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A Mutual Project:
Architecture and the Imperial Foundations of American Missionaries in Nineteenth-Century Beirut

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> Certainly there was some design, beyond the feeble methods, and aims even, of the founder, that planted the solid masonry of a Christian college just there in full and commanding view of every eye that seeks to enter the chief seaport of this now doubly important land! May it be an inspiration and prophecy—teach a policy and supply the agents for its success—Syria is now to be one of the central pieces upon which will rest the bridge that springs from England to India.[1]

When the first building of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC, today the American University of Beirut, or AUB), founded by American missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), was completed in 1873, the hill of Ras Beirut was an expanse of orchards and cactus lanes, and Beirut a small, peripheral town of the Ottoman Empire that had just begun renewed growth.[2] Predating the city's late nineteenth-century urbanization and its designation as an Ottoman provincial capital in 1888, American missionaries acquired extensive lands in the western outskirts of the city and established the impressive SPC campus (Figure 1). Scholars have recognized that school building in this period was a prominent feature of foreign activity—as well as competition—in the city, turning "Beirut into a 'city of schools,'" and education into "one of the most contested fields of cultural production."[3] This contestation took place principally between foreign Christian schools; the Ottoman state only elaborated a comprehensive educational program in the last decades of the nineteenth century, largely in reaction to these missionary advances.[4] Although Greater Syria was under Ottoman control and not formally colonized by European powers in this period, it had long been the site of missionary and European interest and contestation, which had intensified during the nineteenth century.[5] By the middle of the century, foreign missionaries constituted some of the most powerful actors undermining the authority and stability of the Ottoman Empire, especially in less important and more remote provinces, such as those of Mount Lebanon and Beirut. Countering their activities had become a central concern of the Ottoman state.[6] As historians have shown, throughout the first half of the century, missionaries, alongside European diplomats and local elites, contributed to the "communal reinvention" of Mount Lebanon as a sectarian territory.[7] Their influence exacerbated sectarian tensions, culminating in the 1860 civil conflict in Mount Lebanon and Damascus.[8] The conflict in turn led to an influx of Christian refugees fleeing to the coastal cities, and especially Beirut, where foreign missionary orphanages, hospitals, and educational institutions quickly multiplied.[9]

Although the Syrian Protestant College was the earliest, largest, and most enduring of these institutions, little analysis has been directed toward its architectural history and its role within the late nineteenth-century urban transformation of Beirut.[10] Neither have the precise ambitions of the American missionaries in establishing the college been elucidated, despite extensive analysis of the ABCFM's role in the multi-imperial contestation that shaped Mount Lebanon in the first half of the century. While the activities of foreign missionaries in the Levant have been the

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Figure 1 Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, view of the campus and its site ca. 1914 (LC-DIG-matpc-07116, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress).

subject of sustained interest within missionary history and Middle Eastern studies, the architectural processes through which missionaries constructed their enduring campuses remain understudied and overlooked.[11] In the absence of a critical understanding of their spatial and territorial ambitions, scholars have hesitated to describe missionaries as imperial, at most analyzing them as representative of the "cultural" and "civilizing" efforts of this period, purportedly at odds with the economic and political imperatives of empire.[12] Attempting to go beyond their ambiguous political nature, but also beyond earlier "altruistic" paradigms that celebrated missionaries as purveyors of "civilization," scholars have more recently adopted postcolonial perspectives that aim to reclaim the voices and agencies of local actors within what are described as "mutual encounters."[13] Yet by moving from a paradigm that uncritically celebrated missionary activities to one that focuses predominantly on the agency or reception of locals, what remains missing is a critical analysis of the missionaries' original intentions—in other words, of the missionary project itself.

Such an analysis is all the more important in the case of American missionaries, as scholarship on the United States continues to resist acknowledging the multiple ways in which U.S. expansionism, both within the American continent and beyond, has always been underpinned by imperial ambitions. While narratives of American exceptionalism have often been justified by framings of the United States as "anti-imperial," emphasizing its differences from older European empires, Amy Kaplan and many others have shown how these differences only served to shape a different kind of imperialism, linking the settler colonial expansion of the United States and its overseas enterprises as part of a single "expansionist continuum."[14] Driven largely by private actors, including missionaries, merchants, and diplomats, this American imperialism relied on ideas of racial, religious, and technological superiority to assert the righteousness of its moral and economic domination of

the world.[15] Meanwhile, scholars of American missions, especially those focusing on the ABCFM, have highlighted how missionaries, both in the United States and abroad, were driven by a form of "Christian imperialism" and saw themselves as part of a "Christian moral empire," even when they were unaccompanied by a formal political empire.[16] While American missionaries operated "without a colonial apparatus" in the Ottoman Empire, they deployed similar tactics of justification and relied on a wide cast of characters to negotiate the survival of their project in Beirut.[17] It was precisely their ambiguous political position that gave American missionaries the ability to operate with relative freedom within the empire, especially early in the nineteenth century, allowing them to establish themselves in a way that became foundational for their subsequent influence and endurance. As suggested by the reflections quoted at the opening of this article, shared by the first treasurer of the college with its president, SPC was clearly conceived as part of an "imperial horizon" that positioned American missionary activities as central to the broader trajectory of British imperialism in the East.[18] Within this vision, architecture and the college's "solid masonry" played an important role.

This article focuses on the construction of the Syrian Protestant College from its foundation in 1863 to the beginning of the twentieth century and resituates American missionaries as covert imperial actors in nineteenth-century Beirut. I contend that the focus on missionaries as participants in a "mutual" cultural encounter has obscured the hierarchies and intentionalities embedded in their projects. Adopting Matthew Frye Jacobson's broad definition of the term "imperialism" as encompassing "a mere projection of vested interest in foreign climes at one end of the spectrum, and overt practices of political domination at the other," I examine the close relationship between the missionaries' increasingly imperial ambitions and their architectural establishment in the city, as evidenced by the extensive and previously unexamined private correspondence of the two leaders of the college, David Stuart Dodge and Daniel Bliss.[19] I focus primarily on the missionaries' intentions, as read through their private exchanges, not to perpetuate the heroic narrative of Western dominance or to deny local or Ottoman agency, but to argue for the importance of understanding critically the role that architecture—underpinned by money, land purchases, material imports, diplomatic negotiation, and broader cultural, economic, and political ambitions—played in shaping imperial or "informally" imperial conditions.[20] Unlike situations where missionaries accompanied formal colonial powers, here architecture was neither a simple projection of "American" or evangelical culture nor a materialization of direct colonial control.[21] Rather, architecture held crucial importance within the missionaries' growing imperial ambitions, and it was tasked with multiple evolving roles as the missionary project grew more secure. Architecture at SPC increasingly reflected ideas of technological and moral superiority, articulating the missionaries' ambitions within the campus and the city at the same time as it ensured their survival. The following sections trace the development of the college and its campus through three phases that illustrate how architecture and the missionaries' imperial ambitions became mutually constitutive over time. In elucidating the nineteenth-century imperial foundations of the Syrian Protestant College, this article reconsiders both the nature of American imperialism in the Middle East and the central role of architecture in its construction.

Missionary Beginnings

American missionaries had first arrived in Beirut in 1823, originally on their way to Jerusalem.[22] Missionary work was difficult in the Ottoman Empire, as preaching among Muslims was forbidden. Under the Ottoman *millet* system, other recognized sects were free to follow their own religious practices, and older European missions were already active in Jerusalem, not only Orthodox and Catholic orders but also Protestant missionaries of the British Church Missionary Society and the London Jews Society.[23] In Mount Lebanon, which was an important yet separate province of the Ottoman Empire, Jesuits had long-established links with the local Catholic clergy, and their close alliance with the Maronite Catholic leadership quickly deterred the Americans from proselytizing in these regions.[24] The American mission retreated to Beirut, still small and unimportant in this period. Beirut provided a good base for the early missionaries, keeping them at a distance from the animosity of the Maronites in Mount Lebanon, and close to the British consul, who resided there. Each of the European powers present in the Ottoman Empire in that period acted as patron to its corresponding religious community; since the United States had no diplomatic representation in the Ottoman Empire, American missionaries were considered British subjects.[25] As evangelical preaching was integrally reliant on the recipients' ability to read the Bible, education and the help of "native assistants" constituted the two pillars of the mission's initial operations. The ABCFM's policy was focused on training native preachers who would constitute a self-perpetuating ministry, after which the mission was supposed to retreat. Consequently, missionaries were instructed to maintain local customs and not to attempt cultural conversions; the board also maintained a strict policy against permanent investments and constructions.[26] Although the mission remained humble in its spatial settlement as a result of these instructions, by 1860 it was

operating thirty primary schools and educating approximately one thousand students in Beirut and the southern villages of Mount Lebanon.[27] While efforts at conversion remained unsuccessful, education enabled greater reach within the local population; hence, the mission was continuously hampered by tensions and divergences between what the secretary of the board, Rufus Anderson, saw as the correct means toward conversion—direct proselytizing—and the mission's experience on the ground, which privileged education as a means toward that same goal.[28]

The civil war of 1860 provided a crucial turning point for the mission. Taking place between Druze and Maronites in Mount Lebanon, and spreading eventually to Damascus, this conflict was the result of half a century of European meddling and rising sectarian imbalances in which foreign missionaries had also played a role.[29] Beirut, already gaining importance as a port city from 1840, now doubled in population owing to the large influx of Christian refugees fleeing Mount Lebanon, and its socioreligious makeup was radically transformed.[30] While the five "great powers" of Europe had long been intervening in the political affairs of the Ottoman Empire, their 1860 intervention on a humanitarian rather than a political basis shifted the dynamics of foreign missionary activity in the region.[31] In the aftermath of the war, the number of foreign relief organizations and medical congregations sent to Syria to alleviate the results of the massacre multiplied rapidly.[32] The American missionaries had preceded most of the congregations sent in the wake of this intervention, but they increasingly felt the pressure of competing with emerging missionary hospitals and schools within Beirut and in the broader region. Even their existing Protestant converts were beginning to send their sons to the Jesuit schools, as their own classes in Mount Lebanon remained suspended.[33] By 1862, it was clear that the missionaries needed to provide a "European-style" education in order to compete with these burgeoning institutions, both Protestant and Catholic. The Syria Mission's vote to begin a new "Native Protestant Collegiate Institute" in Beirut built on the combination of three factors: the mission's experience in its first forty years, the changing conditions caused by the 1860 war, and the growing importance of Beirut.[34]

The board secretary, Rufus Anderson, reluctantly approved the proposed college as a "necessary evil," on the condition that the education would be clearly evangelical and "opposed to the Jesuit scheme," and that the college would be run by a separate board.[35] Daniel Bliss, designated as the president of this new initiative, traveled to Boston soon after to discuss the proposed college at the annual meeting of the ABCFM.[36] There he met William E. Dodge, partner at Phelps, Dodge & Co., an American import-export firm with investments in copper mining, lumber, and railroads.[37] William Dodge had been a member of the ABCFM from 1857, and with the support of his business associates, he helped secure a bill of incorporation under the laws of New York for the Syrian Protestant College, as well as a sister missionary institution, Robert College of Constantinople, in 1863.[38] From the incorporation of the college in 1863 to Bliss's retirement in 1902, William Dodge's son, David Stuart Dodge (hereafter Dodge), would serve as treasurer of the board and Bliss's main partner in the planning and direction of SPC.

