

THE FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN LEBANON BETWEEN 1860
AND 1914

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ABSTRACT

THE FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES IN LEBANON BETWEEN 1860 AND 1914

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This thesis aims at analyzing the French missionary activities in Lebanon during the Ottoman Era between 1860 and 1914 within the context of their role in the French religious protectorate system in the Levant. Religious protectorate was a system that emerged in the 16th Century with the indication of the Latin Catholics in the capitulation agreements between France and the Ottoman Empire and became a significant factor of the Franco-Ottoman relations in the following centuries. By relying upon its increasing diplomatic and economic influence over the Ottoman Empire, France gave a new meaning to religious protection and made effort to extend its protection from the Latin Catholics to the Catholic subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

In this framework, the thesis will firstly explain establishment of French religious protection in the Ottoman Empire. Secondly, the French Catholic missionary congregations and their significant institutions in Lebanon will be introduced. Also their relations with the French diplomats and their contributions to French cultural and political prestige in the region will be analyzed. Thirdly, rivalry between the French Catholic missionaries and the Protestant missionaries will be evaluated. Thus the strengths and weakness of the French missionary existence in Lebanon will be discussed in comparison with the Protestant missionary existence.

This chapter will also reveal how the missionary activities were perceived as a factor of cultural and diplomatic rivalries in a given region. Finally, the thesis will focus on attitude of the Ottoman administration towards the French Catholic missionaries and their activities, and will be revealed the weakness of the Ottoman administration in the control of the French missionary activities and institutions.

Keywords: France, Catholic, Missionary, Lebanon, Ottoman

ÖZ

LÜBNAN'DA FRANSIZ KATOLİK MİSYONERLER, 1860-1914

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Doktora, Tarih Bölümü

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Bu tez Osmanlı Döneminde 1860 ve 1914 tarihleri arasında Lübnan'daki Fransız Katolik misyonerlerin faaliyetlerini Doğu'daki Fransız dini himaye sistemi içindeki rolleri bağlamında analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Dini himaye, 16. Yüzyılda Fransa ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu arasında yapılan kapitülasyon anlaşmalarında Latin Katoliklerin zikredilmesiyle ortaya çıkmış ve ilerleyen yüzyıllarda Fransız-Osmanlı ilişkilerinin önemli bir etmeni haline gelmiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerinde gittikçe artan diplomatik ve ekonomik etkisine dayanarak, Fransa dini himayeye yeni bir anlam vermiş ve Latin Katolikler üzerindeki himayesini Osmanlı vatandaşı Katoliklere de genişletmek için çaba harcamıştır.

Bahsedilen bu çerçevede, bu tez öncelikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fransız dini himayesinin kurulmasını açıklayacaktır. İkinci olarak, Lübnan'daki Fransız Katolik misyonerlerin faaliyetleri ve önemli kurumları tanıtılacak ve Fransız yönetiminin bunlara verdiği destek değerlendirilecektir. Burada ayrıca Fransız misyonerlerin Fransız diplomatlarla ilişkileri ve Fransa'nın bölgedeki kültürel ve politik prestijine sundukları katkılar analiz edilecektir. Üçüncü olarak, Fransız Katolik misyonerler ve Protestan misyonerler arasındaki rekabet değerlendirilecektir. Bu şekilde, Lübnan'daki Fransız misyoner varlığının Protestan misyonerlere karşı güçlü ve zayıf yanları tartışılacaktır. Ayrıca bu bölüm, herhangi bir bölgedeki

misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin nasıl kültürel ve diplomatik rekabetin bir ögesi haline gelebileceğini gösterecektir. Son bölümde ise Fransız Katolik misyonerlere ve onların faaliyetlerine yönelik Osmanlı yönetiminin tavrına odaklanılacaktır. Burada Osmanlı yönetiminin Fransız misyonerlerin faaliyetleri ve kurumları karşısındaki zayıflığı gösterilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Fransa, Katolik, Misyonerlik, Lübnan, Osmanlı

To Serap

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ... ..	vi
DEDICATION	vii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xvi
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. FRANCE’S POLICY OF PROTECTING CATHOLICS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE	7
2.1 The Origins of the French Protection in the Levant.....	8
2.2 The 16 th Century: Beginning of the Franco-Ottoman Relations and the First Capitulations	11
2.3 The 17 th Century: Strengthening of the French Religious Protection	19
2.4 The 18 th Century: Establishment of the Religious Protection.....	30
2.5 The French Revolution and the Crisis of the French Religious Protection.....	38
2.6 The 19 th Century: Restoration and Revival of the Religious Protection.....	44
3. THE FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSIONARY CONGREGATIONS IN LEBANON AND THEIR ROLE IN THE PROPAGATION OF THE FENCH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.....	51
3.1 The French Catholic Missionary Congregations In Lebanon	53
3.1.1 The Jesuits (The Society of Jesus)	53
3.1.2 Main Institutions of the Jesuits in Lebanon	73
3.1.2.1The Ghazir College	73
3.1.2.2 The Saint-Joseph University	79
3.1.2.3 Social Missionary Works of the Jesuits	86

3.1.3 The Lazarists (The Congregation of Saint-Vincent).....	87
3.1.3.1 The Antoura College	97
3.1.4 The Daughters of Charity (Filles de la Charite).....	99
3.1.5 The Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes (Institute of The Brothers of The Christian Schools)	109
3.1.6 The Œuvre De La Propagation De La Foi (Society for the Propagation of the Faith)	116
3.2 France and the French Catholic Missionaries	122
3.2.1 The French Character of the French Catholic Missionaries	122
3.2.2 Functionality of the Missionary Activities for France	129
3.2.3 The Role of French Missionaries in the Propagation of the French Language and Culture	133
4. CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT MISSIONARY RIVALRY FOR THE SUPREMACY IN THE LEVANT	137
4.1 The Arrival of the Protestant Missionaries in the Middle East.....	137
4.2 The Rivalry between Catholic and Protestant Missionaries in Syria and Lebanon after the Egyptian Occupation.....	142
4.3 The 1860 Civil War and the Escalation of the Rivalry between Catholic and Protestant Missionaries	147
4.4 A Rivalry for Predominance in the Levant: The Syrian Protestant College and the Saint-Joseph University.....	158
4.5 The Increasing Influence of the Protestant Missionaries against the Catholic Missionaries	179
5. THE ATTITUDE OF THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION TOWARDS THE FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES.....	185
5.1 Struggle with the French Missionary Schools and the Ottoman Efforts to Restrain Their Activities	187
5.2 The Ottoman Approach to the French and American Medical Schools and the Foundation of the Medical School of Damascus	197
5.3 The Problems between the Ottoman Administration and the French Missionary Establishments Concerning Licenses and Permissions.....	203

5.4 The Censor and Control of the Ottoman Administration over the French Missionaries	211
5.5 The Expulsion of the Jesuits and the Attitude of the Ottoman Administration.....	217
CONCLUSIONS.....	221
REFERENCES.....	228
APPENDICES	
A. PLACE NAMES IN LEBANON.....	242
B. MAPS.....	243
C. STATISTICS	244
D. ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS	246
E. PICTURES.....	289
F. CURRICULUM VITAE	294
G. TURKISH SUMMARY.....	297
H. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU	322

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The Syrian Mission of the Jesuits in 1843.....	63
Table 2: Statistics of the Jesuit Missions in Syria in 1870s.....	67
Table 3: Income-Expenditure of the Syrian Mission of the Jesuits in 1875.....	68
Table 4: The Institutions of the Syrian Mission of the Jesuits in 1876.....	69
Table 5: The Schools of the Jesuit Syria Missions in 1899.....	71
Table 6: The Students at the SJU According their Status.....	82
Table 7: The Number of Instructors and Students at the SJU in 1899.....	85
Table 8: Lazarist Establishments and Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire (1900).....	94
Table 9: Statistics of Syria Missions of Lazarists (1901).....	95
Table 10: Statistics of Lazarist Missions in Syria and Palestine (including Filles de la Charite) (1911).....	97
Table 11: Schools of Daughters of Charity (1880).....	107
Table 12: Establishments of Daughters of Charity (1895).....	107
Table 13: Schools of Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes attached to the Delegation of Beirut (1902).....	110
Table 14: Statistics of the Schools of Frères des Ecoles Chrésiennes attached to the Delegation of Beirut (1904).....	112
Table 15: Statistics of the Schools of the Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes related to the Apostolic Delegation of Syria (1909-1910).....	114
Table 16: Statistics of the Schools of Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes related to the Apostolic Delegation of Syria (1912-1913).....	115
Table 17: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1860.....	118
Table 18: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1861.....	119
Table 19: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1866.....	119
Table 20: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1880.....	120
Table 21: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1890.....	121
Table 22: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1905.....	121
Table 23: The Number of Students at the Syrian Protestant College between 1866 and 1887.....	164

Table 24: Comparative Table of the Geographical Repartition of the Doctors Graduated from the French and the American Medical Schools.....	176
Table 25: Repartition of the Students at the Syrian Protestant College According to the Graduated Departments (1909).....	177
Table 26: Religious Repartition of the Students at the Syrian Protestant College (1908-1909).....	177
Table 27: Beirut High School (<i>Mekteb-i İdadi</i>) in the Academic Year of 1316-1317 (1900-1901).....	195
Table 28: The High Schools (<i>Mekatib-i İdadi</i>) in the Province of Beirut in the Academic Year of 1316-1317 (1900-1901)	195

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A.MKT. MHM.	Sadaret Mektubi-Mühimme
ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission
AUB	American University of Beirut
BOA	Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
BEO	Bâb-ı Âli Evrak Odası
DH. MKT.	Dâhiliye Nezareti Mektubi Kalemi
HR. TO.	Hariciye Nezareti Tercüme Odası
İ.A.	İslam Ansiklopedisi
İ. HR.	İrade Hariciye
FEC	Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes
MAE	Ministre des Affaires Etrangères
MF. MKT.	Maarif Mektubi Kalemi
OEO	Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient
OPF	Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi
OPM	Œuvre Pontificales Missionnaires
SJU	Saint Joseph University
SPC	Syrian Protestant College
ŞD	Şûrâ-yı Devlet
Y. A. RES.	Yıldız Sadaret
Y. MTV.	Yıldız Mütenavi
Y. PRK. UM.	Yıldız Perakende Umumi
Y. PRK. ZB.	Yıldız Perakende Zabtiye

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The idea of studying missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire in my thesis had emerged while writing my M.A. thesis which was about the Armenian Question and I had realized the relevance of the missionary activities with the subject. In this frame, when I searched the literature I saw that there were quite many qualified studies on the activities of the Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. This led me to find a subject which was different from the activities of the Protestant missionaries. At the end of my preliminary work, I saw that unlike the Protestant missionaries there was no comprehensive study on the Catholic missionaries in the Turkish historiography and I decided to focus on this subject.

Idea of conducting a study on the activities of the Catholic missionaries was, of course, very general approach. It was necessary to narrow and to specify the subject in many respect. Firstly, it was necessary to determine the nation to be studied as the Catholic missionaries from many nations such as French, Italian, Spanish and Austrian were active in the Ottoman Empire. As the French missionaries were the most active of the Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire I decided to focus on their activities. After taking the decision of studying on the French missionaries, it was necessary to focus on the geographic and periodic borders of the study. This was quite forcing in the beginning.

