

# The Rutgers Network in Early Meiji Japan

Fernanda Perrone

In the mid-nineteenth century, Rutgers College in New Brunswick, New Jersey, was a small private all-male institution with less than two hundred students. Founded in 1766, its original purpose was to train ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church. Only in 1855 did the college and the New Brunswick Theological Seminary become separate, although they remained neighboring and closely cooperating institutions. And only in 1864 with federal funding through the Morrill Act, did Rutgers establish a scientific school under the leadership of pioneering state geologist George H. Cook. It was to this rather obscure college, however, that some of the first *ryugakusei*—Japanese overseas students—came to study during the Bakumatsu period. And it was from Rutgers that some of the first *oyatoi gaikokujin*—foreign teachers—made their way to Japan to work under the new Meiji government.

Why Rutgers? The college's longstanding affiliation with the Dutch Reformed Church meant that the early Dutch missionaries in Japan, particularly Guido Verbeck, were familiar with Rutgers. Born in Zeist in the Netherlands in 1830, Verbeck was trained in Utrecht as an engineer before emigrating to the United States in 1852. He worked briefly as an engineer in the United States before entering Auburn Seminary in western New York. Graduating in 1859, he was commissioned in that year as one of pioneer Reformed Church missionaries bound for Japan.<sup>1</sup> Many of the early *ryugakusei* initially studied with Verbeck in Nagasaki; when they sought further educational opportunities abroad he referred them to John M. Ferris, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in New York, who in turn referred them to Rutgers. Similarly, when Verbeck was asked to recommend Western teachers to come to Japan, he naturally called

on Rutgers graduates.

Verbeck and Ferris, although not Rutgers men themselves, were key actors in building the Rutgers-Japan relationship, an early example of a transnational network. In his 2014 presidential address to the American Historical Association, Kenneth Pomeranz stressed the importance of “research and occasionally teaching that focuses on diasporic groups, transnational professional or intellectual networks, and other spatially dispersed groups that might nonetheless share some sense of identity,” in a new global understanding of history.<sup>2</sup> William Elliot Griffis, who taught in Japan from 1870 to 1874 and became a documentarian of the *yatoi*, counts twelve Rutgers graduates who worked in Japan before 1886.<sup>3</sup> Although not a large number, it is significant considering the small size of the college.<sup>4</sup> The network extended to graduates of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary like James L. Amerman, Japanese students who attended Rutgers, fellow missionaries—both male and female—missionary wives, friends, and supporters.

This network was first rediscovered in the 1980s. Scholarship from this period, written in the context of the “Japanese economic miracle” of those years, focused on the contribution of the *oyatoi* to Japanese modernization and economic development.<sup>5</sup> More recent scholarship has looked more closely at foreign workers, disaggregating the experiences of missionaries and government employees—many of whom, however, approached Japan from a Christian perspective—and has taken into consideration change over time.<sup>6</sup> An explosion of scholarship on missionaries has moved far beyond the early “heroic” approach to view their experiences through the lenses of race, class, and gender, as well as a new attention to the careers of women missionaries.<sup>7</sup> This scholarship has also stressed the reciprocal nature of the relationship between foreign workers and Japanese citizens, each of whom was influenced by each other’s culture and values.<sup>8</sup> In this article, I will focus on the experience of

several Rutgers graduates in Japan and their contributions to Japan and to Japanese-American relations. I propose that their greatest contribution lay in the areas of education and the development of Christianity in Japan, and in facilitating the understanding of Japanese culture and society in the West.

The earliest Rutgers graduate to come to Japan was Robert H. Pruyn, Class of 1832. From Albany, New York, Pruyn was a lawyer and politician who was appointed Minister to Japan by President Abraham Lincoln in 1861. Pruyn successfully negotiated with the Tokugawa regime following the Shimonoseki bombardment, and developed an agreement regarding the repatriation of shipwrecked Japanese sailors. He returned to New York in 1865; however, his son, Robert C. Pruyn, who lived in Japan as a teenager, would later become a classmate of some of the early Japanese students and future *yatoi* at Rutgers. Another early Rutgers graduate, “the ever genial Bob Brown” — Robert Morrison Brown of the Class of 1865—arrived in Japan in 1866. He went into commerce and was for some time consul in Japan for Hawaii.<sup>9</sup> This article will focus on six Rutgers alumni: James H. Ballagh, Henry Stout, William Elliot Griffis, Edward Warren Clark, Martin N. Wyckoff, and Eugene Booth. I will also discuss the contributions of Rutgers professor David Murray. Not himself a Rutgers graduate, he was a professor of mathematics who served as an advisor to the *Monbushō*, the Japanese Ministry of Education, from 1873 to 1879. As the teacher of a number of the Rutgers *ryugakusei* and *yatoi*, Murray became a key figure in the Rutgers-Japan network.

