AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

INCORPORATING THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE INTO AMERICAN STUDIES: A COMPARATIVE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF MEDICINE, MISSIONARIES, AND SEXUALITY

by

MICHAEL WILLIAM DOYLE

A project
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
to the Prince Alwaleed Bin Talal Bin Abdulaziz Alsaud Center for American Studies and Research
of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences
at the American University of Beirut

Beirut, Lebanon
September 2018

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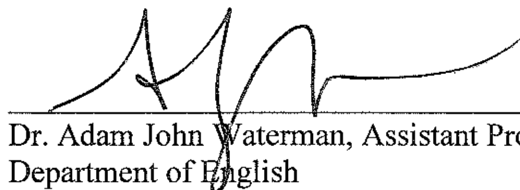

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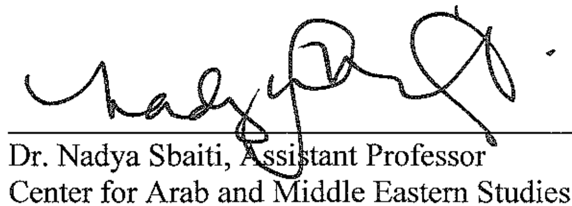

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Special thanks to Dr. Nadya Sbaiti and Dr. Adam John Waterman for serving on my committee. An additional thanks to Dr. Steven Salaita, Dr. Waleed Hazbun, Dr. Sara Mourad, Dr. Karim Makdisi, Dr. Tariq Tell, and Dr. Patrick McGreevy for their knowledge and support throughout my two years at AUB.

AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROJECT OF

Michael William Doyle for Master of Arts
Major: Transnational American Studies

Title: Incorporating the Ottoman Empire into American Studies: A Comparative Historiography of Medicine, Missionaries, and Sexuality

This project traces the methodological and subject concerns of three different academic literatures and identifies gaps in current research in order to bring the nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman Empire into contact with American Studies. This project examines secondary literature on the history of American medicine in the nineteenth century, the history of Ottoman medicine in the nineteenth century, and the history of American missionaries in Greater Syria. It makes recommendations based on the review of these three literatures about how to proceed with a project that examines primary sources of American missionaries and those they influenced to trace gender and sexual norms they may have imported along with the medical education they provided.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This project germinated from a passing familiarity with American gender and sexuality studies pushing the significance of nineteenth century and early twentieth century medicine and psychology in the categorization of individuals on the basis of their sexual behavior. It was also inspired by a reaction to Joseph Massad's claim that homosexuality did not exist in the Arab world in his critique of international human rights activists' responses to the Queen Boat affair in Cairo in 2002, believing that Massad is probably correct concerning sexual rights regimes but that his assertion of homosexuality's nonexistence as a construct within the Arab world should be revisited. As there is ample literature on American missionaries and their scientific impact in the region, one would assume that some ideas regarding sex and sexuality would permeate as well. My future research will examine primary sources from missionaries of the Syria mission, their institutions, and their students with a particular focus on reading the sources for the transmission of gender and sexual constructs embedded in the imported medical knowledge and the new gender and sexual epistemologies it may have helped forge in the Arab world more broadly.

The purpose of this project is to review the secondary literature in the history of medicine and psychology in American and Ottoman contexts and mine them for gaps and methodologies to apply in future research with primary sources. Additionally, the project examines the secondary literature on American missionaries to Mount Lebanon and some

of their scientific and cultural impacts in order to find primary sources to apply some of the methodologies from gender and sexuality studies and to attempt to formulate and theorize missionary cultural encounters. The need for this arises out of claims of American studies to transnationalize scholarship within the field, yet a general failure to satisfactorily engage the secondary literature about the regions produced by other branches of area studies (in this case, Middle Eastern studies).

What follows are reviews of the most striking features of these three literatures with issues of gender and sexuality drawn out where they are present and an identification of where they could be present in primary sources if examined with that lens in hopes that it will deepen understanding about gender and sexual epistemologies and imperialism, or at least provide a narrower path for future research to do so.

CHAPTER II

AMERICAN MEDICINE AND PSYCHOLOGY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

American medicine and psychology (not mutually exclusive categories now and less so then) transformed dramatically throughout the course of the nineteenth century. American medical institutions would not come to dominate international medicine until the twentieth century and the medicine in the new nation took its cues from developments in Europe.[1] American medicine's development contributed to new constructions of gender and sexual difference, appropriated marginalized bodies to contribute to anatomical knowledge, theorized about somatic and psychological components of mental function and disorder, and asserted and enforced normative regimes through the detainment and infantilizing of those deemed mentally infirm. While the contributions of the scholarship on the history of medicine in the United States are invaluable, the secondary literature remains remarkably confined to the western hemisphere and the assessment of other literatures in this text will demonstrate the need to further transnationalize the scholarship within the history of medicine and psychology.

