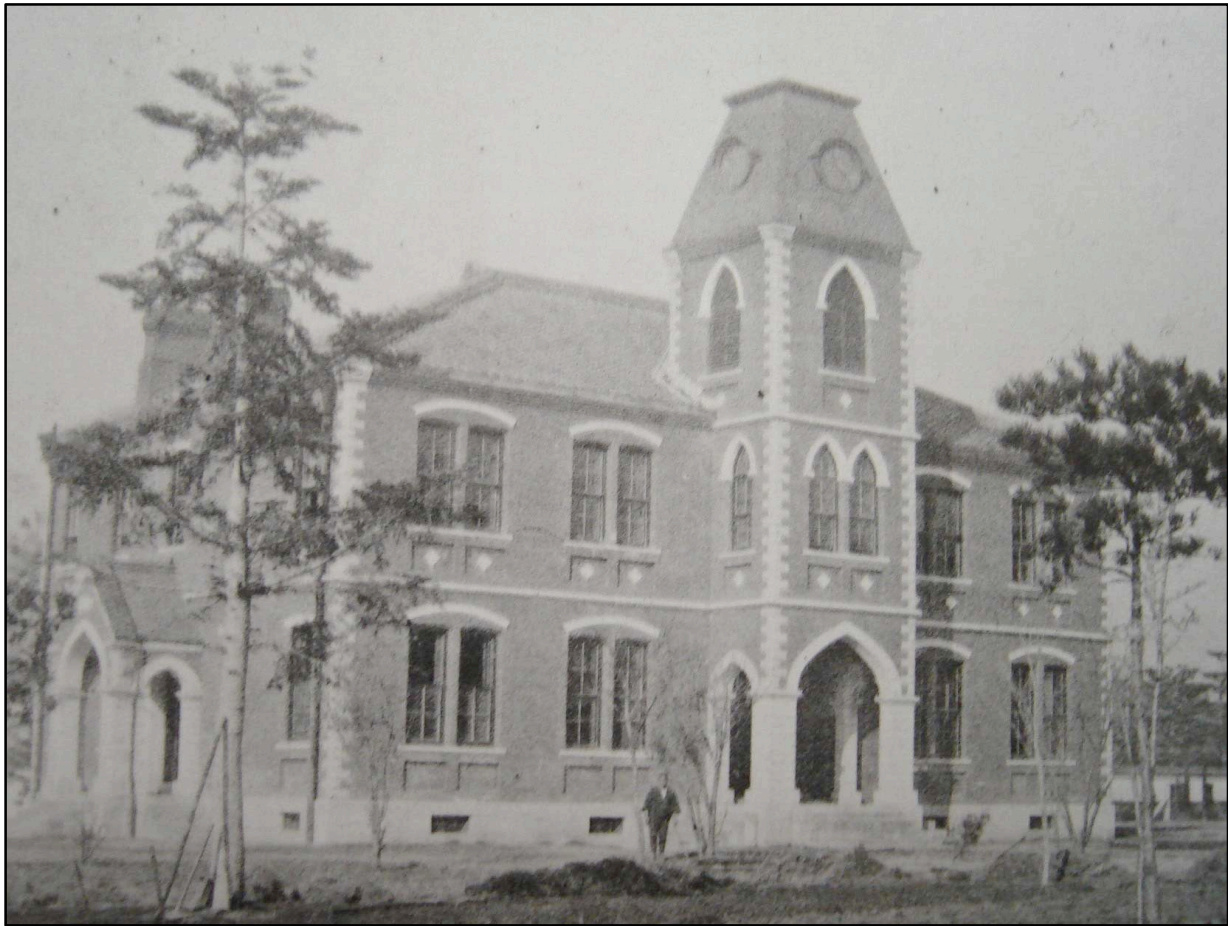


Figure 8 *Shoikan* and its Clock. Picture dating from circa 1891. [copyright © Dōshisha University Archives]

The College Clock and New Meiji Time

The cooperation between a Japanese *daiku* and an American missionary resulted in a symmetrical two-story building with a rectangular base and a combined clock and bell tower.

Pleading with the Board for a good-sized clock, Greene writes:

It will be of great service to the school in that it will teach the students to be more punctual, and will take away all opportunity for pleading ignorant of the time of day. This is no small matter, but this is not all, it will enable us to give the time to all this section of

the city and our intercourse with the city proper is intimate enough to make this a very important consideration.²⁰²

The clock, made by Seth Thomas Clock Co. & Hotchkiss (the same company that made Beirut's College Hall clock), was mounted in 1887, three years after the building was completed. The clock was set atop the bell and was visible on all four sides of the tower. This was the second such clock in Kyoto, the other mounted on the Kyoto Station Building.

As in Beirut, the college clock and bell had the two-fold aim of teaching students the value of punctuality and carving a space for the college in the urban pattern. And as in Beirut, where the college bell was contrapuntal with church bells and muezzins, the strokes of the bell at Dōshisha were interposed with those of the bells of the Shokoku-ji, the Rinzaï Zen Buddhist temple complex located just north of the new building. Unlike in Beirut, where a day divided into 24 hours was not unknown, Dōshisha's clock came on the heels of a major shift in Japanese timekeeping. On what turned out to be, after the fact, Tuesday, December 9, 1872, an Imperial decree declared that from January 1, Meiji 6 [1873], Japan would switch to the Gregorian calendar. The introduction of the seven-day week put an end to a "temporally heterogeneous world" on the archipelago.²⁰³ Six flexible units of day and six flexible units of night, lasting between 30 minutes and two hours depending on the time of the year, were replaced with 24-hour clocks to equally divide and measure the day. Like many other Meiji decrees, it had limited initial impact, taking years to change people's temporal horizons. The Dōshisha clock was an essential tool for switching students from a flexible and habitual time-world to the mechanical time-world of Meiji progress and civilization.

²⁰² D.C. Greene, letter to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, 3 November 1884, ABCFM Papers, reel 341.

²⁰³ Stefan Tanaka, *New Times in Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 5.

Conclusion

"Bricks and stone they have piled up imposingly on their college campuses, but do power and personality make it holy ground?" asked Japanese Christian social reformer Kagawa Toyohiko in 1923, adding: "better sell out your mission schools to money-making corporations, I say, if you cannot win souls for Christ in your magnificent halls of brick and stone."²⁰⁴ This impassioned statement expresses the sentiment that imposing collegiate architecture failed to turn Protestant college campuses into fertile grounds for conversion. On the one hand, the strategy of constructing impressive college buildings as a way of putting down roots where the permanent settlement of missionaries was under threat proved successful. Both the Syrian Protestant College and Dōshisha University survive to this day and are important intellectual and cultural brokers of their societies. On the other hand, the goal of conquering students' souls for Christ through spatial arrangements proved far more elusive, as what was planned as missionary colleges became, in time, largely secular institutions. Constant attempts to make the school into a bubble -- different from and untouched by outside influence -- conflicted with making that same bubble relevant to the city. The former was seen as essential for conversion and the latter was important to justify the missionary presence to the host society and, often, to missionaries themselves. The squaring of this circle kept missionary teachers busy until well into the twentieth century when the tension was solved for them.

As both Kyoto and Beirut grew out of their nineteenth-century skins, the once-remote cities reached the campuses and made any pretense of a bubble impossible. The struggle for control over the campuses manifested itself in the amount of stone, brick, barbwire, and hedge work put into separating the campuses from the encroaching cities. [Figure 8] But the campus,

²⁰⁴*Japan Speaks for Itself*, New York: Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada (Friendship Press, 1927), 101-102.

like any other social space, was too contingent to be dominated by any single actor, even the builders and clients, no matter how convinced or determined. In retrospect, *building* was only the first and the easiest step in an attempt to continue missionary work by other means. Over the next several decades it became apparent that form (educational institution), rather than intent (conversion), became the purpose. Both SPC and Dōshisha increasingly became educational, rather than missionary, institutions. Consequently, it proved easier to redefine the goals of missionary work and the purpose of overseas Christian colleges than to confine the enterprise to the campus space. While this was neither a conscious nor a smooth process, it resulted in the conversion of missionaries to teachers and created dynamic intellectual environments.

College Hall in Beirut and Glory Revealing Hall in Kyoto were amalgams of foreign and local construction techniques and architectural design. Created in cooperation between George B. Post and `Abd al-Masih in Beirut and Daniel C. Greene and Otaki Kikutaro in Kyoto, these buildings embodied one of the crucial markers of missionary colleges: at first glance, they looked like foreign transplants, *tools* for conversion, or *triggers* of change, but in fact they turned out to have served as *vehicles* of locally driven change. In two different cultural contexts, the students and teachers similarly structured colleges into alternative intellectual and political spaces, outside the immediate control of the modernizing state. The campuses emerged at the intersection of the local quest for national development, the pressures of Western imperialism, and the constraints of missionary doctrine. The interlocking agendas resulted in gradual change, touching students and teachers alike, sometimes in unexpected ways. Rather than converting students, the missionaries had to reinvent themselves as teachers, embracing --reluctantly at times -- modern science, and tolerating religious diversity. Thus, the zealous evangelizers of the

nineteenth century became the liberal Protestants of the twentieth in such unexpected places such as Beirut and Kyoto.

Chapter 5: Intellectual Space: Students, Teachers, and Textbooks

In addition to the changes in the physical environment, changes in the intellectual lay of the land appeared as missionaries became teachers, and students became tutors. The distinction between physical and intellectual spaces is an analytical one. In reality, the two overlapped and complemented each other. It is commonly assumed that students in Protestant missionary colleges, whether they converted to Protestantism or not, were products of their education, that their lives and careers were shaped by their experience as students in Protestant colleges. How exactly this occurred is not clear. To understand that, it is essential to understand what students took home from their college experience. But students were not the only ones affected by the college life; the experience of teaching on campus altered the ways in which individual missionaries practiced their evangelical commissions. In other words, while missionaries were shaping the minds of their students, the students were simultaneously redefining what missionaries did. This, in turn, provided missionary teachers in the late nineteenth century with an experience that would help them articulate, in the twentieth century, a different conceptualization of missionary work. This dialectical relationship between students and teachers can be shown in three ways: in a description of the curriculum; in examination of biographies of students and teachers; and in the analysis of an important textbook used at both colleges: Samuel Smiles's *Self-Help*.²⁰⁵ Curriculum, students, and textbooks - these aspects reveal where and how agendas converged and transformed both students and teachers.

²⁰⁵ Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Character and Conduct* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1869). The book was first published in 1859 and went through numerous imprints and editions. All quotes here are from Harper edition of 1869.

The Course of Study at the Syrian Protestant College (SPC)

The Syrian Protestant College (SPC) and Dōshisha University had remarkably similar and relatively flexible curricula. SPC was divided into the collegiate (also referred to as the literary) department and the medical department. Initially, the curriculum was vaguely defined: “the course of instruction,” an early pamphlet stated, “embraces the several branches of Arabic Language and Literature, Mathematics, the Natural Sciences, Modern Languages, Turkish, English and French, Moral Science, Biblical Literature, and the various departments of Medicine and Surgery.”²⁰⁶ In practice, the annual reports announced for 1866-68 that students worked on mathematics and geometry and read in the natural sciences.²⁰⁷ By the following year, “the whole class has completed Algebra, studied seven books of Euclid's Geometry, and has progressed in Natural Philosophy to the subject of Hydrostatics, besides having two recitations per week in profane & sacred history.” Five students in the newly established medical department have “commenced the study of Latin.”²⁰⁸ The following year, instruction was given in chemistry (Cornelius Van Dyck), anatomy and philosophy (George Wortabeth), material medica and botany (George Post), Latin (Dodge), mathematics and natural sciences (Assad Shadudi), English (John Frazer), French (de Fajal), Arabic (Yusuf el-Assir and Yusuf Arobeni), and Turkish language and bookkeeping (“Moalim [teacher] Siman and Moalim Fiad”).²⁰⁹

By the mid-1870s, as the core faculty stabilized, the course of study was organized into four years of collegiate work, which was envisioned to be, in part, preparation for the study of medicine. After the first four years, some students left with a college diploma while others stayed on and studied medicine. Those who continued were engaged in a four-year course of study in

²⁰⁶ *Syrian Protestant College* (Beirut: American Mission Press., n.d. [circa 1868]).

²⁰⁷ Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the American University of Beirut [the Syrian Protestant College] 1866-1902. typescript, 34. AUB Archives.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 1.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 9.

Latin, natural sciences, and clinical subjects such as practical chemistry, surgery, obstetrics and gynecology, and legal medicine. Their practical training was conducted first at the small clinic (the dispensary), and from 1871 on, in the hospital run by the Kaiserswerth deaconesses, a German Protestant sisterhood which has operated the hospital in Beirut since 1860. In 1872, a third department was established—the preparatory school—which was to serve as a feeder to the collegiate department, just as the collegiate was the feeder for the medical department. What is evident from a close look at the curriculum is that, despite the refrain of a college run on strictly evangelical principles, what took place on campus for most of the day was training in liberal arts and sciences by a faculty that was far from all-American.

The Course of Study at Dōshisha University, Kyoto

Initially, like at SPC, Dōshisha University did not have a set curriculum; however, unlike SPC, it did not have class-based instruction because the students were at different educational levels. Instead, in the first year of operation, new students had tutorials and reading sessions with a teacher. The priority was to teach English because, different from Beirut, it was the designated language of instruction. After the students attained a command of the English language, the first two Dōshisha teachers, Nijjima and Davis, used English textbooks to teach introductory science and history in tutorial sessions with individual students. One of the first students at Dōshisha, Nakajima Rikizo, reminisced:

Many students were beginners in English. As I had studied a bit before, Nijjima *sensei* taught me algebra and physics. ... We also read many books on our own. I borrowed history and philosophy books from Nijjima or Davis. Nijjima *sensei* taught us from Guizot's History of Civilization.²¹⁰

²¹⁰ Dōshisha Archives, *Sōritsuki no dōshisha: sotsugyōseitachi no kaisorokoku* [Early Dōshisha: Alumni Memories] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1986), 32.

With the influx of forty new students in 1876, Dōshisha's second year, the student body was divided into five classes and the curriculum expanded. The course of study was still not fixed, but rather made up as the school year went along. This situation lasted well into the first decade of operation. Faculty meetings matched teachers and courses shortly before the beginning of the school year.

Changes to the curriculum were often made right up to the start of the new term, based on the availability of textbooks or the needs of students. For example, at a meeting on March 5, 1880, the faculty voted that in the next term, which was to start four weeks later, the third-year class would take Natural Philosophy while fourth-year students would take the History of England. But it was only at the following meeting, on March 12, that the faculty finally “arranged studies for [the] next term.”²¹¹ In December 1881, it was voted to allow second-year students to take United States history in place of geography during the next term, which would commence in two weeks.²¹² Textbooks were voted in and out, too, shortly before the beginning of the term. On December 11, 1884, the faculty voted that Reed & Kellogg’s *Grade Lessons in English* be substituted for Weinton’s *Language Lessons*; Kellogg’s *Rhetoric* for Quackenbo’s; and Raul’s *Studies of English and American Literature* for Underwood.²¹³

By the mid-1880s, the course of study had crystallized and 1,500 copies of *Circular*, a publication outlining the curriculum, were printed in 1885.²¹⁴ The college was now organized into three separate departments: collegiate, English theological, and Japanese theological. The collegiate course lasted five years and was conducted in English. Upon graduation from the course, a student could either leave the college with a diploma or continue to a three-year course

²¹¹ Dōshisha Archives, *Dōshisha Faculty Records 1879-1895* (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2004), 13.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 31.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 76.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

in theology, also conducted in English. The Japanese theological course was somewhat separate; conducted in Japanese, it consisted of a one-year preparatory course and three years of study combining collegiate and theological subjects. The students choosing this track spent between three and four years on campus.

The first year of the collegiate course was devoted to learning English, arithmetic and algebra (in Japanese), and classical Chinese. The second year focused on English conversation and reading, history of the United States, geometry (in Japanese), algebra (in English), classical Chinese, and geography. In the third year, geometry (in English) and universal history were introduced. During the fourth year, the students turned to the study of rhetoric, analytical geometry, physics, zoology, and botany. In the final year of the collegiate course, students were introduced to astronomy, geology, psychology, logic, ethics, and political economics.²¹⁵ Throughout the course of study, there was a *de facto* mandatory Bible class and at many points in the regular course of study -- for example, in ethics, natural philosophy, and English language classes -- the students were exposed to Biblical texts.

After graduation from the collegiate department some students left the college, but a considerable number continued to the school of theology where they were instructed in natural theology, Pentateuch (the first five books of the Bible), apologetics, and biblical exegesis. In the second year, homiletics (rhetoric for preaching) was added to other theological subjects and in the final year, they studied church history, comparative religion, the Apocalypse, and pastoral theology. While some of the lectures were given in Japanese, the course was open only to those who had graduated from the English collegiate department. The curriculum of the Japanese

²¹⁵ *Circular of the Dōshisha Collegiate and Theological School, Kyoto Japan* (Yokohama: R. Meiklejon & Co. Printers, 1885).

theological department consisted of theology, physics, history, classical Chinese, the Bible and exegesis, geology, astronomy, ethics, logic, psychology, and some elective English.

A heavy emphasis on science in the collegiate departments (and quite a bit of science in the study of vernacular theology in Kyoto), which answered to the local demand, was the key to success for both colleges. In Beirut, the initial student body was largely composed of “charity students” -- those from Protestant families or first-generation converts -- who received a full tuition waiver. It was hoped that as the institution grew, “the number of charity pupils may be even increased,” but that in the future, “the proportion of such pupils to the whole number of students in the Institution will be comparatively small.”²¹⁶ By encouraging more tuition-paying students to attend, the college could offer more of what parents and often students themselves wanted to pay for. The result was a mix of practical and scientific subjects -- from hydrostatics to pharmacy -- and a steady increase in enrollment with a high proportion of paying students. In Kyoto, Nijjima was explicit about the need for Dōshisha to offer a modern scientific curriculum: “If we simply teach theology and the Bible, I fear the best Japanese students will not stay with us. They want modern science too.”²¹⁷

Contrary to the often-held view that theologians and pious intellectuals were anti-science, the nineteenth-century intellectual world of theologians was inextricably bound to science. Much of their time was spent convincing the doubtful that God existed, and the scientific study of nature was their main ally. Many of them believed that the best way to prove the existence of God to nonbelievers was to point to the visible marks the Creator stamped upon the surface of the Earth. In pursuit of a better arsenal of evidence, many defenders of faith turned to the study

²¹⁶ *Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the American University of Beirut* [the Syrian Protestant College] 1866-1902. typescript, 3. (AUB Archives).

²¹⁷ Arthur Sherburne Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), 195.

of the natural world, a repository filled with evidence of God's existence. The lines between science and theology -- natural theology in particular -- were intellectually and institutionally blurred.²¹⁸

On the one hand, professors of theory, such as Samuel Harris of Yale, could declare in a 1852 medical school commencement speech that “theology pervades and penetrates all science, and, transmuting it, makes all science a theology, or knowledge of God” because “if God is the Creator of the universe how is it possible but that the study of the creation be interlinked at every point with the study of the Creator.”²¹⁹ On the other hand, professors of science, such as Josiah Parson Cooke, who taught chemistry at Harvard, could write that “the existence of an intelligent Author of nature, infinite in wisdom and absolute in power, may be proved from the phenomena of the material world with as much certainty as can be any theory of science.”²²⁰

In this context, teaching science to hungry minds in Japan and Lebanon was made possible by an established Protestant intellectual tradition that earnestly engaged with science in order to prove the existence of God. Furthermore, all the missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) had had a college education, which grounded them in the sciences and gave them the ability to teach introductory courses that both Arab and Japanese youth eagerly sought. The curriculum, which when taken alone reflected a typical liberal arts and science college curriculum, was a response both to local needs and to the knowledge missionaries possessed that enabled them to answer that need. But the point of the missionary college, as evident from its architecture and location as well as its regulations, was

²¹⁸ Natural theology is a branch of theology that deals with knowledge of God obtainable by reason: in the nineteenth century, it was dominated by theologians who studied questions that today belong to natural sciences.

²¹⁹ [Samuel Harris], “The Harmony of Natural Science and Theology,” *New Englander* 10 (1852): 17 [p. 1-20].

²²⁰ Josiah Parsons Cooke, *Religion and Chemistry* (New York: Charles Scribner's Son, 1880), 329. 153-159. For a comparative overview of reception of Darwin in different parts of the world, see, for example Thomas F. Glick, *The Comparative Reception of Darwin* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988).

that the curriculum was only part of the educational agenda. There were two other important aspects.