## The Ballagh Brothers

James Hamilton Ballagh, Rutgers Class of 1857 arrived in Japan in 1861 as a missionary of the Reformed Church. Ballagh was born in rural Delaware County, New York in 1832, the son of immigrants from the North of Ireland. His parents were strict Presbyterians — Ballagh signed

a temperance pledge at the age of six, and in fact never touched alcohol, tobacco, nor entered a theater in his life, either in the United States or in Japan. At an early age, Ballagh went to live with an uncle in Brooklyn, where he was apprenticed to a pharmacist. After reading a tract entitled *The Harvest Perishing for Want of Reapers*, he made up his mind to be a missionary. This path required education, so Ballagh enrolled in a preparatory school in New Jersey, enabling him to enter Rutgers College. After graduation, Ballagh attended the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, which had just erected an impressive new building. While he was at the seminary, the earliest Reformed Church missionaries—Guido Verbeck, Samuel Robbins Brown and Duane B. Simmons—left for Japan, where Christianity was still illegal. Simmons soon left Japan, and in 1861, Ballagh got the opportunity to replace him. A few months before leaving, Ballagh met Margaret Tate Kinnear from Virginia. They were married on May 15, 1861, as the American Civil War raged around them, and left for Japan two weeks later.<sup>10</sup>

Leaving from New York, the Ballaghs sailed to Japan via the Cape of Good Hope. They stopped in Java, Amoy (Xiamen), and Shanghai, finally reaching Kanagawa in November 1861. They settled into the missionaries' compound, an old temple shared with Samuel Brown and his wife, Presbyterian medical missionary James Hepburn, and Baptist Jonathan Goble. Margaret wrote home, "the people are by no means savage but kind and courteous, intelligent and progressive."<sup>11</sup>

Despite the prohibition against Christianity, Ballagh and the other missionaries tried discreetly to promote their religion. In 1864, Japanese officials at the custom house in Yokohama approached Hepburn with a request that he establish a school for the benefit of interpreters and others. Ballagh taught English to a class of small boys at the school, which became known as the Yokohama Academy.<sup>12</sup> Ballagh also conducted Bible study classes in the evening. However, he preferred evangelizing to teaching. In 1865, he performed the first Protestant baptism on Japanese soil, that of his

language teacher, Yano Mototaka, who unfortunately died a month later. After the Meiji Restoration, when the prohibition against Christianity, at least in Yokohama, was less strictly enforced, Ballagh conducted religion classes and baptized converts more openly.<sup>13</sup> Apparently, although he spoke Japanese fluently, his accent was almost incomprehensible to his students, who tried to follow along in Chinese Bibles, since the scriptures were not yet translated into Japanese. In 1872, he was instrumental in founding the first Protestant church in Japan, the Kaigan Church (also known as the Church of Christ in Japan) a few blocks from Yokohama Bay and served as its first pastor. In the same year, he was the founder and first pastor of the English-speaking Yokohama Union Church. Ballagh only stayed as pastor until 1878, preferring to go on evangelizing trips into the Japanese interior.<sup>14</sup> He would remain a missionary in Japan until shortly before his death in 1920.

Working closely with Samuel Robbins Brown and other missionaries, James Ballagh made an important contribution to the development of Christianity in Japan. As well as a “church planter,” he was a personal spiritual guide to hundreds of individuals, and served as the catalyst for the development of the Japanese Christian Church.<sup>15</sup> He was an advocate of creating cross-denominational Protestant churches such as the Yokohama Union Church, as well as passing on church leadership to native Christians.<sup>16</sup> Ballagh also made a contribution to education in Japan. In addition to teaching at Yokohama Academy, Ballagh taught at his younger brother John Craig Ballagh’s mission school, originally known as the Hepburn School under James Hepburn and his wife Clara, and later called the Ballagh School. Both brothers taught at the Takashima Gakkō—a Japanese private school in Yokohama—where one of their students was Okakura Kakuzō or Tenshin, the future expert on Japanese art and aesthetics and author of *The Book of Tea*.<sup>17</sup> James Ballagh also helped establish a girls’ school, the American Mission Home or Kyōritsu Jogakkō. On furlough in

