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In 1886, William Elliot Griffis, Rutgers graduate of 1869 and author of the influential *Mikado’s Empire*, wrote that “the number of Japanese students who have studied at New Brunswick during longer or shorter periods of time is about three hundred. At one time, there were about thirty of them boarding in the city.”

Although Griffis tended towards hyperbole, Rutgers, a small church-affiliated college in New Brunswick, New Jersey, indeed became a destination for Japanese nationals seeking to acquire Western knowledge during the early years of the Meiji period. Estimates differ widely, however, about the number of Japanese who actually came to New Brunswick and attended Rutgers College or its affiliated grammar school.

James Conte’s 1977 Princeton University dissertation, which remains a definitive treatment forty years later, identifies fourteen Japanese students at Rutgers College between 1867 and 1878, although Conte acknowledges that other Japanese attended secondary schools or worked with private tutors. Researchers Robert Schwantes and Marilyn Bandera in the United States and Ishizuki Minoru in Japan have found similar numbers. Later historians, like John E. Van Sant in *Pacific Pioneers* (2000), repeat the same figures, with a similar focus on the many *ryūgakusei* who became leaders in Meiji society after their return to Japan.

I would be tempted to disregard Griffis’ statement, were it not for the
presence of two intriguing photographs in the William Elliot Griffis Collection at Rutgers University Libraries in New Brunswick. The first one is a photograph of ten Japanese students in New Brunswick in April 1870, which was presented to Rutgers professor David Murray before he departed for Japan to work for the Monbushō. The second photograph, dated 1871, depicts eighteen Japanese students in New Brunswick. It was donated to Rutgers by Rynier Veghte, also at Rutgers at that time. While all of these young men are identified, only a few of the names are recognizable as students at Rutgers College or even at the Grammar School. The original photograph is small, 8½ x 6 centimeters mounted on a card known as a carte de visite, and was taken at D. Clark Studio in New Brunswick, as were most of the photographs of the Japanese students at Rutgers.

The presence of the Japanese students in New Brunswick is further re-
revealed through letters, additional photographs, and documents from the Rutgers University Special Collections and University Archives, the Reformed Church of America Archives, and from United States census records. For example, when brilliant Rutgers College student Kusakabe Taro died in April 1870, a group of Japanese students wrote to the Rutgers president thanking him for hosting the funeral and closing the college for the day. The letter was read into the Faculty Minutes along with the students’ signatures, but not all of their identities are known.5) Kusakabe was buried in what became the Japanese section of Willow Grove Cemetery in New Brunswick. He was joined by seven
other young Japanese nationals from the northeastern United States who died between 1870 and 1887. Several of them were students, but not at Rutgers. But they were brought and have remained together for 130 years in New Brunswick, only a few blocks from the Rutgers campus.

In this article, I will suggest a new way of understanding the experience of Japanese students at Rutgers and in New Brunswick during the early Meiji period. Using contemporary theory on the development of transnational networks, I suggest that the Japanese students in New Brunswick were the hub—indeed New Brunswick is popularly known as the Hub City—of a network of Japanese students that extended from New Brunswick to the major cities of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, and from there to the smaller towns of New England. This network was in turn part of a wider web of Protestant ministers, educators, and missionaries—both men and women—which encompassed Rutgers College and the neighboring New Brunswick Theological Seminary, and which stretched to Dutch Reformed parishes throughout the Eastern seaboard, westward as far as the Dutch enclave of Holland, Michigan, and extended eastward to churches, schools, colleges, and missions in Japan.6) Focusing on this transnational network, I will attempt to create a geography or ecology of Japanese students during this period. This approach is similar to that taken by Edward J. M. Rhoads in Stepping Forth into the World, his group biography of 120 members of the Chinese Educational Mission who studied in the United States from 1872 to 1881.7) Indeed some of the Chinese students attended the same schools and colleges as their cohorts from Japan and probably knew each other. Further research will likely reveal even more connections.