First, there was an emphasis on the belief that natural laws and the study of science may be capable of explaining a variety of phenomena but were incapable of explaining all life. Second, there was a focus on a set of ostensibly Protestant values and habits. Students went to morning Chapel service with various degrees of enthusiasm, but they made sure to take good notes on economics as well as on principles of optics and electricity. The missionary teachers taught what the students were eager to learn. But in Chapel, and sometimes in class, they were careful to question positivist epistemology by disagreeing with the claim that definite knowledge comes *only* from empirical evidence obtained through systematic observation. Science could only go so far in explaining life, as the summit of knowledge was reserved for the faithful and disciplined.

It is perhaps not surprising that some of the students who came seeking modern science converted, albeit often only temporarily, to Protestantism. This presents the historiography of the colleges and of Protestantism in Japan and the Middle East with a question it is often not ready to ask or able to answer: Did students who converted do so in an attempt to gain further access to knowledge or was conversion part of learning? Was the fascination with the world of the American missionaries in Beirut and Kyoto intellectual or religious? Did many convert under peer and other pressures the way students today join college environment protection groups -- not because they mind their carbon footprints, but because it is the coolest circle on campus? It is virtually impossible to answer these questions in the absence of student diaries, and while they loom large in the debate about missionary success or failure, for the purpose of my argument

they are of limited value. What is important for my analysis is that some students did convert en route to a scientific education.

Students in Kyoto and Beirut: Shimomura Kōtaro (1861-1937) and Faris Nimr (1856-1951)

One such student at Dōshisha was Shimomura Kōtaro (下村孝太郎), who came to his first prayer meeting seeking to learn the secrets of astronomy. A bright son from a low-ranking (former) *samurai* family from the Higo domain in Kyūshū, Shimomura was given a scholarship in 1872 to attend the newly established Kumamoto School of Western Learning. The goal of the new school was “to combine Japan’s Confucian value core, or Eastern ethics, with Western science and technology.”²²¹ At the same time, the new school was ostensibly to offer some training in western military strategy. Captain Leroy Janes was hired to head the new school based on his West Point credentials and military experience in the American Civil War. Initially he made no mention of Christianity, but towards the end of his stay he started instructing some of his students in the Bible.

Young Shimomura went to one of those prayer meetings at Janes’s house, not so much because he was curious about Christianity for its own sake but because he was interested in astronomy and had heard “that the study of Christianity enables one to learn the way of going to the moon.”²²² Shimomura thus apparently went to the meeting because he made a connection between "going to heaven," which Janes must have talked about, and "going to the moon," which Shimomura seemed to want to learn more about. This apparently bizarre connection may also have been related to the particular way in which Janes “looked up and rolled his eyes” while

²²¹ Fred G. Notehelfer, *American Samurai: Captain L.L. Janes and Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 100.

²²² *Kiristoshia retsuden: shinkō sanjū nen* [Christian Lives: Thirty Years of Faith] (Tokyo: Keiseisha shoten, 1921), 56.

praying in these meetings. Setting aside the motivations that first brought Shimomura to the Bible, he was one of forty students who, impressed and inspired by their teacher, converted to Protestantism in spring 1876 and came to study at Dōshisha in the fall of that year. While his thinking about different aspects of his faith changed over time, he remained a pious Christian intellectual throughout his life.²²³

We know very little about Shimomura's student days, except that he graduated in 1879, in Dōshisha's first class, and even less about the several years after his graduation. In 1882, Shimomura returned to his alma mater as a teacher. We know considerably more about Shimomura the teacher than we know about Shimomura the student. Although Shimomura was often listed as a teacher of chemistry, physics, and mathematics, in practice he taught a far wider range of subjects, including natural philosophy, physics, astronomy and geology, the English language (reading and spelling), rhetoric (Japanese), history of civilization, United States history, arithmetic, and algebra.²²⁴ Like other members of the faculty, Shimomura performed a range of administrative duties in addition to teaching; in his first two years on the faculty, Shimomura co-authored an exercise book for translation into English, examined students in algebra and geometry, served on the committee for the mathematics curriculum, was in charge of admissions,

²²³ Yoshinaga claims that Shimomura drifted away from Christianity after quitting his teaching career at Dōshisha in 1895, based on the fact that he joined the world of business and enterprise. This neglects the fact that Shimomura returned to Dōshisha in 1904 to serve as its sixth President and that there is considerable evidence that he considered himself a Christian until the end. See: Shimomura Kōtarō to Murai Tomoyoshi, as quoted in Usaburo Wakamatsu, *Shimomura sensei tsuioku roku* [In Memory of Professor Shimomura] (Kyoto: 1938); Shimomura Kōtarō, *Waga shūkyō kan* [My View of Religion] (Kyoto: Minyūsha, 1931).

²²⁴ In a circular from 1885, co-authored by Shimomura and D.C. Green (the architect of Shoeikan from chapter 4), he is listed as teaching "physics; chemistry; mathematics." Faculty records for 1882/3 and 1883/4 show that his teaching load was far more varied than the catalogue would lead on to think. See Dōshisha Archives, *Dōshisha Faculty Records 1879-1895* (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2004), 36-55. The mention of Shimomura teaching Japanese rhetoric is from Abe Isō's diary entry for January 10, 1884. See: *Abe Isō Nikki: Seishunhen* [Diary of Abe Isō: Youth] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2009), 74.

assigned student seats in the Chapel, sat on the committee for the teachers' reading room, and gave a commencement speech.²²⁵

Shimomura's students paint a picture of a warm and dedicated teacher, "a profound thinker" who was by no means dogmatic.²²⁶ "Sensei was the kind of man," one student remembered, "who would clearly say I don't know when he didn't and I don't understand when he didn't."²²⁷ He allowed students to come to his home to take exams and -- despite a very busy schedule -- gave extra lessons to those who asked.²²⁸ One such student was Kishimoto Nobuta: During the fourth year physics classes [...] I was impressed by his English proficiency and wanted to become as good as he was. One day, I went alone to his house [...] and asked for his help in correcting my English composition. After that, every Saturday evening, I would bring a composition and he kindly corrected them. This may be my conceitedness, but sometimes I think that such a busy teacher agreed to help me because we were of the same mind.²²⁹

His aspiration to be a "man of education" and a "man of broad mind" manifested itself in the way he mentored his students.²³⁰ To those students who sought advice on how to prepare for Christian work, he recommended the study of politics and encouraged them to think about national development and about other religious traditions.

Looking at the current situation of the country, for the next forty of fifty years, I urge you to pay attention to politics. If you don't know everything about it you will get laughed at and surely sully the reputation of Christianity. At the same time, our country is in the

²²⁵ Dōshisha Archives, *Dōshisha Faculty Records 1879-1895* (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2004), 36-55. Reference to Shimomura's commencement speech was made in Abe Isō's diary entry for August 5, 1884. See: *Abe Isō Nikki: Seishunhen* [Diary of Abe Isō: Youth] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2009), 95.

²²⁶ Dōshisha Archives, *Sōritsuki no dōshisha: sotsugyōseitachi no kaisorokoku* [Early Dōshisha: Alumni Memories] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1986), 26

²²⁷ Ibid, 26.

²²⁸ Abe Isō's diary entry for September 28, 1883 reads : "At 4 pm, went to Mr. Shimomura's house to take the exam in the History of Western Civilization." See: *Abe Isō nikki: seishunhen* [Diary of Abe Isō: Youth] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2009), 66.

²²⁹ Dōshisha Archives, *Sōritsuki no dōshisha*, 26.

²³⁰ For a self-definition of an aspiration to be the men of education, see Shimomura Kōtaro, *The Aim of My Life*, 1887 [typescript] RG: Y-SK-6 (Dōshisha Archives).

midst of building itself and it is different from other countries in terms of how things are done. Therefore, every young man should think about the physical development of the country. Another thing is to learn the principles and precepts of Buddhism and Confucianism.²³¹

The study of politics or Buddhism was, for Shimomura, a way of becoming a better advocate for Christianity, because "whether politically or morally, Christianity alone can save Japan."²³² His own desire to study science was based on his conviction that the "greatest need" of the moment was to make up for "the lack of Christian scientists."²³³ By 1884, Shimomura was eager to go abroad for further study of science. "The idea of going to the West has occupied my mind for the last five years," he wrote to Dōshisha's president Niijima, "and now my heart burns. I pray for the opening of the way. I feel my future usefulness depends upon it."²³⁴ He succeeded in overcoming the missionaries' reluctance to give him a blessing and recommendation letters, and arranged to go to Worcester Polytechnic Institute in Massachusetts. Once there, Shimomura found that he was behind in his "knowledge of technical and scientific terms" and that he was "not fond of mathematics." But being hardworking, "he applied himself so diligently that he soon took high rank in one of the best classes the 'Tech' ever had." During his time at the Polytechnic Institute, the student newspaper informs us, Shimomura joined the YMCA, could not make up his mind if he was a Republican or Liberal, and was voted the smartest person in the class of 1888.²³⁵

After obtaining his B.S. degree and graduating second in his class, with a thesis on theories of the formation of the chemical elements, Shimomura went to study chemistry with Ira

²³¹ Abe Isō's diary entry for August 5, 1884. See: *Abe Isō nikki: seishunhen*, 68-69.

²³² Kōtaro Shimomura to Jō Niijima, Kyoto, 9 September 1884, in *Niijima Jō ate eibun shokan* [English Letters Addressed to Niijima Jō], vol 2. (Kyoto: Dōshisha Center for Humanities, 2007), 265.

²³³ *Ibid.*, 266.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 267.

²³⁵ Homer T. Fuller, "Kotaro M. Shimomura," *The Journal of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute* 7 (1903-04): 312; *The Log*, 64 (Worcester Polytechnic Institute Archive).

Ramsen, founder of the *American Chemical Journal*, one of the original faculty members at Johns Hopkins, and the discoverer of saccharin. A year later, in 1889, Shimomura returned to Japan with a PhD in chemistry and a \$250,000 endowment (equivalent in 2010 to at least \$6,000,000 dollars) from a man named Jonathan Harris to start and head the Harris School of Science at Dōshisha. He stayed there for five years before resigning in 1895, when his department fell victim to a conflict between American missionaries and Japanese administrators. But this was not the last of Shimomura's connections to Dōshisha. At several points after the late 1890s he sat on Dōshisha's Board of Trustees and, between 1904 and 1907, served as its sixth president.

The early career of Faris Nimr, whose interest in science led him to become a student at a Protestant college and later join the teaching staff, had remarkable parallels to the life of Shimomura Kōtaro. After graduating from the Syrian Protestant College in 1874, Nimr returned to teach at his alma mater for almost a decade. In addition to mathematics, Nimr, like Shimomura, studied astronomy, taught language classes (Shimomura taught English and Nimr taught Arabic, the respective languages of instruction at their colleges), and engaged in textbook preparation. For example, Nimr translated E. Loomis' *Treaties on Meteorology* in 1876. As in the case of Shimomura, we know very little about Nimr's student days except for the fact that in 1869 he co-founded Shams al-Birr, a literary society as a branch of the British YMCA.

Of the few things we know about Nimr's teaching days at SPC, two projects stand out: his work in the Observatory and the co-founding of the first modern scientific journal in the Arabic language.²³⁶ In addition to teaching Arabic, Latin, math, meteorology, and astronomy to

²³⁶ Unfortunately, due to the nature of the institutional set-up of the Syrian Protestant College, where Arab teachers were relegated to tutors and did not attend faculty meetings, we do not know as much about Nimr the teacher as we know about Shimomura. In Beirut and Kyoto, the faculty initially consisted of both missionaries and local scholars. In Beirut, these native teachers—graduates of the college or not—were appointed as tutors which meant that they

senior classes and being an advisor to boarding students, Nimr's day was occupied by duties of practically running the college Observatory. Established in 1869 and settled into its own building in 1874, the Observatory was connected by telegraph to Constantinople, Vienna, London, and Washington, and it provided the college with a great deal of visibility. Although not officially directing it, Nimr did "by far the greater part of the work" in this prestigious department.²³⁷ The routine work of the Observatory included a twice-daily temperature reading, telegraphing the readings to Constantinople, training and supervising students in the use of the Observatory equipment, aiding in observations of the moon every two hours and of sunspots on particular days of the month, and compiling bi-monthly meteorological reports which were then sent to Washington, London, and Vienna.²³⁸

But in 1880, the situation started to change. Nimr's close friend and fellow Arab teacher Yakub Sarruf was relieved of teaching chemistry and biology and reassigned to teaching Arabic in the preparatory department. At the same meeting, Nimr was relieved of teaching mathematics -- a subject he loved -- though he was retained in Latin and astronomy. The decision, a virtual demotion, came as a shock to the two tutors who, after years of teaching, expected to be promoted to professorship and teach more, not less, science. The reason behind the demotions was the apparent desire of the college to appoint an American professor to teach physics and biology. Protesting in no uncertain terms, Sarruf wrote to SPC's president Daniel Bliss: "I shall not teach physics or chemistry until I am made professor, the day you appoint a professor for this

were paid far less and did not attend faculty meetings (where decisions were made). In Kyoto, Japanese teachers were on the faculty with equal vote but not equal pay. Regrettable, too, is the absence of Nimr's letters, students' diaries from the time, or memoirs in which Nimr is mentioned.

²³⁷ *Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the American University of Beirut* [the Syrian Protestant College] 1866-1902. typescript, 34. (AUB Archives), 38.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

subject neither myself nor al-Mu`allim [teacher] Fares [Nimr] will remain in the College.”²³⁹

Two years after this letter both Sarruf and Nimr were dismissed from the college and moved to Egypt. Neither of them taught at the college level again, but through their work in publishing they continued the project of popularizing and spreading science.

Besides teaching at SPC, Nimr was the editor of *al-Muqtataf*, a scientific journal he co-founded with Sarruf and Shahin Makarius of the American Mission Press. The aim of the journal, launched in 1876, was to be a sort of scientific *Reader's Digest*. The first volumes consisted of compilations culled from popular science magazines available in the SPC library. The journal grew in size, reputation, and geographical scope of circulation as the months went by. A typical issue consisted of three main elements: first, one or two original articles; second, several summaries of articles from publications such as the *Scientific American*, *Nature*, *Popular Science Monthly*, or *The Times*; and third, a question and answer section. Rapid popularity of the venture was evident in the fact that by 1881 the typical issue had expanded from twenty-four to sixty-four pages and was estimated to have had a circulation of around 500. This is a significant number of copies considering that there were just over 27,000 literate persons in Ottoman Syria, which statistically meant that every fifty-fourth person who could read, read *al-Muqtataf*.²⁴⁰ Of course, the readership was much wider in number and in geography; one copy changed many hands and readers' letters came from as far as Teheran and the Americas.

Although Nimr and Shimomura shared an interest in teaching science, they were not equally successful at finding a place for themselves on the faculty. Shimomura was able not

²³⁹ Yakub Sarruf to Daniel Bliss, January 1882, as quoted by Nadia Farag, "The Lewis Affair and the Fortunes of al-Muqtataf," *Middle Eastern Studies* 8 (1972): 80 (original not accessible).

²⁴⁰ Marwa Elshakry, "Darwin's Legacy in the Arab East: Science, Religion, and Politics, 1870-1914" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2003), 79, 19-20. Based on data from Charles Issawi, *The Economic History of Turkey, 1800-1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 17 and Donald Quataert, "Population," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1911*, ed. Halil Inalick and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 780.

only to become a full-time professor but also to establish a foreign-endowed science department. In contrast, Nimr was kept for years at the rank of a tutor, never ascended to full-fledged professorship, and was eventually dismissed from the college. Yet their careers may have looked much more similar had the vision of the Beirut college remained closer to what its founder William Thompson had in mind: a college with mostly native professors, and an Arab president as soon as possible, that was “wholly committed to competent evangelical natives.”²⁴¹ One is forced to wonder if Nimr took up teaching science in the pages of *al-Muqtataf* because his opportunities to teach at the college seemed to be shrinking rather than expanding as his experience grew.

Another difference between Shimomura and Nimr is how much we know about their religious beliefs and how they related them to their scientific interests. We know quite a bit about Shimomura but very little about Nimr. Secondary literature is just as sparse. Historian Albert Hourani counted Nimr among "Christian secularists" in terms of his intellectual agenda as expressed on the pages of *al-Muqtataf*. Yet it is not clear what this label means in terms of personal faith, because in this "Christian secularist" category Hourani also included Butros al-Bustani, a Maronite (Syriac Eastern Catholic Church) convert to Protestantism and a devout man, and Ahmad Faris Shidyaaq, a Maronite convert to Islam.²⁴² Other studies²⁴² that make references to Nimr often define him either as a "Syrian Christian" or as a "Lebanese Christian," and so avoid

²⁴¹ *Constitution of the Syrian Protestant College*, n.d. n. p. (AUB Archives); Daniel Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss, Edited and Supplemented by His Eldest Son* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920), 165.

²⁴² Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 245-246. Marwa Elshakry, "Darwin's Legacy in the Arab East", 2. Maronites are members of an Eastern Syriac Christian sect, living mostly in the mountains of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Theologically, they were originally Monothelites, but subsequently became united with the Roman Church; their liturgic language remains Syriac.

the issue of whether he converted to Protestantism (and to what extent and for how long) or remained faithful to the Greek Orthodox faith of his parents.²⁴³

Even a tentative portrayal of Nimr's faith or religious status is little more than guesswork based on two bits of information. First, from his leadership in the YMCA (and the allusions that he fit the definition of a “competent evangelical native”) one can assume that he became Protestant, either prior to or sometime early in his student days at SPC.²⁴⁴ Second, the fact that he married a British woman and was noted for pro-British political views may indicate that in some aspects of his church life he may have been affiliated with the Anglican church. Yet without further material, it may be impossible to establish anything conclusive about Nimr's faith.

In contrast, we know that Shimomura converted just prior to enrolling at Dōshisha in 1876, and that he remained faithful to Christianity even as his ideas about it changed over time. As a teacher in the college, Shimomura was evangelical in outlook and believed that there was only one Truth, with a capital T.²⁴⁵ In later years, he found his faith “widening and becoming freer.”²⁴⁶ He came to believe that there were two Christianities in the Gospel; one was the Pauline, which came to define modern Christianity, and the second was the teachings of Jesus contained in the four gospels, which were “completely different in content and spirit” from Paul's Epistles. In a letter to an English friend, Shimomura described the shift and the challenges it posed:

²⁴³ I have found two reference to Nimr's conversion to Protestantism, one in a recent newspaper article written in 2006 and the other, a reference that he was Anglican, in a book about Alexandria, neither of which provide evidence. See Fayaz Haysan, "In Search of Amy," *al-Ahram Weekly - Book Supplement* (30 March - 5 April 2006), <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2006/788/bo10.htm> (last accessed April 2010); Michael Haag, *Alexandria: City of Memory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 136.

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²⁴⁵ Kōtaro Shimomura to Jō Niiijima, Kyoto, 25 September 1884, in *Niiijima jō ate eibun shokan* [English Letters Addressed to Niiijima Jō, vol 2 (Kyoto: Dōshisha Center for Humanities, 2007), 266.

²⁴⁶ Kōtaro Shimomura to Murai Tomoyoshi, as quoted in Usaburo Wakamatsu, *Shimomura sensei tsuioku roku* [In Memory of Professor Shimomura] (Kyoto: 1938), 21.

Having discarded Pauline Christianity, I took refuge in the teachings of Jesus. But where is his teaching to be found? It is said that one can find it in the synoptic Gospels. But a question arises: How far are these gospels true? It is difficult to see where the genuine Jesus begins, and where the imaginary Jesus ends.²⁴⁷

Finally, we know that for Shimomura, as for his missionary teachers, science and faith went hand in hand. Throughout his life, first as a teacher of science at Dōshisha and later as a chemical engineer, he believed that “a religion which conflicts with science is no religion; a science jarring with religion is no science.”²⁴⁸

In their pursuit of scientific knowledge and modern education, youth like Shimomura and Nimr were attracted to the missionaries and to Protestant Christianity and, on some level, conversion – certainly in Shimomura’s case and possibly in Nimr’s -- was an integral part of that pursuit. For their part, missionaries were attracted to teaching science as an efficient way of attracting curious youth and, to their mind, of demonstrating Protestant superiority by showing their mastery of nature and its phenomena. Observing Shimomura and Nimr in contrast with their American teachers, it may seem that they were coming from different points – missionaries seeking to evangelize Japanese and Arab youth seeking knowledge and students seeking a new kind of education. Regardless of their different points of departure, the trajectories of the missionaries and their students intersected on a campus that embodied both evangelical purpose and scientific curriculum.