A Permanent Foundation

The incorporation of SPC by a prominent circle of evangelical industrialists inscribed the college within a broader U.S. movement of educational revival that accompanied the rise of industrialism in this period, which attempted to reconcile the need to recuperate evangelical culture and moral-religious values with the realities of "a society preoccupied with business, industry, expansion and progress."[39] The organization of the college into two departments, literary and medical, reflected not only this evolution of evangelical missionary impulses toward liberal educational concerns but also the need to counter the kinds of instruction that other missions were starting to provide around Beirut.[40] Still, complicating the view that SPC's foundation signaled the missionaries' adaptation to local conditions and demands for more scientific education, the letters exchanged between the two partners evidence the cunning and deliberate considerations involved in presenting the institution's aims as such.[41] The missionaries viewed the provision of a nonsectarian education, open to all, as a persuasive and more effective tool for achieving their renewed evangelical aims in the Ottoman Empire:

> The time is to come and perhaps soon when foreign ministrations will be no longer acceptable to the natives—the missionary work *here* will be ended. Men raised up from among the people will be then the leaders of the people and the character such men are to possess must depend, under God, to just the influences now thrown around them.[42]

Fearing that being associated publicly with the mission would undermine these efforts, the college's leaders were wary of using the mission's existing buildings in Beirut for this new project.[43] The establishment of the college in a new set of buildings became a foremost concern. In a clear reversal of the ABCFM's "native" policy, SPC was conceived as a dual religious-cultural project, which was accompanied by a radically different real estate strategy. The process of choosing a site disclosed the evangelical character of the institution now recast as a permanent foundation in the growing city and conceived as a slow, long-lasting project. As Dodge emphatically wrote to Bliss: "The foundation

Figure 2 Main Building (College Hall), Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1873, view from the east in the 1890s (Moore Collection, Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

stones of this Institution must be like those of Solomon under the Temple area, and *last* longer."[44]

In 1868, Bliss came upon a large site of 25 acres occupying "an attractive and commanding position" in Ras Beirut (Figure 2).[45] The site was dramatic in its topography, with a series of terraces cascading steeply toward the sea. As stated by Bliss, the site provided many advantages: It was "sufficiently near to admit of the daily attendance of Professors & Instructors" while also "so retired as to be more favorable for the intellectual & moral training of the students and also to secure the Institution from the proximity of undesirable neighborhoods." Its height not only promoted "healthfulness" by being away from the "pestilence" of the city but also provided a beautiful view of the city, the mountain, and the sea. Finally, it was expected to increase in value, and it was imminently available.[46]

Earlier in the century, foreigners were forbidden from owning property in the Ottoman Empire. As part of the Tanzimat (1839–76), a sweeping program of modernizing reforms, the Porte had issued a new Land Code in 1858. This was partly an attempt to strengthen its reach over property and increase tax revenue, and partly to prevent increasing foreign incursions in this domain.[47] From 1867, a special protocol was added to the law to allow foreigners to purchase property, on the condition that they follow the jurisdiction of Ottoman courts in all matters relating to property without interference from their consuls, as had usually been common. Although most of the great powers, including France, England, and Prussia, had signed the protocol, the United States had yet to sign it.[48] To circumvent this issue, the mission in its earlier purchases had relied on complicated stratagems and a series of legal acts in which "local assistants" acquired land on the mission's behalf and then declared that they had done so in their own names in front of a judge, a procedure that required the sustained goodwill and confidence of these assistants, as well as the British consul's protection.[49]

In the new project, the missionaries intended to be free of such constraints. They hoped to have the new site "gifted" to them as a *waqf* (mortmain), a process that would make the mission the legal owner of the land without purchasing it.[50] However, unlike the Jesuits, whose lands in Mount Lebanon had been gifted as *waqf* by the Maronite leadership, the Americans had no special bond with their neighbors.[51] The mission had to resort to manufacturing the process. Bliss hired a local Orthodox merchant, Mikhail Gharzouzi, to act as an agent, first buying the chosen land in his name and then gifting it as a *waqf* to the Syria Mission.[52] This process served multiple purposes: first, it allowed the missionaries to sidestep both their lack of purchasing rights and the liability of being beholden to Ottoman law; second, it implied the land would be considered a charitable foundation, exempt from taxation, and endowed to the college permanently; and finally, given the nature of the *waqf* as a religious foundation, it also indicated an attempt to reinforce the status of the Protestant church as a religious actor in the Ottoman Empire.[53] Although the American consul helped the missionaries register the site as *waqf* and negotiated the *firman* (permit) for their constructions, the U.S. secretary of state sent a disapproving letter to the American legation in Constantinople upon hearing of the matter. With the United States still negotiating the protocol, he wondered why American citizens would so boldly defy the laws of the Ottoman city in which they were residing and compromise their diplomatic position with the Porte.[54] Clearly, the missionaries were bolder in their political visions and actions than was warranted by their nation's position. This was perhaps due to their perception of being under double American and British protection; the missionaries, considering themselves primarily evangelical emissaries, harnessed each connection as suitable for their aims.

In contrast to the clear political vision of Bliss and Dodge, the first buildings of the college exhibited a haphazard strategy and a lack of architectural coherence.

Figure 3 Beirut as seen from the Syrian Protestant College, ca. 1910, with the Medical Building in the foreground (right) (LC-DIG-matpc-07107, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress).

Rather than being concerned with character or style, the founders in this period saw the buildings as symbols of their presence and progress in the land. While the site echoed the mid-nineteenth-century American romanticist tradition of siting colleges in rural areas as a way of reinforcing the divine character of education, the composition of SPC's first buildings departed from the rational planning considerations of early American colleges.[55] The first two buildings were placed at opposite ends of the purchased land, as though they were intended to physically mark its limits. Moreover, neither building displayed any attempt to relate to a projected community, as was the case in the colonial colleges of New England.[56] The Main Building (later known as College Hall) was placed on a central protrusion, with its northern façade facing the attractive radial view of the city, the sea, and the mountain provided by its position (Figure 3). Meanwhile, the Medical Building was placed at the eastern end of the site and turned south toward the inner fields of Ras Beirut (Figure 4).

For the design of the two buildings, the missionaries relied on their connections to source ideas and plans, attaching equal weight to the suggestions of architects and those of nonarchitectural experts within their circle. Bliss was sent to Constantinople to observe the buildings of Robert College and seek construction advice from the institution's president, Cyrus Hamlin.[57] J. Cleveland Cady, a New York architect and acquaintance of William Dodge, made "generous present of the plans of the University Medical College of New York" to be further consulted.[58] Other members of the board of trustees shared their own opinions on the scale and character of the buildings: "Mr Booth cries for three stories and a 'mansard' roof for the main building," Dodge relayed. "I saw Mr Robert. He sticks to the need of high imposing structures on such a fine site."[59] Yet Dodge seemed to be preoccupied primarily with balancing the need to attract and impress the locals with the need to avoid raising Ottoman suspicions, all while retaining the college's distance from its surroundings. His view was "that a large native building with its central court for a 'chapel' and the surrounding rooms for recitations and study etc. would be much more appropriate for the purpose."[60]

The plans of the Main Building were eventually drafted by George B. Post, a hitherto unknown engineer and draftsman, cousin of the college's own George E. Post, professor of surgery and botany. Although George B. Post would a few years later establish himself as a prolific architect in

Figure 4 Map of Beirut, 1876, with the site of the Syrian Protestant College, including the Main and Medical Buildings of 1873, outlined (map by Julius Löytved, courtesy of Library Archives, American University of Beirut; outline added by author).

the growing architectural scene of New York, his work would remain more concerned with structural innovation and rigor, and a seeming "lack of profound interest in issues of style."[61] But purity of style was not important for the missionaries either, and Dodge was of the opinion that investing buildings with elaborate ornamentation was a sign of corrupt morals and perversion: "Protestants must not attempt to vie with Catholicism or any perverted form of Christianity in the magnificence or style of its structures. The simplicity of the Gospel and all its teachings are its best ornament and recommendation."[62] With the help of a foreman from Mardin, Abdul-Massih, Bliss oversaw the *warshee* (construction site)—as he and Dodge called it—taking liberties with the plans.[63]

The Main Building did not end up following the courtyard types that Dodge associated with local buildings; rather, it was designed as one large volume in a shallow U shape that housed all the main functions of the small college, including a library, recitation rooms and rooms for the students, and a room for the president on the top floor (Figure 5).[64] It displayed a restrained Italianate style, with a campanile-like tower articulating the junction of the central volume with the chapel and library on the northern façade, facing the sea (Figure 6). A two-story arcaded walkway ran along this central part, built from pointed stone arches and thin marble columns, adopting the local triple-arch motif that was increasingly prevalent in affluent houses of this period.[65] Although Post's original plans did not include this double arcade, it was not an addition proposed by the local masons, as some historians have speculated (Figure 7).[66] As is evident from Dodge and Bliss's correspondence, Dodge had the final word on all decisions regarding the design of the buildings; the arches were a deliberate addition, and their treatment in stone reflected an attempt to adapt existing models to local forms.[67] While the local character of the triple-arch motif was contestable, given that the motif was an amalgamation of centuries of architectural exchange across the Mediterranean, the missionaries nonetheless viewed it and used it as such.[68]

In contrast to the monumentality of the Main Building, the Medical Building displayed a more domestic character and a different combination of styles. It included some Gothic elements, such as pointed arches, stone buttresses, a large gabled roof, and intricate finials and bargeboards (Figure 8). Unlike the Main Building, which was visible from both the city and the sea because of its location and scale, the Medical Building assumed less of a representative role within the campus. Especially in comparison

Figure 5 Main Building (College Hall), Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1873, view from the south (Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

Figure 6 Main Building (College Hall), Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1873, view from the north (Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

with the buildings of Robert College, with their imposing Second Empire style, SPC's first buildings were neither intricate nor highly ornamented. This was perhaps partly due to the founders' rudimentary understanding of architecture, but it also reflected more broadly Beirut's status as a still-growing periphery of the Ottoman Empire, a status that did not warrant the rich and impressive styles used for Robert College in the capital of the empire. While the eclecticism of both SPC buildings was common in the Ottoman Empire in this period, the various styles used did not hold any clear associations for the missionaries in this early phase of the project.[69] The primary aim was to construct durable and cost-efficient buildings. Still, despite their lack of architectural knowledge and construction experience, the missionaries considered their imported materials and judgment superior to those of the local builders. Dodge continuously reminded Bliss of various structural and aesthetic concerns, overseeing every decision from afar: "Don't forget the additional rafters for that attic roof, nor to gently wipe out that Mardinian embellishment over the front door."[70] And while the Main and Medical Buildings' exteriors were faced with local sandstone, their internal structure departed from the traditional load-bearing techniques associated with stone construction in the region. Instead, their ceilings and walls incorporated iron and timber beams, sourced in Dodge's familial enterprises and shipped from the United States via Liverpool through their existing commercial network (Figure 9).[71] This hybrid iron-and-stone structural system was economically advantageous, as it allowed Dodge to funnel some of the charitable donations to the college, raised in England, into his family's industries in the United States while also balancing the costs of shipping all the buildings' materials. More importantly than questions of