Albany in 1869, he met Mrs. Mary Putnam Pruyn, the president of a local branch of the Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands and a cousin of Rutgers alumnus Robert Pruyn. In his conversations with Mary Pruyn, Ballagh stressed the problem of Eurasian children in Yokohama, who were often orphaned and left to fend for themselves, as well the general need for women's education in Japan. He assisted Pruyn, along with two other pioneering women from the Woman's Union Missionary Society of America for Heathen Lands—Miss Julia Neilson Crosby and Mrs. Louise Henrietta Pierson—to come to Yokohama to set up a school for these children. This school still exists as the Yokohamakyōritsu Gakuen or Doremus School.<sup>18</sup>

James Ballagh's younger brother John Craig Ballagh (1842-1920), although not a Rutgers graduate, also had a long career as a missionary in Japan and became an important part of the *yatoi* network. Like his brother, John Ballagh was not particularly well-educated, attending an academy in Cherry Valley, New York and leaving after his junior year to teach in the American West. In 1872, he went to Japan to join his brother as a missionary of the Reformed Church. After a posting in Niigata, he transferred in the field to the Presbyterian Mission Board in 1875.<sup>19</sup> In that year, Hepburn turned over his school in Yokohama to Ballagh. In Yokohama, Ballagh met a widow, Mrs. Lydia Benton, who was teaching at Mrs. Pruyn's school, and they married.

After their marriage, Lydia Ballagh taught alongside her husband at the Ballagh School. As he reported to the Presbyterian Board, "my wife teaches as long daily as I do and it is too much for her in addition to her other duties both household and direct Christian work."<sup>20</sup> Ballagh's reports to the Presbyterian Board give some idea of the conditions in Yokohama at that time. In 1878, 114 pupils were enrolled in the school, but only about 75 were in attendance at any one time. They were often forced to leave because of the shortage of rooms for lodging (many of the students were from

Tokyo), lack of money, illness or death.<sup>21</sup> Ballagh was struck by the poverty around him: Lydia Ballagh founded a “ragged school” for children working in a neighboring tea-firing establishment. The site of the Ballagh School was also unhealthy: malaria was endemic, and in 1879 the school closed and reopened because of illness.<sup>22</sup> Lydia Benton herself contracted malaria, which probably led to her early death in 1884.

Unlike his brother James, John Ballagh was a lay missionary whose greatest commitment was to education. In 1880, despairing of the situation in Yokohama, Ballagh moved the Presbyterian mission school to the Tsukiji area of Tokyo, adding college-level course work and changing its name to the Tsukiji Dai-Gakkō. This school later merged with a preparatory seminary in the Yamate area of Yokohama known as the Sen-shi Gakkō (organized by another Rutgers alumnus, Martin Wyckoff), forming the United Japanese-English Union School. This merged institution would in turn become one of the components of Meiji Gakuin University, established in 1886.<sup>23</sup> John Ballagh would spend the rest of his career at Meiji Gakuin where he is considered one of the founders.<sup>24</sup>

## Henry Stout

In addition to Yokohama, Nagasaki remained a center of Reformed Church missionary activity throughout the 1860s. In 1868, when Guido Verbeck was invited to Tokyo to help establish a Western-style college, the Daigaku Nankō, he was replaced in Nagasaki by another Rutgers graduate, Henry Stout. Born on a New Jersey farm in 1838, Stout graduated from Rutgers College in 1865 and from the New Brunswick Theological Seminary in 1868. Like Ballagh, he felt called to the mission field. In 1868 he married Elizabeth Provost and the young couple arrived in Nagasaki the following year.<sup>25</sup> Verbeck left almost immediately upon the Stouts’ arrival in March: as Henry Stout wrote, “we are pleased with the appearance of Japan, our health

is good and everything, so far as we can see, is favorabl[y]—except for Bro. Verbeck's leaving.”<sup>26</sup> Stout soon saw another friend from New Brunswick, Yokoi Daihei (also known by the alias Numagawa Saburo) one of the two brothers who in 1866 had been the first Japanese students to study in New Brunswick.<sup>27</sup> Returning early to his home in Kumamoto because of illness, Yokoi Daihei, when he visited Stout, was in Nagasaki for treatment.<sup>28</sup> In Kumamoto, Yokoi Daihei was a founder of Leroy Janes' school, one of the precursors of Kumamoto University.