**Rutgers in the Nineteenth Century**

In 1766, Rutgers was chartered as Queens College, one of eight colleges founded in the American colonies before the Revolutionary War. Named after Queen Charlotte, the consort of the English King George III, the college opened in 1771 in rented rooms in a local tavern. New Brunswick was a bustling market town in central New Jersey settled in 1681 by the Dutch. Queens College was founded to train ministers for the Dutch Reformed Church in the American
colonies, sparing them the long and dangerous voyage back to the Netherlands. The college president and more than a quarter of the founding trustees were ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church. Despite these sectarian influences, Queens College was not fully under ecclesiastical control. Its avowed purpose was “the Education of Youth in the Learned languages and in the Liberal and Useful Arts and Sciences.” There were no religious restrictions on the faculty or students.8) In 1812, the college advertised that students “may expect to be treated with becoming Candor, without any Discrimination with Respect to their religious sentiments.” Possibly in response to this advertisement, Samuel Judah, the first Jewish graduate, became a member of the Class of 1816.9) It would be many years before more non-Christian students came to Rutgers, and these would be of the Buddhist faith.

Part of the reason for the college’s open policy, however, was that it was badly in need of students and funds. In fact, Queens College closed several times during the first fifty years of its existence. The connection with the Reformed Church, however, proved to be an important support for the struggling institution, as did the affiliated Rutgers Grammar School, which still attracted students while the college was closed. When a permanent home for the college, an imposing federal style building known as Old Queens, was erected in 1809, the Grammar School shared the space. They were joined by a theological seminary, first established in New York, which moved to New Brunswick in 1810. In 1825, Queens was renamed Rutgers College in honor of trustee and philanthropist Henry Rutgers.

The years leading up to the U.S. Civil War saw modest growth and prosperity for Rutgers College. In 1830, a new building, today known as Alexander Johnston Hall, was constructed for the Grammar School. A second academic building, Van Nest Hall, was completed in 1848. The new building became the home of the geological museum and Professor Louis Beck’s chemistry laboratory, significant in the development of science education at the college. Crowding in Old Queens, however, continued to be a problem.

Most students of the antebellum period came from Dutch families residing in New Jersey and New York and were members of the Dutch Reformed church, one of the United States’ smallest Protestant denominations. Despite the
religious atmosphere, a lively student culture developed on campus. Intellectual life centered on the student literary societies, the Philoclean and the Peithosophian, which held spirited debates, public speaking contests, wrote essays, and created their own library. Until the construction of Winants Hall in 1890, Rutgers had no dormitories or dining hall. Students lived at home or at approved boarding houses in New Brunswick, usually run by middle class ladies. Students formed their own clubs and societies. The first Greek-lettered secret society or fraternity, Delta Phi, was approved in 1845.\textsuperscript{10}

The United States Civil War (1861–1865) had a profound and devastating effect on all aspects of American society. Higher education lost students and momentum, although the effect was much more pronounced in the South where much college property was destroyed. At Rutgers, enrollment decreased to a low of 64 students in 1863–64; approximately 160 Rutgers students and alumni served in various capacities during the war, and seventeen died.\textsuperscript{11} A less well-known effect of the war was that it discouraged international students from coming to the United States. During the war, however, the U.S. Congress was able to pass the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, which provided funding for individual states to establish collegiate programs in such “useful arts” as agriculture, mechanics, mining, and military instruction.\textsuperscript{12} This act would have far-reaching effects on the development of state-supported education, particularly in the areas of science, agriculture, and vocational subjects. While some states used the windfall to found new colleges, Rutgers’ professors successfully lobbied the New Jersey legislature to designate the existing institution in New Brunswick as the land-grant recipient. The Rutgers Scientific School was founded in 1864. Most students from Japan would enter this new program.

In the years following the Civil War, the United States rapidly developed from a sleepy, predominantly agricultural society to an industrial and commercial world power. Advances in transportation, technology, and communication fueled a growing economy. Millions of immigrants flocked to U.S. shores, leading to an explosion of the urban population and growing ethnic, linguistic, and religious diversity. The higher education sector expanded as well. The period 1860 to 1890 saw an increase in the number of institutions of higher education, growing diversification of the curriculum—particularly in the fields of
teacher education, applied sciences, engineering, and agriculture—and new opportunities for women.13)