²⁴⁷ Kōtaro Shimomura to Smithsell n.d. as quoted in Wakamatsu, *Shimomura sensei tsuioku roku*.

²⁴⁸ Kōtaro Shimomura to Jō Nijjima, Kyoto, 25 September 1884, in *Nijjima jō ate eibun shokan*. For Shimomura's views of his own faith and its relationship to science, see: Kōtaro Shimomura, *Waga shūkyō kan* [My View of Religion] (Kyoto: Minyūsha, 1931).

American Teachers in Kyoto and Beirut

When graduates of Protestant missionary colleges are mentioned in histories or in the press, it is commonly stated or implied that they were greatly influenced by their experience as students and teachers. There is no doubt that students' experiences on missionary campuses—both in and out of the classroom—were of great importance in shaping their habits and directing their careers. Yet the silence of on how the lives of missionaries were changed as a consequence of their involvement with the college and the wide range of intellectual pursuits it involved is puzzling. How did the intellectual labor involved in teaching and mentoring students, in addition to participating in local intellectual circuits, widen missionary intellectual horizons and broaden their understanding of their mission? How did teaching, preparing for lectures, writing textbooks, and receiving students weekly at home, affect missionaries who were sent to proclaim salvation through Jesus Christ, convert the heathen, and plant churches?

Cornelius Van Dyck

The Reverend Cornelius Van Dyck is an example of a missionary who was changed by interactions and stimuli related to teaching (in this case, textbook-writing) and to living in Beirut. Van Dyck was a typical young, pious man who was prompted to a missionary career by a religious revival but ended up abandoning evangelicalism and embracing a broader vision of his own faith. Born in northern New York in 1819, he graduated from Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia in 1839. Swept up by the powerful Protestant revival that coincided with the final years of his study, Van Dyck applied for a position (referred to as "a commission") as a medical missionary with the ABCFM. While lacking any formal theological training, he had enough knowledge to pass the screening process. By the spring of 1840, Van Dyck was on his way to

Beirut, where he embarked on a study of theology, married a daughter of the English Consul in Beirut, and was ordained a minister by his fellow missionaries. His early years were spent practicing medicine and learning Arabic, at which he excelled, gaining fluency in both written and spoken Arabic.²⁴⁹

Van Dyck's understanding of missionary work started expanding long before he became a professor at SPC. It came as a result of his teaching experience and his participation in local intellectual circles. For one year between 1846 and 1847, Van Dyck and the influential Maronite convert Butros al-Bustani worked together at the Protestant seminary in the mountain village of Abeih. The main goal of the Abeih seminary was to prepare Arab converts for pastoral positions, but the curriculum included non-theological subjects such as Arabic, geography, algebra, and history.²⁵⁰ And so, in collaboration with his co-teacher Butros al-Bustani, the young physician and evangelizer found himself spending countless nights compiling and translating textbooks in algebra, geometry, and Arabic prosody. Both men soon found themselves engrossed in the vibrant, newly emerging intellectual landscape of Ottoman Syria, driven more by an interest in science, education, and literature than in issues of Christian theology.²⁵¹

The ABCFM headquarters were critical of the Syrian mission for its tendency to be "a book mission" and the amount of energy it spent on education. The Board tried to curb the enthusiasm of its missionaries by not allowing the expenditure of allocations for support of

²⁴⁹ For biographical information, see Lutfi M. Sa'di, "al-Hakim Cornelius Van Allen Van Dyck (1818-1895)," *Isis* 27 (1937):20-45. For Van Dyck's fluency in Arabic, see: Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 194 ; A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901: A Study of Educational, Literary, and Religious Work* (Oxford: Caledon Press, 1966), 126; Isaac H. Hall, "The Arabic Bible of Drs. Eli Smith and Cornelius V. A. Van Dyck," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 11 (1882 - 1885): 276-286.

²⁵⁰ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901*, 124-125.

²⁵¹ For reference to the emerging intellectual scene in Beirut in the second half of the nineteenth century, see: Jens Hanssen, "The Birth of an Education Quarter: Zokaka el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World," in *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak el-Blat*, ed. Hand Gephardt et al. (Beirut: Orient-Institut Beirut, 2005), 143-174; idem, *Fin De Siecle Beirut: The Making of An Ottoman Provincial Capital* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 161-189.

scientific and literary associations, on the grounds that such use was “contrary to the aims of the Churches which supply the funds” for foreign missions.²⁵² But the opposition of the elders in Boston to scientific societies in Beirut was of limited relevance, as evident from the succession of locally organized and funded societies that started forming. The first was the short-lived Society for Moral Values (*Majma`at al-Taḥdīb*) established in 1846, followed by the Syrian Society for Science and Arts (*al-Jam`iyya al-Suriyya li-l-`Ulum wa-Funun*) in 1847, the Association for the Promotion of Printing Arabic Books (*al-`Umda al-Adabiyya li-l-Ishḥar al-Kutub al-`Arabiyya*) in 1859, and the Syrian Scientific Society (*al-Jam`iyya al-`Ilmiyya al-Suriyya*) in 1868.²⁵³ All of these societies were based in Beirut but some had greater reach than others, with corresponding members from Damascus, Constantinople, and Cairo. The gatherings took place in the private houses of their members, and perhaps, as was the case with other literary salons in Beirut at the time, over coffee and sweets. Van Dyck was among a handful of American missionaries with the intellectual inclination and knowledge of Arabic to participate in these events. His name was often found on the list of members, which also included Butros al-Bustani. Both men left their teaching posts at the Abeih seminary but moved in the same intellectual circles outside the control of the ABCFM or Ottoman Syrian missionary circles.

Involvement in scientific and literary debate did not mean that Van Dyck lost his interest in theology. Following his teaching at Abeih seminary and in addition to his participation in the local scientific and literary societies, Van Dyck completed the first full Arabic translation of the Protestant Bible, which took him a decade. In 1857, he was relieved of all regular missionary duties in order to devote himself full-time to the translation of the Scriptures into Arabic.

²⁵² Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901*, 115.

²⁵³ For proceedings of the Syrian Scientific Society, see Yusuf Kozma Khouri, ed., *'Amal al-Jam`iyya al-`Ilmiyya al-Suriyya 1867-69* (Beirut: Dar al-Hamra, 1990). For references to the Syrian Society of Arts and Sciences, see Butros al-Bustani, *al-Jam`iyya al-Suriyya li-l-`Ulum wa-l-Funun 1847-1852* (Beirut: Dar al Hamra, 1990. 0). For the Syrian Scientific Society, see Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, 174-176; Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut*, 169.

Another missionary, Rev. Eli Smith, had started the project in 1849, and at the time of his death in 1857 had completed only Genesis and Exodus. Aside from the usual challenges of translating the Biblical text, Van Dyck faced one specific to the missionary cause: the new translation had to be not only correct and intelligible, but the Arabic had to be free of foreign idioms and the translation deemed of high literary quality in order to appeal to the intellectuals with whom missionaries interacted and sought to interest in Protestantism. Like his predecessor, Van Dyck elicited the cooperation of an Islamic scholar. His choice was Sheikh Yusuf al-Asir—a graduate of al-Azhar University, a long-time judge in the *shari`a* court of Ottoman Syria, a member of the Syrian Scientific Society, and less well known as the author of one of the first modern dramas performed on stage in Beirut in 1875.²⁵⁴

Approaching the daunting task, Van Dyck started translating the New Testament first, leaving the work of his predecessor aside for several years. Al-Asir's role in the Bible translation project was to correct and suggest changes to Van Dyck's draft. The second draft was distributed to several Arab scholars as well as to a number of German Orientalists, and their comments were considered together in preparing the final draft of the translation of the New Testament in early 1860. Only then did Van Dyck pick up where Smith had left off translating the Old Testament, and, encountering some difficulties with of the Arabic script, traveled to Europe to confer in person with several Orientalists in Leipzig, Vienna, Dresden, and Halle. When the translations of both the Old and New Testaments were ready for print in 1865, Van Dyck traveled to New York to supervise a complex printing of a fully vocalized folio edition of the Protestant Bible in Arabic, which took two years.

²⁵⁴ Matti Moosa, *The Origins of Modern Arab Fiction* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 1997), 32.

In addition to the completion of the monumental folio edition of the Bible, the sojourn in New York was important because it allowed Van Dyck to pursue another line of inquiry inspired by his stay in Ottoman Syria—eye diseases. During his twenty-five years in the field, he had observed a wide range of eye diseases, but he had not had an opportunity to study ophthalmology with a specialist. The proximity of the Bible Society to the New York Eye Infirmary afforded an opportunity to study ophthalmology and attend the clinic there several times a week. Energetic, Van Dyck also found time to teach Hebrew at the Union Theological Seminary (UTS) where he left such an impression that he was apparently offered a permanent post, which he turned down.²⁵⁵

Van Dyck's decision not to stay in New York may not be surprising in light of the fact that by this point he had spent a large portion of his life in Beirut. He had married and had children there, and a job offer to teach at the newly established missionary college in Beirut awaited him. When he returned to Beirut in 1867, he lived the life of a teacher of medicine in addition to continuing his life as a Beirut intellectual. He published science textbooks in Arabic, fundraised for and opened a Free Eye Clinic connected to the college, and wrote articles in scientific and general Arabic-language periodicals printed in Beirut, including *al-Muqtataf*, published from 1876 by his protégée Faris Nimr, and *al-Jinan*, published from 1870 by his friend Butros al-Bustani. He taught at SPC for fifteen years before leaving in 1882, at the age of sixty-three, due to a divergence with Daniel Bliss about how to run the college. In a difference of opinion over who decides the characteristics of a pious Protestant college teacher, and how, Van Dyck perceived a trend to recast the college along more orthodox evangelical lines. Feeling unable to stop the shift, and no longer permitted to pursue a broad conceptualization of

²⁵⁵ Lutfi M. Sa'di. "Al-Hakim Cornelius Van Allen Van Dyck (1818-1895)," *Isis* 27 (1937): 30.

missionary work at the college, he terminated his connection both to the college and to the ABCFM, although he continued to train students and practice medicine at his home in Beirut.

After his return from New York, Van Dyck never left Lebanon again, despite being entitled to a year of sabbatical for every seven years of service; he died and was buried in Beirut in 1895. His career is an example of an American missionary teacher whose idea about missionary work in general, and his own position within it, was transformed through interactions with other Beirut intellectuals in his duties as a missionary (collaboration on the Bible translation) and a teacher (collaboration on textbook-writing).

Jerome Dean Davis

In Kyoto, the careers of Jerome D. Davis and Dwight Learned, not unlike that of Cornelius Van Dyck in Beirut, exemplify the transition from preacher to teacher. While scholars who are familiar with both careers may concede that Learned's career at Dōshisha shows a remarkable trajectory in which a missionary with expertise in Ancient Greek goes on to become a nationally famous teacher of political economics, Davis is often quoted as the most theologically conservative among the American missionaries in Japan.²⁵⁶ Yet even Davis' experience at Dōshisha turned him into an educator who was no longer satisfied with the idea that missionary work should be confined to the department of theology. Importantly, finding a new career did not, in most cases, mean switching careers; becoming a college professor or a successful teacher of economics did not mean that one stopped being an evangelizer. Learned was teaching political economy at the same time he was teaching Epistles, and he revised his economics textbooks for reprint while serving as the dean of Dōshisha's school of Theology.

²⁵⁶ For students' views of Davis' evangelical zeal see, for example, Dōshisha Archives, *Sōritsuki no dōshisha: sotsugyōseitachi no kaisorokoku* [Early Dōshisha: Alumni Memories] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1986), 58.

Thus, the transition of his career, like that of Cornelius Van Dyck, was a shift away from a narrow definition of missionary practice prescribed by Boston elders towards a broader conception that could, when there was demand for it, include a wide range of subjects and practices.

Jerome D. Davis was born in 1838 in Dundee, Illinois. He entered Beloit College in 1859 but left in 1862 in response to Lincoln's call for more army volunteers. Four years later, after a serious injury, promotion, and victory in the Battle of Shiloh (which became the template for his understanding of conflict), Davis returned to Beloit and, completing two years of college work in one, graduated with the class of 1866.²⁵⁷ In preparation for pastoral work, Davis entered the Chicago Seminary. In the winter of 1869, during his senior year, he obtained a temporal pastoral position in a small town near Chicago but ultimately was not confirmed for permanent position. This "severe blow to Colonel Davis' professional pride" led him to enter missionary service, asking to be posted "in the deep interior," in "the hardest field west of the Mississippi River."²⁵⁸ Thus, after graduation and ordination in 1869, Davis was assigned to a frontier post in Cheyenne, Wyoming, the terminal post of the Union Pacific Railroad, nicknamed "Hell on Wheels."²⁵⁹

During his two years in Cheyenne he thanked God continually that He honored him by calling him to the dusty frontier post. At the same time, Davis watched as the post descended into sectarian struggle. Different missionary societies sent their agents to the area, and there were four different Christian churches, though one could have held all who ever went to church. He suggested that the ABCFM should "either give up the weak hold that we have in this Territory

²⁵⁷ Merle Davis, *Davis Soldier Missionary: A Biography of Rev. Jerome D. Davis, DD., Lieut-Colonel of Volunteers and for Thirty-nine Years a Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign mission in Japan* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1916), 90.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 103.

and let the other denominations that are alive work it, or else man these points at once."²⁶⁰ As the frontier field was overcrowded and steeped in "the evils of sectarianism" (as were many portions of the eastern United States), Davis turned to the foreign missions that were considered to be understaffed.²⁶¹ He went from Cheyenne to Kyoto in November 1871 and started his work at Dōshisha four years later.

Pressed by the realities of the field and the agenda of the locals, a man who had considered himself "called to Cheyenne" and "offered to the Japan field," began to *practice* his calling in a different manner. Niijima had been summoned by the Kyoto governor Makimura Masanao in November 1875 to discuss the issue of the Bible being listed in the course of study for Niijima's proposed school. Before Niijima went to see the governor, Davis urged "on no account to promise not to teach the Bible in the school," arguing that it was better not to have the school and leave the city "than to make such a promise." But Niijima disagreed with him, and when confronted with the choice of signing or not opening the school, agreed to a pledge that no Bible would be taught in the school buildings.²⁶²

Niijima disagreed with Davis because he understood both Makimura's predicament, which led him to ask for such a pledge, and the difficulty of finding another ally of the same stature. Unlike Davis (and many historians after him), Niijima understood that Makimura's concerns were related to the daily visits made to his office by delegations of monks from a powerful Honganji Buddhist temple. Although Niijima was not a native of Kyoto, he knew well that Makimura's political career in the city depended on not alienating the Buddhist establishment of the Honganji. But Niijima *also* knew that opening schools like the one he sketched was part of Makimura's plan to revive Kyoto after the devastation of the Imperial

²⁶⁰ Ibid., 106, 115.

²⁶¹ Ibid., 114-115.

²⁶² Ibid., 148.

court's move to Tokyo. Niijima thus understood, much better than Davis apparently did, that Makimura was an ally, albeit a cautious one. The missionaries had to negotiate. And so, when the two men sat to discuss the meaning of "the Bible" in the curriculum of the proposed school, what both probably had in mind was a compromise, an arrangement that would allow Niijima to proceed with opening the school and the governor to appease the Buddhist establishment with the no-Bible clause.

Davis was furious that Niijima had gone against his advice, despite the fact that the governor had agreed that "Christianity could be taught under the name of 'Moral Science' and that the Bible could be taught and preaching conducted in the houses of the professors."²⁶³ This was beside the point for Davis, because if he could not preach openly, "his first impulse was to pack up and leave."²⁶⁴ Bound by a contract and a wife who was recovering from child-birth, Davis did not leave but agreed with "the heaviest heart he had yet in Japan" to stay and to not teach the Bible at the school but only at his home. While his wife was remembered for the homemade doughnuts she served when students came to visit, Davis was remembered either for his "enthusiastic and sprightly, heartfelt and energetic" manners or for his conservative attitudes.²⁶⁵ One alumnus, who had the utmost respect for Davis, praised him for his "warrior spirit, which agreed well with the mentality of the Japanese" and pointed to a great kindness extended to every student. Another alumnus remembered they had "trouble communicating with each other." As Davis spoke little Japanese and his students were still learning English,

²⁶³ Merle Davis, *Davis Soldier Missionary*, 148.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 148.

²⁶⁵ Dōshisha Archives, *Sōritsuki no dōshisha: sotsugyōseitachi no kaisorokoku* [Early Dōshisha: Alumni Memories] (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 1986), 110.

Nakajima said he "was not able to tell him all I thought." And "moreover, Davis' beliefs were conservative so we couldn't talk about much."²⁶⁶

Despite the fact that as a teacher Davis had mixed reviews, the experience seemed to have convinced him that staying in Kyoto, even with no Bible officially on the curriculum, was a good thing to do. We do not know how exactly his experience at Dōshisha changed how Davis saw or performed his missionary role. Close bonds developed between teacher and students during weekly "visitation hours" that took place in a teacher's home. Davis was apparently among the favorite teachers for these visits. Many decades after graduation, one alumnus recounted how intense the experience was for the students, and not only because the conversation had to be all in English, which not all students knew well:

When we go to their houses, it was all in English. Regardless whether you could speak English [well] or not, you *had* to speak, even if that meant you mixed correct and broken English. This was good practice for us. During the visit to the home of a foreign [teacher], all the family comes to entertain the guest. Their children go to bed at a fixed time and soon after I came to Davis' house [for the first time], the clock struck eight o'clock. His child kissed the father and the mother before going to bed. Then they came up to us, students who were visiting, and asked to be kissed. Some among us were already used to this and had no difficulty kissing the child on the forehead. But I was confused. What should I do? I was at a loss. At first, I hesitated but because the child was persistent, I mustered the courage and gave it a kiss. This was the first time I kissed anyone in my life.²⁶⁷

My reading of student reminiscences and examination of what missionary teachers did (and not only what they told Boston they were doing) suggests that the intense and intimate connections involved in mentoring students on a missionary college campus – involving, among other things, the “office hours” described above -- were transformative. So much of evangelizing hinged on personal interaction, and the professors were supposed to be models of what it meant to be a Protestant. The sheer scale of the student body, and the novelty of the concept of a

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 35.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., 51.

missionary college, made it different from previous models of a missionary family raising native children in an atmosphere of Christian love. The interactions were less close-knit than within a household but were still intense because they involved numbers of students far greater than one missionary household could absorb in an extended-family model. It is clear from Davis' writings that he changed his view: "While *at first* I would rather have cut off my right hand than have made the promise that Mr. Neesima [sic] made. Yet *now*, I am inclined to think that it was a wiser way than to have left the city."²⁶⁸ The shifting of gears from a zealous full-time evangelizer teaching only the Bible to a college teacher who taught English in the classroom and religion in his home was not lost on his students. Kurihara Korehiro remembered the early days of Dōshisha and remarked: "At the *outset*, his [Davis'] expertise was the least adequate [for teaching] but with constant diligence and effort *he became* a great scholar."²⁶⁹

Another episode that points to a change in Davis took place at the height of the crisis that shook Dōshisha in the 1890s. After unsuccessfully trying to acquire a share in the power to decide the college's future after Nijjima's death, all the American missionaries, including Davis, withdrew from the college, while the ABCFM cut ties to it and threatened a lawsuit demanding the return of all the money it had invested in Dōshisha. Attempting to prevent an institutional crisis at Dōshisha from escalating into an international issue, Japanese prime minister Okuma proposed a division. The missionaries would retain full control over Dōshisha's School of Theology, and would thus get an opportunity to focus solely on teaching theology and the Bible, while the collegiate department would be run by the Japanese Board of Trustees. The missionaries flatly refused the offer of dividing the school. This was somewhat ironic because for the missionaries, Dōshisha had initially been *nothing but* a training school, a seminary.

²⁶⁸ Merle Davis, *Davis Soldier Missionary*, 149 (emphasis added).

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 110 (emphasis added).

Including the teaching of science and other general education subjects was something the missionaries could do, but they had to convince the ABCFM headquarters to allow them, and it took some time for them to learn exactly how to do it. In 1875 Nijjima had had to plead with the ABCFM and with the Japan-stationed missionaries to teach modern science in addition to theology and the Bible, which were their main interests.²⁷⁰ Two decades later, their rejection of the division plan made it clear that they wanted to teach modern science in addition to the Bible.