During their first year in Japan, Henry and Elizabeth Stout taught in the mission school, studied Japanese with a tutor, and read the Bible with several young men who were boarding with them. In 1870, they witnessed the persecution of Japanese Roman Catholics from the Urakami Valley, who were driven from their homes into Nagasaki before being deported. In this charged atmosphere, Henry Stout became very nervous when one of the teachers in the school seemed drawn to Christianity. In a letter headed not for the papers—not now or at any time, he wrote, “I think the man is sincere but question if it is a deception....is it the right or the best thing to do?”<sup>29</sup> Although many of their private pupils left during this period, the Stouts remained, and their first child was born in May. When the political situation stabilized, they resumed teaching—Henry taught the boys and Elizabeth the girls—in both mission and government schools.<sup>30</sup>

The Stouts would spend more than thirty years as missionaries in Japan. After Elizabeth Stout's death in 1902, Henry remained in Nagasaki until 1906. He died in 1912. Like Ballagh, Henry Stout made a contribution to the development of Christianity in Japan, training Japanese pastors and translating theological works into Japanese. Like Verbeck, he referred some of his students to Rutgers: Hattori Ichizo, Rutgers Class of 1875, who later had a distinguished career in the Ministry of Education and as a prefectural governor, was Stout's student in Nagasaki. Henry Stout and his wife also contributed to education in Japan, founding two schools, the William

Steele Academy and the Jonathan Sturgis Seminary. Sturgis Seminary later moved to Shimonoseki where it still exists under the name Baiko Gakuin University.

## **William Elliot Griffis and Edward Warren Clark**

Rutgers College friends William Elliot Griffis and Edward Warren Clark had strikingly similar careers in Japan during the early 1870s. Both were employed as teachers first in the Japanese provinces and later in Tokyo. Both were laymen who approached Japan from a strong Christian perspective. William Elliot Griffis (1843-1928) was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1843. His father, John Limeburner Griffis, who owned a coal yard, had in his youth served in the merchant marine, traveling to Europe, Africa, and Asia. Although initially prosperous, John Griffis' coal business suffered badly after the financial panic of 1857. Thus, despite graduating from Philadelphia's prestigious Central High School at the age of sixteen, William Griffis was forced to apprentice for several years to a jewelry designer. After a three-month term of service in the U.S. Civil War, Griffis determined to become a minister. He was awarded a church scholarship to attend Rutgers College in 1865.<sup>31</sup> At Rutgers, Griffis majored in liberal arts, although he took many of the new science courses, and became a campus leader.

One of his closest friends at Rutgers was classmate Edward Warren Clark (1849-1907), the son of a Reformed Church minister from Albany, New York. Growing up in Albany, Clark knew missionary Mary Pruyn, who attended his father's church. At Rutgers, Clark majored in chemistry and biology.<sup>32</sup> While at Rutgers, both men became acquainted with some of the first Japanese students to attend an American college, including the brilliant Yagi Yasohachi, better known under his assumed name of Kusakabe Taro. Kusakabe, a young samurai from Echizen-han or Fukui, had studied with

Verbeck in Nagasaki and arrived in New Brunswick in 1867 through the Verbeck-Ferris-Rutgers network. Tragically, Kusakabe died a few weeks before graduation in 1870 and is buried in New Brunswick.

Another close friend was Hatakeyama Yoshinari (1844-1876) from Satsuma (today Kagoshima Prefecture). Hatakeyama took a different path to Rutgers. In 1865, under the assumed name Soogiwoora Kozo, Hatakeyama, along with future diplomat and statesman Mori Arinori (1847-1889) and several others— including Matsumura Junzo and Yoshida Kiyonari, who later went to Rutgers— were sent to England to study politics and economics. In London, the students came under the influence of Lawrence Oliphant, a Member of Parliament and adventurer. When their funds ran out after the Meiji Restoration, they left England and through Oliphant ended up in Thomas Harris' socialist utopian community in Brocton, New York, where Hatakeyama became a Christian. After managing to escape from this austere and cult-like religious community, Hatakeyama arrived at Rutgers in 1868.<sup>33</sup> A popular student, Hatakeyama was disappointed to be recalled to Japan in 1871 to serve as a government interpreter. Hatakeyama Yoshinari would prove to be a key friend and ally for the early Rutgers *yatoi* in Japan.

After graduation from Rutgers, Griffis enrolled in the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, while teaching part-time at the Rutgers Grammar School to earn extra money. In September 1870, the head of the Grammar School wrote to Griffis that Rutgers President William Campbell had just shown him a letter asking for “a young man, single and not a minister, to go to Japan to teach the natural sciences and organize educational work in general.”<sup>34</sup> He was offered a generous salary of \$2400 (later raised to \$3600), a house, and a horse. In fact, this offer came from Matsudaira Mochiaki, the *daimyo* of Fukui, Kusakabe's home province. Mochiaki was the adopted son of Matsudaira Shungaku, a progressive and pro-Western leader who was advised by Hashimoto Sanai and the Yokoi

brothers' uncle, Yokoi Shōnan. Under their influence, Fukui's domain school, the Meishinkan, had recently established a Department of Western Studies. The generous financial terms were attractive to Griffis, who needed to help support his family in Philadelphia, as well as pay back the loans he had received to attend college.