Rutgers itself was transformed from a small church-affiliated institution to what historian of education Ben Justice has termed a multi-purpose college.14) Between 1840 and 1870, Rutgers gradually and amicably separated itself from the Dutch Reformed church. The construction of Hertzog Hall in 1856 removed the theological students physically from the college. By 1867 the separation was complete, although Rutgers remained Dutch Reformed in character.15) Indeed the new president, Dr. William H. Campbell (1862–1882) was a Reformed Church minister and professor at the theological seminary. Under Campbell, Rutgers would begin to assume the contours of a modern academic institution. He hired an outstanding faculty, including David Murray and Isaac Hasbrouck in mathematics, Francis C. Van Dyck in chemistry, and George Atherton in history. This dynamic group developed the curriculum of the new scientific school, reintroduced modern languages for both scientific and classical students, and dropped the requirement of Latin and Greek after the sophomore year.16) Gradually the traditional classical curriculum was being replaced. Academic standards improved, as evidenced by the establishment of Phi Beta Kappa, the national honor society, in 1869.

William Campbell was also a successful fundraiser who enhanced the physical plant of the college. In 1866, a donation from New York City businessman Daniel S. Schanck funded the construction of an observatory, which boasted telescopes, clocks, and a revolving roof. Another science building, Geological Hall, was built in 1872 to give instruction in agriculture, engineering, and military tactics, while a combined chapel and library building was completed the following year.17) Despite the separation from the Reformed Church, students were still expected to attend chapel on Sundays. The city of New Brunswick became increasingly industrialized during this period, while its busy railroad tied it to the nearby commercial centers of New York and Philadelphia. Immigrants, primarily working-class Roman Catholics from Ireland and Germany, staffed the factories and labored as domestic servants for the city’s prosperous middle class. The African-American population—about 5 percent of the city’s approximately 11,000 residents—tended to be relegated to the worst
The young men at Rutgers College enjoyed their years in this lively city. Under Campbell’s leadership, the college grew from 79 undergraduates in 1862 to 194 in 1872. By the late 1860s, an intricate student culture had developed. The students founded new organizations like the *Targum* newspaper in 1869 and the *Scarlet Letter* yearbook in 1871. William Elliot Griffis, a founder of both of these publications, emerged as an honor student and class leader. College sports were growing in popularity—the Rutgers Boating Association was founded in 1867, soon followed by a baseball club, while the first intercollegiate football game was played between Rutgers and Princeton in November 1869.

As at Yale and other nineteenth-century colleges, students identified with their class year—freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior—and interclass rivalries and freshman hazing were common. It was fashionable for mid-nineteenth century undergraduates to carry canes. Freshmen were initially not permitted this privilege, resulting in “cane wars,” pitched battles on the campus lawn as freshmen tried to wrest the prize away from their sophomore classmates. The worst battle apparently took place on September 22, 1869. The Faculty Minutes reported many minor and major infractions of discipline. For example, in April 1868, the faculty attempted to discover who had “fired the privies,” or blown up the toilets. In March 1869, Simeon E. Buchnall, a senior from the Scientific School was “admonished for visiting billiard saloons,” and “his guardians··· [were] informed.” This was the atmosphere that the first Japanese students encountered upon their arrival in New Brunswick in 1867.

**The First Japanese Students in New Brunswick**

Six thousand miles away, Japan was in the midst of the turbulent *Bakumatsu* period following the forced opening of trading ports and the imposition of unequal treaties. The Tokugawa leaders saw how China and other Asian nations had been colonized by Western powers, and hoped to avoid that fate by rapidly assimilating Western science and technology and harnessing them for...
Western knowledge was sought to compete—to literally drive off the barbarians. In 1855, the shogunate at Edo established an office for the study of foreign books. Later this office screened students for study abroad in Holland, Britain, and Russia. Some of the more independent domains like Satsuma and Chōshū also adopted the strategy of sending students abroad to study, although international travel required permission from the Tokugawa authorities.