Determining the geographical scope of the thesis was the most difficult part. This was caused by the ambiguity concerning the historical meaning of Lebanon. As a geographical concept, Lebanon used to indicate a mountainous region neighboring the city of Beirut and this region was called as Mount Lebanon. In historical usage, a vast region including Mount Lebanon as well as today's Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine and a part of Turkey was called as Syria. Especially, foreigners always used the name of Syria for this region.

In parallel with the geographical identification, the French Catholic missionaries were described their missions in the Eastern Mediterranean as the Syria missions. Therefore, in the beginning I considered to determine the scope of my

thesis as the Syria mission of the French missionaries. However, such a study had to include activities of the French missionaries in Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Antioch, Aintab, Jerusalem, Haifa etc. This was to broaden extensively the field of study and to prevent me from focusing on the subjects that I wanted to consider.

Two regions that I wanted to focus on in my study were Beirut and Mount Lebanon. However, they were separated from each other in the Ottoman administrative system despite the geographical proximity. Mount Lebanon was created as autonomous governorate in 1861 and it had a special status under the control of European states. On the other hand, Beirut had been the capital of the Province of Sidon since 1840 (h.1256). With the creation of the Province of Beirut in 1888 (h.1305), Beirut became the capital of the Province¹. The sandjaks of Beirut, Acre, Nablus, Tripoli and Latakia were attached to the new Province. Also the districts of Sidon, Tyr, Marjayun and Haifa were part of the Province of Beirut². As can be seen, the Province was situated in a region including localities from today's Lebanon, Syria, Israel and Palestine. Therefore, I decided to limit the geographical scope of the study with the borders of today's Lebanon.

After the determination of the geographical scope of the thesis it was necessary to decide on the periodical scope. The French missionaries had been active in the Ottoman Empire since the 16th Century and they had missions all over the Empire in the 19th Century. In order to make a meaningful limitation in period, it was necessary to determine the problematic of the thesis. The French missionaries were conducting religious propaganda over the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire and such activities of the missionaries would be the subject of the study. Or, activities of numerous missionary institutions of education, health and charity and their impacts in the Ottoman Empire would be the subject of the study.

Meeting with the concept of "La France du Levant" during my readings on the French missionaries was inspiring for the determination of the scope of my study. I had been already familiar with the concepts of Levant and Levantine but this was a new concept for me. Thus I decided to focus on it. The concept had been introduced

¹ *Salname-i Vilayet-i Beyrut*, Beyrut: Matbaa-i Vilayet, 1322, p. 69.

² *Salname-i Vilayet-i Beyrut*, p. 71-73.

by the Catholic and missionary circles in France through the end of the 19th century in order to exalt “the civilizing role” of the French missionary establishments in the Ottoman Empire. However, the concept became highly popular with the publication of “La France du Levant” in 1900 written by Etienne Lemy³, a Catholic republican and intellectual. In a short time, the concept of France du Levant began to be used for describing the French speaking region in the Middle East by the supporters of the French colonialism and “many key public figures saw in la France du Levant one of the most effective symbols of the uniqueness of French imperialism”⁴. Many other academicians, authors and politicians followed the way opened by Lemy and the concept was used in many other studies.

My readings on the concept of “La France du Levant” made me realize two significant points. Firstly, the French missionaries and establishments in the Levant were considered as important instruments of the French imperialism. Especially the educational activities of the French missionaries and their schools were highly influential in the propagation of the French language and culture as well as the prestige of France in the Levant. Secondly, in connection with the first one, France applied a determined policy of protection over the French missionaries. My researches on the French protection showed that the origins of the protection had rooted in the long standing past and it had continued by developing throughout the centuries. Therefore I decided that the French policy of religious protection should be one of the main pillars of my study.

This study includes four chapters. In the first chapter, the historical origin of the French religious protection in the Levant and its strengthening in the course of time with the capitulations will be analyzed. In this frame, the arrival of the French missionaries in the Ottoman Empire and institutionalization of their activities will also be evaluated in relation with the French protection.

The second chapter of the thesis will focus on the French Catholic congregations in Lebanon. Although there were many congregations being active in the region, the most significant of them in terms of the number of missionaries and

³ Étienne Lemy, *La France du Levant*, Paris: Librairie Plon 1900.

⁴ Vincent Cloarec, « La France du Levant ou la spécificité impériale française au début du XX^e siècle », *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer*, tome 83, no : 313, 4^e trimestre 1996 (pp. 3-32).

establishments will be included in the study. In this respect, the Jesuits, Lazarists, the *Filles de la Charité* (the Daughters of Charity), *Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes* and *Œuvre De La Propagation De La Foi* (Society for the Propagation of the Faith) will be dealt with in detail. Another reason for choosing these congregations to study is that this study will mostly focus on educational activities of the French missionaries and above mentioned congregations used to run overwhelming majority of the Catholic missionary schools in Lebanon. This chapter will also discuss the characteristics of the relation between French missionaries and the French government with a special emphasis on the role of French missionaries in propagating French culture and language.

The third chapter of the study will focus on the competition or better to say struggle between the French Catholic missionaries and the American Protestant missionaries. Emergence of the Protestant missionaries as a serious rival for the French missionaries in the 19th Century had escalated the hatred between the parties. In order to have superiority against the other side, they tried to strengthen their position and this brought about the establishment of many missionary institutions, most significant of them were the Syrian Protestant College of the American Protestants and the Saint Joseph University of the Jesuits in Beirut. Characteristics and dynamics of the struggle will be discussed in detail.

The fourth and final chapter of the study will evaluate the attitude of the Ottoman administration against the French missionary existence in the Empire, especially in Lebanon. Here it will be shown that the Ottoman administration regarded the missionary existence as a serious threat by the second half of the 19th century and tried to prevent their diffusion in the Empire. For this purpose, the administration applied censorship over the missionary publications or hesitated to give official recognition to the missionary establishments. Also the Muslim and non-Muslim students tried to be prevented from attending the foreign schools by prohibiting or opening new schools. It will be revealed that the Ottoman efforts were mostly vain because the French diplomatic pressures.

In order to complete this study, I have conducted researches in different archives and libraries of France, Lebanon and Turkey. During my research in the Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris I had the opportunity to analyze

documents including the correspondences between the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the consulates of the Levant, mainly the Consulate General of Beirut. Among these documents, there were files dealing with the French religious protection in the Levant and especially the French School of Medicine. My research there exposed the official position in matters such as the relations of the French Government with the missionaries, the support it gave to missionary activities and its approach to the subject of religious protection. The employees of the Archives of Ministry of Foreign Affairs serving in a modern building were extremely helpful. They brought the documents into use without any restriction of number and let me take pictures of the documents.

My research in the National Library of France in Paris was productive but difficult. This grand library was harboring numerous sources but obtaining the documents requested and taking photocopy of pictures of them was completely subject to proceedings. Yet I had the opportunity to reach periodic publications of missionaries, namely *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi* and *Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, and very rare books. Although the National Library employees were not very helpful, my research there played an important part.

Another place in France other than Paris where I did research was Lyon. The most important organisation in Lyon which has been from past to present one of the most important centers of Catholic missionary activities in France was *Œuvre Pontificales Missionnaires* (OPM). OPM was created to support Catholic missionary activities all around the world and possesses rich archives over the years. OPM was informed over all missionary congregations' activities it supported and its archives contain important documents about Catholic missionaries being active in the Ottoman Empire. During the research I did here, I had a much more comfortable work environment than I expected. The library is situated in a part of the historical building which has been the center of OPM for over 200 years and all the documents I requested have been generously offered to my use.

In the summer of 2012, I was in Beirut in order to do research for my thesis. There, I had the opportunity to work in the archives of American University of Beirut (AUB) which was founded under the name of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) by the American Protestant missionaries in 1863. In the archives, there were documents

of the founder and first president of the University, Daniel Bliss, and of Howard Bliss who afterwards took over the administration of the University. As there was a strict restriction on making photocopy of taking pictures of these documents I had to analyze them in place and take notes. Other than that I could reach two important sources in the AUB Archives. These were copies of the minutes of the Board of Trustees in New York of the Syrian Protestant College and the yearly reports of the SPC. Thanks to these documents I gathered the necessary material to write the third chapter of my thesis.

I conducted the main part of my research in Turkey in the Prime Ministry's Ottoman Archives. The staff in the archives was very helpful during my research. However, the restriction in number of the requested documents and the procedure to follow to get the documents constituted a problem for me as for all the other researchers. The documents I have obtained from there formed the main material for the fourth chapter of my thesis.

CHAPTER 2

FRANCE'S POLICY OF PROTECTING CATHOLICS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The question of religious protection as being historically, religiously, politically and economically an important matter has become the basis of a political practice for France for many centuries. Although the question of protection specifically became an important subject of discussion in international politics in the 19th Century its origins had been long standing. France managed to make the protectorate system an immense diplomatic instrument by mixing historical facts with some myths and by subtly constructing it. This study mainly focuses on Lebanon but it is necessary to consider the religious and historical origins of France's interest in the Levant in general and in Eastern Mediterranean in particular in order to understand the characteristics of the French religious protection.

Religious protection was brought to the table with the first capitulations in 1535 which formally initiated the diplomatic relations between France and the Ottoman Empire. The content of the religious protection was very limited at the beginning but this was to change in the following centuries. As France's political influence increased in Europe and over the Ottoman Empire religious protection also began to take place more comprehensively in the capitulations and the Franco-Ottoman relations. The process began with bestowing the privilege to France for protecting Latin Catholics⁵ visiting Jerusalem for pilgrimage then it turned to the protection of all Latin Catholics in the Ottoman Empire and finally to the protection of the Christian subjects of the Empire, namely over the members of the Eastern Catholic Churches⁶. France successfully managed to transform her religious protection into an instrument for her politics in the Levant through the centuries.

⁵As a religious group, Latins refers to the Europeans who are in full communion with Rome and conduct all religious practices in Latin. See. Yavuz Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Gayrimüslimler*, Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi 2001, pp. 56-57.

⁶ The Eastern Catholic Churches refers to autonomous churches in communion with the Bishop of Rome, i.e. Pope. Although these churches recognize spiritual supremacy of Rome, they have their own religious hierarchy within their own churches. Also they differ from Western Christianity, or

2.1 The Origins of the French Protection in the Levant

The First Crusade (1096-1099) can be shown as the beginning of the French interest in the Levant. The Crusades had of course an international character in terms of organization. Various European kings and feudal lords had financially and militarily supported the Crusades. However Pope Urban II, who created the crusade project and firmly worked to implement it, was a Frenchman. The Pope made his first call for the Crusade in Clermont, France (1095) and he travelled all over France during eight months to make propaganda. The efforts of the Pope were strongly supported by the French nobles. Thus the First Crusade was “a French initiative in terms of idea, organization and administration”⁷. At the end of the First Crusade, Jerusalem was captured and Holy Places were saved for the Christians. Moreover a Latin Kingdom covering Palestine and Syria was founded. The French nobles held the rule of the Kingdom and most of its subject principalities. In parallel with the French character of the campaign the new state had also a French character. Thus the concept of “France du Levant” emerged and it continued to be used for many centuries⁸.