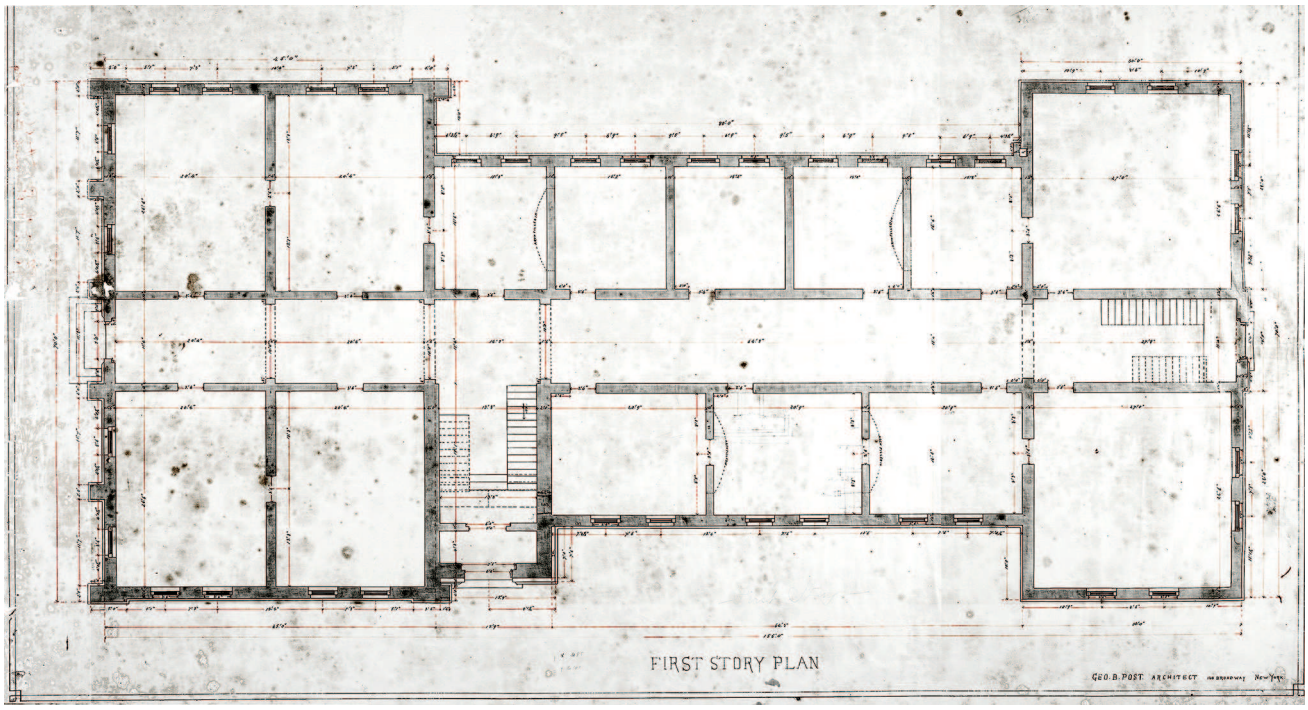

Figure 7 George B. Post, Main Building, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1873, original plan (Drawings and Maps Collection, Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

Figure 8 Medical Building, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1873, view from the south (Moore Collection, Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

authenticity, then, this hybridization reflected the haphazard and experimental nature of the missionary project in this period.[72]

In these early decades, the founders recognized that the college was "an experiment which may succeed or not," and both its architecture and its pedagogical program reflected this.[73] With the aim of attracting larger numbers of students, the college adopted Arabic as the primary teaching language. Yet early student numbers were modest, with only fourteen enrolled in the first year.[74] More than an indication of actual needs, the first buildings and the new site were a symbol of missionary renewal and of a more permanent presence in the city. Only after the first buildings were completed and student numbers were growing could the missionaries confidently look back and congratulate themselves on their forbearance.[75] The hoisting of the tower bell over the Main Building's roof was related as a success:

> One does not wonder that the Turks look with suspicion and dull terror at such a demonstration of *un*friendliness.

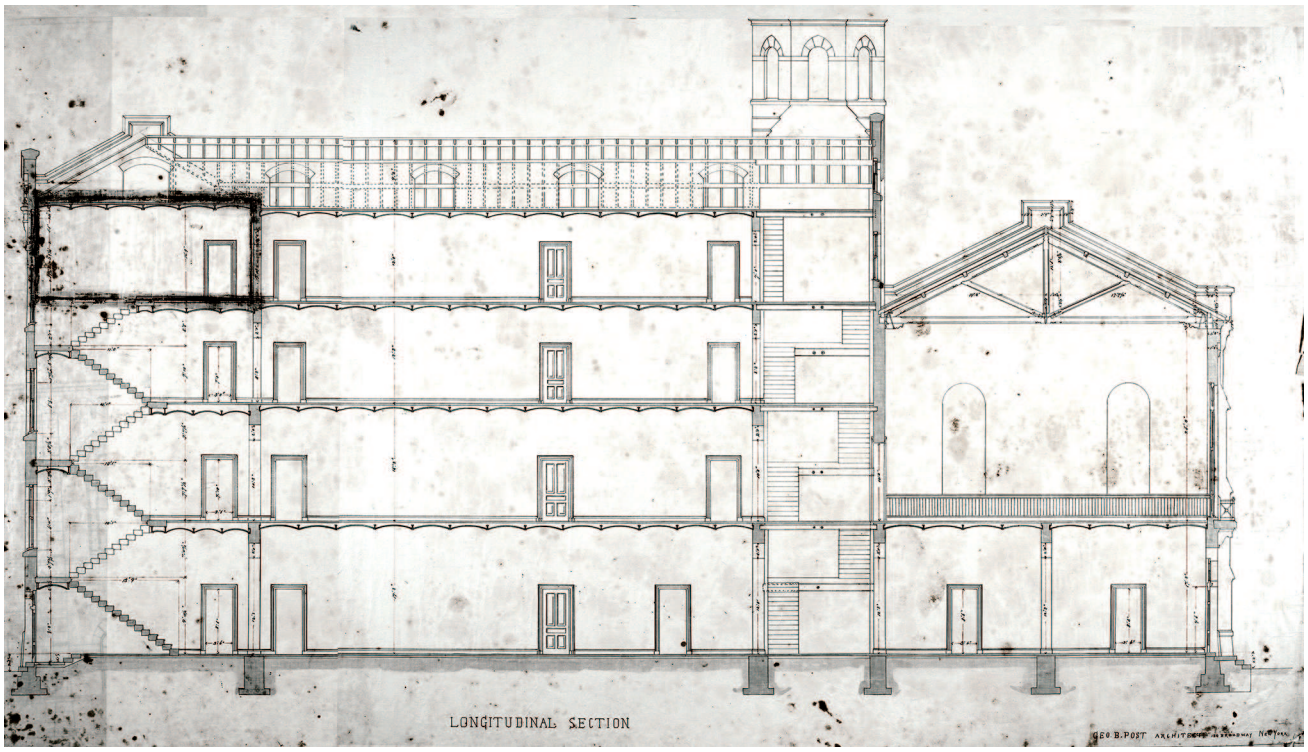

Figure 9 George B. Post, Main Building, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1873, section showing composite iron beams and stone construction (Drawings and Maps Collection, Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

> They would be justified in supposing that people, who would have the madness to erect such buildings, really intend to take possession of things in their neighborhood. No official or stranger can round or pass that "Ras" without being impressed—not to say oppressed, by the sight of those buildings.[76]

The early buildings, under the careful guidance of Bliss and Dodge, had achieved their desired political and spatial effect.

A Hierarchical Evangelical Campus

Until the mid-1880s, the experimental nature of the project was largely due to the shifting positions of the United States and Beirut, both still relatively politically unimportant. The college's position in Beirut had been "long recognized . . . as important chiefly from its central location & its strategic advantages in the great coming struggle with Mohammedanism," yet imperial advance and religious reform went hand in hand.[77] Strongly reliant on British charitable donations and diplomatic support, the college in this period was seen as an accompaniment to British imperial advances in the region. In 1878 the missionaries had read "with gratitude and hope" that

> England has practically taken possession of Cyprus. . . . The navy of England is hereafter to be perpetually anchored off the College tower. . . . A new era in the Oriental problem has opened. . . . It is a vigorous stride towards Progress and Evangelization. . . . Do impress it upon our Profs and Brethren that they will need a large stock of vitality to be ready for the new Crusade.[78]

Changes in the educational program of the college paralleled this evolution, reflecting the interest of the founders in strengthening the evangelical nature of the project now that their covert ambitions and their position in the city were secure. In 1878 the college switched its official language from Arabic to English. This was necessary to reinforce the founders' original missionary aims, but it also built on the ABCFM's "vigorous work" in their "Arabic field" through the establishment of new secondary schools in Turkey. The adoption of English would strengthen the college's position in this wider region and attract new potential recruits.[79] The buildings were not only symbols of evangelical and imperial advance but also a crucial infrastructure for its perpetuation:

> The "Universal language to be" will *force* an entrance thro your College gate some day. . . . The Anglo-Saxon tongue, like the race, will not wait long before making the next advance—In less than five years you will be swallowed up, Tower and all.[80]

While the founders' early aims had focused on attracting and impressing students and locals, these political advances

Figure 10 Marquand House (president's house), Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1879, view from the northeast showing the stone porch and chimneys (Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

and the college's more secure position heralded a new phase of "internal expansion" and consolidation.[81] The missionaries turned toward the relationships the college intended to foster, among students, between students and professors, as well as with the growing city—in other words, toward the need to design a carefully controlled environment and a precise set of hierarchies.

The first step was to find a way for the American professorial staff, who were still residing in the city, to live closer to the college. This was important not only for pragmatic reasons—the remoteness and elevation of the site from the old city, the lack of efficient means of transport in this period, and the undesirability of living in the dense city—but also because having the professors nearby was an integral part of the vision of the college as a community and reflected the crucial role they were meant to play in its formation. If the college could raise the funds, Dodge wrote, "the attempt ought to be made to make the Professors to be near enough to the students to do just the work the entire scheme contemplated, to exert a constant, powerful, natural religious influence."[82] He hoped to secure a large sum that would allow the construction of a "circle of villas" at once to serve as houses for professors, recalling Thomas Jefferson's influential model for an "academic village" at the University of Virginia.[83]

As always, the founders' ambitions were tempered by their moderate fundraising success, as well as by the unstable political context of the region. In 1875, a prominent New York merchant, Frederick Marquand, had pledged $5,000 toward the construction of a president's house for the college, but the project was delayed until the end of the Russo-Turkish War in 1878, and resulted in only one villa. Nevertheless, the relationships among the various parts of the college were gaining clarity. Within the overall scheme, the president's house was of prime importance: the "fact of the Chief Executive living in the very midst of the students [had] advantages to be gained in no other way."[84] Built to allow Daniel Bliss's wife and children to return to Syria and join him, this "White House," as Dodge called it, had to be private and secluded while projecting the importance and stature of its inhabitants. Although its design followed a haphazard process, the completed house reflected a clear difference between the kinds of spaces envisioned for the students and those that the current and future presidents of the college would call home.