Foreign study was not new to Japan. The term *ryūgakusei* dates from the seventh century when students from Japan went to China to study. During the Tokugawa period, the term *yūgaku*, meaning visiting study, was used for students who went to schools in other provinces. Particularly during the *Bakumatsu* period, students sought out foreign teachers in the Dutch enclave of Nagasaki. Conte and Ishizuki have documented 153 Japanese who studied abroad during this time. These included fifteen students who were sent to Holland by the *bakufu* and five students sent to London from the Chōshū domain. In 1865, nineteen men, including future diplomat and proponent of Westernization Mori Arinori left Satsuma for Great Britain. While all were members of the samurai class, five were senior retainers including Hatakeyama Jōnosuke, a captain of the guards. Several members of the group were students at the *Kaiseijō*, the domain’s school of Western studies. Ichiki Kanjūro, age 23, was in the first class or highest grade of the *Kaiseijō*, which focused on *rangaku* or Dutch learning, while Yoshida Minoji, 20, was in the third class. Yoshida apparently bored his companions with his enthusiasm for *jōi*, the strategy of mastering Western knowledge to expel the barbarians. The students all took assumed names for their own protection. Hatakeyama become Sugiura Kōzō and Yoshida became Nagai Iosuke. They took these names seriously and some, like Ichiki Kanjūro, used his assumed name Matsumura Junzō for the rest of his life. Arriving in London in 1865, the group rented a house and commenced studying English. Through the good offices of a member of Parliament, Laurence Oliphant, arrangements were made for them to attend University College, where Alexander Williamson, a professor of chemistry, took them under his wing.

Some of the Satsuma students came under the influence of Thomas Lake
Harris, a charismatic Christian mystic introduced by their patron Laurence Oliphant. Harris convinced six of them, including Mori, Hatakeyama, Matsumura, and Yoshida to join his Brotherhood of New Life movement and move to a utopian community in Brocton, New York. Drawn to Christianity and badly in need of money, the students found the offer attractive. In the 2000-acre tract on the shores of Lake Erie, the Japanese students labored in the colony’s orchards—wine-making was the group’s main means of support—while living in austere conditions, although they did have the opportunity to study English and the Bible.

The first Japanese to study in the United States as opposed to Europe, were actually John Manjiro and Joseph Heco, shipwrecked sailors who were rescued and taken to America during the 1840s and 1850s, where they worked and went to school. In July 1864, Niijima Jō, a twenty-one year old samurai from the Annaka domain stowed away on a merchant ship in Hakodate harbor. In the United States, he was adopted by a well-to-do Massachusetts family and attended Andover Seminary and Amherst College. Adopting his patron’s name Hardy, Niijima became an ordained Congregationalist minister and founder of Dōshisha University in Kyoto.

Apart from Niijima Jō at Amherst, the small group of Japanese students who went to the U.S. during the Bakumatsu all went to Rutgers. But why Rutgers? The college’s longstanding affiliation with the Dutch Reformed church meant that the early Dutch missionaries in Japan, particularly Guido Verbeck, were familiar with the small college. Born in Zeist in the Netherlands in 1830, Verbeck was trained in Utrecht as an engineer before emigrating to the United States in 1852. He worked briefly in engineering before entering Auburn Seminary in western New York. Graduating in 1859, he was commissioned, along with Samuel Robbins Brown and Duane Simmons, as one of the three pioneer Reformed Church missionaries bound for Japan. Many of the early ryūgakusei initially studied with Verbeck in Nagasaki; when they sought further educational opportunities abroad, he referred them to John Mason Ferris, secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Dutch Reformed Church in New York, who in turn referred them to Rutgers. John Mason Ferris was born in 1825 in Albany, New York and graduated from New York University and the New
Brunswick Theological Seminary. He lived in the Flatbush section of Brooklyn, where he served as a trustee of the church-affiliated Erasmus Hall Academy. Together Verbeck and Ferris would lay the foundations of the Japanese network at Rutgers.

The first Japanese students to come to New Brunswick were Yokoi Saheita and Yokoi Takei from Kumamoto, the nephews of reformer Yokoi Shonan. Both studied in Nagasaki with Guido Verbeck. In 1866, they left Japan without bakufu permission under the names Sataro Ise and Saburo Numagawa with a letter of introduction to Ferris. Ferris arranged for financial support from the Board of Foreign Missions and sent them to the Rutgers Grammar School. In fact, he accompanied them to New Brunswick, met with Reverend Alexander McKelvey, the headmaster of the Grammar School, and arranged for their admission, room, and board in the home of the headmaster himself. Writing many years later, Ferris recalled:

Returning from an errand to the office of the Board of Foreign Missions at 103 Fulton street, N.Y., late in the afternoon in the autumn of 1866 I found there a plain looking man and two young men who appeared to be Chinamen. The man proved to be the captain of a bark, the young men Japanese. They were clothed in American garments….they wished, they said, to study navigation, to learn how to build “big ships” and make “big guns” to prevent European powers from taking possession of their country. They had one hundred dollars in gold remaining of the amount with which they started.