As he prepared for Japan, Griffis took advantage of the Rutgers network, writing to James Ballagh for advice. Ballagh replied "You need have no hesitancy from fears of personal safety in Japan, especially when in Gov't employ. It is vastly more the interests of the Japanese Gov't to preserve your life than lose it not only in view of your services to them but in view of the heavy indemnity they would have to pay in case it was lost."<sup>35</sup>

Two months later, Griffis left Philadelphia by train for the long journey to Japan. Unlike Ballagh, he was able to travel by transcontinental railroad and steamer to Yokohama. Arriving in late December, Griffis spent several weeks in Tokyo, and preached at James Ballagh's church in Yokohama, before setting out for the provinces. In Fukui, Griffis was surprised to find the Meishinkan a thriving school with fifty instructors and eight hundred students. Working with an interpreter, Griffis set up his large science classes using more advanced students as teaching assistants.<sup>36</sup> He supervised the construction of a Western-style chemistry laboratory, building apparatus with the help of local craftsmen and by ordering equipment from Yokohama and from the U.S. Several of Griffis' pupils came to live with him, where he gave them additional instruction in American history and Bible study, despite the fact that Christianity was still technically illegal in Japan. One method that Griffis used in teaching was to ask his students to write essays in English about Japanese history, customs, and geography, which he later incorporated into his books about Japan. Before leaving for the United States, Griffis had arranged to be a correspondent for several newspapers and magazines, including the Reformed Church's *Christian Intelligencer*.<sup>37</sup> Only a few days after his arrival, he asked in a letter

published in the *Intelligencer* “How could a nineteenth century New Yorker live in the twelfth century?”<sup>38</sup> Despite his busy schedule and fascination with life in Fukui, however, Griffis often felt lonely and isolated.

Looking for company, Griffis tried to bring his friend Edward Clark to Japan. At the same time, Clark was trying to set up an offer of employment for himself through Verbeck. In October 1871, tired of waiting, he set out on his own initiative. While Clark was *en route*, Griffis made an arrangement with admiral and former shogun retainer Katsu Kaishū, whose son Koroku had studied in New Brunswick, for Clark to teach in Shizuoka.<sup>39</sup> Upon Clark’s unexpected arrival in Tokyo, Verbeck attempted to smooth over this violation of protocol with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, writing to Griffis: “Mr. Clark is here; your arrangements about his going to Shizuoka, or rather their precise nature and conditions, are not very clear and tangible to me, nor to anyone else I know, Mr. Clark not excepted.”<sup>40</sup> Once Clark received his contract, a further difficulty arose when he refused to sign a document prohibiting him from teaching Christianity, a proviso that Griffis and others had never contested. Possibly through the intervention of Meiji statesman Iwakura Tomomi, whose sons had also been Clark’s friends in New Brunswick, he was not required to sign the document.<sup>41</sup>

In Shizuoka, Clark taught at the Denshujō, a school founded shortly after the Meiji Restoration for the young sons of Tokugawa samurai who had followed the former shogun into exile. Katsu Kaishū was a founder of the school, which by 1871 was a leading center of Western studies. When Clark arrived, he found himself the only foreign teacher in a school with 1,000 students and fifty Japanese assistants. Like Griffis, Clark had arranged to be a correspondent for several magazines in the U.S. while in Japan. He later recycled this material in his book for young people, *Life and Adventures in Japan* (1878).

Neither Clark nor Griffis would stay long in the Japanese provinces. After less than a year, Griffis moved to Tokyo, where he

ultimately found employment teaching physics, chemistry, and law at the Daigaku Nankō (later the Kaisei Gakkō), one of the predecessors of Tokyo University. With the Denshujō rapidly declining as education was being centralized in Tokyo, Clark soon followed him and the two friends shared a house in Tsukiji. Griffis was joined by his older sister Maggie, who kept house for the two young men, tutored students, and eventually gained an appointment at the first government school for girls. Griffis and his sister left Japan in 1874—Griffis was in a dispute with the Kaisei Gakkō about his contract. Maggie, on the other hand, was offered the opportunity to set up western-style teacher training at the Kaisei Gakkō, but as a dutiful sister, chose to accompany her brother back to the United States.<sup>42</sup> Clark left Japan the following year.