Dwight Learned: *Becoming Interested in Economics*

Rev. Dwight Learned is an example of a missionary who started by teaching an assortment of theological and scientific subjects and ended by "making it [economics] into a science in Japan" *and* directing the School of Theology. His career shows how teaching and being intellectually involved with students enabled him to expand his interests and walk two paths at once. Learned was the son of a Connecticut pastor, graduate of Yale in the class of 1870, and professor of Ancient Greek language and literature at Thayer College in Missouri. After two years at Thayer College, he applied for a missionary commission with the ABCFM, and was married and ordained. He landed in Japan in 1875 at the age of twenty-seven. His arrival coincided with the opening of Dōshisha, and the Japan Mission agreed that Learned should be sent to Kyoto to help Nijjima and Davis run the school. Like other teachers at the early Dōshisha, Learned taught a wide array of subjects and shared in a range of administrative duties. He served as secretary for faculty meetings, which often took place in his house; led the morning prayer meeting once a week; delivered Sunday sermons in Dōshisha chapel; gave instruction in gymnastics; joined a committee in June of 1880 to consider the purchase of a telescope; and gave

²⁷⁰ Arthur Sherburne Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1891), 195.

a commencement speech in 1881. He taught Gospels, Epistles, history, history of civilization, history of England, English grammar, natural philosophy, logic, geography, astronomy, and -- a subject in which he took a special interest -- political economy.

Beyond a college course he had taken at Yale, Learned was not trained to teach economics. It marked a turning point in his career when he was asked to teach the subject in 1879, after a group of students rejected the class in Sacred Antiquities proposed by the faculty and instead demanded instruction in economics. Learned described the sequence of events:

Dr. Davis had put Sacred Antiquities in the curriculum but the class did not want it, and so after finishing Church History they asked me to take Economics with them. [...] This subject was placed in the Fifth Year of the regular [collegiate] course, and [...] I soon became greatly interested in the subject. ²⁷¹

And thus, after teaching Church History, Learned turned to economics and found a new intellectual interest. Initially, he based his lectures on a book by Henry Fawcett, probably his *Manual of Political Economy*.²⁷² Looking at the outlines of his lectures, one can imagine why his Japanese students would be eager to hear what he had to say: he spoke about the organization of labor, capital, and industry; methods of progress; various kinds of money and the lending and borrowing of capital; debt, foreign commerce, protection, and free trade; and taxes and theories of wages. To his Japanese students these were neither abstract nor distant concepts. The outline of Learned's lectures was a guide for understanding the world around them, as Meiji Japan was undergoing a fiscal transformation, including a changed system of taxation, and struggling to regain control over its market and tariffs. After several years of teaching, Learned wrote his own textbook, which was the first written by an American for Japanese students. Using it was, in his

²⁷¹ Dwight Learned, *Three Score Years and Ten, 1848-1916*, 159-160 [typeset], ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 3, reel 385. Also see Dwight Learned, *Kaisoroku: A Record of My Life With the Doshisha* [Memoir: A Record of My Life with the Doshisha] (Kyoto: Doshisha University Press), 1983.

²⁷² Fawcett's *Manual of Political Economy* was first published in 1863 and by 1883 it had seen six editions.

words, "a great improvement over [merely] giving lectures."²⁷³ And so, teaching at Dōshisha turned an expert in Ancient Greek into a teacher of political economy and into one of a handful of men who introduced modern economic principles to Japan.²⁷⁴ Taken together with the case of Cornelius Van Dyck and Jerome Davis, Learned's career gives some indication of how teaching and other interactions with students influenced missionary teachers as much as the teachers hoped they would (and often did) influence their students.

Samuel Smiles' *Self-Help*: A Common Textbook in Kyoto and Beirut

As noted above, the modern science curriculum was an important anchor for students and provided a significant source of their attraction to mission colleges. Yet for the missionaries whose ultimate goal was to reform and convert their charges, instilling Protestant values (often also referred to as ethics or morals), was an integral part of their task. The college rules were the projection of these intentions to remake students by inspiring and, if necessary, mandating virtue. Discipline framed the curriculum to the point where it was necessary to stress that, despite its occasional resemblance to one, the college was not a prison.²⁷⁵ In both Beirut and in Kyoto, students could not enter or exit the campus without permission; could not play games of chance, drink, or smoke; had to refrain from work on Sundays; had to keep their rooms neat and clean (and open to random inspection) at all times; and, finally, were held responsible for other offenses against good order.²⁷⁶

²⁷³ Dwight Learned to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, September 27, 1886, ABCFM papers, A.B.C.16. 4. 1, reel 343.

²⁷⁴ J.F.Bell, "Origins of Japanese Academic Economics," *Monumenta Nipponica* 16 (1960- 61): 265.

²⁷⁵ In pamphlets, President Daniel Bliss (Beirut) often insisted that "the college was not a prison" while faculty at Dōshisha practiced weeks-long confinement of students (*kinsoku*), a sort of "dormitory arrest." See: *To Our New Students*. (n.p.: n.d) (AUB Archives); For student regulations, see: "*Dōshisha kisoku*: 1978" [The rules of Dōshisha, 1978], in *Dōshisha hyakunen shi: shiryohen 1*. [Centennial History of Dōshisha: Records vol 1] (Kyoto: Dōshisha University Press, 1989), 11-14. For instances of confinement, see: Dōshisha Archives, *Dōshisha Faculty Records 1879-1895* (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2004), 46, 78, 157, 161, 176, 203, 313.

²⁷⁶ *To Our New Students* (n.p.: n.d) (AUB Archives).

At the same, the college was a family of sorts and a venue of new possibilities. In Kyoto, Nijima envisioned Dōshisha as a second family and home to those students who were disowned. It had to both nourish and provide discipline. In Beirut, a student was told that he should use his time wisely "to make a true man of [himself] - intelligent, chivalrous, and trustworthy." The student of a missionary college was to "conduct himself as a truthful, honorable gentleman, scorning a lie, eager to make the most of his opportunities in the College." The motto was "When you study, study hard. When you play, play hard."²⁷⁷ But how does an American teacher teach an Arab or Japanese youth how to be a Protestant chivalrous man, how to stop exploring his sexuality, complaining about his professors, drinking *sake* or *araq*, and wishing to stroll along the busy streets of his city on a Saturday afternoon after a long week of study?²⁷⁸ While the strict discipline was an ever-present feature of college life, and enforcing it quite a task, it had limits. Wasn't there a way to encourage the students to decide to change themselves along the lines missionaries approved, without waving the Scriptures above their heads? In answering these questions, Protestant teachers resorted to Victorian self-advancement literature embodied in Samuel Smiles' international bestseller *Self-Help*, first published in 1859 on the same day and by the same publisher as Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*.

The first Japanese translation of *Self-Help* appeared in 1871 under the title of *Saikoku risshi hen* and was an instant bestseller, to the point where government officials and educators lined up -- some even camped out overnight -- to buy a copy.²⁷⁹ As historian Earl Kinmonth has shown, the popularity of the book was instant and long-lived: reprints of the first translation (by Nakamura Keiu) were still commercially available as late as 1921, and new translations of *Self-*

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ These were all offenses students on both campuses were punished for in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

²⁷⁹ Earl H. Kinmonth, *The Self-Made Man in Meiji Japanese Thought: From Samurai to Salary Man* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 10.

Help were produced as late as 1938.²⁸⁰ Meiji intellectuals seemed to agree that in the first decade of Meiji (1868-1878), *Self-Help* was the most influential book read by young men. It was of great importance for the generation born in late Tokugawa and coming of age in early Meiji. Not only did young men read it, but they also attended plays based on its stories and read a variety of derivative works. The book and its vocabulary were used in teaching, including at the Kumamoto School for Western Learning in Japan, where Shimomura and a generation of later Dōshisha students studied.²⁸¹

In the Arab world, *Self-Help* was translated in 1880 by Yakub Sarruf, who was among the first generation of SPC graduates (class of 1879) and a teacher at the college for over a decade. Cornelius Van Dyck had suggested that Sarruf be given the task of translating the book, whose title the latter translated as *Kitab Sir al-Najah* (The Secret of Success).²⁸² As in Japan, the book marked an era and its popularity lasted well into the twentieth century, not only in Lebanon but elsewhere in the Arabic-reading world. This was particularly so in Egypt, where a number of Lebanese and Syrian immigrants came to dominate the Arabic press in its early years. In 1886, a Self-Help Society was organized in Alexandria, Egypt. In 1898, putting his understanding of the concept to practice, the young Egyptian nationalist Mustafa Kamil opened a school where the phrase “self-help” and other excerpts from the book decorated the walls.²⁸³ Finally, similar to the case in Japan, the printing of the original translation was commercially available at least as late as 1922.²⁸⁴

²⁸⁰ Earl H. Kinmonth, "Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles: A Victorian Confucian and a Confucian Victorian," *The American Historical Review* 85 (1980): 536.

²⁸¹ For references to Captain Leroy Janes' attitudes to self-help, see Bunnosuke Fukunaga, ed. *Nihon ni okeru taii Jiensu shi* [Captain Janes and his work in Japan] (Tokyo: Keiseisha Shoten, 1893), 132-3.

²⁸² It is not clear what course it was used in. Marwa Elshakry, "Darwin's Legacy in the Arab East: Science, Religion, and Politics, 1870-1914" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2003), 67.

²⁸³ Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 109.

²⁸⁴ Samuel Smiles, *Kitab Sir al-Najah*, trans. Yakub Sarruf (Cairo: Matba'at al-Muqtataf, 1992).

Both in Japan and in parts of the Middle East, *Self-Help* attained the place -- and, sometimes, the name -- of a holy book. In Japan, it was commonly called one of the gospels of Meiji Era (*seisho*) and used in lectures given to the young Meiji Emperor.²⁸⁵ In Egypt, the Khedive, presumably either Ismail or Tawfiq, was said to have inscribed the walls of his palace with quotations from the book in ways and places where Quranic verses would have been expected. How could a Victorian self-advancement manual aimed at the English working class possibly appeal to the disestablished *samurai* and assorted aspiring youth in Japan and to Egyptian nationalists and Ottoman Syrian Christians? As Earl Kinmonth argues for the Japanese translation and Timothy Mitchell for the Arabic, the key point of attraction was that it explained national progress in terms of individual character. "National progress is the sum of individual industry, energy, and uprightness, as national decay is of individual idleness, selfishness, and vice," Smiles wrote.²⁸⁶ Although Smiles intended this remark as a free-market supporter's injunction against state aid to poor working class Englishmen, to Japanese and Arab readers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, this idea offered hope. It appealed to them precisely because it meant that a nation is not inherently superior or inferior and therefore Japan, Egypt, or the Ottoman Empire could prosper. The emphasis on the individual's role in national progress gave a generation of reformers an activist agenda. Every individual could, and needed to, help the nation by helping himself and better their compatriots by becoming industrious and vice-free. Thus, a book that originated as a lecture to poor English night-class students, urging them to pull themselves up by their bootstraps instead of waiting for state aid, was read in Beirut and Kyoto as a recipe for saving the nation from colonial encroachment. For this reason, Kinmonth

²⁸⁵ Samuel Smiles, *Self-Help: With Illustrations of Conduct and Perseverance*, Introduction by Asa Briggs, 72nd edition (London: John Murray, 1958), 7. For *Self-Help* as a basis for instruction to the Meiji Emperor, see: Earl H. Kinmonth, "Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles: A Victorian Confucian and a Confucian Victorian," *The American Historical Review* 85 (1980): 533.

²⁸⁶ Smiles, *Self-Help*, 14.

suggested that *Saikaku risshi hen* "provides a prime example of what can happen to the meaning of ideas in their transition from one culture to another."²⁸⁷ I suggest that in a comparative reading, *Self-Help* becomes an example of how similarly ideas could be absorbed (and "misread") in very different cultural contexts, provided their political circumstances were similar.

How was *Self-Help* read on Protestant missionary campuses in Beirut and Kyoto? Looking at the careers of some of the SPC graduates, Mitchell has argued that "its vocabulary and ideas influenced a generation of [SPC] students."²⁸⁸ Interestingly, Donald Reid has argued that the career of Smiles' Arabic translator Yakub Sarruf embodies the ideals of a self-made man who went from rags to riches due to hard work, frugality, and entrepreneurial spirit. He suggested that self-help ideals were specifically appealing to Christian youth in Ottoman Syria, who faced a combination of entrenched limitations due to their status as a religious minority in the Ottoman Empire and newly emerging opportunities tied to their marginality, most notably connection with foreign capital.²⁸⁹ In Japan, Niiijima Jō, the fonder of Dōshisha, never made explicit reference to the book. Yet given the alignment of national and personal ambitions he embodied, his students may have looked at him as a living example of a self-made man -- a paragon of how to help the nation, oneself, and others.

From scraps of information about what students read in the first years of Dōshisha's history, which overlapped with the final years of *Self-Help*'s peak popularity, it seems that the Bible and *Self-Help* were the most popular books on campus, the latter often topping the former.²⁹⁰ Remembering a fellow student's reading list in the mid-1870s, Nakajima Rikizo

²⁸⁷ Kinmonth, "Nakamura Keiu and Samuel Smiles," 541.

²⁸⁸ Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 108-109.

²⁸⁹ Donald M. Reid, "Syrian Christians, the Rags-To-Riches Story, and Free Enterprise," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (1970): 358-367.

²⁹⁰ Yahiko Itoh, "Atarashi shiryō: Tokutomi Soho, Motora Yujiro ōfuku shōka (santsū)" [New Material: Correspondence between Tokutomi Soho and Motora Yujiro (3 letters)], *Dōshisha Danso* 19 (1999), 112.

wrote: “Outside of the course of study, Motora concentrated on reading Smiles’ *Self-Help* and [William B.] Carpenter’s [Principles of] *Mental Physiology*. I think that his perseverance was profoundly inspired by the *Self-Help*,”²⁹¹ Another contemporary, the prominent journalist Tokutomi Soho, went even further by saying that “all over the world, many people read Smiles’s *Self-Help* but a few lived by it like the Doctor [Motora].”²⁹²

Indeed, it seems that Motora Yujiro (1858-1911), one of Dōshisha's first students (but not a graduate) took the empowering message of *Self-Help* to heart. Through hard work and without financial support from his family or a rich patron, Motora was able to advance himself in the world: from a poor, fatherless boy in the early 1870s, to Dōshisha student in Kyoto in 1876, to teacher in Tsuda Sen's *Nōgakushya* school in Tokyo in 1879, to a student at the University of Boston in 1885, to a PhD degree from Johns Hopkins in 1888, to becoming the first Japanese professor of psychology at the Imperial University of Tokyo in the 1890s. Historian Ito Yahiko has argued that Motora represented a type of Dōshisha student who used the school as a springboard for career ambitions and was not primarily interested in studying religion (regardless of whether he converted to Christianity or not).²⁹³ The example of Motora is a prime one of a "springboard student." He came when it suited his goals of learning English and left when the campus proved insufficiently conducive to his agenda. At the same time, this does not mean that such students in general, and Motora in particular, did not embrace Protestantism in earnest. Before obtaining his PhD in Psychology, Motora studied theology at the University of Boston. His teachers considered him "destined [by] the providence of God to great service in

²⁹¹ As quoted in: Yahiko Itoh, "Atarashi shiryō: Tokutomi Soho, Motora Yujiro ōfuku shōka (santsū)" [New Material: Correspondence between Tokutomi Soho and Motora Yujiro (3 letters)], *Dōshisha Danso* 19 (1999), 121.

²⁹² As quoted in: *Ibid.*, 120

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 120.

Christianizing his nation [of] Japan."²⁹⁴ Although he became a psychologist and not an evangelizer, he remained a Christian throughout his life.²⁹⁵

A number of scholars have pointed out the tenuous connection between Smiles and Protestant faith, and the erroneous connections of his work with the Protestant ethos or the Protestant work ethic. Although Smiles came from a Protestant family, he disavowed the faith of his childhood and was practically hostile to the religious tradition of his upbringing, as evident in his autobiography. Kinmonth has argued that it was precisely the absence of "any specific Protestant color" that enabled Smiles' Japanese translator to apply and adapt Confucian vocabulary, which made the translation highly readable for the Japanese public. This makes the reading of Smiles on a missionary campus even more puzzling. Why would American missionaries in Beirut have one of their teachers translate the book and make it available to students? Why would Dōshisha teachers, for example, go to the trouble of voting in 1880, that "the school help in buying 'Self Help' for the [entire] third year class"?²⁹⁶ I agree that one must be cautious in associating *Self-Help* with Protestant ethics on the basis of the author's intentions. But I would suggest that although the book was not written as a Protestant ethical manual, it could have been, and in any case was, read as such. My contention is that there was enough "God," "vice," and "Heaven" in Smiles to allow American missionaries in Beirut and Kyoto to interpret and frame the book as a manual on Protestant ethics, quite *aside* from Smiles' intentions.

What was it that enabled missionaries to use the book as a Protestant ethics manual (even if it was not *written* as such) and why this reading was productive on a missionary campus? First,

²⁹⁴ William F. Warren, 5 June 1885, Boston, RG 13.010. 1. 2, [Matora,Yujiro], (The Ferdinand Hamburger Archives of The Johns Hopkins University).

²⁹⁵ Shortly before being adopted into his wife's family (when he took the last name Sugita, by which he is known in the historiography), Matora became a member of the Aoyama Methodists Church in Tokyo. After his return from the United States, he kept his membership and until his death was involved with not only Christian religious tradition but with both Buddhist and Shinto traditions. His wife was an important YWCA activist in her own right. Both were buried in Aoyama cemetery with a Christian service.

²⁹⁶ Dōshisha Archives, *Dōshisha Faculty Records 1879-1895* (Kyoto: Dōshisha Archives, 2004), 17.

the book opened with the famous words about heaven: "Heaven helps those who help themselves," and although the word gets only four mentions in the book, it is the first line that was one of the lasting bits readers remembered about the book.²⁹⁷ Second, although all references to God in Smiles came from the mouth of prominent men he quoted as examples of self-made men, even those fifteen references were enough for the missionaries to make the case that their Protestant God was important, if not essential, to self-advancement. However, it was not clear exactly how, and it is perhaps for this reason that while *Self-Help* was very popular on campus and Beirut missionaries sponsored its translation, there is no evidence that it was ever adopted as an official textbook at either college.

Third, Smiles spoke of eliminating vice and reforming the character in ways that matched the missionary idioms of sin and conversion. For example, Smiles echoed the importance of cultivating virtue, which he claimed can be achieved through (self)disciplined acquisition of what he called "good habits" of temperance and frugality (among others) to the point that these became second nature. For missionaries, this was enough to make the book useful in disciplining teenaged students on campus, because it could fruitfully be read to induce students to discipline themselves.²⁹⁸ One example pertains to temperance and gambling. The missionary morality (and campus regulations) at the time forbade students from drinking alcohol and playing games of chance because these were *sins*. At the same time, a student could decide not to drink or gamble because he wanted to acquire what Smiles' called *good habits*, not because he considered those to be sins in the same way missionaries did. The teachers would hardly object to temperance only because the student saw them as bad habits instead of sins against God. In other words, as long as the result was temperance and the absence of betting on campus, it was arguably of

²⁹⁷ Sangu Makoto, "'Saikoku risshihen' oyobi sono ruisho ni tsuite" [On Self-Help and Similar Books], *Gakuto*, 43 (February 1939): 20-25 ; (March 1939): 15-16.

²⁹⁸ Smiles, *Self-Help*, 341.

secondary import whether the change in students happened to appease God, or to help their respective nations' progress. I would like to suggest that either way, there would be temperance and order on campus. This was not insignificant to missionary teachers who were serving *in loco parentis* to a teenage population that did not always speak the same language. The change in students' behavior, regardless of the motivation for it, could always be credited to Providence and the good influence of the college, however vaguely defined.

The ambition to advance in the world was not limited to the students of American Protestant overseas campuses. Teachers, too, were affected, even though they did not advertise it. To my knowledge, no American missionary in Kyoto or Beirut ever self-identified as an ambitious or self-made man in Smiles' sense. Yet, looking at their careers and autobiographies it is striking how much they resemble the self-help pattern. For example, the life path of Daniel Bliss, SPC's first president, can be read as a success story of the son of an Ohio farmer who became president of a college in Beirut.