At the Grammar School, the Yokoi brothers worked on improving their English and took basic courses to prepare them for college study.

The following year, they were joined by another young samurai from the domain of Echizen (later Fukui prefecture) near the Sea of Japan. Born Yagi Yasohachi, but better known under his assumed name Kusakabe Taro, Yagi studied in his domain school and in Nagasaki, where he befriended the Yokoi brothers. Kusakabe petitioned the daimyo of Echizen to send him overseas to study, following the same route from Verbeck to Ferris to New Brunswick. He
arrived in the United States in 1867 fired with the desire to “fulfill my duty to
the Imperial realm by clarifying the defects in the relations between us Japanese
and the foreigners in the light of the international law of all nations and universal
principles.”37

Before entering the Grammar School and subsequently Rutgers College, Kusakabe lived for a few months with the Reverend Dr. Edward T. Corwin (1834–1914), the pastor of the Millstone Reformed Church in Hillsborough, New Jersey. Corwin tutored a number of Japanese students in his home, which at the time was easily accessible by train from New Brunswick. Corwin was one of the many pastors and lay people who helped the Japanese students.

Kusakabe entered Rutgers College in the spring term of 1867. American colleges did not necessarily correspond to the Japanese educational calendar, so the existence of the summer term contributed to Rutgers’ appeal.38 He proved to be an outstanding student, particularly in mathematics. Entering the Scientific School before the reform of the curriculum of 1871, Kusakabe was forced to take many courses, like Latin, with the students following the classical curriculum. In the fall of 1868, Kusakabe was joined by three of the Satsuma students, Hatakeyama, Matsumura, and Yoshida, who had become disillusioned with Harris’ version of Christianity. They were “admitted to the Third Scientific Class” (sophomore year) with a caveat that Hatakeyama “must have a tutor.”39 Both Hatakeyama and Yoshida would continue to struggle academically over the next months, as indeed did many of the American students at Rutgers College.40

In 1868, of course, civil war broke out in Japan, ultimately leading to the restoration of the Meiji emperor. The Japanese students at Rutgers were deeply concerned over events at home. As Hatakeyama explained in a letter to Ferris, “I am very anxious to hear from Japan; but rather sorry that even we do not see any news of Civil War in Japan lately. I hope however you not be anxious about the miserable state of our country.”41 Most pressingly, financial support for the students dwindled in the chaos of war and change of government. At this time, members of the Reformed church organized a fund for the students’ support, much of which was later paid back.42 Thanking Ferris for forwarding a check from a supporter, Hatakeyama wrote, “I am very sorry that
I was compelled to make that request to yourself and the other gentlemen. I was never in such an awkward situation. If I had not met such friends it would not be possible for me to remain in this country and gain knowledge. I thank God he sent me here.”43) Sincere as was his concern for the Japanese students, Ferris hoped that his labors would lead them to convert to Christianity. In fact, both Hatakeyama and Yoshida were baptized in the Reformed Church while in New Brunswick. Yoshida even wrote asking Ferris if he could take John Mason as his baptismal name, but, not receiving a reply in time, settled for John Wesley instead.44)

**Early Meiji Students**

With the promulgation of the Charter Oath in 1868, the new Meiji government committed itself to the principle of study abroad. Article V stated “Knowledge shall be sought for all over the world and thus shall be strengthened the foundation of the Imperial Polity.”45) Foreign students were placed under the *Daigaku*, which issued rules and provided financial support. The new guidelines theoretically opened study abroad to all regardless of social status, although in reality applications from the nobility were encouraged.46) Some Japanese already abroad like Kusakabe were made government-sponsored students retroactively.

According to Conte’s analysis, 94 Japanese students came to the United States for higher education between 1867 and 1878. For these students, Rutgers College was the most popular “first institution” over Yale, Harvard, Amherst, and others, with fourteen students attending.47) Four of these students graduated, including Kusakabe Taro, who received his degree posthumously in 1870. Yokoi Tahei became ill and returned to Japan in 1869, where he became a founder of the School of Western Sciences at Kumamoto. His older brother Saiseita transferred to the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, becoming one of the first Japanese to attend. He withdrew in 1871, but returned to the United States to study naval law at Columbia College in Washington, D.C., a forerunner of George Washington University.48) Nor did the three Satsuma students remain long at Rutgers. Hatakeyama was recalled by the Meiji government to serve as
an interpreter for the Iwakura Mission. Matsumura transferred to the U.S. Naval Academy, while Yoshida left after a few months to study at Wilbraham Academy in Monson, Massachussetts, home of Reformed Church missionary Samuel Robbins Brown.