Benjamin Reiss's work on nineteenth century asylums demonstrates the emergence of the asylum movement in the 1830s until the advent of the civil war and the desire to

[1] Roger Brrumback, "Fragmentation of Medicine in the United States: Remnant of the 19th Century and the American Civil War," *Journal of Evidence-Based Complementary & Alternative Medicine 17,* no. 1 (2012): 9.

rehabilitate those deemed insane. Insanity was deemed a disease of the brain, yet in its initial stages it also contained a moral component.[2] Among the activities thought to produce mental instability were fast dancing, drink, gambling, cheap novels, minstrel acts, pornography, and religious revivals.[3] Despite the asylum movement's metaphoric invocation that reeked of Protestant influence, a number of activists in the asylum movement encouraged that patients' access to the Bible be limited depending on their psychological state.[4] John Galt, a member of the asylum movement who brought the primarily Northern asylum system to Virginia, encouraged that asylum staff track patients' reading habits.[5] The strong Protestant influence within the asylum movement paired with a restriction of patients' Bible reading habits may seem odd. While Reiss offers no explanation for Galt's rationale, it may be due to the threats certain veins of revivalism and the Second Great Awakening posed to more established Protestant churches and organizations in the United States.

Pertinent among the critiques of the asylum's promulgation in the US in the nineteenth century were comparisons to slavery on the basis of the shared conditions of

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[2] Benjamin Reiss, *Theaters of Madness* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 4.

[3] Ibid., 7.

[4] The root metaphors used to describe those detained in American asylums mimicked those of the Protestant missionaries who would head the Syria mission in Beirut as well as the nineteenth century civilizational discourses of the European powers deployed to described indigenes in the colonies. Frequent among the vocabulary of asylum were conflations of the interred with children, their need for civilization, uplift, and light. See Reiss, *Theaters of Madness,* 69.

[5] Ibid., 10.

detainment, involuntary labor, and an infantilizing ideology.[6] While African slaves and free Blacks were denied rights and citizenship due to a failure to acknowledge their personhood, the insane had their rights and freedoms revoked in the name of restoring them to citizenship.[7] As state-funded asylums began to proliferate throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the asylum in Indianapolis denied treatment to Black patients prompting Fredrick Douglass's critique of the racism in the denial of this coverage and indicating that Douglass conceived of insanity and the asylum as components of health rather than as oppressive, carceral institutions.[8] While Douglass may have believed in the health-based profession of the nineteenth century asylum, the racial comparison of those interred in the North and South for whites was roughly the same rate, while the number was eleven times higher for Blacks in the North than for Blacks in the South.[9] This could indicate that in the absence of the institution of slavery in the North, the asylum was used as a means to discipline Blackness among others deemed socially undesirable and in need of rehabilitation, though one does not know the reason for this statistical discrepancy between the North and South's internment of Black people in asylums as Reiss does not provide any evidence hinting at a rationale, simply the data.

[6] Ibid, 16.

[7] Ibid., 16.

[8] Ibid., 16.

[9] Ibid., 69.

Critics of the asylum system also drew comparisons to slavery on the basis of the compulsory and uncompensated labor requirements in the asylum, which left patients with no recourse for complaint.[10] The rationale for this work was embedded in the Protestant character of the American asylum system with a strong belief in the moral elevation of those who worked.[11] In the last decades of the nineteenth century the new science of neurology would replace the moral treatment paradigm and the efficacy of labor as a component of a treatment program would fade.[12]

Central to the asylum's nineteenth century function was a disciplining of the sexual activity of men in particular. The asylums would permit patients the opportunity to perform in minstrel shows with a wide array of subject matter; the performances were considered by some as a potential catapult for further vice with the possibility of activating a collective fantasy of masturbation among male patients.[13] Masturbation was cited as the leading cause, if not the main one, among men admitted to asylums in the nineteenth century.[14]

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[10] Ibid., 62.

[11] While this study does not attempt to assess primary sources, it should be noted that the annual reports of the Asfouriyeh asylum on the outskirts of Beirut likewise required patients to work. The first series of annual reports contained in the American University of Beirut's Jafet Library continuously discuss the hope that the facility will become financially self-sustaining through the labor of the patients. For verification of the compulsory and uncompensated labor system within the United States see Reiss, *Theaters of Madness*, 55.

[12] Ibid, 17.

[13] Ibid, 55-6.

[14] Ibid, 187.

Michael Sappol's work traces the history of the American medical profession's development throughout the nineteenth century through its increasing use of anatomy and subsequent demand for cadavers. His work details the history of the bodies obtained for dissection, focusing primarily on New York City where the bodies of Black people, criminals, prostitutes, the Irish, "freaks," manual laborers, and indigenous people were snatched disproportionately.[15] Sappol draws attention to medicine's development as an overall profession (and not an uncontentious one) throughout the century with the US housing only four medical schools at the beginning of the nineteenth century, which would increase to 160 at the turn of the twentieth century.[16] In the 1840s popular anatomists promoted knowledge of anatomy as emancipatory to the public, particularly the anatomy of sexual reproduction.[17] The American Medical Association was formed in 1847 and included a code of ethics that demanded sexual propriety of physicians among other things, yet lacked articulations of patients' rights and informed consent.[18] In the 1850s the locus of medical knowledge would shift from France to Germany and the primary model of medical research shifted from clinical to laboratory—a trend the American profession followed as it still lagged behind its European counterparts.[19] During the Civil War thousands of medical

[15] Michael Sappol, *A Traffic of Dead Bodies: Anatomy and Embodied Social Identity in Nineteenth-Century America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 2.

[16] Ibid, 2.

[17] Ibid, 6.

[18] Ibid., 98.