The strengthening of France’s influence in the Levant occurred in 13th Century. Louis IX (r. 1226-1270) who attended the Seventh (1249) and Eighth (1270) Crusades brought again the Levant to the agenda of France⁹. Louis IX had been captured by Ayyubids in Egypt in 1250 and after his release he passed to Syria and stayed in Acre, Caesarea and Jaffa for a while. The period that Louis IX spent

Latin Christianity, in terms of liturgy. Eastern Catholics use their own languages in religious practices, for example Arabic, Syriac Greek etc. The Eastern Catholic groups in the Ottoman Empire were Armenians, Georgians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Maronites, Copts and Greeks. See. Ercan, *Osmanlı Yönetiminde Gayrimüslimler*, pp. 57-60. Also see. Adrian Fortescue, “Eastern Churches”, *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 5., New York: Robert Appleton Company 1909.

⁷ F. Charles-Roux, *France et Chrétien d'Orient*, Flammarion, Paris, 1939, pp. 14-16.

⁸ Charles-Roux, *France et Chrétien d'Orient*, p. 16.

⁹ Louis IX was a ruler who was fervently dedicated to the cause of Christianity. Thus he actively worked in the organization and administration of the Crusades. He died in 1270 during the eighth Crusades and he was canonized as Saint in 1297 by Vatican thanks to his services to Christianity. Therefore he is also known as Saint Louis. On Louis IX see. William C. Jordan, *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*, New York: Princeton University Press, 1979; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth E. Dollrad, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009.

there created a legacy which was to be remembered by French people for many years in the future. During his stay in Syria he became closely acquainted with the Christians of the region and established close ties especially with the Maronites¹⁰. Later Louis IX sent, according to assertions, a letter to the Maronites in order to thank for their aids and respect¹¹. In his letter addressed to the Maronite prince, patriarch and bishops, Louis IX had allegedly said that “I admit the Maronites as a part of the French nation and they enjoy the same privileges as French people in my eyes”¹². With this letter “the Maronites were officially given the French protection for the first time”¹³. Although the existence of such a letter is debatable it was still continuously referred in the following centuries and regarded as a historical evidence of the French protection over the Maronites.

The role of France in the Catholic world had always become very important after the First Crusade. However thanks to the active role of Louis IX during the Seventh and Eighth Crusades and thanks to France’s close relations with the Catholic Church, France became much more preponderant in her mission as the protector of Catholics and Popes. This mission had been previously held by the Holy Roman Empire beginning with Charlemagne (r. 800-814)¹⁴. Thus France was represented by Popes as “the Eldest Daughter of the Church” and the kings of France were given the

¹⁰ Maronites derive their name from a Syriac Saint called Maron (d. 410). They were sometimes persecuted by other Christian groups because of doctrinal problems. Thus they took shelter in the mountainous regions of Syria. After the Crusades, they began to approach Rome. In the 15th Century, some Maronite priest travelled to Rome and learned Latin and Catholic faith. In the 16th Century, the relation between the Maronites and Rome developed and eventually the Maronite College was founded in Rome in 1584. Despite their close connection with Rome, the Maronites continued to use Syriac as the language of liturgy and to have their church hierarchy under the Maronite Patriarchate of Antioch being its center in Bkerke, in the Mount Lebanon. See. Mordechai Nisan, *Minorities in the Middle East*, 2nd Ed., Jefferson: McFarland & Company 2002, pp. 196-197.

¹¹ Alexander de Saint-Albin, *L'Europe Chrétienne en Orient*, E. Dentu libraire-éditeur, 1860, p. 7.

¹² Richard Edwards, *La Syrie 1840-1862- Histoire, politique, administration, population, religions et mœurs, événements de 1860 d'après des actes officiels et des documents authentiques*, Amyot, Libraire-éditeur, Paris, 1862, p. 65. According to Edwards, this letter had been mentioned in a brochure called *Maronites and la France* and he criticized that such a simple letter became the basis for the French protection.

¹³ Charles-Roux, *France et Chrétien d'Orient*, p. 20.

¹⁴ Edouard Engelhardt, *Les Protectorats Anciens et Modernes: Etude Historique et Juridique*, A. Pedone, Paris, 1896, p. 83.

title of “very Christian”¹⁵. Such titles assumed by France and the kings of France did not remain vain and they were actively and widely used by France in the following centuries as means of her protection policy over Christians.

Jerusalem and other lands lost with the Crusades to Christians were recaptured by Muslims in time. However a strong Crusade legacy remained in the region. Many Christian religious men had arrived in the Levant with the Crusaders. They had established new churches and restored old ones to settle down. When the Crusaders had to leave the Levant for Europe, most religious men left the region with them. However some of them remained and continued their activities in the Levant. In addition to the religious men some Europeans also stayed in the region and were occupied with doing trade and navigation. And they played a significant role in the development of trade between Europe and the Levant.

After the Crusades, France formed some legations to protect her economic and diplomatic interests in Eastern Mediterranean. One of the oldest legations was established in Alexandria in 1320. The legation was serving in a khan and this was known as the Khan of Marseille. It had an important place in the control of the French trade to the Levant and the protection of the French merchants. Also four missionaries from the Franciscan Order were placed here to give spiritual guidance to pilgrims coming from Europe¹⁶. Thus a collaboration between missionaries and diplomatic representatives was established from the beginning in Eastern Mediterranean. Besides the legation in Alexandria France also intervened on behalf of the Catholics through special representatives in case of necessity. Within this framework, the King of France Charles IV sent an envoy to Egypt in 1327 with the mission of “exalting Catholic faith” in the region. A church in Sudan was returned to Christians thanks to the efforts of the envoy. Thus any pilgrims visiting the Holy Lands through Egypt in 14th Century were encountering there with the French consuls as the sole Catholic representative¹⁷. As a matter of course this was significantly increasing the prestige of France in the region.

¹⁵ These expressions were *La fille aînée de l'Église* ve *Très Chrétienne* in French and they began to be widely used by the 16th century. The French kings always used the title of *Très Chrétienne*.

¹⁶ Georges Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, Constantinople, 1898, p. 501.

¹⁷ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, p. 501.

The active policy of France concerning the religious matters significantly strengthened her influence over the Holy See in 14th Century. In a letter dated 12 January 1378, Pope Gregory XI openly indicated the France's preponderant role as the political protector of the Church. According to the Pope "the very Christian King was the chief guarantor of his spiritual and worldly supremacy". And in his admittance of the King Louis XI's ambassador, who was the first French ambassador to Holy See since a century, the Pope praised the religious role of the French kings as such: "Just as Jesus Christ had chosen Pierre as the prince of the apostles and other followers... He has also determined the Kings of France as main and special guards and protectors of the Catholic faith, Holy Roman Church and popes... Thus the Kings of France rightly deserved and obtained the title of Very Christian Kings"¹⁸.

Her close relations with Holy See and the Crusades had enabled France to get a strong position in the Catholic world. And France came to fore as the leader of the Christian cause. France carried this legacy to the Levant through the Crusades. Both the French and Eastern Christians remembered and reminded this legacy much stronger than its real efficiency in the future. And this constituted the historical basis of the French initiatives towards the Levant.

2.2 The 16th Century: Beginning of the Franco-Ottoman Relations and the First Capitulations

It can be argued that the process resulting in the French religious protection over Christians in the Levant has begun with the first Capitulations obtained from the Ottoman Empire in 1535. The first Capitulations were quite significant as the first of many other treaties between the Ottoman Empire and France. In fact, the capitulations were not invented at that time and France was not the first state obtaining capitulations from the Ottoman Empire¹⁹. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 various states had been given privileges on condition that their extents and contents were determined by the Ottoman Sultans' imperial decrees.

¹⁸ Engelhardt, *Les Protectorats Anciens et Modernes*, p. 83.

¹⁹ Halil İnalçık, "İmtiyazat", *İA*, Cilt:22, 2000, pp. 245-252; Also see. Zeki Arıkan, *1536 Kapitülasyonları ve Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi*, *DTCF Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Cilt: 24 Sayı: 37, 2005, pp. 11-28.

Later these privileges were called capitulation²⁰. Many states had obtained privileges to trade in the Ottoman seas and harbors according to the stipulations of the capitulations²¹. However capitulations obtained by France went beyond the others in terms of extent and practice in the following centuries.

It should also be indicated that France had not obtained the capitulation for the first time in Eastern Mediterranean from the Ottoman Empire. The Mamluks had granted some privileges to France for trade in the harbors of Eastern Mediterranean namely Alexandria. The last of such privileges had been given by the Sultan Kansu Ghawri in 1510. After the conquest of Egypt in 1517 by the Ottoman Empire, France's privileges were respected by Selim I (r. 1512-1520) and then ratified by Suleyman I (r. 1520-1566) with "a clear and comprehensive imperial decree" in 1528²². The decree had been bestowed upon the request of the King of France François I who established friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire. Suleyman I both guaranteed the former privileges of the French merchants in Egypt and allowed the reparation of the ancient Catholic churches in Eastern Mediterranean²³.

The grant of the first Capitulations by the Ottoman Empire to France was closely connected with the economic and political atmosphere of the era. The acceleration of the geographical discoveries and the use of new trade routes by the end of the 15th Century began to influence, though in a limited way, the Mediterranean trade as from the early 16th Century. The Mediterranean trade was substantially controlled by the Ottoman Empire after the conquest of Egypt and it desired to keep it alive. Thus it seemed proper to give capitulations.

From the political perspective, the highly troublesome political atmosphere in Europe was influential in signing an agreement between the Ottoman Empire and France. Both sides aimed at getting advantage from the other side by signing such an

²⁰ James B. Angell, "The Turkish Capitulations", *the American Historical Review*, Vol. 6, No. 2, Jan., 1901, (pp. 254-259), p. 254.

²¹ On the states that the Ottoman Empire bestowed the capitulations see. Reşat Ekrem Koçu, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar 1300-1920*, Türkiye Matbaası, İstanbul, 1934.

²² M. le Comte de Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur L'Ambassade de France en Turquie et Le Commerce de Français dans le Levant*, Publications de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris, 1877, pp. 345-353.

²³ Charles A. Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, trans. Cemile Erdek, İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2009, p. 28

agreement. The Ottoman Empire desired good relations with France against her chief rival in Europe, the Holy Roman Empire. Similarly France was in a serious conflict with the Holy Roman Empire and having a strong ally as the Ottoman Empire seemed very useful for her interests. The Capitulations were given as a result of this rapprochement and upon the demand of France²⁴. The first Capitulations did not have a character of international treaty and it was not permanent. It contained unilateral privileges given by Sultan Suleyman I to France as an indication of goodwill and alliance. And it was to prevail as long as Suleyman I and François I (r. 1515-1547) stayed on their thrones²⁵.

France obtained considerable gains from the Ottoman Empire by the 1535 Capitulations. According to the agreement, the capitulations were to be in effect in all territories of the states and all the subjects of the sovereigns were to benefit from them. Trade and travel was to be done without any restriction in sea and land. Frenchmen had to be tried by the French judges according to their religion. If a subject of the King of France was to demand to carry his case to the Ottoman courts this was to be declined. In the event that an Ottoman court hears such a case the decision of the court was to be vain. Concerning penal accuses the subjects of the King were not to be brought before the Ottoman judges or any other judiciary officials. Such accuses had to be heard by the Sublime Porte in Istanbul or heard by the highest Ottoman official in provinces. For the effective implementation and inspection of the capitulations France also obtained the right of opening new consulates in Istanbul and various places in the Ottoman Empire in addition to the French Consulate in Alexandria²⁶.