Daniel Bliss grew up on a farm, first in Vermont and then in Ohio. The most vivid memories of his childhood were of "sheep, horses, pigs, hens, geese, turkeys, partridges, woodchucks and skunks" and assorted farm work such as "digging and storing of potatoes, the picking and sorting of apples, the making of cider, the killing of pigs and the cow or ox, the salting of pork and beef, the making of sausages, [and] the stuffing of the skins with the prepared meat."²⁹⁹ In 1846, at the age of twenty-three, after completing an apprenticeship and working for some years in a tannery, Bliss enrolled in the Kingsville Academy to study algebra, Latin, and Greek. Self-supporting since the age of sixteen, he paid his way by a combination of savings and income from teaching mathematics in the village school and at the Academy. Two years later, he

²⁹⁹ Daniel Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss, Edited and Supplemented by His Eldest Son* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920), 17, 21.

enrolled in Amherst College and spent four years studying both theology and science, reportedly excelling in Greek, physics, and mathematics.

Bliss graduated from Amherst in 1852, at the relatively mature age of twenty-nine—eight years older than the average Amherst College graduate at the time.³⁰⁰ Despite this late start or perhaps *because* of his hardworking childhood, his autobiography reads like the story of a self-made man: the son of a farmer from rural Vermont, who grew up on the frontier and went to college in his late 20s, became, in his early 40s, the president of a college in Ottoman Beirut, an economically booming and culturally thriving cosmopolitan port city. He seemed to attribute his success to a combination of hard work, determination, and Providence which led him through college study to seminary, from ordination to overseas missionary work, and from there to the presidency of a missionary college. Bliss may have been a pious Protestant intellectual, but he was also quite ambitious and a good tactician. Even if Providence was what got him the ear and interest of one of the richest New Englanders for the project of establishing a college in Beirut, it took ambition and strategy to direct this support so that it would include backing him as the most powerful man on campus, quite the opposite of the original plan for the college. Not unlike some of Smiles' examples, Bliss was able to leave the fruit of his labor (the presidency of SPC) to his son Howard Bliss and today it is with the son of his great grandson Peter Dorman.

Conclusion

Science held a prominent role in the curriculum of a missionary university and in the intellectual life of both missionaries and students. While the literature on missionary endeavors in different parts of the world acknowledges and discusses how students were formed by the

³⁰⁰George E. Peterson, *The New England College in the Age of the University* (Amherst: Amherst University Press, 1964), 117.

encounter with missionary schools and colleges, studies have overlooked the effect the missionary colleges had on teachers. The motif of “a missionary gone native” is an exception in this regard but has not been examined in relationship to educational work. This chapter is a preliminary attempt to contribute toward understanding the reasons that lead to a change in missionary perceptions, by looking at the specific examples of two missionary campuses, in two different cultural settings, where both students and teachers changed in remarkably similar ways.

Chapter 6: Crises that Redefine

Two crisis, one in the 1880s in Beirut and the 1890s in Kyoto, show how institutional power realigned as clear structures and hierarchies replaced the hybrid institutional models and diverse purposes evident in the early decades of the two colleges. The conflicts occasionally expressed themselves in a theological idiom. Yet the core of the struggle rested on the issue of who was to drive the agenda of each college and how it would be driven. Although grounded in similar debates, the crises resulted in divergent outcomes. Specifically, the realignment that took place in Beirut in 1882 and 1883 resulted in a campus with fewer Arab teachers and greater power in the hands of the American college president. In Kyoto, in the aftermath of the crisis that took place in the 1890s, American missionaries won control over the Japanese Board of Trustees and gained a seat on it. Yet if the American missionaries could veto appointments to it, neither group was able to set the course of the college in view of new policies and mechanisms of enforcement from the Ministry of Education which began to dictate the rules.

The two crises seemed to have markedly different consequences. Yet in profound ways they revolved around the same questions: What was a missionary college about? When push came to shove, which took priority – evangelizing or education? The answers during the crises in Beirut and Kyoto were different but they both left a legacy that haunted the respective campuses in subsequent decades. Dōshisha had to struggle for financial survival and state recognition, while SPC had to reconcile its sense of Protestant supremacy and evangelical impulses with its self-definition as a religiously tolerant institution, and to answer questions about the exclusion of Arab teachers and disparity in pay for the same work.

The Lewis Affair (1882): The Commencement Speech and Reactions³⁰¹

On a hot July day in 1882, professor of Chemistry and Geology, Rev. Edwin Lewis addressed the SPC graduating class in Arabic with a talk entitled "Knowledge, Science, and Wisdom."³⁰² In the speech, Lewis established a hierarchical distinction between the three elements of the title; knowledge of the natural world and its phenomena was not in itself science, as it involved "merely giving attention to it."³⁰³ He pointed out the difference between knowledge and science in order to urge the students to "go further than the mere acquisition of knowledge."³⁰⁴ His ultimate goal, however, was to explain the difference between science and wisdom so that students could understand the limits of science and the importance of wisdom. By wisdom, Lewis meant the gift of God to the pious:

Man can reach high levels of science and great philosophers have reached very far in the natural and mental science. However, the summits of science are limited and no matter how man was able to reach these, he cannot reach higher by mere science. [...] Nothing can assist him...except that wisdom which is bestowed upon him from above, from the One who is the Source of Light. [...] The sciences live and are enlightened through this

³⁰¹ Historians have generally studied the Lewis affair and the outcomes that derived from the crisis through a religious/traditional and secular/progressive binary analysis. Historian Shafiq Jeha interpreted the Lewis affair as a clash between "conservative religious men" and "secular liberals." Shafiq Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department* (Beirut: Syrian Protestant College Press, 2004), 152-154. In her work on the reception of Darwin in the Middle East, historian Marwa Elshakry referred to the affair as a "controversy over evolution and religion" and "the first official religious protests [sic] over the theory of evolution in the Arab World." Marwa Elshakry, "Darwin's Legacy in the Arab East: Science, Religion, and Politics, 1870-1914" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2003), 79, 19-20. Also see the reference to the Lewis affair in Marwa Elshakry, "The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut," *Past and Present* 203 (2007): 173-214. Similarly, treatment of the Lewis affair as a clash of the religious and scientific communities can be found in Olivier Meïre, *Al-Muqtataf et le débat sur le darwinisme: Beyrouth 1876-1885* (Centre d'études et de documentation économique, juridique et sociale: Cairo, 1996).

³⁰² The original language of the Lewis commencement speech was Arabic, which Lewis was reputed to speak very well. The Arabic text of the speech was published in full in the August issue of the Arabic scientific journal *al-Muqtataf*. See: Edwin Lewis, "al-'Ilm al-Ma'rifa wa-l-Hikma" [Science, Knowledge and Wisdom], *al-Muqtataf* 7 (1882): 158-167. The English version of the text can be found in the *Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the American University of Beirut* [the Syrian Protestant College] 1866-1902. typescript, 34. (AUB Archives) pp. 247-256 as well as in the appendix of Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882*, 161 - 170. All excerpts quoted here are following the translation in Jeha.

³⁰³ Edwin Lewis, "al-'Ilm al-Ma'rifa wa-l-Hikma," as reproduced in Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882 in the Medical Department*, 169.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

wisdom and [...] wisdom is a gift from God to those who seek Him through His deeds and sayings.³⁰⁵

Among scientific works illustrative of this process, Lewis cited Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* and Charles Darwin's *On the Origins of Species*. Mentioning Darwin for what seems to have been only a few minutes, Lewis referred to him "as an example of the transformation of knowledge into science through a process of long careful study and subtle thought."³⁰⁶

From the speech it is clear that Lewis, like many other Protestant intellectuals of the time, positively engaged with Darwin's writing. The speech also demonstrated that Lewis was not speaking as a secular liberal (whether an atheist or some degree of agnostic). Rather, his was the talk, the sermon, of a deeply pious man and ordained minister who believed in the harmony of faith and science. By defining the highest peaks of knowledge as attainable only through Divine inspiration, he joined the ranks of many other pious intellectuals who had a vested interest in arguing for the ultimate harmony of religion and science. For those scientifically minded Protestant intellectuals, harmonizing recent scientific findings with their religious beliefs was all the more important because it helped them *remain* both pious *and* scientific. With this fusion of piety and scientific thought, men like Lewis were able to challenge the desire of some to separate vernacular from professional science and thereby rid scientific circles of theologians. Lewis was certain that such a fusion of the religious and the scientific was possible because the same God that "filled us with his light" also "adopts the laws of nature in His work."³⁰⁷ Defending his commencement speech in the pages of the Arabic press, he asserted that "the scientific method,

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 169.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 165.

³⁰⁷ Ibid, 169.

correctly applied, does not make men turn against their religion."³⁰⁸ Rather, science and faith had to work in tandem because, as he reminded his students, "no telescope can show us God; no microscope can show us the soul of man."³⁰⁹

Shortly after Lewis' speech, American missionaries protested the talk and asked other missionaries unconnected to the college to exert pressure by writing defamatory letters about Lewis to the Board of Trustees in New York.³¹⁰ In reaction to the speech, Daniel Bliss, the president of the college, and Harvey Porter, a teacher in the Medical Department, sent a letter to the trustees in New York asking for Lewis' dismissal. They argued that his speech was found to be "much out of taste" and demonstrated "an acceptance as science of unproved theories."³¹¹ The response in New York was divided. Stuart Dodge, a member of the Board of Trustees, was very much in favor of Lewis' dismissal, while William Booth, the president, initially found no fault with the speech, the English translation of which Lewis sent to him. That Booth did not see a reason to accept Lewis' resignation was rooted in debates taking place well beyond the immediate realm of the SPC campus. The Lewis affair reflected and illuminated relationships between the ideology of Protestant intellectuals and the world of science in the nineteenth century.

Historians who study the relationship of science to faith in general, and historiography on the reception of Darwin among Protestant intellectuals in the United States in particular, generally present two points. First, they argue that nineteenth-century theology was inextricably

³⁰⁸ Edwin Lewis, "al-Madhab al-Darwini" [Darwinian Approach], *al-Muqtataf* 7 (1882): 33.

³⁰⁹ Idem, "al-Ilm al-Ma'rifa wa-l-Hikma," as reproduced in Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882*, 168.

³¹⁰ The letters were not preserved but the reference to their inflammatory nature is found in Dodge's letter to Bliss, in which he compares them to heavy artillery and calls them "the Syrian ammunition for American action." See, Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss, New York, 16 November 1883, Box 5: Letters from Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss. AA:2.3.1, Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library, American University of Beirut (hereafter AUB Archives).

³¹¹ As quoted in Nadia Farag, "The Lewis Affair and the Fortunes of al-Muqtataf," *Middle Eastern Studies* 8, (1972): 78; Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882*, 41; and Donald Leavitt, "Darwinism in the Arab World," *The Muslim World* 71 (1982): 86. The original letter is not preserved.

bound to science. Contrary to an often-held view, the majority of late nineteenth-century American Protestant theologians and intellectuals were not anti-science but rather eagerly engaged in the study of nature under the banner of natural theology – a branch of theology that examines knowledge of God made possible through reasoning.³¹² The basic tenet of natural theology was that studying nature was studying God because the Creator visibly stamped the surface of the Earth. As such, study of nature was essential because it was a repository of proof for the existence of a benevolent Creator. Thus, the dividing lines between the scientific study of nature and the theological study of the Creator -- which today are assumed to be clear -- were intellectually and institutionally blurred during the period in question.³¹³ This belies the well-known statement by Thomas Huxley that "[e]xtinguished theologians lie about the cradle of every science as the strangled snakes beside that of Hercules."³¹⁴

Recent historians argue that by the late 1870s most Protestant intellectuals, including evangelical Christians, were not negatively disposed towards Darwin. As Jon Roberts has demonstrated, by around 1875, most American Protestant intellectuals had found ways to reconcile the theory of organic evolution with their theological precepts.³¹⁵ In relation to evolutionary theory in particular, Roberts has challenged historians to re-examine the assumption that nineteenth-century evangelicals rejected the theory of evolution.³¹⁶ Instead, as David

³¹² David C. Lindberg and Ronald L. Numbers, eds., *God and Nature: Historical Essays on the Encounter between Christianity and Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Charles Gillispie, *Genesis and Geology: A Study in the Relations of Scientific Thought, Natural Theology and Social Opinion in Great Britain 1790-1850* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996); Jon Roberts, *Darwinism and the Divine in America: Protestant Intellectuals and Organic Evolution: 1859-1900* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2001); Ronald Numbers, *Science and Christianity in Pulpit and Pew* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³¹³ Natural theology in the nineteenth century consisted of studying subjects that today would be considered natural sciences.

³¹⁴ Thomas Huxley, *Collected Essays* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 52.

³¹⁵ Roberts, *Darwinism and the Divine in America*.

³¹⁶ David N. Livingstone, "Situating Evangelical Responses to Evolution," in *Evangelicals and Science in Historical Perspective*, ed. David N. Livingstone, D.J. Heart, and Mark A. Noll (New York, Oxford University Press, 1999), 193-219. Also see David N. Livingstone, *Darwin's Forgotten Defenders: The Encounter Between Evangelical Theology and Evolutionary Thought* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1987).

Livingston has shown, many evangelical Christians engaged positively with Darwin's evolutionary theory and can be counted among Darwin's forgotten supporters. Even when they had reservations about some aspects of Darwin's theories (and in this they did not differ from many scientists of the time), evangelicals embraced evolution as a working hypothesis in the study of nature. In the 1880s, being an evangelical did not mean being anti-evolution. The positioning of evangelical Christianity vis-à-vis the theory of organic evolution changed only in the 1920s.³¹⁷

The staunchly evangelical American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) had no necessary objection when one of its missionaries became an advocate of evolution, provided his support of Darwin did not include a disavowal of faith. There is no better example of this than the career of John T. Gulick, missionary to Japan and occasional lecturer at Dōshisha University. Gulick was similar to Lewis in the way he embraced Darwinism alongside his faith. He did much of his research in evolutionary zoology and published some of his research findings while serving as an ABCFM missionary in Japan.³¹⁸ Gulick argued, in disagreement with Darwin, that natural selection was not the dominant mechanism in creating new species; rather, geographical isolation determined the process. Coincidentally, between 1877 and 1890 the ABCFM showed their support of Gulick's work by paying his salary while he gave lectures on evolutionary theory to students at Dōshisha, a college both supported and controlled by the same ABCFM that ran SPC.

New historical writings on the relationship of science and religion as well as new evidence regarding ABCFM's stance on Darwinism as demonstrated by the Gulick example offer two insights for understanding the Lewis affair. First, by the time of that affair, lay and

³¹⁷ For the origins of twentieth-century scientific creationism, see Ronald Numbers, *The Creationists* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

³¹⁸ John T. Gulick, "Variation of Species as Related to Their Geographical Distribution," *Nature* 6 (1872): 222-24.

professional scientific circles in the United States largely accepted the theory of organic evolution as a working hypothesis. Thus, it is not a surprise that William Booth, president of SPC's Board of Trustees, found Lewis' commencement speech "strongly orthodox and scriptural."³¹⁹ Second, the theologically conservative and staunchly evangelical ABCFM was not so Darwin-intolerant as to merit dismissal of an ordained minister and Harvard Medical school graduate on the basis of a brief mention of Darwin in a commencement speech. It is therefore quite unlikely that Lewis was fired for mentioning Darwin in the commencement speech or for engaging positively with Darwinian theory.

Why then was Lewis fired? The answers probably lie in his challenge to the prevailing ideas of missionary morality. The background to the moral debate over Lewis' life began in early 1882, when Lewis invited a group of expatriate guests to his home on the campus. He served wine and entertained them by playing the violin. The event, or rather the rumors of it, scandalized missionary circles in Beirut, because Lewis broke two rules many Protestant missionaries considered important: the vow of abstinence from alcohol and the taboo on indulgence in non-devotional music. As a consequence, at least two members of the college community, Daniel Bliss and Stuart Dodge, as well as some missionaries outside the college, agreed that Lewis' transgressions made him an unacceptable teacher and member of their community. Bliss reported the incident to David S. Dodge, who wrote an angry letter, estimating that Lewis' chances of staying at the college were minimal because "such conduct was contrary to the habits and principles of the supporters of the College."³²⁰

³¹⁹ William Booth, quoted in Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss, New York, 16 November 1882, Box 5: Letters from Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss. AA:2.3.1, AUB Archives.

³²⁰ Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss, New York, 6 March 1882. Box 5: Letters from Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss. AA:2.3.1, AUB Archives.

The apparent transgressions of Lewis were not taken lightly. The social world of American Protestant missionaries in Ottoman Syria at the time was marked by aspirations to embody the ideal of a "simple and pure life" and "abstinence from frivolous habits of dress and conduct."³²¹ Although ABCFM missionaries commonly kept servants (which most of them could not afford in the United States), men adhered to the ideals of simplicity and devotion by wearing black ministerial garb (women wore black dresses and avoided lace), abstaining from alcohol and non-devotional music or dance, and even avoiding social occasions where such activities took place.³²² Lewis' offenses against this code of conduct lead Stuart Dodge to write, several months before the commencement speech and the mention of Darwin, that "he [Lewis] will be dismissed from the College, in which case, everyone would know why he was dismissed and his dismissal would set an example for his liberal comrades."³²³ From March to June, Dodge had become increasingly annoyed, probably because of Bliss' comments about Lewis' potential to lead native tutors astray on the question of temperance. In Dodge's view, Lewis either had to "turn squarely round or resign."³²⁴ This stemmed largely from his acceptance and regular partaking of alcohol as well as his acceptance of activities, such as dancing and playing music, considered morally questionable to some ABCFM officials.

Reordering the Administration

The complexity of Lewis' situation also lay in the distinction between dismissing the missionary and forcing him to resign. Dismissing Lewis was easier said than done -- the college

³²¹ Donald Leavitt, "Darwinism in the Arab World," *The Muslim World* 71 (1982): 87.

³²² More social than religious, some aspects of this code of conduct prevailed well into the twentieth century. The first non-devotional music on campus was introduced only in 1922, while the first college dance was allowed only after World War II. Even today the campus regulations forbid consumption of alcohol on campus, in contrast to the Jesuit St. Joseph University, which serves wine in the student cafeteria.

³²³ Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss, New York, 6 March 1883. Box 5: Letters from Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss. AA:2.3.1, AUB Archives.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

had never operated with a top-down decision-making process. In the early years of SPC, the president did not possess the same authority as college presidents in the United States to dismiss faculty at their discretion, curtailed only by the trustees. Unlike Seeley of Amherst, Bliss could not dismiss a teacher at the college on his own and he did not hold unlimited power over the faculty. Instead, such decisions at SPC were made through horizontal relationships, or a consensual model, that rested on the decision of the faculty, not the trustees in New York or the college president.³²⁵ This form of horizontal decision-making changed in the aftermath of the Lewis affair, and a more involved Board of Trustees and more powerful college president came to define the college thereafter.

The process of transition from the early consensual model to the hierarchical one that crystallized in the wake of the Lewis affair is illustrated by the following anecdote told when Bliss retired in 1902. At a faculty meeting held "in the early days of the College," two motions were made involving radical changes of College policy, which the President felt to be unwise.³²⁶ "After the first motion was made, Bliss took up a little red book and said: 'On page so-and-so of this Constitution you will find that the matter proposed is not within our province, but belongs to the Trustees.' A similar reply was made to the maker of the second motion. Whereupon a third and younger member said: 'How is it that all these years we have been voting as we pleased and have never before been confronted with this little red book?'" Bliss replied: "When the sky is clear and the sea is calm, the mariner steers by the sun and the stars, but when the clouds are dark

³²⁵ For a brief discussion of the relationship between faculty and trustees and/or the college president, see for example: John Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: History of American Colleges and Universities* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2004) 24-32; Julie A. Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996). For a brief history of academic tenure as reflecting faculty autonomy and changes in the powers of the college president and the trustees, see Walter P. Metzger, "The 1940 Statement of Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 53 (1990): 2-27.

³²⁶ Daniel Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss, Edited and Supplemented by His Eldest Son* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1920), 219.

and the waves high, he turns to his chart." "And who is to decide as to the state of the weather?" asked the young professor. "The captain!" Bliss replied.³²⁷

As this anecdote shows, during Bliss's later career as SPC president, he saw himself as a captain. Yet he certainly did not embody such a position and wield such authority in the early years of the college. Rather, SPC was "the child of the Syrian mission," and as such it inherited many of its structures and decision-making mechanisms, namely one-man one-vote meetings in which major decisions were made. Early faculty meetings were very similar to the mission meetings in which the proposals of all members were discussed and voted on. In those meetings, Bliss was not so much the college president as he was Brother Bliss, designated by vote to report on proposed projects to the local Board of Managers and to the Board of Trustees in New York. While Bliss did have particular administrative responsibilities, and these were accommodated by a lighter teaching load, his standing was less that of a captain with ultimate power over the life and death of his crew than that of the first among equals.³²⁸

This original SPC consensual model can be seen in Bliss' own description of early faculty meetings among the three original members, who were joined by another three faculty members during the first four years of college life.