[19] Ibid, 238.

students and doctors enlisted as medical officers and many medical schools stopped functioning.[20]

Rana Hogarth's work further builds on Sappol's by tracing the effects of regionalism on the traffic of Black bodies in the antebellum South, also taking a hemispheric perspective by tracing the Black body's epistemic interchanges between the antebellum South and the plantations of the Anglophone West Indies. She asserts that much of the medical wisdom that would form the basis of American proslavery medical thought in the nineteenth century had its roots in the Caribbean.[21] In contrast to the North where the pool of deceased social undesirables used for cadavers was more diverse, the South had a disproportionate use of Black bodies for cadavers.[22] Physicians at the Medical College of South Carolina in Charleston, the locus of Hogarth's research, would claim to train at the University of Pennsylvania, the nation's first medical college, or the University of Edinburgh.[23] Use of Black bodies in the Antebellum South was more exploitative than in

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[20] This is of particular interest as the Syrian Protestant College was founded one year after the war's ending., including its medical department. While the medical colleges throughout the US were closed, many students and practitioners developed skills (such as surgical performance) they did not have before and gained exceptional clinical experience which would contribute to the corpus of medical knowledge within the US. Depending on the times that members of the Syrian Protestant College received their medical training, this could potentially represent a large gulf between the medical knowledge circulating in the US in 1866 and that practiced by the American missionaries in the Syria mission at the time of the college's founding. For information regarding the Civil War's impact on the American medical profession see Sappol, *Traffic of Dead Bodies*, 238.

[21] Rana Hogarth, *Medicalizing Blackness: Making Racial Difference in the Atlantic World, 1780-1840*, (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 9.

[22] Ibid, 162.

[23] Ibid, 165.

the colonial or early national periods.[24] As nineteenth century medical colleges proliferated throughout the United States, southern institutions boasted of their ample supply of bodies for dissection with the Medical College of South Carolina baldly asserting its reliance on Black peoples' bodies for dissection.[25] The Black body in the antebellum South was used as both a marked body contributing to medical research that further entrenched and justified the system of chattel slavery and as the universal body wherein it was used by students and clinicians precisely because it was degraded while adding to the corpus of knowledge about human bodies in general.

Medical professionals not only took advantage of the bodies of deceased who were marginalized during their lives, but produced new medical epistemologies that many argue perpetuated existing social power dynamics for the living, repositioning the criminal into the realm of the pathological. George Chauncey's work on the history of sexual inversion and its shift to a construction and study of homosexuality at the turn of the twentieth century remains some of the most important scholarship on the linkages between medicine and sexuality within the United States. He details the release of the first article on "sexual inversion" to a German medical journal in 1870 (the locus of western medicine at this time as stated before), which would be followed by American medical studies about inversion

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[24] Ibid., 176.

[25] Ibid., 178-9.

throughout the course of the decade.[26] Throughout the last three decades and into the turn of the twentieth century the notion of sexual inversion, the idea that one's gender performance and sexual object choice were intertwined and "inverted" if they did not adhere to male or female gender norms and object choices, would gradually come to be replaced by the construct of homosexuality. Chauncey attributes this to challenges to the Victorian sex/gender system such as the women's movement, growing visibility of gay urban subcultures, and the changing gender structure of the economy.[27] Early biological explanations offered for sexual deviance were an integral part of validating the existing social order by asserting its biological inevitability.[28] The turn of the century brought about fundamental shifts in the conceptualization of sex and gender as medicine began to specify and narrow the definition of the sexual based on the introduction of the Freudian paradigm of sexual object and aim.[29] The medical profession's reconsideration of mental disease and disorder at the turn of the century accounts for new ideas about sex and gender conceptions and "disorders," which were formerly seen as somatic.[30] Towards the end of the nineteenth century, degeneration theory gained widespread currency, pinpointing non-western

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[26] George Chauncey, "From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: Medicine and the Changing Conceptualization of Female Deviance," *Salmagundi 58,* no. 59 (1983): 115.

[27] Ibid., 116.

[28] Ibid., 116-7.

[29] Ibid., 122.

[30] Ibid., 129.

civilizations (particularly people indigenous to the Americas and Asian societies) and members of the lower classes as belonging to a degenerate sexual order, invoking civilizational discourses and the notion that degeneration would be further exacerbated in each successive generation.[31] Crucially, much of the work produced by doctors was due to their knowledge of gay male subcultures, which were a primary locus of interest in the literature on inversion—demonstrating the doctors did not construct homosexuality out of nowhere, but were responding to a particular social phenomenon brought about by urbanization.[32]

Sara Rodriguez's work focuses specifically on women's sexuality and the clitoris in medical thought at the end of the nineteenth century. A number of sexual "disorders" such as masturbation were treated through clitoral surgery or clitoridectomy (removal of the clitoris).[33] An enlarged clitoris was believed to be symptomatic of masturbation, considered to be a medical condition at the time, though for somatic reasons among women rather than psychological as it was among men.[34] Solitary sex was considered unnatural for three reasons: the object of desire was not real, but a product of the imagination; masturbation was not socially engaged, unlike penetrative sex; the desire and ability to masturbate was

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[31] Ibid., 133-4.

[32] Ibid., 143.

[33] Sara Rodriguez, "Rethinking the History of Female Circumcision and Clitoridectomy: American Medicine and Female Sexuality in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences 63*, no. 3 (2008): 326.