The house's exterior combined local sandstone, colonial revival elements, and the triple-arch motif, adapted this time into a front porch, a feature that had no equivalent in the region (Figure 10). More importantly, the house departed from the college's existing buildings in its rich and carefully finished interior and the efforts taken to ensure the comforts of its residents. The lower floor included public areas to be used by faculty members as well as by the president's family, namely, a dining hall, study, parlor, and kitchen and services; a guest bedroom was also on this floor (Figure 11). The second floor was devoted to the private sleeping quarters of the family.[85] One distinctive feature of the house was the addition of a volume at the southeastern side to hold the kitchen and wet service areas. Dodge spent considerable time in Britain and in the United States visiting factories and gathering catalogues from companies offering the most modern kitchen ranges and other fixtures such as new "admirable bathtubs with small heaters at the foot," which allowed for these services to be included within the volume of the house itself.[86] In addition to these modern comforts, the house featured a large interior staircase—also a novelty—of imported solid timber, timber flooring and skirting, and two chimneys that punctuated the exterior of

Figure 11 Faculty room, possibly at Marquand House (president's house), Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1879 (Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

the house, visibly reinforcing their oddity in the context of Beirut's Mediterranean climate.[87]

As important as ensuring the stature and comfort of the president and his family was the careful positioning of the house within the broader site. Although the house was not to be accessible to anyone but the faculty and president from within the campus, its presence was to be felt and known outside the college boundaries, and its position as part of "the group of buildings on the college bluff" was important. In order to safeguard its privacy, the house was placed near the western edge of the site and walled off on three sides: two facing the campus, to the east and south, and one facing lands that belonged to neighbors to the west. The house remained open only toward the sea.[88] To ensure that the significance of the residence would be understood from this vantage point, Dodge hoped that even the "smaller buildings around the house [could] be finished in such a style as to be ornamental."[89] These distinctions and the importance afforded to the president's house were especially clear in comparison with another building project completed shortly afterward, the renovation of a "shed" built in the early years to serve as a new preparatory department.[90] This building was conceived as a simple extension, whose main purposes were to separate the preparatory section from the Main Building and to allow for enlargement of the existing refectory into a dining hall. Without consulting architects, the founders dictated the extension's form and structure, privileging economy and durability above all.[91]

Nevertheless, with the preparatory department and the president's house, the missionaries by 1880 had "machinery enough in the way of organization, grounds, reputation and ability to run a *large* factory and turn out a large annual product." In this so-called factory, each part was to be "kept entirely distinct—every department filling its own sphere, but all under the one general control."[92] The college had started to transform from two multipurpose self-contained buildings into a true campus.[93] To highlight the importance of the president's house, Dodge suggested planting pine trees between it and the preparatory extension to its south.[94] To the east, to reinforce the relationship among the preparatory building, the entrance to the college, and the Main Building, a circular road was traced, linking the buildings across the sloping site. These improvements shifted the weight of the campus toward the Main Building, which, with the new additions, now formed one side of a loose "court" (Figure 12).

The completion of a single house for the president rather than a circle of villas for faculty also reflected the unspoken hierarchies that were increasingly consolidating within the management of the college. While in the early years the founders had hired native teachers for some classes and maintained some connections with their previous local assistants, in the early 1880s a series of ideological disputes occurred among the faculty, leading Bliss and Dodge to tighten their control over the college. Triggered by an 1882 commencement speech in which a professor in the medical faculty referenced Charles Darwin's theories of evolution, the crisis highlighted the division within the college between those missionaries who were more liberal in their understanding of the college's purpose—and also more open to equal relationships with locals—and those who, like the two founders, remained steadfast in their evangelical orthodoxy and their view of the college as primarily a tool for the moral domination of the world. The departure of a number of dissenting medical faculty members (both American and Syrian), as well as the withdrawal of several of

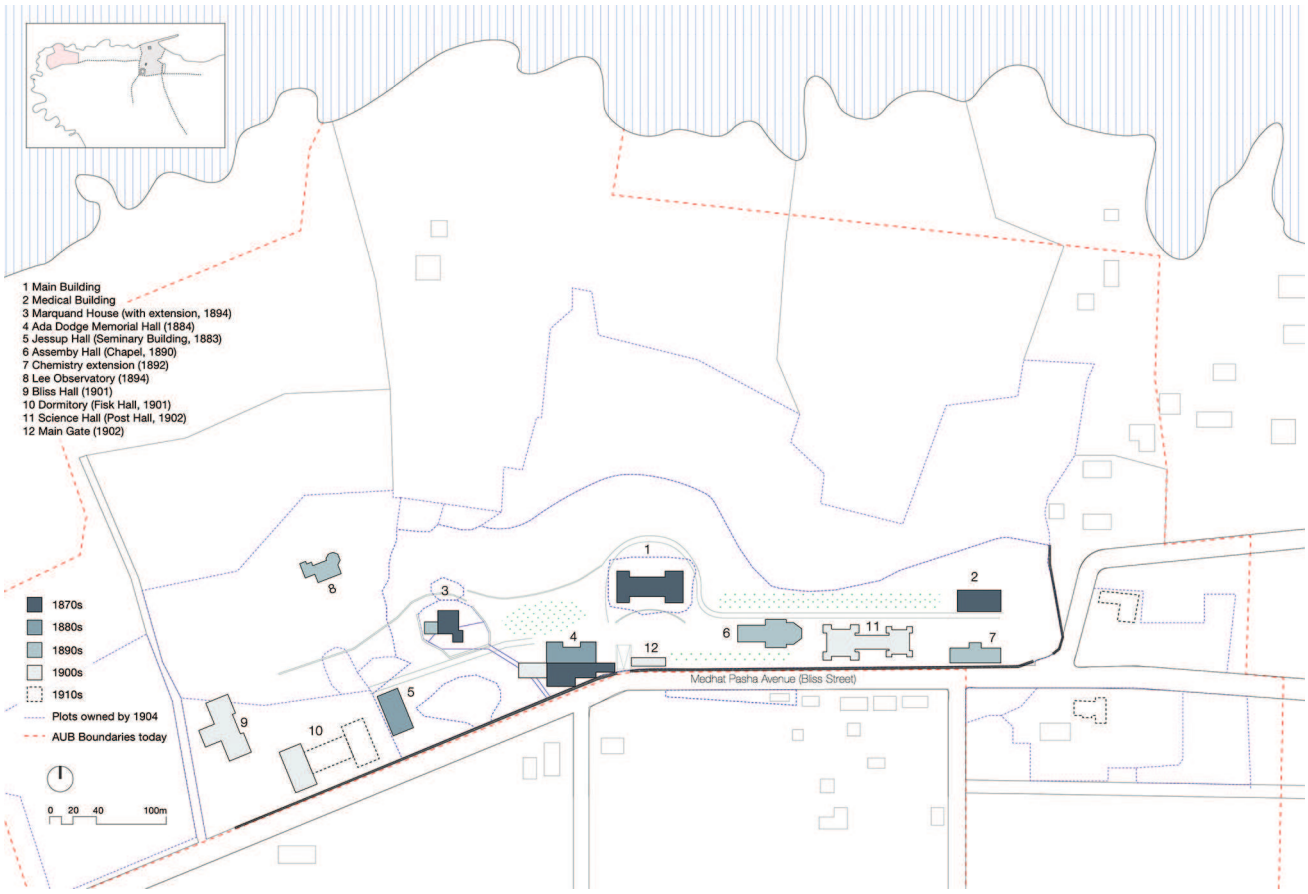

Figure 12 Map of the campus of the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, showing building chronology and plots purchased by 1904; the "court" of 1878 can be seen between buildings 1, 3, and 4 (drawing by author).

their students, at the end of the academic year of 1883, was seen as evidence of the risks involved in cooperating with locals and those whose missionary and evangelical beliefs were unclear.[95] The college was recast not only as more evangelical but also as more imperial, as its management by the U.S.-based board was consolidated and any illusions of local cooperation were abandoned.

The building of a new chapel in 1887 completed the court traced in 1880 and reflected this renewal of the college's evangelical American character. By then, the United States had recovered from its Civil War and the economic crisis of 1873 and was rapidly advancing into its Gilded Age.[96] The college's endowment, tied up in losing investments in the 1870s and 1880s, was starting to make positive returns. The college's board of trustees in this period reflected the increasingly converging circles of Protestant philanthropy and industrialism that underlay the society of late nineteenth-century America.[97] In addition to their industrial and commercial activities, the trustees sat on the boards of temperance societies, youth associations, and Protestant charities.[98] Within these familial networks, architects played a growing role. The college's visibility and prolific marketing through pamphlets and circulars attracted larger donors, whose wishes and ambitions in turn influenced the campus's architecture.

Marquand's involvement with Dodge in the 1870s had led to further relationships, including with Marquand's son-in-law, Elbert B. Monroe. Monroe and his wife had visited the college in 1886 while on a tour of the Holy Land, and had admired its buildings, including the president's house, now known as Marquand House.[99] The Monroes had "just completed a beautiful Church for Hampton Institute at Fortress Monroe for the Colored & Indian students." Designed by J. Cleaveland Cady, it had "cost $60,000!" They were also "just finishing the 'Dwight Hall' at Yale for YMCA," at similar costs. Dodge and Bliss hoped to convince Monroe to fund a new chapel, a goal that was soon achieved.[100] Plans were commissioned in New York after consultations with the faculty in Beirut. George B. Post, donating his work free of charge again, delivered the drawings in the summer of 1888.[101]

Initially, the faculty in Beirut worried that the proposed plans would result in a building too large and imposing, and that its costs would exceed the budget for the project. But Dodge and Monroe were adamant that the architect's plans be respected. Having donated so generously, Monroe

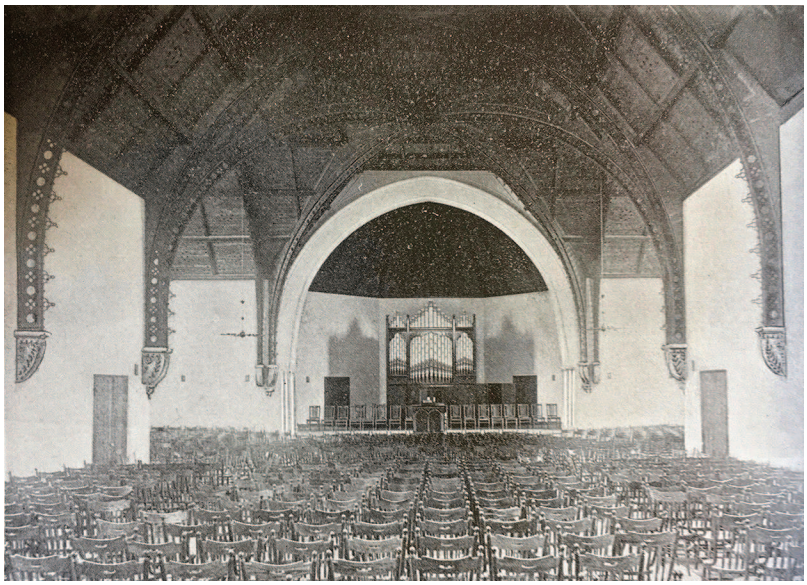

Figure 13 George B. Post, Assembly Hall, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1892 (*Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College*, 1896, ABCFM Near East Records, 1820–1965, bMS 1136, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School).

was eager that the chapel be "worthy of the Institution and the cause as well as of the giver."[102] The consolidation of the college's situation and its reliance on more established donors, along with the professionalization of architecture in the United States, no longer allowed the missionaries to approach their constructions haphazardly.[103]

The chapel was designed in Gothic Revival style, with its walls to be built of local stone, and with deep gables, tinted rose windows, and other elements typically found in evangelical and Presbyterian churches of this period.[104] Inside, Post proposed an elaborate structure of exposed iron trusses and timber panels, with high-backed timber chairs for the faculty and simple chairs for the students (Figure 13).[105] Yet the building still needed to be considered within its local context. Having settled the question of size and scale, the missionaries were concerned that the chapel's interiors would be too rich and ostentatious for their Syrian context. This was not simply a question of appearance or style. Nor was it solely a matter of economy, although that was, as always, of paramount importance: "The *noble* building will not hurt us materially," Dodge asserted, but a building that was too lavish could lead future donors to think the college was doing so well financially that it might not warrant further donations.[106] He was also wary of the implications of shipping the large quantities of materials needed, not only in terms of the financial burden but also in view of justifying such extensive imports at the customhouse. The negotiations the college would have to enter upon to convince the Ottoman authorities that these materials were not going toward a chapel seemed too complicated:

> Then too, it will do no harm to transfer the old benches of our present chapel to the new Hall for a time. Such a course will tend to excite less inquiry than to have to carry thru the custom-house 30 or 40 more cases, with elegant seats & cathedral glass for a building which we then have to *prove* is not a *church!*[107]

A luxurious chapel would thus not only run counter to the founders' stated aims toward their students and future donors but also complicate their cautious dealings with an antagonistic Ottoman Empire, as the Tanzimat included legal measures necessitating separate permits for the construction of foreign religious buildings.[108]

Eventually, construction on what was named the Assembly Hall commenced, with cast-iron trusses contracted in England, tinted glass sent from Germany, timber boards sourced from Phelps, Dodge & Co., and wooden doors, leaded window frames, and thirty boxes of chairs shipped from the United States.[109] While the exterior clearly displayed the stature of both the building and its donor to the campus and the city, the interior was the space in which the relationships and hierarchies of the evangelical college were calibrated. Plain chairs for the students were arranged in a semicircle around the central aisle, facing a raised platform. On the platform, eighteen special chairs were reserved for the faculty, arranged around a special armchair dedicated to the president. From this central position, the president and faculty would preside over weekly sermons and ceremonies, reflecting both the evangelical nature of the hall and the hierarchies of the college community.