[In the early days of the college] we had weekly meetings not because there was always much business on hand but that we wished to establish the regularity of College life. All questions before us were quickly disposed of: Dr. Van Dyck would make a motion, Dr. Wortabet would second it, and I called for a vote, which was always carried unanimously [among three men], thus relieving me of the disagreeable casting a vote because of a tie. Dr. Post joined us the next year and was later followed by Professors Porter and Lewis.³²⁹

³²⁷ Ibid., 219-220.

³²⁸ Not all missionaries were voting members of the mission. Married women were often designated as associate missionaries and could not vote. In the case of the college, natives (with one exception) could not vote because they were not of faculty rank. Yet the point here is that once one had a vote, all votes were equal.

³²⁹ Daniel Bliss, *Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, 189.

The contrast between this depiction of meetings in the first few years of the college and the "captain of the ship" metaphor from a later period indicates the shifts that were taking place at SPC. The college had changed from one organized and administered by consensual administration to one increasingly geared toward the hierarchical model embodied in the "little red book." Bliss found a strong ally for this model in Stuart Dodge.

It is perhaps understandable that, as the college grew into an important institution of higher education, the administration would shift as well. SPC had its start in a rented house with eighteen students and ended its first year with only eleven. One observer summarized that in those early years, SPC was "on wheels" and "scarcely had a name to live up to."³³⁰ By 1879, its name as a major institution in the region had been established. The campus consisted of a main building that housed a chapel, library, lecture halls, and dormitory. It also included a separate School of Medicine, an Observatory, and a dining hall and above it additional twenty-eight student rooms. Situated on a twenty-five acre plot on a promontory overlooking the Mediterranean, SPC maintained an imposing air over the surrounding vicinity.³³¹ Missionary teachers were gaining prominence in the larger community.

The calendar of Henry Jessup, missionary and founding father of SPC, suggests some of these changes. As a missionary teacher, he conducted several classes per day, supervised students, and held regular office hours. Bliss too began to view his role at the college differently from how he saw it in the earliest years of SPC, and established an increasingly close relationship with Stuart D. Dodge, one of the main SPC benefactors at the time and a powerful voice on the Board of Trustees. It is not difficult to imagine that Bliss may have been

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 188.

³³¹ *Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of the American University of Beirut* [the Syrian Protestant College] 1866-1902. typescript, 34. AUB Archives.

increasingly interested in substituting the missionary model of consensual governance with a more hierarchical structure involving a more powerful position for himself.

The problem with Bliss' vision for the future of the college lay in the fact that the core faculty consisted of long-serving American missionaries who were not junior to Bliss in age or rank. Some, like Cornelius Van Dyck, had even more experience, having arrived in Ottoman Syria a decade before Bliss. The way to bypass missionary practice and decision-making culture was for Bliss to refer an increasing number of issues to the Board of Trustees in New York, where he had strong support in Stuart Dodge. Dodge urged Bliss to "study your red Book and see what the trustees are permitted and required to do."³³² This way, the faculty still met and voted as it always did but the number of issues that were within its mandate to decide seemed to shrink. Bliss' increasing invocation of the "red book" did not go unnoticed, as evident from "the captain of the ship" anecdote.

In the context of these simmering differences, Lewis' reference to Darwin in the July 1882 commencement speech was a good pretext on which to execute a pre-existing plan to dismiss him. As historian Nada Farag eloquently stated: "Lewis' speech may have been innocent, but Lewis himself had long stood convicted in the eyes of the conservative members of the faculty."³³³ Yet the path from "conviction" to "sentencing" and securing Lewis' departure from SPC was not a straightforward affair. In Beirut, Bliss did not have the majority of the faculty on his side. In New York, Dodge did not have the support of William Booth, the president of the Board of Trustees. It took six months to turn Booth around to Dodge's standpoint and almost another year to "normalize" the dismissal and stabilize the school in Beirut. It must be asked then,

³³² Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss, New York, 12 August 1882, Box 5: Letters from Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss. AA:2.3.1, AUB Archives.

³³³ Farag, "The Lewis Affair and the Fortunes of al-Muqtataf," 78.

how did Bliss and Dodge navigate various layers of power and governance to reach their goal of eliminating Lewis from the faculty? And why does it matter?

After the commencement, perhaps sensing that a campaign was mounting against him, Lewis translated his speech from Arabic (in which it was delivered) to English and sent it to Rev. Sell of Lewis' alma mater, the Union Theological Seminary. In his letter, Lewis asked for Sell's assessment of the talk. When Sell replied to Lewis with his approval and blessing, Lewis wrote to Booth, sending the English translation of the speech together with Sell's opinion of it. In addition, he sent a letter of resignation should the Board of Trustees find the document unconvincing. This letter would become crucial to the course of the affair. Initially, Booth was adamantly on Lewis' side and refused to accept his resignation.

[Lewis] had fairly maintained the soundest and most acceptable side of Darwinianism - that he had studied the wants of the students (whose minds he found had been misled by previous reading on the subject) and he had taken pains to prepare just the form of antidote required.... It was the most positive, earnest and unquestioning assertion of just the views we all maintain and wish to have taught.³³⁴

In response to Booth's support of Lewis, Bliss and Dodge organized a number of missionaries in Ottoman Syria to write letters to the Board of Trustees criticizing Lewis. Although they were not preserved, they were reported to have been "amply explosive" and successful in defaming Lewis. At the next meeting of the trustees, Lewis' resignation was unanimously accepted.

On hearing the news of Lewis' imminent departure from the college, SPC students rose in protest, sabotaging chapel service, abstaining from classes, and repeatedly petitioning the faculty to retain Lewis as a faculty member. While Bliss and Dodge insisted that changes in Lewis' behavior made him an inadequate teacher, students begged to differ. They considered Lewis a "pious excellent man" who was "suddenly suspended in a way that violates his rights

³³⁴ Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss, 16 November 1882, Box 5: Letters from Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss. AA:2.3.1, AUB Archives.

and ignores his excellent and pious service to the College and country for 12 years."³³⁵ In another petition, students protested Lewis' dismissal on the grounds that the faculty had breached the terms of the contract between the college and its students:

We entered [the college] on condition that our Professors should be Doctors [Cornelius] Van Dyck, Wortabet, Post, Lewis, Brigstocke and William Van Dyck. This agreement has also been broken in a very strange manner, the likes of which has not been heard of, by the removal of one of them from the College, not withstanding that we need him.³³⁶

Although students were likely unaware of the negotiations under way at the administrative level, they did not like what they saw and considered it a potentially dangerous pattern.

We came to the College with a certain number of professors, and to us the College is those professors. How then, does Dr. Lewis come to be cut off in the midst of a college year after we have entered and paid our fees, and studied on the supposition that he was to be our Teacher in Chemistry and Chemical Analysis, and to sign our diploma in Medicine and Pharmacy? [...] What is there to prevent our hearing after a couple of days of the suspension of another, and after a month of another? What sort of an affair is this?³³⁷

Students were clearly outraged by the way their academic programs and wishes had been ignored.

The reaction was not limited to students. Because of the involvement of the Arabic press, news of the Lewis affair was a matter of public debate. The scientific monthly *al-Muqtataf* remained sympathetic to Lewis and published articles about his opponents and supporters on a regular basis. The journal argued that those who wanted Lewis out had to convince not only the rest of the faculty and the Board of Managers that the dismissal was justified but also make some effort to mollify the reading public and contain the damage being done to the college's reputation.. This was not an idle threat, considering that the geographical scope of *al-Muqtataf*'s

³³⁵ The original Arabic documents were reproduced in their entirety in Shafiq Jiha, *Darwin wa-Azmat 1882 bi-l-Da'irat al-Tibiyya wa-Awwal Thawra Tulabiyya fi al-'Alam al-'Arabiyy bi-l-Kulliyya al-Suriyya al-'Arabiyya* (Beirut, 1991), 55-57. English translation quoted here is from Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882*, 55.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ Ibid.

readership went far beyond SPC's recruiting sphere (Ottoman Syria and Egypt) and included readers in Baghdad, Teheran, Bogota, and New York. A point that the journal continued to make was that the persecution of Lewis was not about Darwin but about personal issues. "The use of religion as a veil to cover slander motivated by personal interest is the worst kind of mistake. The use of it against science and scientists is the worst kind of defamation."³³⁸

Despite the support students and Lewis got from the press, the petitions backfired and thirty students were suspended. Outraged at the way Bliss had manipulated the decision-making process and the suspension of almost an entire Medical student body, four out of the five remaining teachers in the Medical Department resigned. The resignation letter of Cornelius Van Dyck, one of the original professors in the School of Medicine, further illustrates the difference of opinions on the course the college was taking.

The course taken by Dr. Bliss and Dr. Post for some time past in College matters, and the fact that I differ from them radically as to the principles which should guide the Faculty in the management of so important an institution, have led to such a divergence between us, that, finding myself powerless to remedy a state of things which I truly deplore, I can no longer consistently retain my connection with the College. I therefore resign the chair of Pathology which I have hitherto held, my resignation to take effect on the 31st December, 1882.³³⁹

This left the only medical school in Ottoman Syria and one of a few in the entire empire with a handful of students and one rather unpopular teacher. The resignations did not disturb Bliss and Dodge. On the contrary, they seemed glad to be rid of all of those who sympathized with Lewis regardless of where they stood on Darwinism. The trustees went so far as to argue that they

³³⁸ "Khutbat Duktur Luis"[The Speech of Dr. Lewis], *al-Muqtataf* 9, (1885): 243-244.

³³⁹ Annual Reports of the Board of Managers of *American University of Beirut* [the Syrian Protestant College] 1866-1902. typescript, 73-74. AUB Archives. The copy of the transcript can be found in ABCFM papers, reel 552. Also cited in its entirety in Jeha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882*, 85.

would be prepared to "close it [the School of Medicine] entirely for a year or two if necessary."³⁴⁰

Although for some months it looked as if no suspended students would return and the school would have to close, in the end it did not. Through the support of the ABCFM and swift action of the trustees in hiring two new teachers in the U.S. for the academic 1883-84, the medical department suffered a setback but did not crumble. After several months of high tension, some suspended students signed an apology and returned to the college. Yet with only three professors and much class time lost, most students fell hopelessly behind in their studies. They had to postpone graduation and official exams in Istanbul by a year. Another group of students refused to sign the apology and studied privately with Van Dyck and Lewis. They were successful in obtaining their diplomas, after passing official Ottoman exams in Istanbul a year in advance of those colleagues who had returned to the college after apologizing.³⁴¹

The two professors recruited for SPC's School of Medicine in the United States walked into a college quite different from the one imagined in 1861-62. They had to demonstrate their loyalty to the Bliss-Dodge goals by signing a newly created "Statement of Principles" that asserted a set of conservative theological principles such as: 1) the sufficiency and authority of the Scripture; 2) the work of the Holy Spirit in the conversion and sanctification of the sinner; 3) the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the last judgment; and 4) a belief in the whole body of Evangelical doctrine as represented by the Protestant creeds and as opposed to the erroneous teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches.³⁴² Another

³⁴⁰ Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss, 1 December 1882, Box 5: Letters from Stuart Dodge to Daniel Bliss. AA:2.3.1, Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library, Syrian Protestant College (hereafter AUB Archives). Also quoted in Farag, "The Lewis Affair and the Fortunes of al-Muqtataf," 79; Jaha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882*, 89.

³⁴¹ Jaha, *Darwin and the Crisis of 1882*, 77.

³⁴² The text of the "Declaration of Principles" was reproduced in Steven Penrose, *That They May Have Life: The Story of the Syrian Protestant College 1866-1941* (Beirut: The Syrian Protestant College, 1970), 309-10.

shift came when the contracts of two prominent Arab tutors, Faris Nimr and Yakub Sarruf, were not renewed in 1884, a year after the Lewis affair had subsided. With their departure, compounded by the resignation of John (Juhana) Wortabet, one of the medical professors and the only native to attain full professorship in the early history of SPC, the Arab teaching staff was virtually eliminated. The removal of Arabs from the faculty led to the change of the language of instruction in all departments of the college from Arabic to English. But perhaps the most important change the Lewis affair set in motion at SPC was the shift that allowed Bliss to become the ship's captain, with enhanced powers to shape the faculty, student body, and curriculum.

The Problem of Dōshisha in the 1890s

The "problem of Dōshisha" in the 1890s marked a similar pattern of change to that which occurred at SPC in 1882 as a result of the Lewis affair in that it sounded the death knell to the college's original vision. Interestingly, both crises occurred at the same time relative to the years of operation – roughly one and a half decades after the founding of each institution. As at SPC, the crisis at Dōshisha was less about theology and more about the power to control the course of the institution and make decisions about what the values and culture of the school should be. As at SPC, the problem of Dōshisha played itself out in the field of faith and ended with the victory of the theologically conservative American missionary faction. Yet the crisis at Dōshisha lasted much longer than the one at Beirut, spanning almost a decade.

From its inception, Dōshisha was not one but two schools. To Niijima Jō, its Japanese founder, it was a regular school based on Christian principles. To the ABCFM and many missionaries, it was a seminary and a training school for preachers with a general-education

component. One of Niijima's talents was his ability to persuade the missionaries to "yield on mission policy when he thought it necessary for the good of the school."³⁴³ The two visions were -- in the words of a missionary opponent of Dōshisha -- "destined" to cause "conflict of purposes and aims" in the future.³⁴⁴

Predictably, the premature death of Niijima Jō, the founding president of Dōshisha, in January 1890, brought the school to a crossroads. Although there is an ongoing debate over whether or not the mild-natured Niijima was truly the prime mover at Dōshisha or power was in the hands of the missionaries, the school lost a powerful consensus broker with his death. In a structure where consensus was of vital importance, the new situation required redefinitions and re-articulations of existing, unspoken compromises between the college's two agendas.

The conflict at Dōshisha, or the problem of Dōshisha (*dōshisha mondai*) as it is called, refers to the separation of the college from ABCFM. Standard accounts of the conflict assert that the debate was fought largely over the way in which the Christian character of Dōshisha would be defined. In the background of the conflict loomed the Japanese Protestant community's drive for independence from missionary tutelage and the Meiji state attempts to have control over the private higher education. Furthermore, the liberal theology which increasingly appealed to Japanese Christians frustrated many of the American evangelicals. Although the full-scale confrontation started only in 1896, the first signs of friction that would tear the school apart were obvious as early as 1891. The conflict ended in 1899, with the election of the fourth president and a new set of trustees. In its aftermath, the issue at the core of the debate -- American or Japanese control of the Board of Trustees -- proved largely irrelevant. The Japanese

³⁴³ Paul Boller, "The American Board and the Doshisha: 1875-1900" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1947), 141.

³⁴⁴ Oramel H. Gulick to N.G. Clark, Kobe, 6 August 1875, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 4. 3, reel 383.

government's increasing control over private education in general and Christian schools in particular began to set the agenda.

Being consistently forced to navigate the Japanese state's increasingly strict rules about private schools damaged the college's growth. At the end of a decade of conflict, the college found itself in need of rebuilding virtually from scratch. Among the long-term consequences were a desperate financial situation and exhausted energies of some of the most active advocates of the school. Ultimately, most parties involved were tired and to some extent unable to engage in the strategic planning necessary for the school to tackle the expanding governmental rules on private education. Dōshisha spent the 1890s in conflict and then in bringing the school to its 1890 level of 900 students. The institution entered the twentieth century with a budgetary deficit that would take many years to liquidate, while other private educational institutions, such as Fukuzawa's Keio University, spent the decade growing and strategizing. In its attempt at rebuilding its student base to the pre-collegiate level, Dōshisha began to focus its energies on its "middle school," the feeder to the collegiate departments. By the time finances were stable and enrollments were back to the old levels, decades had gone by and Dōshisha's competitors were well ahead. It took Dōshisha, one of the most advanced educational institutions of the 1880s, until the 1920s to re-enter the prestigious educational league by officially gaining the status of a university (*daigaku*).

The First Clouds

In 1890, in the wake of Nijima's death, Dōshisha's Board of Trustees elected Kozaki Hiromichi, a graduate of the first Dōshisha class, journal editor, and prominent Congregational pastor in Tokyo, to replace Nijima as the president of Dōshisha. Despite subsequent claims of a

missionary protest, at the time Kozaki Hiromichi's appointment met the approval of both the Japanese and the Americans at the college.³⁴⁵ At the outset of his administration, a new science building was dedicated (April 1891), and Shimomura Kōtaro became the director of the endowed Harris School of Science. The school offered a three-year course of study to graduates of the collegiate courses. Thus, Dōshisha students who were in the collegiate department could choose in their sixth year of study to prepare to enter any of the three departments of higher study: Theology, Science, or Law and Politics, which also opened in 1891/92. The school seemed to be doing well. By the beginning of his second year in office, in April 1892, Kozaki launched a call for a \$100,000 endowment to do away with the annual ABCFM subvention, and in 1893 he left for a year of fundraising in the United States.

Though historians have given the years 1891 to 1895 little attention, this period is significant for understanding how several important lines of demarcation would be drawn at the height of the Doshisha conflict. First, during this four-year period, Dōshisha graduates publicly (in print) accused missionaries of "absurd superstitions," "unnecessary austerities," "sectarian spirit," and "denationalization tendencies."³⁴⁶ Second, Kozaki delivered a paper entitled "Christianity in Japan: Present Condition and Future Prospects" at the Chicago World Parliament of Religions in conjunction with World Columbian Exposition in 1893. The paper pointed to a widening gap between the missionaries and the Japanese Christians: "while missionaries are both preaching and teaching the orthodox doctrines, Japanese Christians are eagerly studying the most

³⁴⁵ Although Yosuke Niire claims that the missionaries were dissatisfied with the choice of Kozaki for the presidency, contemporaneous documents reveal that American missionaries stationed at Dōshisha supported him. See: Yosuke Niire, "The Ethics of Empire: Protestant Thought, Moral Culture, and Imperialism in Meiji Japan" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkley, 2004), 107; Jerome D. Davis to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, 8 June 1890. ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 4. 1, reel 352.

³⁴⁶ Tsurin (Paul) Kanamori, *Nihongenkon no kirisutokyo narabini shyōrai no kirisutokyo* [Japanese Christianity: Its Present and Future], 1891, Reprint. (Tokyo: Nihon Tosho Center, 2002), 27, 34.

liberal theology."³⁴⁷ In the paper, Kozaki reflected on the future of Japanese Christianity along lines already popular among Japanese Christians -- namely that Japanese Christianity should be characteristically Japanese, by which he meant a synthesis of Eastern and Western thought. For the missionaries, this was another sign of what they considered to be a departure from orthodox evangelical principles at the core of evangelical piety, the kind of Christianity they wanted to foster in Japan in general and at Dōshisha in particular.

A third point of friction was a gradual but clear change in what could be called college culture at Dōshisha. American missionaries, had worked hard to make the campus into an environment conducive for the development of Protestant piety through daily practice such as chapel attendance, prayer meetings, observing the Sabbath (Sunday), and abstaining from tobacco and sake and from frequenting places of entertainment such as theaters and tea houses. American missionaries assumed that habit could induce conversion and practice would serve as a path to faith.³⁴⁸ When Japanese faculty and students at Dōshisha disavowed certain everyday habits that Americans associated with theological precepts, missionaries saw the change as a shift away from their desired orthodoxy. For example, in 1892, missionary teacher Jerome Davis noted with alarm that some of the teachers did not attend Sunday service and prayer meetings and only half of the students went to morning Chapel. Furthermore, he complained that the faculty prayer meetings had turned into "sociables" and that teachers indulged in sake drinking and went to (Japanese) theater.³⁴⁹ Just as Lewis had in Beirut, they were breaching two orthodox

³⁴⁷ Hiromichi Kozaki, "Christianity in Japan: Present Condition and Future Prospects," in *The World's Congress of Religions; the Addresses and Papers Delivered before the Parliament, and an Abstract of the congresses held in the Art Institute, Chicago, Aug. 25 to Oct. 15, 1893, under the Auspices of the World's Columbian Exposition. With marginal notes*, ed. J. W. Hanson, Imprint (Chicago: Monarch Book Co., 1894).