What was life at Rutgers like for the Japanese students? Besides their studies, many participated in sports and extracurricular activities. Kusakabe Taro was a member of the Scientific Literary Society. Other Japanese joined Greek-lettered fraternities. Matsumura reportedly liked to play football. Hat- tori Ichizo, Class of 1875, joined the recently-founded baseball club. There is little evidence that the Japanese students joined in the raucous student pranks of the day. Matsudaira Tadanari who was the feudal lord of Ueda, Class of 1879, co-signed a letter to Professor George H. Cook, stating “we acted no part in the disorder created in your class room and discountenance the same.” Tadanari’s younger brother Tadaatsu, who studied in New Brunswick for a short time, remained long enough to marry Carrie Sampson, the daughter of a local bookseller. Matsudaira Tadaatsu transferred to the Worcester Free Institute (later Polytechnic) and then to Harvard University. Remaining in the United States, he had a career as an engineer and started a family before his early death in 1888.

Let us return to the two photographs. Of the students pictured, only a few actually attended Rutgers College. Others attended the Grammar School, or studied with private tutors like Edward Corwin. Still others were visitors from other schools and colleges or from Japan. Hiraka, part of the 1870 group, attended law school in Boston and later became a judge in Japan. Prince Shimazu from Satsuma, also pictured in this group, arrived in New Brunswick with three attendants in December 1869. Writing from Corwin’s home in Millstone where he was staying to try to recover his health, Kusakabe explained to Ferris,

The Prince and his party have arrived at New Brunswick on the last saturday, and are now staying at Hotel, but they will move somewhere else as soon as we find good boarding places…. In regard to their studies I think, it is better for them, that Soogiwoora or I, myself will teach them on some primary branches until be able to go to school… at present
Kusakabe’s letter clearly references a network of Japanese students outside the formal academic and social structures of Rutgers.

The 1871 photograph further demonstrates the size of this network but presents greater challenges in identification. Matsumura and Hatakeyama are familiar, of course, as is Hattori. Shiramine Shunme and Outsuka Yasuhiro also attended Rutgers, but like many Japanese students, did not graduate. Despite his lack of an academic degree, Shiramine would become famous in Japan as a naval inventor. Other students like Hara Yasutaro and the sons of Prince Iwakura, Asahi and Tomotsune, known as Tats, went to the Grammar School. Although Hara left the Grammar School early because of illness, back in Japan he ultimately became a paymaster in the Imperial Navy. Nambu Okuma and Yamakawa Kenjiro have no known connection with Rutgers aside from this photograph, but both are known to have had distinguished careers in Meiji Japan. Nambu, one of two brothers to come to New Brunswick, married the daughter of Okuma, the Minister of Finance, and entered the Land Survey Office. Yamakawa transferred to the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, graduating in 1875. In Japan, he ultimately became president of Tokyo Imperial University and founding president of Kyuushu Imperial University. As for Kunishi, Tajiri, Taneda, and Sugano, I have discovered very little about them so far, other than their appearance in this photograph.

In conclusion, what distinguished the Japanese student experience in New Brunswick during this period was the connection to a network of friends and mentors. Japanese students throughout the East Coast knew each other and corresponded. They shared information, enabling them to keep up with friends and events in other parts of the country and in Japan. American missionaries like Samuel Robbins Brown and Guido Verbeck and pastors like John Ferris served as key intermediaries and points of contact. As students returned to Japan to work and were joined by Western employees of the Japanese government like William Elliot Griffis, they too became part of the network. Using the railroad lines that connected New Brunswick to Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and beyond, the Japanese students traveled, visiting each other, helping
newcomers get settled, and investigating new locations. While numbers at individual colleges were small, the overall network was large, stretching into the hundreds. Even though some Japanese may have only stayed in the U.S. a few months, their experiences and the connections made served them well in Meiji Japan.