Both Griffis and Clark attended the Union Theological Seminary in New York and became ordained ministers, Clark in the Episcopal Church and Griffis in the Reformed Church. While both men made a contribution to education in provincial Japan, their careers in Tokyo were less successful. Both, however, became known as writers and lecturers about Japan. Griffis used the information he had been collecting for four years to produce the bestselling *The Mikado's Empire* (first published in 1876), which appeared in twelve editions and led Griffis to be described as “the most important interpreter of Japan to the West before World War I.” Griffis would spend the next fifty years writing, lecturing, and collecting material about Japan, writing more than twenty books, hundreds of magazine articles, newspaper editorials, and reference book contributions. Clark, although less prolific—as well as *Life and Adventures*, he published a short biography of Katsu Kaishū, whom he called *Katz Awa* in 1905—became known for his striking stereo-opticon or slide lectures about Japan and other subjects. Unlike Griffis, he took many of the photographs himself. In subsequent years, Clark also led tours of Japan.

## Martin N. Wyckoff

William Elliot Griffis' place in Fukui was taken by a younger Rutgers friend and classmate, Martin N. Wyckoff. Martin Wyckoff was born in Middlebush, New Jersey in 1850, attended the Rutgers Grammar School, and graduated from Rutgers College in 1872. He set out for Japan almost immediately, accompanying Maggie on her way to join her brother in Tokyo. Apparently Maggie found Wyckoff, who lacked the erudition of Griffis or the charm of Clark, to be a rather dull young man.<sup>43</sup> In Fukui, Wyckoff taught English and French, and continued the physics and chemistry courses designed by Griffis, using his friend's grammar books and the scientific apparatus he had left behind. Like Clark and Griffis, the twenty-two-year-old Wyckoff received a generous salary. Since Christianity was now technically legal in Japan, Wyckoff taught Bible classes, writing to Griffis, "My Bible Class still continues, and although I hardly imagine they care anything for the religious truth they hear, I hope to drop a little seed where it may take root."<sup>44</sup>

Wyckoff was less lonely than Griffis in Fukui because he was anticipating the arrival of his fiancée Anna Baird. Griffis met her ship in Yokohama in June 1873, and found her a place to stay while she waited for Wyckoff to arrive. The young couple were married in Griffis' house in Tokyo. Anna Baird traveled to Japan on the same ship as Professor David Murray and his wife Martha. Like Ballagh, David Murray (1830-1905) was born in rural Delaware County, New York, but he attended Union College in Schenectady, New York, graduating in 1852. From 1852 to 1863 he served as teacher and principal at Albany Academy, where Edward Warren Clark was one of his students. Living in Albany and attending the Reformed Church, Murray was part of the network that included missionary Julia Crosby, who was close friends with Martha Murray.<sup>45</sup> He was appointed Professor of Mathematics at Rutgers in 1863. At Rutgers, Murray taught many of the

early Japanese students, as well as the young Americans who later went to Japan. David and Martha Murray opened their New Brunswick home to the Japanese students.

Although not a Rutgers graduate, Murray played a key role in the Rutgers-Japan network. In late 1871, the Japanese were planning a high-level diplomatic mission to the West to obtain recognition for the new Meiji government, gather information, and investigate the possibility of renegotiating treaties. Led by Prince Iwakura Tomomi, the delegates visited the United States from January to August 1872.<sup>46</sup> In Washington, the delegates worked closely with Mori Arinori, then Chargé d'Affaires at the Japanese Legation. Mori's Satsuma compatriot and former Rutgers student Hatakeyama Yoshinari served as an interpreter. When delegation member Tanaka Fujimaro of the Japanese Ministry of Education sought the opinion of prominent American educators on the redesigning of Japanese education on a Western model, it was natural that he turned to the Reformed Church network; Tanaka himself had studied with Verbeck in Nagasaki, as had several other delegation members. Among those contacted was Rutgers President William Campbell, who forwarded the request to David Murray, who was known as an able administrator and had become familiar with Japan through his contacts with the Japanese students. Murray's response ultimately led to his appointment in 1873 as Superintendent of Education and Advisor to the Ministry of Education or Monbushō, where he remained until 1879.<sup>47</sup>

David Murray's contributions to education in Japan, particularly to the development of women's education and normal schools, are well-known.<sup>48</sup> Murray was also important as a facilitator of contacts for Rutgers graduates in Japan. As in New Brunswick, the Murray home in Tokyo became a gathering place for Westerners and Japanese alike. At the Monbushō, Murray worked closely with Hatakeyama, then director of the Kaisei Gakkō, as well as with teachers Edward Clark and William

Elliot Griffis. When Griffis was in a dispute with the Kaisei Gakkō about his contract, Murray and Hatakeyama interceded to help arrange for a six-month extension.<sup>49</sup> After Griffis' departure from Japan, he corresponded regularly with Murray with requests for books and photographs, discussions of mutual friends, and Japanese politics. When Griffis was appointed pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church in Schenectady, which Murray had attended as a student at Union College, he warmly congratulated his former pupil as well as reporting on the outcome of the Satsuma Rebellion.<sup>50</sup>