³⁴⁸ This was different from an early vision of conversion whereby whole nations would flock to Christ as soon as they heard the word of the Gospel proclaimed, albeit in a language they did not always speak well.

³⁴⁹ Jerome D. Davis, "Seventeenth Annual Report of the Dōshisha School," April 1892, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 4. 1, reel 352.

taboos – one against drinking alcohol and the other against entertainment in general and secular music in particular.

In Boston, the Board's response to Davis' complaints aimed to diffuse the tension. "We cannot expect of the Japanese the purity of social life in the matter of use of spirituous liquors and tobacco for example, that we have here at home. I would not press mere ascetic ideas on the minds of our believers."³⁵⁰ In Kyoto, too, some missionary teachers claimed that the problem was not with the Japanese teachers but with the strict rules of the Japanese Congregationalist church, which were assumed to apply to Dōshisha faculty. Total abstinence from alcohol and tobacco was only one of many conditions for becoming a church member in Japan. One missionary noted that under the Japanese rules even "the President of the American Board [of Commissioners for Foreign Missions] would not be allowed to join."³⁵¹ If abstinence was a measure of purity, then contrary to what Board members in Boston thought, the Japanese Congregational church was expecting more of it from their members than ABCFM did of its own.

Finally, an additional point of tension occurred in 1893 when alumni invited Captain Leroy Janes to give a series of lectures at Dōshisha. In 1874, Janes had converted forty of his students in a Kyūshū domain academy to Christianity.³⁵² Many of them came to Dōshisha and graduated in its first class in 1879. Almost two decades had past, and Janes' converts were now prominent in Japanese public life. Janes, too, was a different man: he had become a strong critic of what he saw as blind missionary conservatism. In three out of five planned lectures held at the Dōshisha Chapel, Janes harshly criticized the orthodox evangelicals, leading one of the

³⁵⁰ N.G. Clark to Jerome D. Davis, Boston, 17 March 1892, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 2.1, reel 65.

³⁵¹ M.L. Gordon to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, 11 February 1891, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 4. 1, reel 354.

³⁵² Domain is a common translation of the Japanese term *han*, which refers to a territorial and political unit in Tokugawa Japan (1603-1868). Although the number of domains and their size varied over time, there were about three hundred domains. Beginning with 1871, the domains were restructured into the prefectures. During the Tokugawa period, each domain had an academy, which served to train the sons of feudal lords and their retainers.

missionaries to declare: "THE BATTLE IS ON HERE!"³⁵³ American missionaries criticized Janes for his lay missionary efforts in the 1870s, his scandalous divorce, and his unfavorable attitudes toward the missionary community. For critics, these served as evidence that Dōshisha's Christian character and that of its alumni were crumbling.

In the summer of 1894, during the annual missionary meeting, debate about the crisis of faith at the college led to a proposal that all American missionaries should resign from the school and ABCFM money gradually be withdrawn.³⁵⁴ The proposal was not passed but several months later, as missionary criticism mounted in the pages of the Japanese Christian press, the missionaries asked ABCFM headquarters to send an investigation committee to look into the questions of control over the missionary property attached to the school and "development of religious radicalism."³⁵⁵

In October 1895, just as the Sino-Japanese war ended in a triumphal victory over China and Japanese national pride received a strong boost, the ABCFM delegation reached Japan. The issue of university property was resolved with relative ease, but the negotiations reached an impasse when ABCFM delegates asked the Dōshisha Board of Trustees to submit a definition of Christianity as they understood it. For the Americans, such a definition would be used to clear doubts ABCFM had about the Christian character of Dōshisha. For the Japanese trustees, it meant being asked for a definition at gun-point in a charged political atmosphere when the last thing they needed was to appear controlled by a foreign agency. Nonetheless, the trustees responded to the call for a definition by saying that as representatives of an institution in which there are different views on this matter among Christians, just as there are in the United States,

³⁵³ Jerome D. Davis to James L. Barton, Kyoto, 23 October 1893, ABCFM papers, A.B.C.16. 4. 1, reel 352.

³⁵⁴ "Minutes of the Twenty-Second Annual Meeting of the Japan Mission of the ABCFM, Kobe, July 5-12, 1894." ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 4.1, reel 347.

³⁵⁵ M.L. Gordon to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, 30 January 1895, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 4.1, reel 354.

"they must not ally themselves with any party."³⁵⁶ After traveling 1,500 miles by rail, 875 by water, and 300 by *jinriksha*, and spending 200 hours in formal conferences, giving 65 addresses and sermons, and attending many receptions in their honor, the delegation left Japan in December 1895 having made little progress in negotiations over whether Dōshisha was or was not a Christian institution and in reaching an understanding of what would define it as such.³⁵⁷

As the trustees negotiated definitions of Christianity, which seemed to be the burning issue for the ABCFM, Kozaki faced Japanese government pressure over the issue of military draft exemption. Against the background of systematization of public education and concerns over foreign influence and Japanese sovereignty, the government started tightening control over private educational institutions. Many of these schools, by virtue of being foreign-supported and missionary-controlled, were at the intersection of the drive to exercise sovereignty in all fields of education. The regulation for draft exemption became an effective tool for controlling missionary schools because it was only given to institutions fulfilling a certain set of standards. For a private educational institution, obtaining such a draft exemption was crucial for survival and growth, and not having draft exemption meant severely limiting the pool of potential students to those who were already exempt from the draft for some other reason, such as (and rules on this changed relatively frequently) being the only son or the sole caretaker of elderly parents. Kozaki's principal concern was the restructuring of Dōshisha in a manner that would ensure governmental recognition and draft exemption. In February 1896, he proposed merging the higher preparatory and lower collegiate classes and create a government-recognized high school.

³⁵⁶ Report of the Deputation to Japan, December 1895, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16.4.1, reel 334, p 14.

³⁵⁷ , 309-10.

³⁵⁷ Paul Boller "The American Board and the Doshisha: 1875-1900" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1947), 175.

Bringing Dōshisha into accord with the new and changing regulations of the Ministry of Education (*Mombusho*) required, first, the elimination of Bible study from the curriculum. In April 1896, Kozaki brought the issue to a faculty meeting and a vote was taken to strike the Bible from the curriculum of the new high school.³⁵⁸ At about the same time, the Board of Trustees made a decision to stop accepting ABCFM money and men at the close of 1896.³⁵⁹ In effect, Kozaki asked and probably hoped that missionaries would be willing to work with his broader suggestions for Dōshisha. Kozaki believed that the college had to realign with the *Mombusho* regulations if it hoped to fit into the changing and increasingly state-controlled landscape of Japanese education. If the missionaries "recognize fully that the Dōshisha is an independent Japanese institution," and if they thought "the work is worth" helping, "even tho[ugh] you may not fully agree in all parts, with the management of the school," Kozaki wrote "it is our desire that you...help us in the work."³⁶⁰

The reaction of the missionaries was to withdraw completely from the Dōshisha faculty in June 1896 rather than agree to work under the proposed conditions, but they did not leave Kyoto. "We realize that the separation is an accomplished fact," wrote Dwight Learned at the opening of the new academic year, "as we hear the old bell ringing as usual but we make no response to it."³⁶¹ During the summer and early fall, several groups -- including Japanese Congregational churches and Dōshisha alumni -- formed a number of "mediation committees" to work on reconciliation. There were no signs of progress. President Kozaki made several overtures to the missionaries, which ended in bitter disappointment for both sides. In the

³⁵⁸ Jerome.D. Davis to James L. Barton, Kyoto, 6 April 1896, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16.4.1, reel 352.

³⁵⁹ "Dōshisha riji kaigi roku 1891-1896" [Minutes of the Dōshisha Trustees Meetings, 1891-1896], in *Dōshisha danso* 8, (1988): 123.

³⁶⁰ Copy of President Kozaki's Reply to Inquiry by Missionaries, Kyoto May 8, 1896, typescript, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16. 4.3, reel 385.

³⁶¹ Dwight Learned to James .L. Barton, Kyoto, 26 September 1896, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 16.4.1, reel 344.

meantime, while the Bible was absent from the curriculum of the middle school, Christian campus life remained lively. Kozaki gave regular sermons in the Dōshisha chapel, encouraged Christian activities on a voluntary basis, held regular Sunday School, and supported student groups such as the Christian Endeavor Society.³⁶²

The rupture of ties to the ABCFM started a chain reaction that would negatively affect the school beyond the loss of a handful of missionary teachers. In the spring of 1896, Jonathan Harris, who had endowed the School of Science, withheld the interest on his endowment fund and drafted a supplementary statement/agreement, which among other things transferred the legal title to the fund from Dōshisha trustees to the ABCFM. Setting aside questions of the legality of changing the terms of the gift, Harris' demands put the institution into a serious predicament. If Dōshisha continued to accept endowment money for running the School of Science, it effectively had to disavow claims that it was an institution independent of foreign control. To get access to the Harris money through the ABCFM became even more difficult in light of the decision of the trustees to sever ties to Boston. As a result, the Harris School of Science was closed, and its head, Shimomura Kōtaro, left Dōshisha with a heavy heart.

A New Dōshisha Constitution and a New President

Despite all of Kozaki's efforts to obtain the draft exemption for Dōshisha students, the government refused the request. Predictably, an exodus of students of draft age ensued.³⁶³ In April 1897, at the meeting of the Board of Trustees, Kozaki was criticized for his failure to obtain the draft exemption, which transformed a difficult situation into a virtually impossible one. Kozaki resigned in protest and left Kyoto, leaving Dōshisha practically in ruins; the student body

³⁶² "Dōshisha riji kaigi roku 1891-1896" [Minutes of the Dōshisha Trustees Meetings, 1891-1896], in *Dōshisha danso* 8, (1988): 134,147.

³⁶³ In 1866, 303 students withdrew from the school, three times the number of withdrawals the year before.

fell from 800 students in 1890, when Kozaki stepped in as president, to fewer than 250 students when he left. Yokoi Tokio, another graduate of the famous first class of 1879, was appointed by the trustees as president and inherited the draft exemption issue as well as the crisis with the ABCFM. His strategy was to make an overture to the Boston headquarters and work energetically on obtaining the draft exemption. His efforts intensified the crisis with the ABCFM, leading Boston to consider legal action against the Dōshisha trustees.

Japan's Ministry of Education had made it clear that draft exemption would not be given unless the school was independent of foreign control (by virtue of having an endowment of ¥50,000, the equivalent of one million dollars in 2008 values) and did not make Christianity the basis of moral instruction (as was stated in Dōshisha's constitution at the time).³⁶⁴ In other words, to get the much-coveted draft exemption, Dōshisha had to raise money independent of foreign control and rewrite its constitution. One way the Dōshisha trustees met these demands was to funnel part of the Harris endowment into the new high school. The problem of the constitution was solved by making the old Dōshisha constitution not applicable to the new high school and having the new school run under rules other than those that applied to the rest of Dōshisha. Thus, within less than a year of coming to power, Yokoi successfully resolved these two issues and obtained the much-coveted draft exemption.

But Yokoi's and Dōshisha's problems were far from over, and in some ways were about to escalate to a new level. Although Yokoi was driven by practical, not theological, considerations when he set up the new high school and excluded Christianity from its curriculum, he met with a flurry of opposition from both the Japanese and the Americans. Japanese Congregationalist alumni rushed to the secular and religious press to condemn Yokoi and the

³⁶⁴ Lawrence H. Officer and Samuel H. Williamson, "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a Japanese Yen Amount, 1879 - 2008," MeasuringWorth, 2010. URL <http://www.measuringworth.com/japancompare/>

trustees for "this violent action."³⁶⁵ It seemed that a large part of the protest among the Japanese was inspired by the fact that it was "Niijima's Constitution" that had been repealed without due consideration for the will of the founding father. To this, Yokoi and others pointed to Niijima's own willingness to accept the exclusion of the Bible from the curriculum in order to make sure the school was permitted to open in 1875. At the time, the missionaries – Davis in particular – were appalled by the decision but later agreed that what Niijima did "was a wiser way."³⁶⁶ Yokoi argued that he was doing the same thing as Niijima did in 1875 when he agreed the Bible would not be taught on the school premises in exchange for the Kyoto government giving permission to open the school. In Boston, ABCFM officials argued that the change of the constitution constituted "a breach of trust" and suggested that "the only honorable thing to be done now by the trustees is to return the money which the institution had received from this Board and from Christians in America and elsewhere, all of which was given on the basis of the permanent unchangeable Christian character of the school."³⁶⁷

Yokoi's immediate response to Boston's request was to argue that the trustees were under no obligation to return the money since they had not "produced the slightest change in the religious conditions of the school."³⁶⁸ The implication was that the changes in religious life taking place on Dōshisha campus were a spontaneous evolution of faith, not its diminishment. His evidence rested on the fact that, "attendance [at] religious services have never been for many years as good as today."³⁶⁹ In Yokoi's view the basic conflict was over ownership of the school, its conception of Christianity, and the place of Christianity in it. The essence of the problem for

³⁶⁵ J. D. Davis to J.L. Barton, Kyoto 10 March 1898. ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15.4.1, reel 352.

³⁶⁶ Merle Davis, *Davis Soldier Missionary: A Biography of Rev. Jerome D. Davis, DD., Lieut-Colonel of Volunteers and for Thirty-nine Year a Missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign mission in Japan.* (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1916), 149.

³⁶⁷ J.L. Barton to Tokio Yokoi, Boston, 7 April 1899, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 3, reel 385.

³⁶⁸ Tokio Yokoi to James L. Barton, Kyoto, 5 July 1898, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 3, reel 385 (emphasis added).

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Yokoi was that Dōshisha was like a "love child" amidst a parental dispute, "born before its Japanese father and American mother could come to clear understanding of each other's position and obtain a lawful sanction of marriage. To which parent does the child belong?"³⁷⁰ Although ABCFM gave the lion's share of support for Dōshisha, Yokoi reminded Boston that, from the beginning, Japanese had also contributed significant amounts of money to Dōshisha.³⁷¹

Boston's next step was to consider legal action, and several New York lawyers were consulted, including Alexander Tison, who taught law at the Imperial University of Tokyo, and Nicolas McIvor, a former American diplomat in Japan.. Their conclusion was that in a U.S. court the ABCFM would have a clear case for the breach of trust and could secure the return of the money invested, but if the case was to be tried in a Japanese court the outcome was not so certain.³⁷² Hoping to elevate the issue to the level of international relations, Boston asked McIvor, based on his diplomatic credentials, to travel to Japan and negotiate with Japanese high officials and Dōshisha trustees. The chief objective was to restore the original constitution. If that failed, McIvor was authorized to bring a lawsuit against the trustees.

When McIvor landed in Japan in September 1898, he first called on Prime Minister Okuma Shigenobu. The Prime Minister "squirmed" at the mention of the matter reaching Japanese courts. He knew that after decades of strenuous diplomatic efforts at great cost to Japan, it would be perilous for the matter to reach a Japanese court. For Japan, it was a lose-lose situation. Japanese law did not guarantee a victory in a breach of trust case, and if the case were lost, political damage to the credibility of Japanese courts would be high. The American public would say "it is not the fault of the American Board, but of the Japanese courts which have no

³⁷⁰ Tokio Yokoi, "Doshisha: Its Past and Future," *The Far East* 3 (1898): 258.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*

³⁷² Nicolas W. McIvor to James L. Barton, Cedar Rapids, 4 April 1898, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 3, reel 385; James L. Barton to Dwight Learned, Boston, 20 April 1898, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 2. 1, reel 87.

conception of the nature of a trust or of justice in such a case."³⁷³ Even the speculations about the possible outcome of the case should it come to trial were doing damage. "Whenever I meet foreigners in business in Japan," one of the directors of the Kansai Trading Company complained, "they bring this Dōshisha matter up as proof that the Japanese are not to be trusted."³⁷⁴ There were even reports that one of the leading Wall Street men in the United States had built up distrust of the Japanese because of the Dōshisha conflict and was wary of investing there.³⁷⁵

McIvor, ABCFM, and the Dōshisha American missionaries also did not want to see the case go to court. As Davis put it, "'in military parlance [the situation] is that we have the enemy surrounded, every avenue of escape cut off, and that he must either surrender or be cut to pieces if he attempts to escape."³⁷⁶ The only way for the Japanese trustees to avoid going to court was to restore the original constitution, thus making Dōshisha high school not eligible for draft exemption, and, for all practical purposes, sentencing it to stagnation and decay. After many weeks of negotiation, summons, diplomatic blackmail, and threats, Yokoi and the trustees "surrendered" and the missionaries won the battle; president Yokoi and all the trustees declared they were ready to resign.

Liberal Theology and the Meiji State's Role in the Crisis at Dōshisha

What missionaries read as a disavowal and cooling of evangelical zeal was in fact part of a larger realignment in the face of a crisis that Japanese Christianity faced in the 1890s under the pressure of Meiji social and political dynamics. For many Japanese Christians, liberal theology, with its disavowal of self-confident evangelicalism, represented a way to find a foothold in an

³⁷³ Abstract of the Interview between Col. McIvor and Count Okuma, Prime Minister of Japan, September 26, 1898, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 3, reel 385.

³⁷⁴ Jerome D. Davis to J.L. Barton, Yokohama, 6 October 1898, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 352.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Jerome D. Davis to J.L. Barton, Yokohama, 20 December 1898, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 352.

increasingly homogenizing Meiji Japan. To the great distress of the missionaries in the second half of the 1880s, many of Dōshisha's early graduates, then in their thirties, had engaged with the new trends, which led them to re-examine the fundamentals of their faith. For missionaries who believed that there were such things as unchangeable and "fundamental truths of the Christian system," the influence of German theologians was devastating. It led to the breakdown of orthodox evangelical faith among some of the most prominent and hard-won converts; the convert superstars became "shaky," "reticent," and "doubting" of their faith.³⁷⁷

For those who supported it, liberal theology offered guidance for conceiving a Japanese Christian future outside the perimeter delineated by American missionaries. This guidance included, first, that liberal theology did not place primacy on the belief that Christianity was superior to other religious forms which, in Japan, opened a window for dialogue with other beliefs. Helen Ballhatchet, a historian of Japanese Christianity, demonstrated that, in the case of Kozaki, "by giving intellectual and theological support to the existence of positive links between Christianity and other religions, it [liberal theology] allowed a convert to demonstrate, both to himself and to the world outside, that admitting the superiority of a foreign faith did not involve a total switch in cultural loyalties."³⁷⁸ Second, liberal theology brought with it scriptural hermeneutics, which meant that the Bible was not treated as a collection of factual statements but instead was considered a record that documented authors' beliefs and feelings about God at the time of the writing. Reading the Bible thus required scientific study in order to fully understand the meaning of the text.³⁷⁹ When one of the early Dōshisha graduates called the Bible "an old

³⁷⁷Jerome D. Davis to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, 12 December 1890, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 352; for epithets see: Paul Boller, "The American Board and the Doshisha: 1875-1900" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1947), 147, 245.

³⁷⁸ Helen Ballhatchet, "Confucianism and Christianity," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1988): 366.

³⁷⁹ Gary J. Dorrien, *The Making of American Liberal Theology: Idealism, Realism, and Modernity: 1900-1950*. (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 1-5.

book," he spoke from a liberal theology register that caused consternation among missionaries who subscribed to the inerrancy of the Bible and the doctrine of scriptural sufficiency.³⁸⁰ When Kozaki remarked that in theology, "America was fifty years behind," because "only at Andover, Harvard, Yale, and Union [Theological Seminary in New York] was theology taught scientifically,"³⁸¹ he spoke from the register in which science was ever more important for all aspects of life, including faith.

This was the direction in which Japanese Christians wanted to take their faith. Many of them came to Christianity through intellectual curiosity about modern science and with a critical prism on the world around them. It seems that missionaries were content as long as the critical and questioning voices of Japanese Christians were introspective, turned towards Japanese feudal society and religious beliefs. But the moment the analysis turned to questioning and defining the meaning and values of Christianity, missionaries felt that the old spirit of *Dōshisha* was no more. Whether liberal theology, mainly coming from German sources, was in itself an inspiration or whether it was used to argue for independence or caused a drift of Japanese Christians away from American missionaries is a contested and sensitive issue.³⁸² In any case, the arrival of new theological ideas coincided with criticism of missionaries and debates about control over *Dōshisha*.