Although "the trouble and expense of shipping the material and wood from here [had] been a painful experience," once they were cleared at the customhouse, Dodge congratulated Bliss on his "management of the custom house officials," which demonstrated "the value of a veteran general who has learned how to fight the enemy on his own ground."[110] It was a matter of particular pride to Dodge and

Figure 14 George B. Post, Assembly Hall, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1892, view from the west as students emerge from service (LC-DIG-matpc-02834, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress).

his associates that such a monumental Protestant prayer hall could be completed under the very nose of the Ottoman government, a sign that their "crusade" was gaining ground. The new chapel constituted a central landmark for the college, serving as the space where both daily communal activities were conducted and special visitors and dignitaries were received, reaffirming the unwavering evangelical character and aims of the institution (Figure 14).[111] The completed chapel drew admiration from all who saw it, but Dodge's vision was "fixed upon the size of something else!" As he confided to Bliss, "When we old men sit down together, this ecclesiastical *warshee* will serve for many a course of suppressed eloquence."[112] The college as an architectural embodiment of a long-term ecclesiastical and political crusade was complete.

A Modern American Frontier

After 1890, architecture gained an autonomous dimension within the SPC campus, as it started to express both the cultural ideas and the modern scientific expertise of American architects hired for the purpose. It was at this point that the largest distance between the missionary project and its local context was achieved, turning the campus into a true frontier.[113] On a local level, the designation of Beirut as a provincial capital in 1888 rendered the college's position even more politically significant but also added difficulties to the project because of the renewed scrutiny of the Ottoman government. The missionaries, however, were now quite experienced in evading Ottoman control. While the Ottoman Porte had redoubled its efforts, and its educational reforms had begun to reach Beirut in the late 1880s, it was too late to rein in the scale and influence of the American college.[114] SPC witnessed its quickest growth in these years. As new technologies of building were being elaborated in the United States and the college needed to add spaces to serve its ever-expanding educational programs, the campus's architecture no longer held strong local referents, nor was it possible for the missionaries to continue mediating its construction and design according to their own whims. The growing college staff was reorganized into various committees and departments, including a Building Committee, and the "corporation" in New York ensured financing and oversight in a more bureaucratic way.[115] Although the college was still conceived as part of a larger Anglo-American evangelical project, the steady industrial growth and stronger political and economic position of the United States in the world reinforced the institution's American character. The campus's sources of funding, commissioning, and direction were now situated firmly and exclusively in the United States.

Two new buildings erected from 1900 through 1902 exemplify the significant changes to the processes of construction and design that set the campus on a new trajectory of growth. Together, they illustrate the consolidation of the college as a dual moral and industrial enterprise, a truly imperial project. The first building was for a new preparatory department, which was needed to accommodate growing student numbers; by 1887, the student population had risen to five hundred, and it was projected to reach six hundred by 1901. The proposal was to erect a new building for the preparatory school, to enlarge the existing refectory by an additional wing, and to begin the first wing of a dormitory building designed to be constructed in stages. These additions would rise at the western edge of the site, forming another preparatory node in the campus. The preparatory building was "to be plain in construction, with no fancy corridors, tower or pillars, the simplest and most

Figure 15 Parish & Schroeder, Daniel Bliss Hall, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1900, view from the east (*Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College*, 1904, ABCFM Near East Records, 1820–1965, bMS 1136, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School).

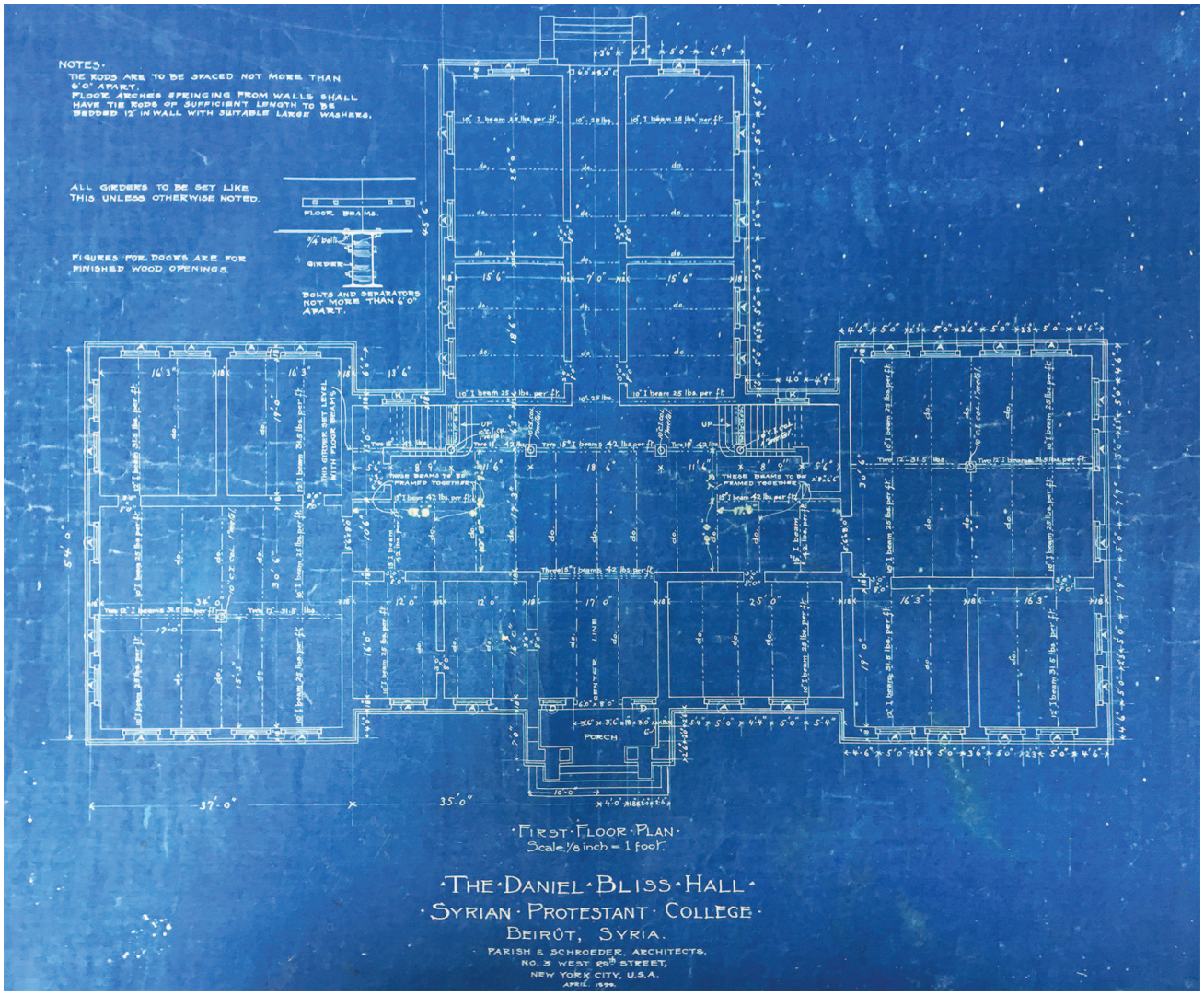

Figure 16 Parish & Schroeder, Daniel Bliss Hall, Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, first-floor plan, 1899 (Drawings and Maps Collection, Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

convenient and ample we can put up."[116] In such a building, which was mainly for student use, it was not "so imperative to have expensive outlines for the sake of effect."[117] More important were discipline and the correct disposition of students within the building. The completed building, named Daniel Bliss Hall, included "four large and airy study rooms, . . . and immediately adjoining each large room . . . three smaller rooms which may simultaneously be used for teaching the class in sections." This separation of classes so that each was "a small school in itself" was intended to make "discipline far more simple."[118] The style of the building reflected the austere and utilitarian function of its spaces. The firm of Parish & Schroeder, engaged at the time in designing educational buildings in New York, proposed a building whose modern classicism the missionaries perceived as "rather Italian, but . . . suitable for that climate and place" (Figure 15).[119] The building's construction also exhibited the use of innovative and highly technical means of production and procurement. As detailed in the college's annual report that year: "With the exception of the stone for masonry and the tiles for roof, almost all the materials for building were brought from America. . . . The doors and windows were shipped complete, and had only to be fitted on their arrival."[120]

Iron beams for the building arrived "numbered, drilled, and in every way ready for fitting," which meant "a great saving of labor to the Committee."[121] Two other new techniques were tested in the building: the use of the "Roebling method" for the construction of floors and the use of stucco instead of local stone for the exterior walls (Figure 16).[122] These innovations yielded clear advantages, including saving time and providing a stronger structure for the same costs as traditional techniques.[123] The campus was becoming an experiment in scientific construction and efficient building. But in contrast to the practices of the French Empire, which saw its colonies as "experimental terrains" in which to test new urban design ideas, here it was at the scale of material innovation and construction technology that the college was conceptualized as a space of overseas experimentation, foreshadowing later American expansion in that field.[124]

The design and building of the Science Hall a year later took these ideas further, translating programmatic importance into both structural and stylistic concerns. This final major project before Bliss's retirement as president also illustrated the opening of the college toward its broader North African and Ottoman context and the consolidation of its position in Beirut as a frontier for what the missionaries now saw as an imminently accessible Muslim world. England's advances into Egypt and the Sudan reaffirmed in Dodge's mind the divine destiny of the college, which was repositioned within this ever-expanding imperial battle.[125] The college's increasing student numbers reinforced these claims. Until the early 1890s, local Greek Orthodox and Protestant students had constituted a majority by virtue of SPC's Ras Beirut location.[126] Now, students were coming "from Greece, Turkey-in-Europe, Persia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, the Greek Islands, Cyprus, Syria and Egypt."[127] The actions and impacts of the college were no longer limited to its spatial boundaries within Beirut, or even Syria: "The present flood tide can be used to set afloat the ideas and principles that may and will touch the lives not only of these multitudes of students, but thro them, the destiny of countries all over the Western Orient."[128]

The Science Hall (later known as Post Hall) reflected these scientific, cultural, and imperial ambitions simultaneously. It was intended to house George E. Post's extensive scientific collections—geological, botanical, and zoological—and was conceived as a new ethnology department and museum. Forming an "object of special interest to Orientals" with "as full a display as can be made of objects illustrating the Ethnology of Asia and Africa," it incorporated public exhibition rooms on the ground floor and lecture rooms on the second.[129] Here, structural innovation and scientific construction methods acquired an integral dimension within the building's programmatic conception, while its architectural style articulated its ambitions on an urban and regional scale.