[34] Ibid., 331.

potentially endless.[35] Various surgeries were performed on the clitoris in order to "heal" this "disorder," though the clitoris was not removed unless masturbation among women was neither solitary nor infrequent.[36]

[35] Ibid., 332.

[36] Ibid., 334.

CHAPTER III

NINETEENTH CENTURY OTTOMAN MEDICINE

The history of nineteenth century medicine in the Ottoman Empire is embedded in the broader trend of European political encroachment in the Empire and throughout the rest of the world. A myriad of changes were made to Ottoman medical practice as it came into contact with European powers and American and other foreign missionaries. These changes were not universal across the Ottoman Empire and in fact varied quite widely depending on the region of the Empire. This section will focus specifically on tracing some imperial medical history prior to the nineteenth century, some institutional changes in Istanbul specifically, and adaptions in the treatment of syphilis and its impact on a shifting gender system around the turn of the century.

Salih Murat Akkin traces the shift towards an anatomically-based medicine and the process of obtaining cadavers in the nineteenth century. Akkin locates European-based anatomical studies in the Ottoman Empire as early as the seventeenth century.[37] Emir Celebi began advocating dissection during the seventeenth century, a vision that would not be realized until Sultan Selim III instituted dissection practice shortly after the establishment of the Greek Academy in 1804.[38] Prior to this the Süleymaniye madrasa,

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[37] Salih Murat Akkin, "A Glimpse Into the Process of Gaining Permission for the Educational Dissection of Human Cadavers in the Ottoman Empire," *Clinical Anatomy 27,* no. 7 (2014): 966.

[38] Ibid., 966-7.

which included the largest scholastic medical academy in the Empire, taught anatomy using illustrations in books and skeletons.[39] The initial cadavers obtained under the reign of Sultan Selim III were from criminals and captives from the Imperial Shipyard prison, paralleling the further development of the Ottoman Empire's military expansion.[40] The practice of utilizing social undesirables as cadavers at the beginning of the nineteenth century was much like in the US later in the century, indicating a further stigma in utilizing the bodies of the dead to advance medical knowledge cross-culturally. However, this practice at the Greek Academy was a much more discreet affair as there was cognizance that dissection would arouse public outcry. In 1827 Sultan Mahmud II established the first contemporary medical school in the Ottoman Empire, publicly permitting dissection at the institution in 1841, though Mahmud II denied the request to use the bodies of the homeless for fear of popular outrage.[41] This indicates a difference in those designated socially undesirable postmortem in the Ottoman Empire and the US as both societies would use the bodies of deceased criminals, the use of the bodies of the indigent poor was more contentious in nineteenth century Ottoman society.

Marcel Chahrour's work traces the influx of Austrian medicine in the Ottoman Empire during the 1840s. Efforts to reform medical education in the Ottoman Empire were also part of the Hapsburg Empire's quarantine policy as medical professionals in the

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[39] Ibid., 966.

[40] Ibid., 968.

[41] Ibid., 968-9.

Hapsburg Empire believed many of the epidemics of the nineteenth century to have their origins in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt.[42] The establishment of the Josephinum, a military medical school, attracted the attention of Ottoman visitors to Vienna at the end of the eighteenth century.[43] The Imperial Medical School, founded in the early 1860s, was essentially a European medical school on Ottoman soil and intended to be a copy of the Josephinum. It was heavily staffed by Austrian clinicians and the school's language of instruction was French rather than Turkish or German as French was considered to be the cutting-edge language for medical research by the Ottomans and the Austrians who staffed the school.[44] While Austrian physicians tried to claim that they introduced dissection to the Ottoman Empire, it was practiced by marine surgeons at the Greek Academy at the beginning of the nineteenth century as stated above. Chahrour finds specific evidence of dissection at the institution in 1807 or 1808.[45]

Esin Kâhya's work is primarily encyclopedic in nature. Kâhya translates and summarizes large portions of the Ottoman medical archives and while any analysis is lacking in the work, it provides ample information in English that could serve as a valuable starting point for scholars interested in delving further into Ottoman medical archives.

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[42] Marcel Chahrour, "'A civilizing mission'? Austrian medicine and the reform of medical structures in the Ottoman Empire, 1838-1850," *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science Part C: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences 38,* no. 4 (2007): 688.

[43] Ibid., 690.

[44] Ibid., 696.

[45] Ibd., 693-4.

Kâhya's work confirms the shift from Turkish to French in medical training institutions.[46] The contentious nature of dissection when it was formally and publicly introduced to the Ottoman Empire in 1841 is also present.[47] In the brief detailing of some well-known nineteenth century Ottoman physicians, Mustaf Behced is highlighted for his specialty and treatment of syphilis in the latter portion of the century.[48]

Seçil Yilmaz's work analyzes the gendered aspects of the Ottoman Empire's attempts to control syphilis at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Both medical and military institutions were used to regulate men's health in an attempt to prevent the spread of syphilis, which was thought to be carried by soldiers and migrant workers—both positions originating in lower classes in Ottoman society.[49] Ottoman authorities often associated the disease with westerners and it was thought to be carried to the Ottoman Empire by them.[50] While the motivation to regulate Ottoman men's sexual lives was partially moral, it primarily was bound to pragmatic concerns of ensuring optimal health for an enduring military. Men were therefore the locus of attention in the discourse rather than attempts to regulate women's bodies and sexual activities with regards to

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[46] Esin Kâhya, *Medicine in the Ottoman Empire: and Other Scientific Developments*, (Istanbul: Nobel Medical Publications, 1997), 140.