Another significant advantage obtained by France was that any state not having a capitulation agreement with the Ottoman Empire had to carry the French flag while trading in the Ottoman seas and harbors. Moreover, according to the

²⁴ On the conditions that the first capitulations were given and for the French version see. Gustave Cirilli (un ancien diplomate), *Le Régime des Capitulations: son histoire, son applications, ses modifications*, Libraire Plon, Paris, 1898, pp. 55- 69.

²⁵ Jaques Thobie, *Intérêts et Impérialisme Français dans l'Empire Ottoman*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1977, s. 15; Angell, *The Turkish Capitulations*, pp. 255-256.

²⁶ Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, pp. 405–407. For the application of the capitulations on the juridical matters see. Aybars Pamir, “Kapitülasyon Kavramı ve Osmanlı Devleti’ne Etkileri”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, Cilt:51, Sayı: 2, 2002, pp. 79–119.

capitulations, the Holy See, England and Scotland, as the allies of France, would benefit from the agreement by notifying France and the Ottoman Empire about their request. Thanks to this article, the pope got a chance to participate into an agreement with the Ottoman Sultan. Thus France took a stance for the interests of Catholicism just at the beginning of her relations with the Ottoman Empire²⁷. These articles were highly important in terms of France's power and prestige in the Levant.

Although an agreement with the Ottoman Empire offered great advantages for France she also had to confront with some difficulties resulting from such an agreement. As the Ottoman Empire was perceived as a great menace and enemy, France's rapprochement with the Ottoman Empire was risking her image and reputation in Europe. France tried to hide the negotiations for agreement in order to prevent possible reactions from the Catholic world²⁸. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, in a serious political struggle against both France and the Ottoman Empire, disclosed the rapprochement between "very Christian and Infidel" just before the agreement was settled in order to influence European public opinion²⁹. Thus it was an important necessity for France to legitimize her policy of rapprochement. Such articles of the capitulations as the guarantee of worship liberty for all Catholics in the Ottoman Empire and bestowal of the Holy Places' protection to France strongly supported France's position. France was able to argue that she was serving Catholicism by establishing friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire unlike other Catholic states³⁰. This agreement also revealed that France diverged from "the crusade myth" and headed to "real politics"³¹.

On François I's death in 1547, Henry II (r. 1547-1559) succeeded his father as the King of France. Like his father, Henry II pursued friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire in order to get support for his rivalry against the Holy Roman Empire. And France claimed for the first time the protectorate over the Latin Christians in the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Henri II. He received an

²⁷ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, p. 504.

²⁸ Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, p. 28.

²⁹ Jack Lang, *François Ier ou le rêve italien*, Perrin, Paris, 1997, p. 378.

³⁰ Charles-Roux, *France et Chrétien d'Orient*, p. 32.

³¹ Lang, *François Ier*, p. 379.

imperial decree from Suleyman I that guaranteed security of his subjects and allies visiting Jerusalem. Thus Henry II was recognized as “the protector of Latin Christianity”. This claim was again repeated during the short-lived reign of François II (r. 1559-1560). The French Ambassador to Istanbul was ordered to inform the Ottoman administration about the case that “France undertook protection of the lands belonging to the Pope”³².

Charles IX (r. 1560-1574) attempted to renew the capitulations which had become ineffective by the death of Suleyman I in 1566. Upon the negotiation carried by the French Ambassador Claude du Bourg, Sultan Selim II approved the signing of a new capitulation agreement between France and the Ottoman Empire in 1569³³. The agreement was basically the reconfirmation of the 1535 Capitulations. The necessity of a new agreement had emerged as a result of some problems experienced by the French merchants. Upon a commercial disagreement Joseph Miquez³⁴, the governor of Naxos, had confiscated goods of the French merchants and this had caused serious problems between France and the Ottoman Empire. France protested the event and reminded her rights based on the capitulations. As a result of the French efforts Sultan Selim II issued an imperial decree approving the previous capitulations³⁵. The most significant difference of the 1569 Capitulations from the previous one was that Genoa, Sicily and Ancona ships had to carry the French flag to sail in the Turkish seas³⁶. Concerning the religious matters, the Church was allowed to send missionaries for Catholics in the Ottoman Empire under the French

³² Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, p. 504-505.

³³ Cirilli, *Le Régime des Capitulations*, p. 73.

³⁴ Joseph Miquez was a Portuguese and settled in the Ottoman Empire in 1547. He became one of the favorites of Sultan Selim II and he was given the administration of the Island of Naxos.

³⁵ For the process of granting capitulations and the French version see. Saint-Priest, *Memoires sur L'Ambassade de France en Turquie*, pp. 363-375. The text of capitulations had been translated by Dominico Oliveri, the royal translator and it had been published on 27 November 1570 in Lyon. Saint-Priest mentioned about serious faults in the translation. As it was reported by Saint-Priest, Oliveri had said that he made the translation from Arabic but the firman of the Sultan for the capitulations was in Turkish (Saint-Priest, pp. 363-364). This determination was in fact exposing a problem that was often experienced concerning the translations. As the capitulations did not have the characteristics of bilateral agreements they were only issued in Turkish and then they were translated into French by translators. However, erroneous translations and interpretations were causing problems between France and the Ottoman Empire in the practice of the capitulations.

³⁶ Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, pp. 412-415.

protection³⁷. After obtaining the renewal of the capitulations, in 1572, Charles IX once more declared to Istanbul the French claims as the leader and the protector of Catholicism³⁸.

The Franco-Ottoman relations proceeded problematically for a while during the reign of Henry III (r. 1574-1589). Henry III had crowned as the King of Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom in 1573 and he had been supported by the Ottoman Empire in the process. However he accepted the French throne upon the death of his brother Charles IX without an heir. Henry III aimed at having both the French and the Polish-Lithuanian kingdoms but this intention was not supported by the Ottoman Empire. France reacted at this and called back Gilles de Noailles, the French Ambassador to Istanbul. In a time when the tension between the states increased England got close to the Ottoman Empire and enabled to get some trade privileges. Moreover the Ottoman Empire allowed the British ships to carry their own flag in the Ottoman Seas instead of the French flag³⁹.

France understood that the declining relations would harm her interests and sent to Sieur de Germigny to Istanbul in order to overcome the problems. Germigny made great effort to renew the capitulations. Even Henry III sent a letter directly to the Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha and demanded the renewal⁴⁰. As a result of intense exertions of the Ambassador, Murat III (r. 1574-1595) accepted a new agreement of the capitulations in 1581. The new agreement reaffirmed the rights of France granted with the former capitulations. According to the capitulations all mercantile ships except Venetian had to carry the French flag. Thus France was able to intervene against the privileges obtained by England and the permission of England to trade with her own flag in the Ottoman seas was cancelled⁴¹. Moreover it was approved that as France was the first Christian ally of the Ottoman Empire her ambassadors

³⁷ Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, p. 80.

³⁸ Charles-Roux, *France et Chretien d'Orient*, p. 35.

³⁹ Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, p. 414.

⁴⁰ Saint-Priest, *Memoires sur L'Ambassade de France en Turquie*, pp. 379-380.

⁴¹ Gabriel de Mun, *Deux Ambassadeurs a Constantinople 1604-1610*, Plon-Nourrit, Paris, 1902, pp. 6-7.

were to have a more distinguished position in the state protocol than the other ambassadors⁴².

Along with the improvement in the Franco-Ottoman relations, a revival occurred in France's role concerning the religious protectorate. France began to become more active in religious matters by using her steadily increasing political and economic influence over the Ottoman Empire. Consequently France received the approval of the Ottoman administration to place the French Jesuit missionaries in Istanbul. They were placed at the Saint Benoit Church in Galata, Istanbul. A similar attempt was made in 1587 to bring the Capuchins but this was declined by the Ottoman administration⁴³.

The last capitulations of the 16th Century were granted to France in 1597. Henry IV (r. 1589-1610) was on the throne of France at the time. Upon the assassination of Henry III without an heir, the King of Navarre Henry from the Bourbon Dynasty had succeeded him as the King of France Henry IV. The King had converted from Calvinism to Catholicism before ascending to the throne. However Henry IV was not instantly accepted by the Catholic League, an alliance to struggle against Protestants in France, and he had to fight them for a while. A similar reaction of the Catholic League to Henry IV was shown by Jacques de Lancosme, the French Ambassador to Istanbul. He even demanded from the Ottoman administration not to recognize Henry IV as the King of France but his demand was refused⁴⁴.

After dealing with the internal conflicts and war of religion, Henry IV had been able to establish stability in France and then began to follow an active foreign policy. Accordingly he charged Comte Savary de Brèves, the Ambassador to Istanbul, to make a new agreement of capitulations. The exertion of the Ambassador was fruitful. Mehmet III (r. 1595-1603) approved the renewal of the capitulations in 1597. According to the capitulations, largely identical to the 1581 Capitulations, all

⁴² Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, p. 416.

⁴³ Jean-Marie Sédès, *Histoires des Missions Françaises*, Presses Universitaires de France, Paris, 1950, p. 23.

⁴⁴ İ. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4. Cilt, 6. Baskı, TTK Yayınları, Ankara, p. 205. Opposition of Lancosme to the administration of Henry IV was so strong that he was regarded as a spy of Spain, which had been the chief supporter of the Catholic League during the French civil war. Thus he was removed from ambassadorship after a while. See. de Mun, *Deux Ambassadeurs*, p. 8.

mercantile ships trading in the Ottoman seas had to carry the French flag. The only exceptions were the Venetian and British ships⁴⁵.

The 1597 Capitulations did not include any new stipulation about the protection of Catholics. However France did not stop her initiatives on behalf of Catholics. The Saint Francesco Church in Istanbul was reopened as a result of the Ambassador Brèves' efforts and the rights of Catholics were defended before the Ottoman administration. The Catholic priests in Istanbul reserved the guest of honor's chair to the French Ambassador at the Sunday masses in order to honor the France's role as the protector of Catholics. Henceforth this tradition continued as an indication of France's distinguished position amongst Catholics⁴⁶.

A general evaluation of the 16th Century reveals that France obtained significant benefits from the Ottoman Empire via the capitulations. These were mostly related to trade. And it is not possible to assert that France established a direct protectorate over Catholics in the Ottoman Empire on the basis of the capitulations. It should be remembered that the Ottoman Empire was much stronger than France in the 16th Century. And France needed the Ottoman Empire's goodwill and support commercially and politically. The common enemies of both sides, namely the Holy Roman Empire, made a mutual rapprochement possible. In order to prevent a European alliance against itself and to create a pact against the Holy Roman Empire the Ottoman administration conceded to give some privileges to France via capitulations.

The first capitulations of the 16th Century did not directly include any arrangements related to religious and political protection. However some articles opened the way for such interpretations in time. Especially statements concerning the security of the Latin Christians and pilgrims visiting Jerusalem provided a basis for the claims of protection. Giving permission to France to open new consulates according to the capitulations and the extensive authority enjoyed by the French consuls played a significant role in the establishment of the regime of protectorate. Moreover the subjects of the Kings of France obtained noteworthy privileges in legal

⁴⁵ Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, pp. 417-419.

⁴⁶ Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, p. 93.

matters and they were even practically exempted from the Ottoman judiciary system. Such an understanding caused serious consequences in the future. In this framework, the first capitulations were interpreted in the following years far beyond their real contents and they were shown as the evidence of the traditional rights and protectorate of France over the Ottoman Empire. Although the protectorate was “one of the most significant powers and reputations of very Christian nation” it was sometimes exaggerated⁴⁷. This comment is especially true for the 16th Century. The privileges enjoyed by France concerning the religious protectorate were limited in this century. However it should be emphasized that the foundations of an important legacy for the next centuries were laid down at that time.