By the 1880s, although Japanese students continued to come to the United States and to Rutgers, the numbers did not approach those of the early 1870s. By that time, ample opportunities for higher education existed in Japan at a lower cost. Those students who did study abroad tended to be graduate students pursuing specialized fields, and the country of choice became Germany rather than the United States. The networks that arose in the early Meiji period persisted, however, as many of the former students became leaders in education, government service, and business. Many maintained their ties with American missionaries, educators, and friends, and cherished their time at the small college on the Raritan River.

5) Rutgers College Faculty Minutes, April 22, 1870, Special Collections and University Archives, Rutgers University Libraries, henceforward SC/UA.
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9) Ibid., 229.

10) Frusciano, Logue, et. al., 31–34.

11) Frusciano, Logue, et. al., 34.


13) Ibid., 75 and 96.

14) Frusciano, Logue, et al., 35.

15) Ibid., 34.


19) Frusciano, Logue et al, 161–162.

20) Thelin, 94.

21) Frusciano, Logue et al, 159.

22) Faculty Minutes, April 30, 1868, SC/UA.

23) Faculty Minutes, March 12, 1869, SC/UA.


27) Conte, 2.


29) Andrew Cobbing, *The Satsuma Students in Britain: Japan’s Early Search for the “Essence of the West”* (Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library, 2000), 13–71.

30) Cobbing, 114–122.

31) Van Sant, 79—96.

32) Ibid., 2.

33) Ibid., 64–78.


35) “Dr. Ferris Had a Share in Educating Japanese,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (January
15, 1905).


38) Bandera, 20–21.

39) Faculty Minutes, December 22, 1868, SCUA.

40) Faculty Minutes, December 22, 1868 and February 22, 1869, SCUA.

41) Kozo Soogiwoora [Hatakeyama] to J.M. Ferris, September 28, 1868, MC 1015 William Elliot Griffis Collection, Box 159, Folder 2, SCUA. Original in archives of the Reformed Church of America, New Brunswick, NJ.


43) Kozo Soogiwoora [Hatakeyama] to J.M. Ferris, November 3, 1868, Griffis Collection, Box 159, Folder 2, SCUA.

44) Iwoske Nagai (Yoshida Kiyonari) to J. M. Ferris, November 20, 1868, Griffis Collection, Box 159, Folder 2, SCUA.

45) From copy reproduced in Burks, 418.

46) Conte, 45–49.

47) Ibid., 90.


49) Griffis, “Japanese Students in America,” 12.

50) Copy in Griffis Collection, original location unknown.


52) Kusakabe Taro to John Ferris, December 12, 1869, Griffis Collection, Box 159, Folder 2, SC/UA.
日本語要旨
目に見えないネットワーク
——明治初年ラトガースにおける日本人留学生——

ファーナンダ・ペローン

1 はじめに

明治初年、多くの日本人留学生がアメリカニュージャージー州のニューブランズウィックにあるラトガース・カレッジやその準備校であるラトガース・グラマースクールで学んだ。ラトガースに残された2枚の写真や、ニューブランズウィック市内の墓地に残された日本人の墓がそのつながりを証明している。

私は今日、ニューブランズウィックにおける日本人留学生のつながりが、当時のニューヨークやフィラデルフィア、ボストン、ニューイングランドなどにみられる日本人留学生たちのネットワークをつなぐハブ（hub）であったことを指摘したい。

そしてそれはまた、ラトガースやニューブランズウィック神学校をとりまくプロテスタントの教会ネットワークの一部であり、さらにはオランダ改革派教会の日本をふくむ東洋における活動につながっていた。

現在私はこうした国境を越えた日本人留学生のネットワークに関する地理的・社会学的研究を、今日コメンテーターを務めてくださる阿部珠理先生とともに鋭意すすめており、そうしたなかで本日発表の機会を与えたくださった慶應義塾福沢研究センターの関係者の皆様に深く感謝するとともに、この報告をきっかけとして情報交換の新たなネットワークが生れていくことを願っている。
2 19世紀のラトガース