[47] Ibid., 148.

[48] Ibid., 163.

[49] Seçil Yilmaz, "Threats to Public Order and Health: Mobile Men as Syphilis Vectors in Late Ottoman Medical Discourse and Practice," *Journal of Middle EasternWomen's Studies 13,* no. 2 (2017): 223.

[50] Ibid., 225.

syphilis.[51] Until the 1910s Ottoman medical records did not indicate the sex of the patient, making it impossible to determine the gendered identities of patients with syphilis in the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth.[52] This may also indicate that the sex of the patient was not considered a distinguishing feature in how they experienced disease in contrast to American medicine, which was rife with gendered divisions. Yilmaz further asserts that Arabic sexology discourse in the 1880s was meant to control and discipline male sexuality and create respectable, middle-class men.[53]

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[51] Ibid., 225-6.

[52] Ibid., 227.

[53] Ibid., 231

CHAPTER IV

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND MEDICINE

Amid the nineteenth century European encroachment in the Ottoman Empire, American Protestant missionaries were able to free load on the British Empire's increasing economic, diplomatic, and military presence throughout the Ottoman Empire and in particular in Greater Syria. They initially sought to evangelize and convert the residents of the province of Greater Syria to Christianity in preparation for what they believed was the second coming of Christ. Throughout this time, the missionaries gradually attempted to evangelize through less direct means than proselytizing such as the establishment of schools and medical provisions. This section will assess some of the scholarship produced regarding the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) and its scientific and medical ramifications for the region more broadly.

Samir Khalaf's work traces the arrival American missionaries in contemporary Lebanon from their arrival in the first half of the nineteenth century through the 1860 civil war in Mount Lebanon. He asserts that some historians credit the early missionaries with reawakening Arab culture.[54] Khalaf maintains that many of the accomplishments of the

[54] Samir Khalaf, *Protestant Missionaries in the Levant: Ungodly Puritans, 1820-6,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), xiii.

Syrian mission were the result of the failure of Presbyterians to reclaim the land of Christ in Jerusalem or convert the "errant natives" of Greater Syria.[55]

While many maintain that American missionary activity was a primer for later American military and economic dominance in the region, Khalaf originally forwards the thought that the missionaries did not manifest any imperial or colonial ambitions and that their presence was at most commercial rather than imperial.[56] How American missionary presence in the nineteenth century did or did not relate to imperialism remains a contentious and widely unsettled point throughout the literature on the Syria mission. Khalaf does not even remain consistent in his own text, stating that their presence could qualify as imperialism on the basis of a desire to alter and change the society and denigrate the local population.[57] He connects the mission to manifest destiny, stating that it did not simply have westward ambitions, which one finds difficult to process how an eastward manifest destiny does not qualify as colonial or imperial ambition considering the westward one certainly does.[58] Furthermore, he discusses the missionary appeal to the American government to intervene in the Ottoman Empire throughout the nineteenth century, which one may also have difficulty dismissing from the category of colonial ambitions.[59] Towards

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[55] Ibid., xiv.

[56] Ibid., xix.

[57] Ibid., 124.

[58] Ibid., 26.

[59] Ibid., 128.

the end of the book he claims that the Muslim encounter with European colonialism was more or less friendly, leading to "genuine partnerships" and a remarkable synthesis between western and Islamic legal codes, which may make one question his assessment of imperialism at all as for many of colonialism's critics and apologists, "friendly" is not frequently deployed.[60] Khalaf's work replicates the problem seen across the literature on missionaries of failing to theorize the history of empire in Greater Syria and the Ottoman Empire more broadly, perpetuating a difficulty of assessing the process of how the missionaries were able to influence transformations in the local culture and the Arab world more broadly.

Apart from his inconsistent definition and assessment of whether or not the American missionary presence was colonial, Khalaf's work makes important points. Almost all of the early generation missionaries came from the network of New England colleges.[61] He traces the first American mission school in Syria to 1824.[62] He briefly details the persecution and death of one of the mission's only "converts" to evangelism, As'ad Shidyaq, the primary subject of Ussama Makdisi's work.[63]

The Syrian mission received its first medical missionary with the arrival of Asa Dodge in February 1833.[64] The mission remained without a doctor for almost two decades

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[60] Ibid., 253.

[61] Ibid., 32.

[62] Ibid., 180-1.

[63] Ibid, 189.

[64] Ibid., 191.

until Cornelius Van Dyck's arrival in April 1840.[65] While Asa Dodge was sent due to the short lifespans of the original missionaries, Van Dyck's presence was to further entice locals to follow the gospel. Syrian interest in medicine brought by the missionaries began to decline in the 1840s with the development and appropriation of European medical practices in Ottoman training centers in Istanbul, but would resurge again in the 1870s shortly after the establishment of the Syrian Protestant College in 1866 and its medical department the following year.[66] With the establishment of SPC, the Syria mission would break away from the larger organization of American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) as the mission's administering of higher education beyond theological courses did not comply with the ABCFM's strict evangelizing policy.[67]

Ussama Makdisi's work traces a similar time period as Khalaf's, though he focuses more specifically on As'ad Shidyaq, one of the few Syrians to become an evangelical after the arrival of the mission. Makdisi writes against the two trends he sees in the historiography on the American missionaries: a tendency to aggrandize the contributions of the missionaries on the one hand and that of ignoring them altogether in more recent decolonial scholarship. He insists that the liberalism that emerged in the Arab world in the nineteenth century cannot be attributed to American missionaries nor Arabs alone, but was

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[65] Ibid., 209-10.