When confronted with missionaries' criticism about the state of faith at *Dōshisha*, President Kozaki, who had just returned from a fundraising trip that lasted two years and extended to the study of theology at Yale University, begged to differ. While he agreed that there

³⁸⁰ According to Davis, Ukita (one of the first *Dōshisha* graduates in the class of 1879) called the Bible "an old book whose authority is passing." Jerome D. Davis to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, 11 December 1893, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 352.

³⁸¹ Dwight Learned to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, 6 October 1894, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 359.

³⁸² For an overview of the development of Liberal Protestant Theology, see: Charles Germany, *Protestant Theologies in Modern Japan* (Tokyo: IISR Press, 1966), especially chapter 2; Akio Dohi, "The First Generation" in *A History of Japanese Theology*, ed. Yasuo Furuya (Cambridge: Wm.B. Erdmans Publishing, 1996), 18 -23.

was room for improvement, he argued -- from his fresh firsthand experience -- that Dōshisha was just as Christian and devout as Yale or Amherst.³⁸³ In a chapel talk, Kozaki pushed the comparison further to favor Dōshisha, saying that “the religious situation at Dōshisha compared favorably to that of Yale.” He recalled that in his eight months there, not a single student was baptized. He even reported that one Yale professor explained this phenomenon by saying they “were not trying to make Christians at Yale,” but “were teaching liberal arts, science, and the like.”³⁸⁴

This somewhat casual remark aimed at assuaging missionary anxiety was emblematic of one important aspect of the conflict: for Kozaki and other Japanese Christians, Dōshisha was or should strive to be the Amherst or Yale of Japan. But to missionaries, Dōshisha was only as good as the Andover of Japan, standing for Protestant orthodoxy and, in their imagination and understanding of what was going on at Andover at the time, resilient to winds of liberal theology blowing from Europe. But this conflict was far more than a theological debate.

Imperial Rescript on Education, Independence, and Loyalty

The theological shift among Japanese Christians, including those at Dōshisha, intersected with the political climate of Meiji Japan. The promulgation of the “Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890” was a sign of the increasing control of the Japanese state in the realm of education. The state wanted to formalize a public system of education and limit the field for private schools. The Rescript also opened a new era in debates over whether Japanese Christians could be loyal imperial subjects. Unlike the “1872 Fundamental Code of Education” (*Gakusei*), which established the national school system, the Imperial Rescript on Education was meant to

³⁸³ Dwight Learned to N.G. Clark, Kyoto, 6 October 1894, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 359.

³⁸⁴ Jerome Davis to James L. Barton, Kyoto, 7 February 1896, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 352.

function as a set of moral guidelines and civic instructions. It contained ethical precepts including elements of a new imperial ideology centered on the concept of the national polity (*kokutai*). Amalgam of various ideological positions on the role of the school in nation building, the document sought to prescribe civil morality but at the same time, it was grounded in one educational premise: that education should serve the state, at whose symbolic apex stood the emperor.

Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate the arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our imperial throne coeval with heaven and earth.³⁸⁵

In the 1890s, not only intersecting with but also influencing the creation of fault lines at Dōshisha, "ideologues laid layer upon interpretative layer on the text of the Rescript," and it was "gradually enshrined at the core of national education," where it remained until the end of World War II.³⁸⁶ One of the layers which particularly affected Japanese Christians was added by the prominent philosopher Inoue Tetsujiro. In his 1893 book *The Conflict of Education and Religion*, he gave the Rescript a twist that implied that Protestantism was irreconcilable with this civil morality. The irreconcilability lay in the fact that the emperor stood at the apex of the Rescript while Christ occupied the apex of the Christian worldview. If a Christian submitting to the will of his Lord, he could not at the same time be a loyal subject of the emperor. Christ or Emperor was not a discursive choice, but one some Japanese Christians had to make every day. For those who worked in public schools, each day started with a deep bow to the Emperor's portrait and a copy of the Imperial Rescript on Education. For Japanese Christians, the mandatory exercise was

³⁸⁵ Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 129-130.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 103.

either "merely an acknowledgment of loyalty to the Emperor (which was compatible with Christian belief) or a prayer which asserted the supremacy of the Emperor over God."³⁸⁷

The ideological debates on the loyalty of Japanese Christians to the Emperor coincided with treaty revision debates and translated into the issue of foreign control of Christian schools and played out in the legal realm. In 1893, the Japanese Imperial Diet passed a bill prescribing severe penalties (relevant mostly for jurisdictions outside of the treaty port) for any Japanese who held *de jure* property in his name that *de facto* belonged to foreign interests, mainly merchants and missionary societies. While this was not the first legal act to place such penalties on individuals, it indicated an increasing political will and power to prosecute such cases. The bill posed a problem for much of the ABCFM property around Kyoto, which *de jure* belonged to Dōshisha's Board of Trustees. After consultations with an American professor of law at the University of Tokyo, the Board decided to transfer all of its property in and around Kyoto to the Dōshisha trustees. Strictly speaking, the ABCFM gave the Japanese trustees of Dōshisha property that, in the letter of the Japanese law, was already theirs. But beyond the legalities, Boston considered that the property was being given as trust with an understanding that the trustees promised to accord missionaries the privilege of renting the buildings at low rates for thirty years and that the rent income would be used for running Dōshisha.

The political agenda of Meiji Japan -- striving for unequal treaty revisions and national strengthening - made the question of Japanese Christians' independence from missionary control a pertinent one. At the same time, internal Japanese Christian debates revolved around the future of Christianity in Japan. In the early Meiji period, Christianity seemed to be a radical intellectual option and a powerful social vessel. As the years passed, it became clear to many Japanese

³⁸⁷ Hamish A. Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The British Protestant Missionary Movement in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, 1865-1945* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1993), 60.

Christians that, despite missionary predictions, Japan would not become a Christian nation. The question thus was how to make Christianity Japanese and palatable to a non-Christian majority in Japan.

The Problem of Dōshisha as an Institutional Power Conflict

An often underestimated aspect of the Dōshisha conflict was the one over institutional politics and the degree of control American missionaries had over the institution. We may never be able to conclusively know who was in charge of running Dōshisha during Niijima's presidency -- he or the missionaries, or both. Yet it is clear that Kozaki's term as president coincided with a shift in Japanese foreign policy, national sovereignty, and international parity. If American missionaries were to stay in Japan, they had to reposition themselves in line with the state's demands. It is that repositioning, which meant relinquishing control over the running of Dōshisha, that missionaries were not ready to accept. Although the conflict played itself out on the question of liberal theology versus missionary orthodoxy, just as in the case of Beirut, the true cause of the conflict was that of institutional control over foreign mission institutions such as SPC and Dōshisha. This is further evident from the fact that once the American missionaries gained control over the institution in 1899, missionaries – most notably Jerome Davis – reorganized the Theology department to provide instruction that included the most recent liberal theology coming out of Germany. If liberal theology had been at the of conflict, it would have been as equally unacceptable in 1899 as it had been in 1895.

Surprisingly, in those four years, little had changed. The old constitution with clear references to Christianity was re-instituted, and missionaries gained control over the Board of Trustees by choosing both Japanese and American members to sit on the Board. But despite the

complaints about theater-going, sake-drinking, and non-Christians appointees on the faculty, no attempt was made to dismiss the non-Christian members of the faculty or to expel students or faculty who were known to consume alcohol or go to the theater occasionally. One Sunday afternoon, soon after his return to Dōshisha, Davis walked into the Chapel to find a group of theology students celebrating a victory in baseball over one of the Kyoto government schools and standing "on the platform singing a silly song which made them all laugh." Appalled at such a use of the Chapel but feeling unable to do anything about it, Davis "stood in the door with [his] hat in [his] hand" watching.³⁸⁸

More telling was that after all the complaints against liberal theology infecting Dōshisha, Davis declined the deanship of the School of Theology because he felt unable to teach liberal theology. Instead, he suggested that George Albrecht was a better man for the job. "I think Mr. Albrecht is, perhaps, the only man in our mission who would give complete satisfaction, to the Japanese friends, in the position of dean," Davis explained, because "as a German, he is able to give the students the most advanced continental theories. How much help is that to them, I do not know, but it satisfies them as I cannot."³⁸⁹

Finally, the Board of Trustees under the control of the missionaries had to approve a new constitution, which was virtually the same as the one they had earlier opposed. The move was dictated by a new directive of the Ministry of Education (*Kunrei 12*) that prohibited religious instruction (even outside regular hours) in a government or private school whose curricula purported to follow the ministry's standards. Not abiding by these standards not only meant losing the draft exemption but, even more importantly, precluded graduates of these high schools from sitting for entrance to the Imperial University. Thus, in a sense, the missionaries' victory

³⁸⁸ Jerome D. Davis to Nakaseko Rokuro, Kyoto, 11 June 1900, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 365.

³⁸⁹ Jerome D. Davis to James L. Barton, Kyoto, 11 April 1900, ABCFM papers, A.B.C. 15. 4. 1, reel 368.

was a Pyrrhic one. No sooner did they come to power than they had to make virtually the same kind of changes - to abandon its religious character in the Dōshisha constitution - for which they had criticized Kozaki and Yokoi in order to be recognized by the Meiji state. The Ministry of Education had upstaged the missionary victory and had the final say in a long conflict that stripped the school of its productive misunderstandings of the early years and turned it into one of several influential private colleges in Japan.

Conclusion

On the surface, the crises at SPC and Dōshisha had different causes and markedly different consequences -- SPC became more American in terms of language of instruction and faculty, while Dōshisha became more Japanese as the percentage of foreign teachers steadily declined after the crisis. In legal terms, Dōshisha and SPC reverted after the crises to their original institutional structure. SPC was chartered in the United States for convenience in administering the finances of the institution, but the legal formulations had little consequence in the daily running of the college. Similarly, Dōshisha was legally established as a private school by two Japanese and thus was technically a Japanese enterprise hiring foreign teachers as needed. This fact had no bearing on the everyday life of the institution, which was run by Dōshisha faculty and the Japan mission station. Yet, after the two crises subsided, Dōshisha emerged as an institution ruled by Japanese laws and regulations, while SPC became *de facto* and not just *de jure* an American institution over which the Ottoman authorities had little direct control. This, of course, does not mean that Ottoman state was absent and powerless to intervene in the Lewis affair, but that it was following a long tradition of not intervening in the internal matters of religious minorities, which since 1857 included the Protestants.

In both cases the institutional reshuffling was debated in the idiom of faith and theology. Although liberal theology in Kyoto and Darwinism in Beirut seem quite different, in profound ways the crises revolved around the same question of vision: which took priority at a missionary college -- evangelizing or education and who controls the enterprise? In Beirut, the evangelical aspect of the college won the day and retained a hold on the institution until the early twentieth century. In Kyoto, although a conservative vision of Christianity technically won the day, what ensued in the immediate aftermath was a change in the definition of Dōshisha's Christian character. Having won the battle by getting control over Dōshisha's Board of Trustees, the missionaries changed the college constitution in the way Japanese administrators had earlier urged and of which American missionaries had been severely critical. Although the outcomes in Beirut and Kyoto were different, the legacy of the crisis left an indelible mark in both places. Dōshisha had to struggle for financial survival and state recognition after the withdrawal of American funding, while the American University in Beirut had to struggle with its racist hiring and remuneration policies.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

A New Definition of Missionary Work

Missionaries, like the SPC and Dōshisha campuses, are still at work in the Middle East and Asia. North American and British missionary organizations continue to send emissaries to both Lebanon and Japan, and young men and women still feel called to missionary work. They no longer speak of glad tidings to the heathen but they still “plant churches where there aren't any.”³⁹⁰

There is perhaps no better articulation of the twentieth-century view of missionary work and the religious tolerance it purported than a 1920 *Atlantic Monthly* article entitled “The Modern Missionary,” written by Howard Bliss, the second president of SPC and the son of the first. The article, which Bliss wrote on his deathbed, recounted a campus episode in order to illustrate “the spirit in which...a modern missionary in all parts of the world today is working out his task.”³⁹¹ The event was the celebration of Prophet Muhammad’s birthday (*ʿid al-mawlid al-nabawi*): “a great throng of reverent students – Sunnis and Shiites; white-turbaned sheikhs scattered through the audience,” were gathered; there was chanting of the Qur’an and an address by a representative of the college. The episode illustrated how a modern Protestant missionary college respected its students’ religious opinions and took every opportunity to “strengthen the forces of righteousness in the world.”³⁹²

The idea that there was something in the Qur’an that could be a source of righteousness and the recognition that it had something in common with the Scriptures was, indeed, new to the

³⁹⁰ “Our Mission Interest” <http://www.simon-cozens.org/content/our-mission-interests> [the blog of Simon and Henrieta Cozens, missionaries in Japan].

³⁹¹ The article was originally published in the May 1920 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* and was reprinted as an ABCFM pamphlet several months after Howard Bliss’s death in May 1920. All quotes are from the reprint. See: “Syrian Mission – Station Reports,” *Missionary Herald* 54 (May 1858): 6.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, 4.

missionary discourse. At the same time, this was a change within continuity. Although in Howard Bliss's account, the joyous event seemed a regular occurrence on campus, it was in fact an exception during his presidency (1902-1920). The rules still required all boarding students to attend morning Chapel on weekdays and to attend Sunday service. A few concessions, such as the celebration he describes, were due less to Howard Bliss's liberal theological views than to years of student protest against the mandatory Chapel attendance. In fact, his presidency of SPC witnessed the first joint strike of Muslim and Jewish students against these regulations for three months in early 1909. The permission to celebrate the Prophet Muhammad's birthday on campus was among several concessions made by the administration at that time in order to keep mandatory Chapel attendance in place. The students could celebrate *`id al-mawlid al-nabawi* on campus, but they still had to go to Chapel daily and were not released from class for *Shabbat* or *salat al-jum`a* (Friday prayer). Thus, although this new missionary ethos claimed to respect the theological and religious views of its students, allowing them to consistently practice their faith was a different matter.

Yet the novelty is unmistakable. While Howard's father, Daniel Bliss, had often quoted from the Gospel of Paul, Howard was just as comfortable quoting Caliph 'Umar and the Prophet Muhammad. The adoption of a "Christian ideal" or "Christian spirit" replaced conversion and prophecies of faith in the Savior as a goal. The assumption that a liberal arts college was not only a proper place but might be the eminent place for missionary labor was relatively new, too. The reprinting and circulating of the *Atlantic Monthly* article in the form of an ABCFM pamphlet erased decades of Boston's vehement opposition to a definition of teaching that went beyond the Bible and a definition of knowledge that went above inculcating the knowledge of the Gospel.

Most of the missionaries ABCFM dispatched over the years had a vague idea of where they were going and a clear set of goals. They were in heathen lands steeped in superstition and darkness. Their task was to be bearers of glad tidings and messengers of salvation through Jesus Christ. They were to prepare for the second coming of Christ by preaching the Gospel and converting the heathens. What they encountered in the Ottoman Empire and Japan were societies in the midst of transitions, debating how to reinvent themselves in modern times, and eagerly seeking knowledge, information, and skills. The knowledge Ottoman Syrians and Meiji Japanese sought was not necessarily the knowledge missionaries came to offer and they were forced to change their strategy. In order to establish contacts and gain a foothold, the missionaries had to respond to the issues raised by reformers. They did so by, among other things, opening one-room schools in their homes, where "the Bible was taught to some extent" and where missionaries "were obliged to bait the hook with arithmetic" first.³⁹³ As local demand for the "bait" grew, missionaries found themselves putting more and more of their effort into teaching, not only the Bible, but also mathematics, geography, and English.

Although Boston later claimed credit for Christian missionary colleges such as SPC and Dōshisha, these colleges were the result of a change in missionary practice that was neither dictated from nor devised in Boston. There were two often unacknowledged elements that contributed to this change. The first was the American missionary encounter with local reform drives, specifically the Arab Renaissance and the Meiji Restoration. The idea of a missionary college was not new but was first successfully implemented in Beirut. The college there was a product of the cultural efflorescence of the city fueled by the intellectual climate of Beirut (the Arab Renaissance), by local politics (the 1860 crisis), and by the competition not only from other

³⁹³ "Syrian Mission – Station Reports," *Missionary Herald* 54 (May 1858):142

missionary societies but also from local secular projects, such as Butros al-Bustani's *National Academy*. In a way, American missionaries came to the idea of establishing the college in Beirut out of a desperate attempt to keep pace with what was happening around them, a move born of the fear that if they did not act, they would become irrelevant. And they were right. What assured American missionaries a place in modern Lebanese history was not their theological polemics against the corrupt Christianity of the Maronite Patriarch or the handful of converts they won but the schools and colleges they established in the country. They did this mostly outside of Boston's mantle or against its advice.

The second important factor that changed evangelical practice was the experience of working at the missionary college itself. Decades of teaching, textbook writing, and office hours transformed preachers like Van Dyck and Learned into teachers of medicine and economics. It is no mere coincidence that the definition of "the modern missionary" came from Howard Bliss after two decades of his running SPC and four decades of his father's experience in the same. Although this transformation did not mean abandoning their evangelical purpose, it did involve transforming its definition. By the turn of the century, both in Kyoto and in Beirut, evangelical practice on missionary campuses no longer hinged its bets on conversion of their charges to Protestantism. Missionary practices on college campuses brought with it a new sense of what conversion involved. It was no longer akin to a North American revival, but rather the result of a long process of experiencing Christian life, by which was meant rigorous moral training and character formation in addition to scientific and physical education. From the turn of the twentieth century, missionaries of Howard Bliss' generation seemed satisfied when their students showed honesty, hard work, and the spirit of giving to the less fortunate, which the missionaries assumed to be manifestations of Christian spirit, as if these were concepts and practices

previously unknown to their Arab and Japanese students. The point is not only that that the change in practice of missionary work came from running missionary colleges but that it was an American change that happened outside of the geographical borders of the United State and, importantly, in dialogue with Arab and Japanese reform movements. In short, American missionaries became modern in places like Beirut and Kyoto in an attempt to catch up with the demands of the wider society, which produced reformers such as Nijjima Jō and Butros al-Bustani.

National Histories of Transnational Nature

We know that national histories have transnational components. The Beirut-Kyoto connection is interesting in this regard. The foundation of the SPC directly influenced the establishment of Dōshisha. What pushed missionaries in Beirut in the direction of establishing largely secular institutions of higher learning was in part the local demand and competition. Their successful founding of the SPC, despite Boston's objections and eventually with its support, made the idea of a Christian college in the mission field a global possibility in the 1860s. In 1874, Nijjima Jō, the founder of Dōshisha, was the first of many who benefited from the change in the horizon of possibilities. The reform agendas of Butros al-Bustani and Nijjiam Jō were not only parallel but also connected. Bustani and Nijjima shared both Protestant faith and also a firm belief in the power of education to reform a nation. In a way, Bustani's *National Academy* affected and enabled Nijjima's Dōshisha. The point is that modernity embodied in one of its emblematic platforms – higher education – was not something that moved fully formed from West to East, nor did it come solely from a dialogue between Boston and Beirut or Boston and

Kyoto. Rather, it was shaped in a conversation in which Boston was one among several protagonists.

Science and Politics

In addition to education, science played an important, if underestimated, role in the missionary enterprise. For the missionaries, the teaching of science became a way of proselytizing indirectly, a means of conversion to the scientific method, rational thought, and Protestant values. For their part, Arab and Japanese students were attracted to Christian colleges not necessarily because of their religious components but because of their emphasis on science. Beyond its practical value, the epistemological premise of modern science offered a possibility of overcoming what seemed like a paralyzing distinction between Western and Eastern knowledge. Students eagerly embraced “modern education” based on science and rationality because they thought it best prepared them for important roles in developing a strong and sovereign nation. In many cases, the Christian base of the educational experience proved incidental in the long run, as evidenced by the limited number of formal conversions and limited membership in Protestant churches.

Although missionary colleges were not the only venues offering scientific education, they were intellectually attractive. The students in the Kyoto and Beirut colleges did not come from the highest socio-economic strata, and there was a novel kind of diversity among them. In Beirut, they were from different Christian sects and belonged either to the urban-based landowner class or to the ranks of rural notables. After acquiring a new type of education, their sons, and later their daughters, formed a nucleus of new urban intellectuals and entrepreneurs. In Kyoto, many students came from the ranks of the first generation of disestablished samurai who were in their

teens when the hereditary stipends were abolished. They saw education as a way of reinventing themselves and securing a foothold in Meiji Japan – a society that was undergoing tectonic social and economic change. Both in Beirut and in Kyoto, Protestant colleges provided a suitable educational option for aspiring youth striving to engage in the political life of the day.

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