1771年ラトガース・カレッジは独立後のアメリカにおける8番目のカレッジとして、英国王ジョージ3世の妃シャルロッテにちなんでクイーンズ・カレッジの名を冠して開学した。当初はオランダ改革派教会の聖職者養成が目的であった。しかし学生は集まらず、カレッジは数度の閉鎖を余儀なくされたが、1825年に義大利・ラトガースの援助を得て、ラトガース・カレッジとして再出発した。南北戦争（1861-1865）後にラトガース・カレッジはウィリアム・キャンベル学長のもとで、教会のくびきを脱し、科学学校を併設するなどして一般に開かれた近代学問の府として大きく発展した。学生たちの自主的な動きも文化・スポーツなど多方面にわたって活発となった。こうしたラトガースの隆盛期に、日本人の留学生たちがやってきたのである。

3 ニュープランズウィックにおける最初の日本人留学生

幕末において長崎などから少なくない数の留学生が欧米諸国に向かったが、アメリカには10人前後の学生しか留学していない。それは1861年から65年の南北戦争があったためである。そのなかにはイギリスからアメリカに移った森有礼をはじめとする薩摩藩留学生や、単身出館を脱してマサチューセッツに入った新島襄がいるが、彼らを例にすれば当時の日本人留学生はみなラトガースに向かっている。なぜラトガースなのか？その理由は、オランダ改革派教会がラトガースと強い結びつきをもっており、その教会が日本に派遣した宣教師がフルベッキ（Verbeck）であったからである。フルベッキは1830年のオランダに生まれたが、アメリカに移住してニューヨーク近郊の神学校を卒業したのち、オランダ改革派教会の宣教師として日本に派遣された。長崎のフルベッキのもとで学んだ学生が海外留学を望んだ場合、彼らはニューヨークの改革派教会外国伝道局の責任者であるJ. M. フェリス（J. M. Ferris）を紹介され、そのフェリスは彼らにラトガースを勧めたのである。フェリスはニュープランズウィック神学校の卒業生であった。つまりフルベッキとフェリスの二人が、ラトガースにおける日本人留学生のネットワークの基礎を築いたのである。

最初にニュープランズウィックにやってきた日本人留学生は、熊本出身の横井左平太・大平兄弟であった。彼らは幕末の革新的思想家であった横
井小楠の甥である。兄弟は長崎でフルベッキのもとで学び、1866年鎖国の禁をおかしてニューヨークに向かい、フェリスの紹介でラトガース・グラマースクールに入った。そのときフェリスは彼らに教会からの経済支援を与え、グラマースクールの入学許可を取り付け、下宿まで世話している。そこで彼らは英語力を養い、カレッジに進む基礎を学ぶことができたのである。

翌年には横井兄弟のもとは福井からの留学生で旧友であった日下部太郎が合流した。彼は藩主の命をうけ、やはりフルベッキ、フェリスを介してニューブランズウィックにやってきた。彼は数ヶ月間ニューブランズウィック近郊のミルストン教会のコーワイン師のもとで過ごしたのち、ラトガース・グラマースクールやカレッジに入学した。彼は1868年にカレッジ科学学校に入り、とくに数学に長じた優秀な学生であった。同年秋にはさらに薩摩藩留学生である畠山義成・松村淳蔵・吉田清成の三人がここに加わった。

4 明治初期の留学生

プリンストン大学のジェームス・コンテの分析によれば、1867年から78年にかけて94人の日本人留学生がアメリカに来たが、ラトガースにはイエール、ハーバード、アマーストなどを凌いで14人の学生が学んでおり、当時もっとも人気のある最初の受入れ教育機関であったという。その後の彼らの動向については、例えば横井左平太や松村淳蔵はアナポリスの海軍兵学校に、吉田清成はモンソンのウィブラム・アカデミーに移ってそれぞれ専門的な知識を深め、また畠山義成は岩倉使節団を助け、横井大平は熊本に洋学校を開くなど、西洋の知識を広げることに貢献していった。

2枚の写真にもどると、ここにはラトガース・カレッジ、グラマースクール、コーワインのもとで学んでいた者や、数人のビジターも含まれているが、彼らの間では、互いに足らざることを補って勉強をすすめ、また内外の情報を交換するなど、教会組織を中心に挙げて活発な交流が行われていた。こうした明治初年にみられたラリタン河畔の小さなカレッジ（ラトガース）における宣教師・教育者・留学生の間の結びついたが、その後の日本の教育・政治・経済界のリーダーを生み出す基礎を形作ったのである。

（文責：高木不二）