2.3 The 17th Century: Strengthening of the French Religious Protection

It can be argued that it became possible for France to have some considerable privileges on the religious matters and to have a real protectorate over the Latin Christians in the Ottoman Empire since the 17th Century. Unlike the capitulations of the 16th Century, which had contained weak stipulations on the religious protectorate, many strong clauses were inserted to the agreements between France and the Ottoman Empire in the 17th Century. Also France declared her claims on the subject of religious protection much more explicitly in this century.

The Ambassador of Henry IV, Comte de Brèves François Savary, obtained the renewal of the capitulations in 1604⁴⁸ from the recently crowned Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Ahmet I (r. 1603-1617). As being different from the previous capitulations the last one not only repeated the ancient privileges but also included

⁴⁷ Eugène Veillot, *L'Eglise, la France et le Schisme en Orient*, Louis Vivès, libraire-éditeur, Paris, 1855, p. 32.

⁴⁸ The Capitulations of 1604 had been firstly published in France by E. Paulin with the title of *Articles du traité fait en 1604 entre Henri le Grand et Sultan Amat* that included both the Turkish and French versions. Shortly after, the text of the capitulations was published in 1628 by Jacques du Castel in a work on Comte de Brèves, who was the signer of the Capitulations on behalf of France. This work also included the travels, activities and views of Comte de Brèves in the Ottoman Empire. For the French text of the Capitulations, see. François Savary Brèves, *Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Brèves... ensemble un traité fait l'an 1604 entre le Roy Henri le Grand et l'Empereur des Turcs, et Trois Discours dudit Sieur*, Chez Nicholas Gasse, au Mont Saint Hilaire, 1628.

very clear clauses concerning the religious protection⁴⁹. According to the fourth article of the Capitulations of 1604, in addition to the subjects of the King of France, subjects of the other Christian kings, in the condition of being friend and ally of France, were to be free to visit the Holy Places in Jerusalem without confronting any hindrance and aggression. According to the fifth article, the priests residing in Jerusalem and practicing religious ceremonies in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre were to live in trust and peace and they were to be free to travel wherever they wanted. All these stipulations were under the guarantee of the Ottoman administration⁵⁰.

An obvious emphasis on the Christians' protection and rights in Jerusalem and the Holy Places was a significant gain for France. Christians mentioned in the capitulations were referring to the Latin Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Thus France also became de facto the representative of the interests of the Holy See in the Ottoman Empire in the absence of the latter's direct relations with the Ottoman administration. The French Ambassadors constantly intervened on behalf of priests in the Holy Sepulchre and pilgrims in Jerusalem in order to guarantee their liberty to worship and travel⁵¹. Moreover, even though the capitulations did not include any reference to the Catholic subjects of the Ottoman Empire the fifth article of the capitulations also laid the foundation of the French claim to be the protector of Eastern Catholics in the future⁵².

Baron de Salignac, appointed as the French Ambassador to Istanbul succeeding Brèves, followed a very active policy concerning the religious matters. One of his first initiatives on the religious matters was related to the Holy Places. In a circular dated 30 December 1605 addressed to Marquis Villeroy, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Salignac notified that "the places where the Holy Cross was erected

⁴⁹ In addition to political and economic concerns, the strong emphasis on the religious protection in the new capitulations was closely connected to Henry IV's personal attitude. As a convert from Calvinism to Catholicism he aimed at proving his adequacy as the "very Christian King". Consequently such an initiative to have a protection over the Latin Christians in the Ottoman Empire was instrumental for both France's and the King's prestige in the Catholic world.

⁵⁰ Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, p. 421.

⁵¹ Saint-Priest, *Memoires sur L'Ambassade de France en Turquie*, pp. 431-432.

⁵² Thobie, *Intérêts et Impérialisme Français*, p. 17.

and Jesus Christ was killed” were at the hands of Greek Orthodox and the Latin Christians were not allowed to practice their religious ceremonies there. And Brèves, the former ambassador in Istanbul, had intervened in order to solve the problem. According to Brèves, the solution of the problem on behalf of the Latin Christians would be possible with obtaining the consent of “the administrator of Jerusalem”. For this purpose, Brèves stated, “an expense of 2000 gold” had to be made. On the basis of Brèves’ accounts, Salignac asked the directive of Paris to decide how to deal with the matter⁵³.

In addition to his initiatives, Salignac was also concerned with the development of the French missionary presence in the Ottoman Empire. In his report addressed to Henry IV on 14 March 1606, Salignac had demanded the consent and order of the King in the matter of opening a Jesuit college in Istanbul and placing the Jesuits here⁵⁴. The King positively responded the demand with a letter on 26 March 1607. In his letter, the King stated that he had been informed by the former Ambassador Brèves on his return to France concerning opportunities and advantages that could be obtained by placing the Jesuits in Istanbul. Thus he approved the placement⁵⁵.

As an indication of increasing French protection over the Latin Christians, the Jesuits, who had previously settled in Istanbul, obtained a permission to be active in various parts of the Ottoman Empire with the initiatives of the French Ambassador upon the orders of Henry IV. The Jesuits were represented as the religious officials of the French Embassy in order to be allowed to come to Istanbul in 1608. Their responsibility was given to the Jesuit priest François de Canillac⁵⁶. Moreover

⁵³ Jean de Gontaut-Biron (Baron de Salignac), *Ambassade en Turquie de Jean de Gontaut-Biron, Baron de Salignac: 1605 à 1610: correspondance diplomatique et documents inédits*, Vol. I, publiés et annotés par le Comte Théodore de Gontaut Biron, Paris, 1889, p. 17–19.

⁵⁴ Salignac, *Ambassade en Turquie: correspondance diplomatique et documents inédits*, s. 28. This project had been carried out the next year (See the letter of Henri IV dated 26 March 1607 to the Ambassador and the response of the Ambassador dated 21 June 1607).

⁵⁵ Salignac, *Ambassade en Turquie: correspondance diplomatique et documents inédits*, pp. 125–126.

⁵⁶ Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, p. 96.

Canillac recovered the Saint Benoit Monastery in 1609 and the Jesuit missionaries were sent to Syria, Armenia, Persia, the Aegean Island, Macedonia and Crimea⁵⁷.

Brèves made a detailed interpretation about Christians' gains resulting from the long-lasting alliance between France and the Ottoman Empire. According to him the Catholic missionaries had also obtained significant advantages from the alliance. He mentioned about the Sultan's permission to the Jesuits to open a college and to "Cordelier, Observatin and Jacobin priests" to settle in the six or seven monasteries in Istanbul. Brèves claimed that these institutions had enjoyed an extensive religious liberty that was almost equal to those in France. By stating that France had got a chance to approach the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire thanks to friendly relations with the Sultan, Brèves concluded that "The Greeks and the Armenians who are very crowded and feel oppressed in the Ottoman Empire do not seek any other protector rather than the Kings of France"⁵⁸.

France's efforts to become influential over the Christians subjects of the Ottoman Empire via the French Jesuits increased day after day. As the number of the Latin Christians was very small in the Ottoman Empire the Catholic missionaries tried to ensure new converts among Eastern Christians. They firstly sought the way of approaching Orthodox Christians. As the supporter of the efforts, the French Ambassador Philip de Harley provided the Jesuits to use the press in the house of a trustee of the Saint Benoit Church, Klobor Mateksas, in order to make publications towards Orthodox Christians. However these activities were not tolerated by the Ottoman administration and the press was closed and the books were confiscated in 1627. Moreover Mateksas and the Jesuits were arrested and the Orthodox Patriarchate was fined twelve thousands piaster. Despite the small scale crisis the Sultan Murat IV expressed his thoughts to the French Ambassador that friendship between two states would not be harmed because of the events⁵⁹.

Another state which made effort to be influential and to have a protection over the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire was the Dutch Empire, a rising

⁵⁷ Sédès, *Histoires des Missions Françaises*, p. 23-24.

⁵⁸ Brèves, Discours sur l'alliance qu'a le Roy avec le Grand Seigneur & de l'utilité qu'elle apporte à la Chrétienté, en *Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Brèves*, p. 6.

⁵⁹ Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, 4. Cilt, p. 118-119.

power of Europe. The Dutch Empire had signed a capitulation agreement with the Ottoman Empire in 1612 and got the right to have an ambassador in Istanbul. In his Memoire, in 1634, the French Ambassador M. de Marcheville mentioned about the Dutch ambassadors' initiatives to protect the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs. Consequently, according to the statement of Marcheville, it was understood that any other sovereign except the King of France could not have a certain right of protection in the Ottoman Empire. And France supported the construction and restoration of the Greek and Armenian churches in order to prove her influence in the matter of religious protection⁶⁰.

As an obvious indication of the France's policy, Louis XIII sent an order to the French Ambassador Jean de la Haye on 14 April 1639 and strongly expressed his approach to the religious protection. The order was as follows⁶¹:

The Ambassador must know that by settling good relations with the Ottoman Emperors the French Kings principally aim at protecting piously and zealously the name of Christianity and members of our holy and only religion living in the Empire in crowd; and also to provide liberty of free passage for Christians to the Holy Lands...Thus the first duty of the Ambassador is to protect and help Christians and Catholics of the Levant in the name and authority of his Majesty, King of France...It is important that the existing Greek Patriarch (of Constantinople) is not an enemy of the Catholic faith like his predecessor Patriarch Cyrille...He has the best thoughts towards the Latin Catholics. Thus it is necessary to work for keeping his position as the Patriarch and to convince him to carry on his positive attitude for France.

Another event showing close French interest in the Orthodox Church was experienced in 1651. As a result of a quarrel related to the patriarchal election, the Patriarch Joannichius took refuge in the French Embassy and had to stay there for ten months. France gave a strong support to him to return his seat. In the occasion of Joannichius' visit to the French Embassy in 1653 the Ambassador demonstrated him an enthusiastic welcome and stressed the distinguished position of the Patriarch for France by stating that he has the second place after the Pope in the hierarchy. In 1656, as a response to the French attitude, the Patriarch expressed his respect and

⁶⁰ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, p. 4.

⁶¹ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, p. 7-8.

goodwill to the Pope and said that “the Orthodox Christians do not accept any other protector than very Christian King of France”⁶².

In the first quarter of 17th Century, an important development regarding the Catholic missionaries and their protection was observed. The Holy See established the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith in 1622 in order to control and administer the missionary activities in the world. Until that time a system called as *Patronats* had been in effect. This system had been initiated by Pope Martin V in 1430 and later matured with the bulls of Pope Alexander IV. According to the system of *Patronats*, Portugal and Spain as the Catholic powers had been authorized to administer the Catholic churches; to recruit the clergy; to construct new churches and monasteries; and to repair the establishments of missionaries in the overseas. The system lost its efficiency in the 17th Century and the Propagation was established instead of it⁶³.

The decline in the Portugal's and Spain's missions as the protectors and propagators of Catholicism in the overseas or the establishment of the Propagation were not coincidental developments. When such authorities were given to these states in the 15th Century both of them were very active in overseas colonialism. The Holy See aimed at profiting their power and efficiency in order to propagate Catholicism. However this began to change in the 16th Century. The other European states eventually participated to the colonial competition. France was one of these states and she gained colonies in America, Africa and the Far East. Although France was not successful enough in colonialism in the 16th Century because of the religious wars within the state she became more assertive in the 17th Century thanks to the established stability beginning from the reign of Henry IV. The importance of the new conjecture was significant in the establishment of the Propagation and the decline of the Portuguese and Spanish influence over Catholics. In this process, France as a rising colonial power combined her power with her ambition to be the protector of Catholicism in the world.