Similar to the plans of Bliss Hall, those of the Science Hall were prepared by New York architects who were both part of Dodge's social entourage and active in the design of other educational buildings in the United States.[130] Howells & Stokes provided detailed plans and proposed an elaborate structural system of timber trusses for the roof, iron girders for the lecture halls, and thin steel columns in the lower floor, where large uninterrupted spans were desired for the exhibition halls, combined with load-bearing stone walls (Figure 17).[131] Not only did the Science Hall have to conform to perceived universal standards of construction and spatial experience, but it was also important that a building of such significance, both in program and within the overall plan of the campus, be completed according to the detailed specifications of the architects and "under [their] exact supervision."[132] Although members of the Building Committee were eager to participate in the design process, Dodge was adamant "that the work of [their] architects should be adhered to in erecting the building."[133] Contrary to the prevalent myth that George E. Post, the museum's curator, had designed the Science Hall "down to the last detail," the building instead illustrated the strongest and clearest position architecture as a discipline had yet held within the college.[134] The hall's style reflected the architects' Orientalist ambitions rendered through architecture, much as its collections represented its curator's "biblical Orientalism" through ethnology (Figure 18).[135] Dodge's insistence on respecting the architects' plans might

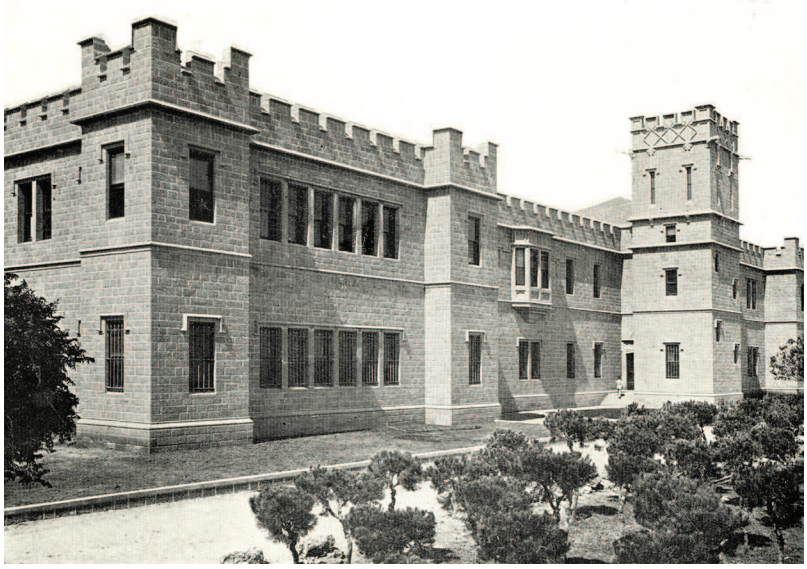

Figure 17 Howells & Stokes, Science Hall (Post Hall), Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1902, view from the northeast (*Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College*, 1904, ABCFM Near East Records, 1820–1965, bMS 1136, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School).

Figure 18 Howells & Stokes, Science Hall (Post Hall), Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, 1902, interior (Moore Collection, Library Archives, American University of Beirut).

have had to do with his personal connection to them, but it was certainly reinforced by his perception that they were "taking deeper interest in the plans and [were] rather enthusiastic now." Indeed, "the novelty of having a building erected under their plans, becoming a feature in this group on Oriental soil, quite captivate[d] them."[136] Newton Stokes seemed as eager to design the building as he was to join Post's planned "scientific exploration" of the Holy Land, and he was "one of the prime movers in it," although this was not loudly advertised.[137]

The completed Science Hall displayed the architects' understanding of the building's "Oriental" context combined with a collegiate Tudor-Gothic style. They had recently designed a building for Columbia University's Teachers College "in the Oxford style," but this was reinterpreted here to achieve "somewhat the air of one of the Khedive palaces."[138] This was doubly significant, as it not only projected the building's status as a "palace of science" but also recalled Dodge's regional aims for the college.[139] The hall was designed as a three-part elongated volume with crenelated towers marking each corner and the line of the roof. Its dark-yellow stone and sober Tudor style rendered it distinct from the lighter and plainer buildings of the college. Although Dodge had initially been concerned that the exterior was "diverse from the other styles on the campus," he predicted that "the array of buildings on the campus will be almost startling when this last of the line shall be completed."[140]

Indeed, the Ottoman authorities were startled by the quick expansion of the campus and the huge amounts of materials imported through the port. The American missionaries had evaded the requests of both the Porte and the American legation at Constantinople regarding full details of their landholdings, deeds, and buildings for several years.

Figure 19 Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, panoramic view from the coast, ca. 1914, showing (left to right) the Medical Building, Science Hall, Assembly Hall, and Main Building (LC-DIG-matpc-05222, G. Eric and Edith Matson Photograph Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress).

But the scale and speed of the new construction caused the Ottoman administration to apply renewed pressure and attempt to regain power in the new provincial capital. The official *firman* for the Science Hall was delayed continuously, an issue that was seen as "only fresh evidence of the [Jesuit] campaign begun against [their] new departures."[141] Still, Bliss continued construction despite the lack of *firman*, bribing the local officers to overlook the illegal construction—he had truly become a veteran at evading Ottoman governance.[142] The completion of the hall marked a final stage in the founders' evolving thoughts on architecture and their vision for the campus, which had radically transformed since the early haphazard trials displayed in the first buildings (Figure 19). The addition of the Science Hall on the eastern side of the college site, along with the new preparatory node to the west, completed the transformation of the campus into a true American campus row.

A Mutual Project

Although the ideology and aims of the college would evolve gradually with the retirement of Daniel Bliss and the presidency of his son, Howard Bliss, by 1902 the foundations and essential spatial character of the campus were complete. Future expansion would have to be taken up by the "younger men," but their years in the Building Committee had provided them with "solid experience in the trade of erecting buildings for SPC," and the two founders were confident in their successors.[143] Reflecting on forty years of what had been as much a huge construction project as a politico-religious enterprise, Dodge could exclaim, with great satisfaction:

> You and I hardly expected to see such progress in our day; but the whole matter seems to have been directed, step by step, and not by our seeking. We can hope the Divine Christ, in whose name it is all done, has purposes of His own in giving this College such prosperity.[144]

The missionaries' financial and religious networks, extensive industrial assets, material imports, architectural circles, diplomatic negotiations, and local stratagems had all been harnessed in the name of God and directed by his benevolence. The original "barren bluff" was now an extensive American colony, but the "College has only begun to enter on its work."[145] In the great "crusade" against Islam, the work so far had been a "skirmish," Dodge asserted: "Now the Battle begins."[146]

After 1900, the list of architects involved in the campus's architecture included, among many others, Edward Pearce Casey; Strickland, Blodget & Law; and McKim, Mead & White. Following World War I, the Syrian Protestant College was renamed the American University of Beirut, and its missionary purpose was reoriented toward liberal evangelical and developmental goals, under the umbrella of the newly organized Near East College Association.[147] While the establishment of the French Mandate for Syria and Lebanon in 1920 overshadowed the influence that SPC had consolidated before the war, the fact that Howard Bliss had traveled to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as a member of the Arab delegation attested to the real political power that the missionaries had acquired through their cultural and educational work. The expansion of an American empire in the twentieth-century Middle East, however informal, would remain indebted to these early missionary beginnings.[148] Moreover, until the establishment of the public Lebanese University in 1951, AUB and the Jesuit University remained the only two universities in Lebanon, retaining important cultural capital and central urban campuses that the Lebanese University was never able to match

Figure 20 American University of Beirut, aerial view, 2020 (Office of Communications, American University of Beirut).

or surpass. Today, spreading over 61 acres around its original site, the campus of AUB continues to foster and project an American lifestyle and liberal ideologies that have remained synonymous with the experience of Ras Beirut through the years (Figure 20).[149]

Despite the haphazard and tentative character of the campus's early buildings, architecture and the control of land had been conceived as integral parts of the missionaries' project from the start. Although they did not hold enough political influence in their early years to project a clear architectural vision, by inhabiting the promontory at Ras Beirut and imbuing their buildings with material, spatial, and discursive power, the missionaries had succeeded in gaining the political influence they sought. Regardless of Ottoman opposition, legal constraints, and local or internal resistance, the founders had slowly consolidated their campus, grown more ambitious and imperial, and embedded their enduring educational mission in Beirut, largely as planned. While they were not direct agents of an imperial state, their ambitions were explicitly imperial; it was in part because of their ambiguous political status that they were able to navigate the Ottoman context and opposition with relative freedom. In the early years, they had conceived of their project as part of Britain's imperial progress in the region, harnessing British diplomatic and financial support. But with time, they reoriented their ambitions toward a more explicitly American project, consolidating their own perception of the United States as financially, culturally, morally, and technologically superior—in other words, as the leading actor in this universal Anglo-American evangelical project, foreshadowing the United States' global role in the twentieth century.[150]

Within this project, architecture not only embodied religious ideas or cultural imaginations but was deployed as a total project of moral, material, and spatial control, articulating growing and covert imperial ambitions. As this article has shown, architecture at SPC transformed from a tentative symbol of spatial and cultural advance in the territory to a complex and highly regulated embodiment of American technological and scientific know-how, financial and industrial assets, and cultural and moral supremacy. Rather than an expression of direct colonial power, architecture held temporal and incremental agency as both the basis for claims of influence and the spatial-material foundation for their subsequent fulfillment. Understanding colonialism not as the architecture of a colonial state but rather as the permanent material manifestation of imperial intentions in a foreign place, the construction of SPC

illustrates the mutuality of architecture and colonialism as a project of power. Constrained and negotiated by a multiplicity of actors and factors, architecture—like colonialism—is ultimately always deliberate, and unequivocally the result of the constellation of cultural, political, economic, and material histories that shape its production.

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Abstract

This article focuses on the construction of the Syrian Protestant College from its foundation in 1863 to the beginning of the twentieth century and resituates American missionaries as covert imperial actors in nineteenth-century Beirut. It examines the close relationship between the missionaries' increasingly imperial ambitions and their architectural establishment in the city, as evidenced by the private correspondence of the college's founders. Here, architecture was neither a simple projection of "American" or evangelical culture nor a materialization of direct colonial control. Rather, architecture was tasked with multiple evolving roles as the missionary project grew more secure. This article traces the development of the college and its campus through three phases to illustrate how architecture and the missionaries' imperial ambitions became mutually constitutive over time. In elucidating the nineteenth-century imperial foundations of the Syrian Protestant College it reconsiders both the nature of American imperialism in the Middle East and the central role of architecture in its construction.

Keywords: Beirut; Ottoman Empire; British Empire; American imperialism; American missionaries; missionary architecture

Notes

1. This article draws on research conducted for my PhD at the University of Cambridge (2022) and began its life as the winning essay of the SAHGB Hawskmoor Medal 2020. I am grateful to the many colleagues and mentors since who have helped me see it through. I thank *JSAH*'s anonymous reviewers and editor for their insightful suggestions, and the staff of the American University of Beirut Archives for their invaluable assistance.

David S. Dodge to Daniel Bliss, 13 July 1878, Personal Correspondence, AA 2.3.1, Box 3, Folder 4, Daniel Bliss Papers, AUB Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library, American University of Beirut (hereafter Dodge to Bliss, [date], AA 2.3.1.X.X).

2. For more on Beirut's sudden growth after 1840, see Samir Kassir, *Beirut* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 80–89. The terms "Greater Syria," "Syria," and "the Levant" in this article designate nineteenth-century Greater Syria, including present-day Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine. "Lebanon" refers to present-day Lebanon, including the governorates of Mount Lebanon and Beirut, which were two separate provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. I use "American" to refer to the United States and the early colonies of North America, while recognizing the problematic use of this term.

3. Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 164; Julia Hauser, *German Religious Women in Late Ottoman Beirut: Competing Missions* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 1.

4. Several historians have charted these belated and often insufficient Ottoman attempts. See, for instance, Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire, 1876–1909* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998); Emine O. Evered, *Empire and Education under the Ottomans: Politics, Reform and Resistance from the Tanzimat to the Young Turks* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012). Other foreign schools included British, Prussian, Russian, and Italian institutions. Local schools included those of the Greek Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Maronite Catholic, and Sunni Muslim sects. See the contributions in Julia Hauser, Christine B. Linder, and Ester Möller, eds., *Entangled Education: Foreign and Local Schools in Ottoman Syria and Mandate Lebanon* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2016).