[66] Ibid., 210.

[67] Ibid., 248.

forged by their encounter and demands a new, transnational history to detail this narrative.[68]

Similarly to Khalaf (though more consistently), he maintains that referring to missionary presence at the time as imperial is an ahistorical claim.[69] Later under direct western colonial control, the charge of imperialism becomes more tenable in his view.[70] The mission was not simply American imperialism, but an inextricable part of a modern revolution.[71] However, Makdisi does not entertain the notion that something could be both imperial and contribute to a modernizing revolution.

Makdisi's telling of As'ad Shidyaq's "transformation" in his faith (rather than conversion) provides insight into the regime used to confront "madness" among the Maronite community of Mount Lebanon. Shidyaq, the first "convert" of the mission, considered himself both an evangelical and Maronite, referring to his faith in Christ being "transformed" rather than converting to a new one.[72] The Maronite authorities accused As'ad of madness and bled him at 'Alma in an attempt to clear his black bile and melancholia.[73] Shidyaq's persecution and eventual "treatment" to cure his "madness" in the

[68] Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven: American Missionaries and the Failed Conversion of the Middle East*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 1.

[69] Ibid., 5.

[70] Ibid., 9.

[71] Ibid., 182.

[72] Ibid., 112.

[73] Ibid., 121-2.

caves of Kozhiya exemplified what others deemed mad would also endure, taken to the cave and chained in the hopes that St. Anthony would heal them of their insanity.[74]

Ellen Fleischmann focuses on the American women who served in the Syria mission in the late nineteenth century, claiming they played an integral role in the movement of "cultural imperialism" aimed at transforming the non-Western world.[75] Fleischmann ascribes an imperial role to the missionaries in contrast to Khalaf and Makdisi, but keeps it confined to the cultural realm, which she does not define. The role of women in the mission was to turn women of heathen lands into exemplary mothers like themselves.[76] In his assessment of shifts in medical sexual epistemologies in the US, Chauncey pinpoints the women's movement and those who refrained from marrying as contributing to changes to the sex/gender system in the late nineteenth century, one wonders how missionary women conveyed themselves as more liberated than indigenous women if they emphasized values like heterosexual marriage and motherhood.

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[74] Once again, while this text does not focus on primary sources, the initial Annual Reports prepared by the Protestant missionary founders of the Asfouriyeh asylum outside Beirut detailed the treatment of the mentally ill at Kozhiya in an attempt to paint their own asylum as a more human alternative to this system to their funders throughout Europe and the United States. One wonders if the Protestant missionaries had any cognizance of the treatment of the mentally ill at Kozhiya prior to As'ad Shidyaq's stay there, which a number of them were aware of and campaigned against. See Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven,* 172.

[75] Ellen Fleischmann, "'Our Moslem Sisters': Women of Greater Syria in the Eyes of American Protestant Missionary Women," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 9, no. 3 (1998): 308.

[76] Ibid., 309.

Many of the women in the mission worked in the medical profession themselves as nurses with the exception of Dr. Mary Eddy, who was the first woman licensed by Ottoman authorities to practice medicine on equal terms with men. She would often ride around Greater Syria on horseback and set up clinic tents throughout the country.[77] "Oriental" women could not be treated by men in the Empire, which spurred the need for women doctors as medicine modernized and traditional female medical practices fell by the wayside.[78]

Betty Anderson's work on the history of the American University of Beirut (AUB), formerly SPC, details the institution's contributions to the rise of Arab nationalism. She traces Amherst College, Harvard, Yale, and Columbia as the primary ideological ancestors for the school's changing educational structures.[79] The initial language of instruction at SPC was Arabic with a push to shift instruction to English in the early years in order for students to keep up with contemporary thought. The language of instruction shifted to English in the literary department in the 1878-1879 school year, but would remain Arabic in the medical department until several years after what is referred to as the Lewis affair in 1882.[80]

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[77] Ibid., 311.

[78] Ibid., 313.

[79] Betty Anderson, *The American University of Beirut: Arab Nationalism and Liberal Education,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 26.

[80] Ibid., 40-1.

Edwin Lewis delivered a commencement speech in Arabic during the summer of 1882 that included approving references to Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. As a result he would be forced to resign from his post by the college's founder and president, Daniel Bliss, and the board in New York. This prompted a series of resignations by faculty and "native tutors" in the medical department, among them Cornelius Van Dyck and his son, William. Students in the medical department protested in solidarity with Lewis as well, marking the college's first student protest. The combination of these factors would prompt the medical department's shift to English a few years later as SPC no longer had medical staff who could speak Arabic and had to replace them with clinicians who only spoke English.[81]

Due to the resignations and publication activities of Sarruf and Nimr, two of the medical department's "native tutors," the college was hesitant to hire Syrians and the Lewis affair facilitated not only a shift to English in the medical department, but a culture of distrust for Syrian tutors and subsequent hires would remain starkly Eurocentric for years to come.[82] It would be of interest to interrogate how the massive personnel and linguistics shifts in the medical department impacted the curriculum as imported doctors from the United States would have presumably been in contact with the developments made after the American Civil War as well as the proliferation of sexology in American medicine in the 1870s.