⁶² Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, p. 5-6.

⁶³ Sédès, *Histoires des Missions Françaises*, p. 24.

France's increasing political and religious role caused some reflections to the Ottoman Empire. France began to use her power more effectively grounded on the capitulations and diplomatic efforts. In this context, France focused on the religious protection stronger than ever as from the reign of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715). The letter of Louis XIV addressed to the Maronites in 1649 is noteworthy in this manner. In his letter the King strongly stressed that the Maronite Patriarch and all the Maronites in Lebanon or elsewhere are accepted under the protection of France. It was also stated in the letter that the French Ambassador at Istanbul and all the French consuls and vice-consuls in the *Echelles* of the Levant had been given instruction for effective application of the protection⁶⁴.

The letter of Louis XIV can be interpreted as the revival of French claims for protection based on the legacy of the Crusades and Louis IX. France aimed at establishing close relations with Eastern Catholics, subject to the Holy See, in order to increase her influence in Eastern Mediterranean. While interpreting the privileges obtained from the Ottoman Empire with the agreements France assumed that she had also undertaken the protection of some Catholic Christian groups of the Empire. Actually such interpretations had begun to be made before Louis XIV. In his analysis on the privileges coming from the capitulations, Brèves, the former French Ambassador at Istanbul, had asserted that Catholics in the Aegean Islands, Copts in Egypt, Catholics in Ethiopia and the Maronites were under the French protection according to the Franco-Ottoman agreements. On one hand he stressed the importance of the Maronites' protection against "the yoke of Muslim tyranny" on the other hand he emphasized the strategic position of the region inhabited by the Maronites for "an initiative to conquer the Holy Places"⁶⁵. Brèves' approach can be evaluated as an interpretation of the capitulations. However the idea of protection was concretized and the French representatives in the Ottoman Empire were charged to put it in practice.

⁶⁴ It is important to point out that even if this letter was written in the name of Louis XIV, it was not prepared by the King, who was only 11 years old, but by his mother who was his regent and by his administrators.

⁶⁵ Brèves, Discours sur l'alliance qu'a le Roy avec le Grand Seigneur & de l'utilité qu'elle apporte à la Chrétienté, en *Relation des Voyages de Monsieur de Brèves*, pp. 6-8.

The aim of France was obviously to extend her right of protection over the Latin Catholics to the members of the Eastern Catholic Churches in the Ottoman Empire. However this was not acceptable for the Ottoman administration as expressed occasionally by the French diplomats. In a report to Louis XIV, Marquis Bonnac stated that “no matter how close they are, a sovereign never accepts any other sovereign’s direct intervention to the matters related to his own subject... the right of a general protection over Christians granted to your predecessors were only related to the Latin establishments in the Ottoman Empire at the time of the first agreements”⁶⁶. Thus Bonnac put an emphasis on the limits of the French religious protection.

Louis XIV developed the French claims on religious protection in time by generally following a conciliatory policy in his relations with the Ottoman Empire on the matter. However the French support on Venice at the War of Candia (1645-1669) and the problems of the French ambassadors with the Ottoman administration increased the tension between France and the Ottoman Empire. Neither Suleyman Aga sent to Paris by the Ottoman administration nor le Chevalier d’Arvieux sent to Istanbul by France were able to solve the problems. Hence the Ottoman administration refused the French request to make some changes and additions to the previous capitulations. France began to seek some deterrent initiatives against the Ottoman Empire to enforce a new agreement. The Marseille Chamber of Commerce demanded from the French administration to blockade the Dardanelles. D’Arvieux suggested taking more serious and radical attitude⁶⁷.

D’Arvieux submitted a report to Louis XIV on 24 September 1672 on the renewal of the capitulations. This report is very significant from two perspectives. Firstly it gave the details of the French understanding and politics on the religious protection. Secondly it explained the details of the negotiations concerning the capitulations. According to d’Arvieux, three points had to be taken into consideration in the negotiations with the Ottoman administration. The first one was “to secure the interests of God that was the responsibility of the King of France more than any other

⁶⁶ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, pp. 18-19.

⁶⁷ Baron Ignace de Testa, *Recueil des Traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les Puissances Etrangères*, vol. I, Amyot, Paris, 1864, p. 7.

Christian prince on earth”. Second one was to defend the King’s honor and grandeur. And the third one was to ensure the security of life and property of the King’s subjects. D’Arvieux wrote on the first matter as follows⁶⁸:

The Kings of France have always been the protector of our religion in the empire of the Grand Seigneur and thanks to their authority and protection the Holy Places in Jerusalem were kept Catholic... The orders given by his Majesty to M. de Nointel regarding the protection of Eastern Christians and the return of the Holy Places usurped by Greeks to our missionaries are the evidences of his Majesty’s attention to the glory of God, to the consolation of Catholics and to maintain the places where the most sacred remnants of our religion exist. His Majesty has done all these while all other Christian kings have been in inaction... His Majesty should know that the Grand Seigneur would not be annoyed by the protection of the Latin Christians but if his Christian subjects are intervened and if they are tried to be taken under protection he may be disturbed. The Grand Vizier supports his first dragoman Panayotti and Greeks with all his power. Greeks who expelled the Latin Christians from the Holy Places and did not let them enter must be forced to leave these places. However this must not be done only with an order of the Great Seigneur but must be inserted to the new capitulations.

In the same report, d’Arvieux emphasized that in order to exalt the glory and honor of the King it was very important to obtain the consent of the Ottoman Empire to force all foreign ships travelling and trading in the Ottoman seas to carry the French flag and recognize the French protection. Moreover, according to d’Arvieux, the continuation of extensive legal and commercial rights given to the French by the former capitulations was indispensable. However he was dissatisfied with the results of negotiations held with the Grand Vizier. According to d’Arvieux, the offers of the Ottoman administration were not corresponding to the France’s honor and the French’s interests. Thus he suggested the increase of the French war vessels in the Mediterranean from fourteen to twenty in order to put pressure on the Ottoman Empire. D’Arvieux also prepared a plan to enforce the Ottoman administration for an agreement by threatening with an occupation. And he submitted the plan to Louis XIV.

Despite the suggestions of the Marseille Chamber of Commerce and d’Arvieux, Louis XIV decided to pursue diplomatic activities and did not take any step that could damage the relations between France and the Ottoman Empire. In addition to increasing military and political powers of France, the Ottoman Empire’s

⁶⁸ *Mémoire présenté à Louis XIV par le chevalier d’Arvieux, en date du 24 Septembre 1672*, en Baron de Testa, *Recueil des Traités de la Porte Ottomane avec les Puissances Etrangères*, vol. I, pp. 7-13.

need to political support on the eve of a war against Poland forced the Ottoman Empire to accept a new agreement for the capitulations in 1673. The Ambassador Nointel submitted a comprehensive report to the Grand Vizier and indicated the stipulations which should be included in the capitulations. The report firstly mentioned the demands concerning the religious matters as d'Arvieux had suggested before to Louis XIV. These demands were much stronger and more comprehensive in comparison with the former capitulations. France's demands concerning the religious matters were as follows⁶⁹:

- 1) As it is the case till now the Christianity will survive in every parts of the Ottoman Empire by paying attention to the old friendship between the Sultan and the King and to the French Emperor's position as the protector of Christianity.
- 2) The dignity of the Catholic bishops whether from the subjects of the Sultan or not will be protected and they will be able to practice their religion.
- 3) The rights that have been assumed by the missionaries from all nations for many centuries in the Holy Sepulchre and Holy Savior Churches and in the other Holy Places under the protection of the French Emperor will be protected.
- 4) The places usurped by the Greeks, chiefly the cave where Jesus was born and the Calvary Hill, will be returned to the Latin priests.
- 5) The French and the others will not face with any problem and hindrance when they visit the mentioned Holy Places.
- 6) Pashas, governors and other officials will be ordered not to disturb the priests in the Holy Places. If any accusation is made against them the verdict will not be put into effect until it is approved by the Sublime Porte.
- 7) As the Capuchins, the Jesuits and the other French missionaries are allowed to come in the Ottoman Empire with the consent of the French Emperor their religious ceremonies will not be hindered and education of the Christian children will be permitted.
- 8) The Saint Georges Church in Galata that had been given to the Capuchins with the wish of the late French Emperor and then burned down will be reestablished. And the Jews occupying a part of the church will be driven out.
- 9) The Capuchins will be able to settle in the mentioned church and to practice their worships as it was the case in the past.
- 10) The Saint Georges and Saint Benoit Churches will be given to the Capuchins and Jesuits. In case of a fire or any other harm they will be restored upon the demand of the French ambassador.
- 11) As it is the case in Smyrna, Alexandria and some other regions, the French will be free to practice their religion in their churches in other *Echelles* of the Ottoman Empire and they will not pay anything for this.
- 12) The French will not pay for the churches in Sidon where they worship and the Pashas and other officials will be warned on the subject.
- 13) The mentioned missionaries will be exempted from tribute, ordinary and extraordinary taxes in the Ottoman Empire.
- 14) The churches of Catholics usurped by the Greeks will be returned.
- 15) The read of the Bible will be permitted at the Saint Jean Hospital in Galata.

⁶⁹ Mémoire des Prétentions de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur pour le Renouvellement des Capitulations, en Saint-Priest, *Mémoires sur L'Ambassade de France en Turquie*, pp. 446- 448.

All these demands of France on the religious matters were accepted by the Ottoman administration⁷⁰. Thus the French claim to be protector of Catholics in the Ottoman Empire was accepted by the Sublime Porte. Although the French protection had been limited, according to the former capitulations, with the pilgrims and some churches in Jerusalem the frame of the protection was extended to all the Latin Catholics in the Ottoman Empire with the last capitulations. Also activities, religious practices and the restoration of the churches of the missionaries, the French or the French protégé, were clearly mentioned in the capitulations for the first time. And the French ambassadors and consuls were authorized to keep these stipulations under surveillance. Due to such peculiarities the 1673 Capitulations provided a new perspective to the French policy of protection by extending limits of the former capitulations.

Seeking to develop religious protection Louis XIV declared himself as the protector of the Latin Christians of the Aegean Islands in 1675. Then Mechitar Armenians⁷¹ converted to Catholicism en masse and became clients of France. Louis XIV successfully conducted the diplomacy of religion throughout the 17th Century. The influence of the Latin priests and missionaries were increased over the Holy Places against the Greek clergy owing to active interventions. Moreover France aimed at gaining new converts and tried to be influential over the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire by systematically supporting the missionaries⁷².

When a general evaluation of the 17th Century in terms of religious protection is made it can be argued that France was highly influential in this century. The limited frame of the 16th Century considerably extended in this century. France began to claim protection not only over the Latin Christians of Jerusalem but also over the Catholic subjects of the Ottoman Empire. This was a significant development and frequently stressed by France later. However as it was occasionally

⁷⁰ For the French text of the 1673 Capitulations see. Gabriel Noradounghian, *Recueil d'Actes Internationaux de l'Empire Ottoman (1300–1789)*, Vol. 1, Paris: Librairie Cotillon, 1897, pp. 136 - 145; See also Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, pp. 425–430.