Murray and the Monbushō's reorganization of education in Japan impacted Wyckoff in Fukui. By May 1874, Wyckoff was writing to Griffis that he expected the school in Fukui to be closed or merged with another institution. He was offered a ten-month contract, which he respectfully declined,<sup>51</sup> instead accepting a two-year position to teach physics, chemistry, and English in Niigata. He returned to the United States in 1877, where he pursued graduate study in chemistry for a year at Rutgers, and founded a small school in New Jersey.<sup>52</sup> Wyckoff went back to Japan in 1881 as an "educational missionary" under the auspices of the Reformed Church. Although never an ordained minister, Wyckoff combined his missionary vocation with his love of teaching. In Yokohama, he founded the short-lived Sen-shi Gakkō, which moved to Tokyo and merged with John Ballagh's Tsukiji College in 1883.<sup>53</sup> In 1886, a further merger led to the creation of Meiji Gakuin University. Meiji Gakuin's first college song, "On the Banks of the Old Sumida," was based on the Rutgers alma mater "On the Banks of the Old Raritan." (The song had to be changed after Meiji Gakuin moved to Shirokane.)<sup>54</sup> Wyckoff had a long career at Meiji Gakuin, where he taught with both Guido Verbeck and John Ballagh. His textbook, *English Composition for Beginners Prepared for Japanese Students*, published by the Maruzen Company in 1885, was reissued several times. Martin Wyckoff died of a heart attack in 1911 at the age of sixty-one. He is buried along with

John Ballagh in the missionary section of the cemetery of Zuishoji, a temple of the Ōbaku Sect near Meiji Gakuin University.

## Later Rutgers Graduates in Japan

Rutgers graduates continued to come to Japan through the 1870s and early 1880s. These included Howard Harris of the Class of 1873, a Reformed Church Minister who taught at Meiji Gakuin from 1884 to 1900, alongside Wyckoff, John Ballagh, and James Ballagh's daughters. Harris later became a professor of East Asian Studies at the University of Southern California and the pastor of a Japanese church in Kahului, Hawaii.<sup>55</sup> A few years later, Nathan H. Demarest of the Class of 1880 followed Verbeck and Henry Stout to the South Japan Mission in Nagasaki. Demarest's wife had great difficulty with the climate there, so they eventually returned to the United States.<sup>56</sup> His daughter May, however, remained in Japan, taught at the Ferris Seminary in Yokohama and married a missionary, Hubert Kuyper.<sup>57</sup>

The most important of these later alumni to come to Japan, however, was Eugene Samuel Booth (1850-1931), who graduated from Rutgers in 1876 and from the New Brunswick Seminary in 1879. Together with his wife, Emily, Booth served as a teacher and Principal of the Ferris Seminary in Yokohama from 1880 to 1922. During this time, he also served as pastor of Union Church in Yokohama for several years. Under his leadership, the curriculum and the physical plant of the Ferris Seminary were expanded. Booth lived to see the destruction of Ferris in the great earthquake of 1923, which killed his successor Jennie Kuyper, a relative of his son-in-law. Booth contributed generously to the reconstruction of the school and was invited to the dedication of the new buildings.<sup>58</sup>