[81] Ibid., 40-3.

[82] Ibid.,46-7.

By the end of Daniel Bliss's tenure as SPC's president, the curriculum would see the introduction of teaching one element of the theory of evolution in the 1891-1892 academic year. Howard Bliss would succeed his father as the college president and orient it towards a more liberal trajectory, mandating the study of biological evolution for all students entering the sophomore class by 1915. These liberalization efforts prompted the return of William Van Dyck to the medical department.[83]

Howard Bliss's presidency saw the fusion of liberalism and religious life and did not see them in conflict with one another. The character building aspect of the college remained focused on the "making of men" as women would not be admitted to the college until the mandatory period. Embedded within this male character building project was a disciplinary sexual regime as one student wrote gratefully about how his experience at the college had prompted him to stop masturbating.[84]

Shahe Kazarian provides a history of academic psychology at the American University of Beirut. He provides key figures within psychology at the college at the department's inception (the magnificent seven): David Stuart Dodge, George Post, Cornelius Van Dyck, Edwin R. Lewis, Harvery Porter, and John Wortabet.[85] Two distinct periods characterize the college's academic psychology history during the Ottoman era: moral and mental philosophy (1870-1896) and "new" psychology (1897-1950). The first

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[83] Ibid., 50-4.

[84] Ibid., 67-8.

[85] Shahe Kazarian, *A History of Academic Psychology at AUB: 1870-2016*, (Beirut: AUB Department of Psychology, 2016), 12.

professors of moral and mental philosophy were Daniel Bliss and Harvey Porter, respectively.[86] Bliss was considered the founder of psychology at SPC and published the first textbook on mental philosophy in Arabic.[87] Kazarian details a number of textbooks used throughout the teaching of psychology at SPC and AUB, which could prove fruitful avenues for research for those who intend to examine primary sources for gender and sexual norms forwarded by the missionary medical and psychological institutions.

Marwa Elshakry's work on science affiliated with the American missionaries and language perhaps provides the lushest analytic for contextualizing science cross-culturally between the Arab world and the west. She likewise draws from a rich array of primary sources which would prove a great starting point for those interested in the constructions of gender and sexuality transmuted through science and medicine. Elshakry traces the importance of science and medicine in American Protestant missions, not only in Beirut, but in China and India as well.[88] As seen earlier with the Lewis affair, the missionaries were divided over Darwin, prompting some to publicly question their faith (Notably, Lewis used Darwin to affirm his faith during the speech that led to his ouster.).[89] The Protestant-Catholic missionary rivalry and the availability of science at institutions of higher learning

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[86] Ibid., 14.

[87] Ibid., 23.

[88] Marwa Elshakry, "The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut," *Past & Present,* no. 196 (2007): 177.

[89] Ibid., 180.

drove the intellectual climate in Beirut among the missionaries.[90] As seen both in Khalaf, Anderson, and Kazarian's work, Cornelius Van Dyck was perhaps the most formidable medical and scientific presence among the American missionaries, encouraging the study of nature alongside the study of god.[91] The Lewis affair, detailed in Anderson's text, prompted the resignations of the Syrian tutors Sarruf and Nimr who published *Al-Muqtataf*, a scientific journal for literate lay people. It was their publishing of Lewis's speech in this journal that prompted the SPC administration to refrain from hiring Syrians after the Lewis affair. Sarruf and Nimr left Beirut in 1884, two years after the Lewis affair, to print their journal in Cairo, a place they perceived as having more liberal printing laws due to the British occupation that began in 1882.[92] *Al-Muqtataf* would serve as the literate Arab world's leading publication regarding matters of science from the late nineteenth century into the early twentieth century.[93]

In later work Elshakry posits the centrality of language in matters of science, insisting that Lewis's speech contributed to radical rescripting of categories of knowledge, in particular with regards to '*ilm* (translated into English as science, though possessing a different meaning in Arabic prior to its deployment by Lewis).[94] After the Lewis affair,

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[90] Ibid., 190.

[91] Ibid., 196.

[92] Ibid., 211-2.

[93] Ibid., 213-4.

[94] Marwa Elshakry, "Knowledge in Motion: The Cultural Politics of Modern Science in Arabic Translations." *Isis 99*, no. 4 (2008):707.

Sarruf and Nimr began to define *'ilm* in increasingly positivistic terms, making it more of an equivalent to the English usage of "science" than previous deployments.[95] Transliterations of scientific terminology in Arabic were tied to the push for a "modern" Arabic language.[96] At this point, science was still developing rapidly across the world. British and American missionaries were among the first to deploy the term "Western science" itself, in essence partitioning all other sciences into a separate category despite the fact that much of the field developed in communication with sites around the world.[97]

Most controversies in the Arab world over translated scientific works were focused on the commentary rather than the work itself.[98] *Al-Muqtataf* pioneered the "scientific" or "telegraphic" prose style of writing in Arabic.[99] Along with their positivistic use of *'ilm* after the Lewis affair, Sarruf and Nimr provided justification for the British occupation of Egypt with a social Darwinist explanation that the strong dominate the weak, which was not met without contention.[100]

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[95] Ibid., 710.