⁷¹ For a detailed study on Mechitarians, see. Gürsoy Şahin, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Katolik Ermeniler: Sivaslı Mihitar ve Mihitaristler (1676-1749)*, İstanbul; IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık 2008. Also see. Joseph C. Almond, "Mechitar", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 10, New York: Robert Appleton Company 1911.

⁷² Charles-Roux, *France et Chrétien d'Orient*, pp. 58-63.

indicated by the French diplomats the Ottoman administration did not assume the same understanding with France regarding the extent of the religious protection. Accordingly the French protection was limited with the Latin Christians and their religious establishments. However the situation was quite out of hand for the Ottoman Empire towards the end of the 17th Century. France began to interfere in the Ottoman Empire by using her privilege of protection as an excuse. Especially a clear and detailed indication of the religious matters and the France's privileges in the 1673 Capitulations brought about the beginning of a new era.

2.4 The 18th Century: Establishment of the Religious Protection

The first action of France in 18th Century concerning the protection was a letter sent from Louis XIV to his Ambassador Charles de Ferriol on 10 August 1701 in order to solve some problems of the Maronites. In his letter, Louis XIV informed the ambassador about the demands of the Maronite Patriarch Etienne. The Patriarch had requested help from the King for the Maronites regarding three matters: to stay under the administration of the Governor of Damascus; to have protection of the King and to be immune from the interventions of the Governor of Tripoli. Louis XIV ordered the ambassador to pay attention to the demands and to do everything that he thinks as just and logical. According to Louis XIV, such interventions were necessary for the strengthening of the Catholic faith and religious protection⁷³. The demands of the Patriarch were directly related to the internal administration of the Ottoman Empire. Thus such demands and action of Louis XIV meant a concrete intervention to the Ottoman Empire by using the religious protection as an excuse.

Marquis de Bonnac appointed as the ambassador to Istanbul by Louis XIV in 1713 became a firm supporter of the religious protection. As the previous ambassadors he was given three main instructions to follow in his office: to protect the Catholic faith and Jerusalem; to protect and develop the French trade and to

⁷³ (S.N.), *Mémoire à Consulter sur les Droits de Protection de la France au Liban*, Imprimerie de Ch. Lahure, Paris, 1861, pp. 4-5.

prevent any development and action in the Ottoman Empire that would harm the interests of France, initially, and Europe⁷⁴.

As his predecessors one of the most important preoccupations of Bonnac was to deal with the question of the Holy Places. The long-standing quarrel between Orthodox and Catholics on the control of the Holy Places was still on the table. Bonnac submitted a report to Paris on the question in 1716. According to the report one of the main problems was the reparation of the Holy Sepulchre Church in Jerusalem. Previously the French Ambassador Chateauneuf had succeeded to receive ten instructions for the reparations between the dates of 1689 and 1697. However the Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem had intermeddled to the subject and demanded to do the reparations jointly. He had received a new instruction with “intrigue and bribe” that annulled the previous ones. In 1711, M. des Alleurs had made a new attempt but this had also been prevented by the Patriarch of Jerusalem. According to Bonnac the Ottoman administration had no intention to make a clear decision on the question of the Holy Places and was acting according to the necessity of the time⁷⁵.

Bonnac was also instructed to get permission from the Ottoman administration for the reparation of the Holy Sepulchre Church. In his letter to the Grand Vizier, he demanded the permission for “the reparation of the vault and other parts of the Holy Sepulchre Church upon the strong friendship between two states and upon the promises previously given to the Latin priests.” He also called the Grand Vizier’s attention to the Greek preventions and requested him to end such interventions⁷⁶. Another letter sent from Bonnac to the Grand Vizier on November 1718 reveals that the demands of Bonnac were positively responded by the Grand Vizier. In his letter, Bonnac expressed his gratitude for the positive reply and indicated that the King of France would be pleased with such a display of friendship.

⁷⁴ Jean-Louis d’Usson (Marquis de Bonnac), *Mémoire Historique sur l’Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, publie par Charles Schefer, Paris, 1894, p. 134.

⁷⁵ *Mémoire des affaires de la Terre Sainte et de l’état ou elles se trouvent présentement (20 Novembre 1716)*, en *Mémoire Historique sur l’Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, pp. 167-169.

⁷⁶ *Traduction du mémoire présenté au grand vizir pour la réparation de la voûte du Saint Sépulcre*, en *Mémoire Historique sur l’Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, pp. 169-170.

And he stressed his intention to send a copy of the imperial decree to France within eight days if he could receive the imperial decree as soon as possible⁷⁷.

In addition to the question of the Holy Places, another important issue for France was the situation of the French missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. They had begun to increase their activities in the 17th Century and had formed a very strong organization in the 18th Century. Their influence reached such an extent in some regions that they were suspected by Christians as well as Muslims. The French Consul at Aleppo stressed the highly increasing number of the missionaries in the *Echelles* and he expressed his worries about a possible discontent of the new governor of the region. On the basis of initiatives held by the governors and mostly by the schismatic Patriarchs, the Ottoman administration sent orders to Damascus, Aleppo and the other towns of Syria in 1723 and outlawed the conversion of the Christian subjects of the Empire to Catholicism. Moreover those who had converted before had to return to their former faith and their contact with the missionaries was forbidden⁷⁸.

As it was revealed in the correspondences of Bonnac the situation of the missionaries was very depressing. In his letter to the Duke of Orleans in 1723, he reported that the developments on the religious matters in Syria and Palestine were unpleasant for France. He notified that the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs were trying to prevent the activities of the French missionaries among their communities. According to the Bonnac's report the Patriarchs had also accused the Greek and Armenian converts of being the subject of the Pope. Thus a decision for exile of seven Catholics from Damascus and Sidon, including the Bishop of Sidon Eufimius, had been taken by the Patriarchs. Only by "prudence and request of the Governor of Sidon", the Sublime Porte had abrogated the decision for exile⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ *Copie de la lettre du Marquis de Bonnac au Grand Vizir (Novembre 1718)*, en *Mémoire Historique sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, p. 170.

⁷⁸ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, pp. 65-66. For the situation and political discussions of the Near Eastern Churches in the first half of the 17th Century see. Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, pp. 235-259.

⁷⁹ *Lettre de M. de Bonnac au duc d'Orléans (9 Juin 1723)*, en *Mémoire Historique sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople* pp. 179-180.

The crisis regarding the conversion of the Ottoman subjects to Catholicism reached such a high point that Louis XV had to intervene personally. In his letter of 1723 to Bonnac, he mentioned a letter sent to him by the Christians of Syria. Here they had informed the King on the fact that the schismatic Patriarch had received an imperial decree from the Sultan to enforce the Catholic converts to return to their former faiths and to stop commerce with the French missionaries. Louis XV also stated that the Turkish authorities in Syria had imprisoned many individuals including some Catholic priests and bishops upon the decree of the Sultan and in case the decree remained in effect, the missionaries would have to return to France. And the King gave the following order to Bonnac⁸⁰:

My intention like my predecessors is to defend our holy religion and to protect its believers at all times and everywhere. Thus I command you to make every effort for the withdrawal of the decree by reminding the Sultan of the necessities of the capitulation. You cannot accomplish anything as ambassador more agreeable to me than being successful in the order that I give you.

The French initiatives concerning the religious matters obviously revealed that by continuously reminding her privileges resulting from the capitulations France did not only aim at practicing a protection over the Latin Christians and missionaries but also over the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. As France acted in a determined and energetic way on the protection, the missionaries invoked the French ambassadors or consuls to solve every problem they faced. However, this did not mean that the Ottoman administration accepted such an arbitrary action over her subjects. On the contrary the Ottoman administration often opposed to the French interventions. In case of Ottoman discontent, France cautiously acted not to sacrifice her friendly relations with the Ottoman Empire for the religious protection⁸¹. A report submitted in 1723 by Bonnac had emphasized some negative sides of the French protection policy. According to Bonnac, the French ambassadors had serious difficulties to conduct relations with the Ottoman Empire because of religious

⁸⁰ *Lettre du Roi à M. de Bonnac (30 Octobre 1723)*, en *Mémoire Historique sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople* p. 180. For the steps of France in favor of Catholics see also Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, pp. 193–194.

⁸¹ Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au Temps de la Reforme Catholique*, Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1994, pp. 249-250.

matters. Continuous debates on the matter were shading the relations of two countries. After giving extracts of many letters sent by the missionaries to the French diplomatic representatives, Bonnac urged as follows⁸²:

Religious matters are quite difficult occupations for the ambassador. Ambitions of the priests and missionaries continuously drive themselves to produce new projects and to create new establishments. They believe that the ambassador can do everything and the capitulations were signed for them although there is almost no mention about them. Actually the ambassador prefers to deal with other necessary matters. If we do not slow down the missionaries or if the ambassador does not curb his ambition, this may lead to take fierce and irreversible decisions by Turks who have already begun to maintain a negative attitude against the missionary activities. This is an important matter deserving the utmost attention.

Despite the discontent of the Ottoman administration the French influence over Christians continued to strengthen through the first half of the 18th Century. The French ambassadors and consuls closely observed the situation of the French missionaries and Eastern Christian and they intervened in case of necessity on behalf of them in accordance with the instructions of the French administration.

In 18th Century, some states in Europe emerged as rivals against the French influence and politics regarding the policy of religion. The most significant of them was Austria as the Catholic power and Russia as the Orthodox power. Austria had been the chief adversary of the Ottoman Empire for a long time and she gained an advantage in the rivalry with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. The advantageous position of Austria considerably strengthened with the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718. In addition to other terms in the Treaty, Austria ensured the addition of such stipulations as the permission for the reparation of the Catholic churches and the serenity of religious men serving in these churches. Thus Vienne was to be more influential on the religious matters⁸³.

The other rival of France was Russia who initiated her intervention on behalf of Orthodox in 1720s. In this period, the Russian Autocephaly Church was reformed and the Czar Peter I (r. 1682-1725) became the leader of the Church. Then he

⁸² *Extrait d'un mémoire et de diverses lettres sur les missionnaires de Syrie*, en *Mémoire Historique sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, pp. 180–181.

⁸³ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, p. 66.

exposed his intention to become the protector of Orthodox⁸⁴. The Russian claims on the religious protection reached to a considerable point with the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji in 1774. As Russia had risen as a new power this caused the emergence of repeating conflicts between France and Russia in numerous occasions concerning the religious matters between Orthodox and Catholics, namely the question of the Holy Places.

Despite all calculations on the balance of power France pursued her protection in the Levant. In this frame Louis XV made a move to emphasize the French claims over the Maronites and sent to them a letter in 1737 having a similar content of the letter of Louis XIV (1649). In his letter he stated by emphasizing the previous letters of protection written by the Kings of France that they had represented and protected the Maronites for centuries. Louis XV specifically reminded the letter of Louis XIV and expressed his intention to pursue this tradition by saying that⁸⁵:

...owing to such reasons and other good thoughts, we declare our protection and safeguard on them (Maronites). We desire that the effects of the protection and safeguard must be felt everywhere and in every occurrence. Thus we command our dear and devoted counselors in our Council; the ambassadors at Constantinople; the consuls and vice-consuls of France in the ports and echelles in the Levant, present and forthcoming, to offer their custody, service and protection on behalf of the Patriarch of Antioch and the Maronite Christians of Lebanon wherever they need. They must not suffer from any bad treatment and, on the contrary, they must freely continue their religious exercises and functions. Our will and pleasure is as such. We request from the Grand Emperor of Muslims, our very dear and perfect friend, and from his illustrious pashas and other officers to favor and to assist the mentioned Patriarch of Antioch and Maronite Christians, by offering to do the same for everyone recommended by them.