## Conclusion

Through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Rutgers graduates and their friends in Japan and the United States maintained a lively global network through letters, gifts, and occasional visits. This network, which included men and women, Japanese and Americans, lay people and ministers, was an important conduit for the sharing of information and the promotion of intercultural understanding. It extended far beyond Rutgers College, encompassing Reformed Church parishes in New York and New Jersey, and schools, colleges, churches, and government offices throughout Japan. Prolific authors like William Elliot Griffis, David Murray, and Edward Clark used this network to inform themselves and their readers about events in Japan into the early twentieth century. As the older generation slowly disappeared, however, these contacts gradually lapsed. Only a few Japanese students attended Rutgers after 1890, as ample educational and technical training opportunities were created in Japan. Similarly, there were fewer calls for foreign employees except in certain specialized areas. Although individuals like James Ballagh, Henry Stout, and Eugene Booth continued to labor in the Japanese mission field, the Reformed Church redirected its shrinking resources to more profitable areas for evangelization. Many of the schools, colleges, and churches fostered during this early period remained, however, although primarily under the leadership of native Japanese. After the Second World War, the ties between the small American college, now a large university, and Japan were largely forgotten. Only in the latter twentieth century was the remarkable Rutgers-Japan network of the early Meiji period rediscovered by scholars in both the United States and Japan. In the early twenty-first century, the time is ripe to reexamine this historical relationship.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Hommes [2014: 13]
- <sup>2</sup> Pomeranz [2014: 2-3]
- <sup>3</sup> Griffis [1886: 9]
- <sup>4</sup> Hazel Jones estimates that there were about 2,000 foreign nationals employed by the Meiji government before 1900, about 15 percent of whom were Americans. See Jones [1980: 145]
- <sup>5</sup> See Burks [1985]; and Beauchamp and Iriye [1990]
- <sup>6</sup> See Ion [2009: ix-x]
- <sup>7</sup> For example, Henning [2000]
- <sup>8</sup> Ion [2009: ix]
- <sup>9</sup> Rutgers Alumni Biographical Files, Robert Morrison Brown, Class of 1865, Rutgers University Archives, New Brunswick, NJ (henceforward RUA).
- <sup>10</sup> Ballagh [1909]
- <sup>11</sup> Ballagh [1908: 4-24]
- <sup>12</sup> Ion [2009: 60]
- <sup>13</sup> Ion [2009: 47]
- <sup>14</sup> Laman [2012: 109-111]
- <sup>15</sup> Ion [2009: 219]
- <sup>16</sup> Ion [2009: 246-47]
- <sup>17</sup> Ion [2009: 219] and Horioka [1963: 7]
- <sup>18</sup> Ion [2009: 225-229] and "Doremus School" [2016]
- <sup>19</sup> John C. Ballagh Personal Record, 1917, RG 360-11-34 Foreign Missionary Vertical Files, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (henceforward PHS).
- <sup>20</sup> J.C. Ballagh Report, November 16, 1877, Japan Letters, PHS.
- <sup>21</sup> J.C. Ballagh, Annual Letter, February 9, 1878, Japan Letters, PHS.
- <sup>22</sup> J.C. Ballagh Report, September 20, 1879, Japan Letters, PHS.

23. *Meiji Gakuin: A Century at a Glance* [1977]
24. Meiji Gakuin University [2016]
25. Laman [2012: 94-95]
26. Henry Stout to J.M. Ferris, March 19, 1869, Japan Mission Files, Reformed Church of America Archives, New Brunswick, New Jersey (henceforward RCAA).
27. The two brothers, Yokoi Daihei and Yokoi Saheida, were nephews of the reformer Yokoi Shōnan.
28. Henry Stout to J.M. Ferris, February 14, 1870, Japan Mission Files, RCAA.
29. Henry Stout to J.M. Ferris, March 14, 1870, Japan Mission Files, RCAA. Missionary letters were frequently published in the Reformed Church's newspapers.
30. *Christian Intelligencer* [1912]
31. Treman and Poole [1901: 1528]
32. Candee [2012: 3]
33. See Cobbing [2000]
34. Helbig [1966: 53]
35. James H. Ballagh to William Elliot Griffis, September 28, 1870, MC 1015 William Elliot Griffis Collection, Box 45, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries, henceforward SCUA.
36. Motoyama [1985: 280-288]
37. Helbig [1966: 55]
38. Beauchamp [1976: 36]
39. Ion [1977: 560-561]
40. G.F. Verbeck to William Elliot Griffis, October 29, 1871, Griffis Collection, Box 56, Folder 44, SCUA.
41. Ion [1977: 561-562]
42. On Margaret Griffis, see Eder [2003]
43. Ion [2009: 156]
44. W.E. Griffis to M.N. Wyckoff, April 7, 1874, Griffis Collection, Box 56, Folder 69, SCUA.

45. David Murray to W.E. Griffis, August 14, 1872, Griffis Collection, Box 52, Folder 42, SCUA.
46. Swale [1998: 11-12]
47. Kaneko [1985: 302-304]
48. Kaneko [1985: 301-319]; and Duke [2009]
49. David Murray to W.E. Griffis, January 22, 1874, Griffis Collection, Box 52, Folder 42, SCUA.
50. David Murray to W.E. Griffis, October 10, 1877, Griffis Collection, Box 52, Folder 42, SCUA.
51. M.N. Wyckoff to W.E. Griffis, May 6, 1874, Griffis Collection, Box 56, Folder 69, SCUA.
52. Tezuka [1966]
53. Laman [2012: 227-228]
54. *Meiji Gakuin: A Century at a Glance* [1977]
55. Rutgers Alumni Biographical File, Howard Harris, Class of 1873, RUA.
56. Rutgers Alumni Biographical Files, Nathan H. Demarest, Class of 1880, RUA.
57. "May Baldwin Demarest 1907" [2016]
58. Rutgers Alumni Biographical File, Eugene S. Booth 1876, RUA.

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