5. For a longer history of European and Christian interest in the Levant, see Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversion: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

6. See Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 112–14; Evered, *Empire and Education*, 109–38.

7. Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). See also Dominique Chevallier, *La société du mont Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1971), 256–68; Joseph Hajjar, *L'Europe et les destinées du Proche-Orient* (Paris: Bould & Gay, 1970); Samir Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820–1860* (London: Routledge, 2012); Michael Johnson, *All Honourable Men: The Social Origins of War in Lebanon* (London: Centre for Lebanese Studies, 2001).

8. For more on this conflict, see Caesar Farah, *The Politics of Interventionism in Ottoman Lebanon, 1830–1861* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1999); Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

9. On the humanitarian intervention, see Davide Rodogno, *Against Massacre: Humanitarian Interventions in the Ottoman Empire, 1815–1914* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011), 91–117; Davide Rodogno, "The 'Principles of Humanity' and the European Powers' Intervention in Ottoman Lebanon and Syria in 1860–1861," in *Humanitarian Intervention: A History*, ed. Brendan Simms and D. J. B. Trim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 159–83. The population of Beirut grew from 36,000 in 1855 to 60,000 in 1861, 70,000 in 1864, and 80,000 in 1865. See Nada Sehnaoui, *L'occidentalisation de la vie quotidienne à Beyrouth, 1860–1914* (Beirut: Dar An-Nahar, 2002), 18.

10. For other perspectives on SPC's architecture, see Maria Abunnasr, "The Making of Ras Beirut: A Landscape of Exceptionalism" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2013); Alexandra Kobiljski, "Learning to Be Modern: American Missionary Colleges in Beirut and Kyoto 1860–1920" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2010).

11. See May Davie, "Avènement d'une architecture scolaire moderne aux messages ambigus: Beyrouth, 1825–1900," in Hauser et al., *Entangled Education*, 73–98; Michael F. Davie, "Local and Western Educational Institutions in Beirut: Topographical and Symbolic Dominations," in Hauser et al., *Entangled Education*, 49–72.

12. For examples of contributions to this larger debate, see Mehmet Doğan and Heather Sharkey, eds., *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011); Ryan Dunch, "Beyond Cultural Imperialism: Cultural Theory, Christian Missions, and Global Modernity," *History and Theory* 41, no. 3 (2002), 301–25; Paul Harris, "Cultural Imperialism and American Protestant Missionaries," *Pacific Historical Review* 60, no. 3 (1991), 309–38; Andrew Porter, *Religion versus Empire?* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004); Eleanor H. Tejirian and Reeva Spector Simon, eds., *Altruism and*

Imperialism: Western Cultural and Religious Missions in the Middle East (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

13. See, for instance, Doğan and Sharkey, *American Missionaries*; Deanna F. Womack, *Protestants, Gender and the Arab Renaissance in Late Ottoman Syria* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 5; Hauser et al., *Entangled Education*; Heleen Murre-van den Burg, ed., *New Faiths in Ancient Lands: Western Missions in the Middle East in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Tejirian and Simon, *Altruism and Imperialism*.

14. Amy Kaplan, "'Left Alone with America': The Absence of Empire in the Study of American Culture," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), 17–19. Other examples include Michael Adas, *Dominance by Design: Technological Imperatives and America's Civilizing Mission* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 2006); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876–1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Paul Frymer, *Building an American Empire: The Era of Territorial and Political Expansion* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2017). On the "anti-imperial" narratives of the United States, see Ian Tyrrell and Jay Sexton, eds., *Empire's Twin: U.S. Anti-imperialism from the Founding Era to the Age of Terrorism* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015).

15. See, for instance, Adas, *Dominance by Design*; Frye, *Barbarian Virtues*.

16. See, notably, Emily Conroy-Krutz, *Christian Imperialism: Converting the World in the Early American Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2015); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, Kathryn Kish Sklar, and Connie A. Shemo, eds., *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009); Barbara Reeves-Ellington, *Gender, Reform, and American Interventions in the Ottoman Balkans and the Near East* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013); Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010).

17. Ussama Makdisi, "Reclaiming the Land of the Bible: Missionaries, Secularism, and Evangelical Modernity," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 3 (1997), 682.

18. I borrow the term "imperial horizon" from Mark Crinson, who uses it to designate British imperial activities that took place beyond the formal limits of the empire. See Mark Crinson, *Empire Building: Orientalism and Victorian Architecture* (London: Routledge, 1996), 5.

19. Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues*, 6. The correspondence between Dodge and Bliss forms part of the Daniel Bliss Collection held in Archives and Special Collections, Jafet Library, American University of Beirut.

20. I use "informal" in the sense first articulated by John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *Economic History Review* 6, no. 1 (1953), 1–15.

21. For other examples of missionary architecture in more or less formal situations, see G. Alex Bremner, "The Architecture of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa: Developing a Vernacular Tradition in the Anglican Mission Field, 1861–1909," *JSAH* 68, no. 4 (Dec. 2009), 514–39; Sara Honarmand Ebrahimi, *Emotion, Mission, Architecture: Building Hospitals in Persia and British India, 1865–1914* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023); Ralph Ghoche, "Erasing the Ketchaoua Mosque: Catholicism, Assimilation, and Civic Identity in France and Algeria," in *Neocolonialism and Built Heritage: Echoes of Empire in Africa, Asia, and Europe*, ed. Daniel E. Coslett (New York: Routledge, 2019), 87–105; Jasper Ludewig, "Mapoon Mission Station and the Privatization of Public Violence," *ABE Journal: Architecture Beyond Europe* 17 (2020), doi:10.4000/abe.8032; Emily Turner, "The Church Missionary Society and Architecture in the Mission Field: Evangelical Anglican Perspectives on Church Building Abroad, c. 1850–1900," *Architectural History* 58 (2015), 197–228. In informal situations the emphasis has been on hybridization; see, for instance, Yinrui Xie and Paul Walker, "Chinese and Christian? The Architecture of West China Union University," *Journal of Architecture* 26, no. 3 (2021), 394–424.

22. ABCFM Report, 1819, RG 115-2-7, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Syria Mission Records, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

23. For a foundational study on the overall activities of American missionaries in Syria, see Abdul-Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria, 1800–1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966). For a concise summary of SPC's establishment, see Abdul-Latif Tibawi, "The Genesis and Early History of the Syrian Protestant College," parts I and II, *Middle East Journal* 21, nos. 1 and 2 (1967), 1–15 and 199–212.

24. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, 40.

25. Tibawi, 40. The United States had a legation in Constantinople only from 1830, and it was not as powerful as the British embassy. Çagri Ehran, "Ottoman Official Attitudes towards American Missionaries," *Turkish Yearbook of International Relations* 30 (2000), 194–95. Besides the French, who supported the Catholics, Russia supported the Orthodox communities, and the Ottomans naturally supported the Muslim sects.

26. On the ABCFM's "native" policies and the tensions involved in applying them overseas, see William Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 77–90. On the application of these policies with regard to property, see "Report of the Committee on Buildings and Property," Oct. 1855, RG 115-15-9, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Syria Mission Records, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

27. Tibawi, "Genesis and Early History," 9.

28. The tensions between Anderson and the mission were evident at each of his visits and in subsequent reports. See, for instance, Rufus Anderson, *Report to the Prudential Committee of a Visit to the Missions in the Levant* (Boston: T. R. Mavin, 1844), ABC 76, Syrian Mission 1823–1871, ABCFM Archives, Houghton Library, Harvard University (hereafter ABCFM, HL); ABCFM, *Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Syrian Mission held in September and October, 1855* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1856), ABC 76, ABCFM, HL. See also Hutchison, *Errand to the World*, 77–90.

29. See Makdisi, *Culture of Sectarianism*.

30. See Sehnaoui, *L'occidentalisation*, 18; Leila Tarazi Fawaz, *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth-Century Beirut* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 44–60.

31. The five so-called great powers in this period were Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

32. For details about these foreign relief efforts, see Hauser, *German Religious Women*, 54–61; Rodogno, *Against Massacre*, 109–10.

33. H. Jessup to R. Anderson, 18 Oct. 1861, ABC 16.8, no. 174, Reel 546 (microfilm), ABCFM, HL. On the Jesuits' mission in Syria, see Chantal Verdeil, *La mission jésuite du Mont-Liban et de Syrie* (Paris: Indes Savantes, 2011).

34. Syria Mission to R. Anderson, 4 Feb. 1862, ABC 16.8, no. 78, Reel 545 (microfilm), ABCFM, HL.

35. R. Anderson to the Syria Mission, 18 Mar. 1862, ABC 76, ABCFM, HL.

36. D. Bliss to R. Anderson, 13 June 1862, ABC 16.8, no. 285, Reel 545 (microfilm), ABCFM, HL.

37. David Stuart Dodge, ed., *Memorials of William E. Dodge* (New York: D. F. Randolph, 1887), 195–206.

38. Certificate of incorporation for the Syrian Protestant College and Robert College of Constantinople, 1863, ABC 76, Personal Papers, Daniel Bliss, ABCFM, HL.

39. Paul V. Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1987), 90. See also Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878–1898* (Athens: Ohio State University Press, 1933), 78–79, 161–202.

40. William Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976). On the evolution of the college's educational mission, see Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011); Matthew A. Sharp, "Transformation at the Syrian Protestant College: The Role of Liberal Protestant Theology and Epistemology in the Shifting Vision of a Missionary College" (MA thesis, American University of Beirut, 2013). In addition to Arabic language and grammar, students in SPC's Literary Department studied modern languages (French, English, and Turkish), natural sciences, moral science, mathematics, and biblical literature, with the addition of medicine, surgery, anatomy, and physiology in the Medical Department's course. *Catalogue of the Syrian Protestant College*, 1869, ABCFM Near East Records, 1820–1965, bMS 1136/8 (6), Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School.

41. See, for instance, Marwa Elshakry, "The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut," *Past & Present* 196 (2007), 173–214; Sharp, "Transformation at the Syrian Protestant College."

42. Dodge to Bliss, 9 Mar. 1865, AA 2.3.1.3.1.

43. Dodge to Bliss, 27 Dec. 1864, AA 2.3.13.1.

44. Dodge to Bliss, 27 Dec. 1864, AA 2.3.13.1.

45. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports, 1866–67 to 1901–02* (Beirut: American University of Beirut Press, 1963), 1887; Minutes of the Faculty, 23 Jan. 1868, AA 2.1.2.

46. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1887; Minutes of the Faculty, 23 Jan. 1868.

47. Previously, foreign actors relied on illegal strategies to acquire land and remained legally bound only to their own nations. See Astrid Meier, "*Waqf* Only in Name Not in Essence," in *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber (Würzburg: Ergon, 2002), 201–18; Abdul-Karim Rafeq, "Ownership of Real Property by Foreigners in Syria, 1869 to 1873," in *New Perspectives on Property and Land in the Middle East*, ed. Roger Owen (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 175–239.

48. Dodge to Bliss, 14 Aug. 1873 and 23 Aug. 1873, AA 2.3.1.3.2. The United States would finally sign the protocol in 1874. Dodge to Bliss, 24 Sept. 1874, AA 2.3.1.3.2.