[96] Ibid., 713.

[97] Marwa Elshakry, "When Science Became Western: Historiographical Reflections," *Isis 101,* no. 1 (2010): 102.

[98] Marwa Elshakry, "Darwinian Conversions," in *Perilous Modernity: History of Medicine in the Ottoman Empire and the Middle East from the nineteenth century Onwards*, eds. Anne Marie Moulin & Yesin Isil Ulmaan (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2010), 88.

[99] Ibid., 91.

[100] Ibid., 94.

In her latest book Elshakry provides even more in-depth work about *Al-Muqtataf* and prominent Arab intellectuals that straddled the worlds of SPC and Cairo post-Lewis affair. While Darwin's *Origins of Species* was not fully translated into Arabic until well into the twentieth century, much of his thought was disseminated in *Al-Muqtataf* beginning in the 1870s prior to the Lewis affair.[101] An investigation into Freud's work in these scientific journals may prove fruitful as well as his full texts were not published until later in the twentieth century either. In addition to presenting the latest scientific knowledge, *Al-Muqtataf* provided information about how to whiten one's teeth, remove unwanted hair, and get rid of bedbugs—all potentially new beauty and hygiene norms.[102] While Sarruf and Nimr rarely acknowledged their sources, they drew from *Scientific American, American Journal of Science, Popular Science Monthly,* and *Knowledge* as well as *Economist, Spectator, Nineteenth Century, Fortnightly Review,* and the *Times*.[103] An examination of some of their sources may provide a glimpse into their selection process. It could also be useful to investigate the British occupation force's press laws as they may allude to why certain selections were or were not being made by the editors.

Jurji Zaydan's *Al-Hilal* (began in 1892) and Farah Antun's *'Al-Jami'a* (began in 1899) would offer similar selections and appeal to similar readers as *Al-Muqtataf.*[104] Jurji

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[101] Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860-1950*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 27.

[102] Ibid., 29.

[103] Ibid., 30.

[104] Ibid., 31.

Zaydan was a key Arab evolutionist and one of the first to reconstruct a history of Arab "civilization" against a universal timeline.[105]

Joseph Massad's work traces representations of the sexual in Arabic literature and thought. Massad also focuses on Jurji Zaydan in his work, though Massad's analysis relates to Zaydan's literary output. Zaydan portrayed the 'Abassid past as the Arab age of glory, but disproved of same-sex sexual activity and pederasty of the period.[106] Zaydan's attitude towards the sexual conduct of the 'Abassids was typical of writers seeking a glorious Arab past in the 'Abassid period who had to confront the sexual question, or how to reconcile the glorious past with what many late nineteenth century Arab intellectuals considered unsavory sexual activity.[107] Further investigation into the curriculum at SPC may indicate the possibility that some of these ideas about sexual morality were cultivated there among the medical department as they may relate to Zaydan's own Darwinist social evolutionary thought and degeneration theory as detailed in Chauncey's work.

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[105] Ibid., 12.

[106] Joseph Massad, *Desiring Arabs*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 58.

[107] Ibid., 55.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

With the extant literature on nineteenth century American and Ottoman medicine reviewed above as well as the American missionary impact in cultural and scientific realms analyzed, this section seeks to provide some recommendations about how to intertwine methodologies and literatures so as to advance further research regarding sexual epistemologies and imperialism.

The first gap seems to be the lack of a reading of American missionary scientific contributions for gender and sexual norms. Possible primary sources of inquiry could include scientific journals to which medical and scientific missionaries may have submitted or those that they may have read. It could also be fruitful to search the texts and curriculum used at the SPC if they still exist. A thorough reading with a gender and sexuality lens of the Asfouriyeh documents in AUB's archives may reveal something about the Protestant missionary milieu (The founder of Asfouriyeh was Swiss, though American Protestant missionaries sat on the board and significant amounts of the asylum's funding came from the US and most of the initial nursing staff were trained at American missionary schools.). Reading *Al-Muqtataf,* the other scientific journals released in Cairo, and the sources they pulled from with particular attention to gender and sexuality could provide new research options. Further, searching for primary sources on the SPC medical department and health services could also be illuminating.

Additionally, there's a need to theorize more intensely about imperialism within the literature on American missionaries. The assertions whether in favor or against classifying them as such are weak and are not the main locus of the arguments forwarded by scholars, but some of their assumptions about imperialism color the rest of their work. The theorizing about imperialism is particularly important in regards to cultural questions such as gender and sexuality as one is interrogating how a particular feature came into being, which necessitates a clearer view of power on a macro level and its capacity to coerce or chide particular sets of social practices.

Finally, the methodological focus on the body in the American history of medicine should be asserted into Ottoman and missionary sources and processes as it enables an understanding of which bodies contributed to the developing medical epistemologies in the modern, anatomical medical paradigms and to what extent such knowledge could further transnationalize the history of medicine, shifting away from the epistemic construct of "Western medicine." While the Ottoman and missionary literature deals with issues of cultural transfer, it does not asses to what extent clinical practice in peripheral zones informed medical knowledge produced and branded in the metropole as "Western science."

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