49. E. Smith to R. Anderson, 27 Apr. 1836, ABC 16.8, no. 101, Reel 537 (microfilm), ABCFM, HL.

50. Minutes of Faculty, 16 Mar. 1870, AA 2.1.2. For details of the *waqf* as a religious foundation in the Ottoman Empire, see John Barnes, *An Introduction to Religious Foundations in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

51. The land donations to the Jesuits are recorded in "Rapport sur les propriétés de Bikfaya," undated, and "Cahier des propriétés," 1898, 12-B.5, Archives Jésuites, Université Saint-Joseph, Beirut.

52. Deeds of Transfer, no. 6, Contract & Deeds, AA 2.5.3.3.0.

53. Minutes of the Faculty, 1 Apr. 1870, AA 2.1.2.

54. Note no. 22, Contracts & Deeds, AA 2.5.3.3.0.

55. Turner, *Campus*, 18–23.

56. Turner, 18–23.

57. Dodge to Bliss, 11 May 1871, AA 2.3.1.3.2.

58. Minutes of Faculty, 4 Oct. 1870, AA 2.1.2.7.

59. Dodge to Bliss, 27 June 1871, AA 2.3.1.3.2.

60. Dodge to Bliss, 27 Dec. 1864, AA 2.3.1.3.1.

61. Diana Balmori, "George B. Post: The Process of Design and the New American Architectural Office (1868–1913)," *JSAH* 46, no. 4 (Dec. 1987), 355. See also Winston Weisman, "The Commercial Architecture of George B. Post," *JSAH* 31, no. 3 (Oct. 1972), 185.

62. Dodge to Bliss, 2 Apr. 1866, AA 2.3.1.3.1.

63. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1872.

64. This seemed to be a reference to the open Arab courtyard types that would have preceded the late Ottoman enclosed "central hall." See May Davie, *Beyrouth 1825–1975: Un siècle et demi d'urbanisme* (Beirut: Order of Engineers and Architects, 2001).

65. For more on the triple arch, see, for instance, Michael F. Davie, ed., *La maison Beyrouthine aux trois arcs: Une architecture bourgeoise du Levant* (Beirut: ALBA Editions, 2003).

66. Kobiljski, "Learning to Be Modern," 103; Abunnasr, "Making of Ras Beirut," 59.

67. Dodge to Bliss, 29 July 1873, AA 2.3.1.3.2.

68. See, for instance, Davie, *La maison Beyrouthine*. On broader efforts to locate an "Ottoman" architecture in this period, see Ahmet Ersoy, "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," *Muqarnas* 24 (2007), 117–39.

69. European hybrid models were already present in major Ottoman cities and in Egypt, albeit adapted from clearer "national" styles. See, for instance, the discussion in Crinson, *Empire Building*, 6–11.

70. "Mardinian" here clearly referenced the work of the foreman, Abdul-Massih, who was from Mardin in current-day Syria. Dodge to Bliss, 23 Aug. 1873, AA 2.3.1.3.2.

71. For more on the multilayered significance of materials used in the college, see Yasmina El Chami, "An American 'Garden' in an Oriental 'Desert': The Modernity of Timber at the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut," *Architectural Theory Review* 25, nos. 1–2 (2021), 199–215.

72. Questions of adaptation/assimilation are common in discussions of missionary/colonial architecture more broadly, but what distinguished the American mission was the hybridity of its own architecture's "origins," which made the issue of an appropriate style more complicated. On the changing associations of American collegiate architectural styles, see Turner, *Campus*.

73. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1889.

74. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1866.

75. By the time the first buildings were completed, the number of students had risen to ninety. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1873.

76. Dodge to Bliss, 21 June 1873, AA 2.3.1.3.2.

77. Dodge to Bliss, 19 Mar. 1877, AA 2.3.1.3.3.

78. Dodge to Bliss, 10 July 1878, AA 2.3.1.3.4.

79. Some historians have speculated that the change to English was made because the college was having increasing difficulty in recruiting American professors who spoke Arabic, but it can also be understood as part of the general consolidation of the college's American character, described in the following section. See Elshakry, "Gospel of Science."

80. Dodge to Bliss, 8 Mar. 1879, AA 2.3.1.3.5.

81. Dodge to Bliss, 12 Sept. 1880, AA 2.3.1.4.1.

82. Dodge to Bliss, 15 May 1875, AA 2.3.1.3.2.

83. Turner, *Campus*, 79.

84. Dodge to Bliss, 21 Mar. 1879, AA 2.3.1.3.5.

85. Dodge to Bliss, 11 Aug. 1875, AA 2.3.1.3.2.

86. Dodge to Bliss, 2 Dec. 1878, AA 2.3.1.3.5.

87. Dodge to Bliss, 2 Dec. 1878, AA 2.3.1.3.5.

88. Dodge to Bliss, 21 Dec. 1878, 27 Jan. 1879, and 21 Mar. 1879, AA 2.3.1.3.5.

89. Dodge to Bliss, 21 Mar. 1879, AA 2.3.1.3.5.

90. The need for this new department was also linked to the desire for larger numbers of students able to pass the entrance examination, as discussed in SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1873.

91. Dodge to Bliss, 1 May 1879, AA 2.3.1.3.5, and 13 July 1880, AA 2.3.1.4.1.

92. Dodge to Bliss, 22 Jan. 1879, AA 2.3.1.3.5.

93. See Turner, *Campus*, 2–6, 47–50.

94. Dodge to Bliss, 12 Aug. 1879, AA 2.3.1.3.6.

95. Dodge to Bliss, 11 Oct. 1882, AA 2.3.1.4.3.
96. See, for instance, Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1880: Architecture and Urbanism in the Gilded Age* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1999).
97. For an overview of these relationships, see Thomas Bender, *Toward an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Lexington Books, 1975).
98. William A. Booth was a partner at Booth & Edgar, a New York sugar refinery (see Correspondence of William Booth and Daniel Bliss, AA 2.3.1.10.5); William E. Dodge was president of the National Temperance Society and founder of the YMCA; Alfred C. Post, father of George E. Post, was a trustee of the YMCA; and David Hoadley was president of the Panama Railway and vice president of the American Exchange Bank.
99. Dodge to Bliss, 14 May 1886, AA 2.3.1.5.3.
100. Dodge to Bliss, 27 July 1886, AA 2.3.1.5.3.
101. Dodge to Bliss, 6 July 1888 and 9 Oct. 1888, AA 2.3.1.5.4.
102. Dodge to Bliss, 29 Mar. 1889, AA 2.3.1.5.6.
103. See Mary N. Woods, *From Craft to Profession: The Practice of Architecture in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
104. Phoebe Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968). See also Jeanne Halgren Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
105. Dodge to Bliss, 22 July 1888, 22 Nov. 1888, and 29 Mar. 1889, AA 2.3.1.5.4; 16 June 1890, AA 2.3.1.5.7.
106. Dodge to Bliss, 11 Oct. 1889, AA 2.3.1.5.6.
107. Dodge to Bliss, 11 Oct. 1889, AA 2.3.1.5.6.
108. Rafeq, "Ownership of Real Property," 175–240.
109. Dodge to Bliss, 22 July 1888, 3 Aug. 1888, and 22 Nov. 1888, AA 2.3.1.5.4; 19 Aug. 1889, AA 2.3.1.5.6; 16 June 1890, AA 2.3.1.5.7.
110. Dodge to Bliss, 20 June 1889, AA 2.3.1.5.6.
111. Mahmood Haddad, "Syrian Muslims' Attitudes toward Foreign Missionaries," in Tejirian and Simon, *Altruism and Imperialism*, 265.
112. Dodge to Bliss, 28 Oct. 1890, AA 2.3.1.5.4.
113. The classic text on the significance of the frontier in American history is Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Holt, 1920).
114. Evered, *Empire and Education*, 114–30.
115. The board of trustees was incorporated in 1892, and Dodge referred to it as "the Corporation." Dodge to Bliss, 29 Jan. 1892, AA 2.3.1.6.1; SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1897.
116. Dodge to Bliss, 20 Jan. 1899, AA 2.3.1.7.6.
117. Dodge to Bliss, 21 Feb. 1899, AA 2.3.1.7.6.
118. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1900.
119. Dodge to Bliss, 2 Apr. 1899, AA 2.3.1.7.6.
120. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1899.
121. SPC Board of Managers, 1899.
122. See Sara Wermiel, "John A. Roebling's Sons Co. and Early Concrete Floors in New York City," in *John A. Roebling: A Bicentennial Celebration of His Birth*, ed. Theodore Green (New York: American Society of Civil Engineers, 2006), 1–14.
123. Bliss reported in detail on these "experiments" and their benefits to the construction process. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1899.
124. On the first, see, for instance, Gwendolyn Wright, *The Politics of Design in French Colonial Urbanism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991). See also Jeffrey Cody, *Exporting American Architecture, 1870–2000* (London: Routledge, 2003). On the broader importance of technology for the expansion of American empire, see Adas, *Dominance by Design*.
125. England had conquered Egypt and Sudan in 1882 and turned Sudan into an Anglo-Egyptian dominion in 1898.
126. SPC's annual report for 1896 shows the following breakdown of the student body by religion: 89 Protestant; 131 Greek Orthodox; 15–20 each Greek Catholic, Armenian Orthodox, and Maronite; and around 5–10 Muslim, Druze, and Jewish. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1896.
127. SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1900.
128. Dodge to Bliss, 20 Nov. 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.2.
129. George E. Post, "Curator's Report," in SPC Board of Managers, *Annual Reports*, 1902.
130. Partners John Mead Howells and Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes were designing Columbia's Teachers College at the time, and Stokes was the husband of Dodge's aunt, Olivia Phelps Stokes.
131. Dodge to Bliss, 22 June 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.2.
132. Dodge to Bliss, 27 Mar. 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.1.
133. Dodge to Bliss, 28 May 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.1.
134. Abunnasr, "Making of Ras Beirut," 60–63.
135. See David Grafton, *An American Biblical Orientalism: The Construction of Jews, Christians, and Muslims in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelical Piety* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2019).
136. Dodge to Bliss, 27 Mar. 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.1.
137. Dodge to Bliss, 23 Mar. 1900 and 30 Mar. 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.1. On the importance of archaeology in this period, see Bruce Kuklick, *Puritans in Babylon: The Ancient Near East and American Intellectual Life, 1880–1930* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).
138. Dodge to Bliss, 13 Mar. 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.1.
139. On the elaboration of a "science of architecture" in nineteenth-century England, see Edward Gillin, *The Victorian Palace of Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).
140. Dodge to Bliss, 2 July 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.2.
141. Dodge to Bliss, 17 Aug. 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.2.
142. Dodge to Bliss, 20 Nov. 1900, AA 2.3.1.8.2.
143. Dodge to Bliss, 26 Jan. 1899, AA 2.3.1.7.6.
144. Dodge to Bliss, 26 May 1901, AA 2.3.1.8.3.
145. Dodge to Bliss, 26 May 1901, AA 2.3.1.8.3.
146. Dodge to Bliss, 26 May 1901, AA 2.3.1.8.3.
147. The Near East College Association encompassed AUB, Robert College, Constantinople Women's College, International College Smyrna, Sofia American College, and Athens American College. *Broadcasting International Goodwill in the Near East from Six Important Stations*, undated pamphlet, NE-11-Z9, ABCFM Near East Records, 1820–1965, bMS 1136, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School.
148. On the role of missionaries and AUB in the subsequent activities of the United States in the Middle East, see Joseph L. Grabill, *Protestant Diplomacy and the Near East: Missionary Influence on American Policy, 1810–1927* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 186–213; Osama F. Khalil, *America's Dream Palace: Middle East Expertise and the Rise of the National Security State* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2016), esp. chap. 1.
149. Abunnasr, "Making of Ras Beirut"; Anderson, *American University of Beirut*.
150. On the twentieth-century iteration of this project, see Duncan Bell, *Dreamworlds of Race: Empire and the Utopian Destiny of Anglo-America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2020).