Louis XV's strong statement on the religious protection was comprehensively formulated very soon with the capitulation agreement of 1740 which became the zenith of the increasing influence over the Ottoman Empire⁸⁶. The capitulations

⁸⁴ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, p. 13.

⁸⁵ *Mémoire à Consulter sur les Droits de Protection de la France au Liban*, pp. 5-6. Besides in 1750 Louis XV ordered his Consuls to protect the Maronite priests the same way they are protecting the French missionaries against the Muslims and Heretics. In response to that, the Maronites decided to celebrate the Saint-Louis Feast Day. Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient*, p. 251.

⁸⁶ The fact that France played a negotiator role in the Belgrade Agreement (1739) between the Ottoman Empire and Austria and Russia was influential for the obtainment of the Capitulations. Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, p. 195.

provided extensive advantages to France in terms of economic, political and diplomatic matters⁸⁷. The new capitulations not only reaffirmed all the privileges of France resulting from the former capitulations but also extended their sphere with additional articles. Also as an important point the capitulations were rendered permanent for the first time according to the 84th article of the agreement⁸⁸.

The emphasis on the religious protection was very firm in the 1740 Capitulations. The first article guaranteed the travel of the French to Jerusalem and the stay of all religious men in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre without facing any hindrance. According to 32nd article, the bishops and religious men under the French protection were to practice their worships freely in their churches. And the pilgrims from “the enemy states”, which refers to the states not having the right to send ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, would come to Jerusalem by the French ships. The 33rd article stated that the French religious men in Jerusalem were to be secure in their establishments. According to the 34th article, the French and the subjects of France were free to travel to Jerusalem. The 35th article guaranteed the rights of the Jesuits and Capuchins over the two churches in Galata; the reestablishment of one of these churches which had burned down; the security of the French churches in Smyrna, Sidon, Alexandria and the echelles. The 36th article gave the French permission to read the Bible at their hospital in Galata. According to the 82nd article of the capitulations, permissions for the restoration of the establishments owned by the French religious men were to be given upon the request of the French ambassador at Istanbul⁸⁹.

⁸⁷ Sieur Deval, *Capitulations ou Traites Anciens et Nouveaux entre La Cour de France et La Porte Ottomane : Renouvelés&Augmentés l'an de 1740, l'Imprimerie Royale*, Paris, 1761. This translation had been made by Deval, the King's translator and first dragoman in Istanbul. Deval indicated that his translation was the result of a very meticulous work and he was assisted by many linguists during his work. According to him, the absence of the reliable translations of the capitulations was causing some problems. French merchants and missionaries were continuously applying to the ambassadors and consuls by interpreting the clauses of the capitulations according to their interests. Thus the diplomatic representatives often had to confront with the Ottoman authorities in undesired conditions. In order to remove such problems, according to his statement, Deval had meticulously prepared his work. (Preface, p. ii-iii)

⁸⁸ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, p. 509.

⁸⁹Deval, *Capitulations ou Traites Anciens et Nouveaux*, pp. 1-48 ; Reşat Ekrem, *Osmanlı Muahedeleri ve Kapitülasyonlar*, pp. 430-436.

All these articles strongly guaranteed the French and Catholic rights in the Ottoman Empire, chiefly over the Holy Places. The agreement meant for the Catholic Church a significant gain from the religious perspective and for France sealing of her protection, interests and honor. However it should be stressed that a certain Catholic control over the Holy Places could not be achieved despite the increasing gains. Catholics had control over less than ten places. By referring to the limited control of Catholics at the Holy Places and the French protection over Catholics, Greeks said that “the Franks have the consuls protecting them but...if the Franks have the *firmands*, on the contrary, Greeks have the sanctuaries.”⁹⁰ Hence they stressed their superior condition at the Holy Places despite the French interventions for Catholics. It was true that the Greek population was higher than the Catholic population in the region and they had more religious places. However the increasing efficiency of the Catholic priests and missionaries in the region under the French protection had already reached to a considerable point.

By the mid-18th Century the French missionaries were active in many parts of the Ottoman Empire such as Istanbul, Smyrna, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine. However some significant developments in France influenced the French policy of protection. The first development was the suppression of the Jesuit Order in France (1764) and the placement of the Lazarists (1780) instead of them. As the Society of Jesus was the principal missionary congregation in the Levant this process seriously straitened the French missionary activities for a while in the region. From the suppression of the Jesuits to the placement of the Lazarists the missionary activities nearly ceased⁹¹. The second and most significant development was the French Revolution in 1789. The relations between the French administrations and the Church were dreadful after the Revolution. Moreover the French religious protection in the Levant nearly stopped for a while because of strict restraints on the Church and the missionary activities.

A general look at the 18th Century reveals that the French protection prominently advanced in this century. The previous steps and initiatives were

⁹⁰Veillot, *L'Eglise, la France et le Schisme en Orient*, p. 37.

⁹¹ The suppression of the Jesuits and the placement of the Lazarists instead will be explained in details in the next chapter.

furthered. The number of French missionaries considerably increased and they became influential among the subjects of the Ottoman Empire. France supported the missionaries when their activities were reacted by the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs and when the Ottoman administration maintained a negative attitude against them and converts because of the Patriarch's agitations. The letters of protection were sent to the Maronites and interventions were made on behalf of them in case of necessity. The question of the Holy Places was also carefully observed by France and some significant advantages were obtained for Catholics. The renewal of the capitulations in 1740 and its inclusion of strong statements concerning the religious protection was a substantial contribution to the French policy of religious protection. Another noteworthy development in the 18th Century was the suppression of the Jesuits and the placement of the Lazarists in the Ottoman Empire. As the Lazarists had a strong French character they worked closely with the French administration and got support from France.

2.5 The French Revolution and the Crisis of the French Religious Protection

The French Revolution that caused many radical changes in France also influenced deeply the religious organizations and the missionaries. The Church faced with the reaction of the Revolution just like all the institutions of the Ancient Regime. With severe attacks the churches were plundered and many religious men were killed or exiled. In addition, such measures as the confiscation of the church properties; the issue of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy that subordinated the Roman Catholic Church in France to the French government; the enforcement of the clergymen to take an oath upon the Constitution; and orders against the Holy See demolished the situation of the Church and the clergy in France.

The pressure on the Church and the execution of King Louis XVI caused to rise of a deep hatred of Catholics against the New Regime. Beyond any doubt all the developments in France also influenced the situation of the missionaries in the Levant. There was a dilemma for the French governments. In one hand, they continued the anticlericalism in France on the other hand they needed to defend the tradition of religious protection in order to maintain the French power and interests in the international area. Thus the French government sent an instruction to the French

Charge d’Affaires Descorches at Istanbul in 1793 and reminded the traditional role of the French ambassadors concerning the religious protection in the Levant. According to the instruction he was ordered to pursue the role assumed by the French representatives but not to give too much meaning to the matter of privileges⁹².

Verninac and Aubert du Bayet, the ambassadors of the Revolutionary governments at Istanbul, came into the continuation of the protection. The French governments ordered them to carry on protecting the Latin clergymen and to work by the Ottoman administration in order to maintain the serenity of Christians in Lebanon. These instructions were put into practice by the ambassadors. Even General Bayet sent an instruction to all French consuls and vice-consuls in the Levant without asking the French Directory and reminded them that the defense of all privileges resulting from the capitulations was the responsibility of all the French representatives in the Levant. He also stressed that the protection of the churches and their members in the Levant was a part of the privileges. And he ordered the French representatives to ensure the security of “the clergymen whose expression and activities were not against the laws of the Republic” and to ensure their activities and freedom in religious practices⁹³.

General Bayet’s initiatives were also approved by the Directory and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs instructed the diplomatic representatives to continue the religious protection. However the French administration had to deal with some troubles related to the matter. Firstly there was a considerable decrease in the French support, both politically and financially, to the missionaries. Secondly the suppression of the churches and missionary congregations in France gave serious damage to the foreign missions that lacked in personnel and money. For example, with the suppression of the Lazarist congregation in France (1792), which was the most active French missionary congregation in the Ottoman Empire at that time, their missions in the Levant also rapidly collapsed because of money and personnel

⁹² Roux, *France et Chrétiens d’Orient*, p. 95.

⁹³ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, pp. 22-23.

shortage. Most of the Lazarist institutions, namely the Saint-Benoit College in Istanbul, had to stop their activities⁹⁴.

Austria and Spain intended to use the weakness of France concerning the religious protection. The Lazarists decided to accept the Austrian protection in 1793 when the French in Istanbul took a decision to usurp their establishments. As a response to the Lazarists' decision the French appointed administrators to control the establishments. This caused a quarrel between France and Austria. The Ottoman administration did not intervene to the disagreement which remained unsolved until the Franco-Ottoman agreement in 1802. With the agreement France reestablished her control over the Lazarist properties. However the relations between France and the Lazarists were seriously damaged in this period⁹⁵.

Spain also wanted to take advantage of France's declining influence in the Levant and demanded from France to leave on her behalf the protection of the Christian establishments in the Holy Places in 1796. Thus Spain hoped to take the ancient privileges of France based on some capitulations and international agreements into her own hand. According to the calculation of Spain, such a transfer would provide her some political and economic advantages in the region. As France did not initially respond Spain repeated her demand. As a result of comprehensive evaluations, the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs suggested to the French administration to refuse the demand of Spain by arguing that this would give harm to the protection of Christians in the Levant and to the privileges of France in the Ottoman Empire⁹⁶.

The negative impact of the French Revolution on the Catholic mission in the Ottoman Empire was still unsolved when another problem emerged. The French campaign to occupy Egypt caused the outbreak of the Franco-Ottoman War (1798-1800). The war deeply affected the relations of the two states. All the French diplomatic representatives in Istanbul and the Levant were shut down and the French

⁹⁴ Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam*, p. 25.

⁹⁵ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, pp. 96-97.

⁹⁶ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, pp. 24-29.

were arrested⁹⁷. The Catholic missions were also influenced by the situation. The French missionaries and priests were driven out of the Ottoman Empire⁹⁸. Soon after the end of the war France began to work on the reestablishment of her religious privileges as well as her economic and political privileges. As a result of the initiatives, the agreement between France and the Ottoman Empire was signed on 25 June 1802 and the 2nd article of the agreement recognized the former privileges of France in the Ottoman Empire⁹⁹. The matter of religious protection was affirmed as stipulated in the 1740 Capitulations. The Premier Consul Bonaparte gave an order to the Marshall Brune on 18 October 1802 for the closely surveillance of the matter¹⁰⁰:

The intention of the Government is that the ambassador at Istanbul should reestablish the French supremacy in this capital, which has been continuing for two hundred years, by using all means... he should take all hospices; all Christians of Syria and Armenia; and especially all caravans visiting the Holy Places under his protection.

Napoleon thought that missionary activities could make political and moral contributions to France. He asked Jean-Etienne Portalis, the Councilor of State, to submit a report about the foreign missions to understand how they can contribute to France's interests. Portalis submitted his report to Napoleon on 7 November 1802. In this report, Portalis indicated that missionaries deserved the support of the Republic because they contribute to civilization and to France. Moreover he suggested the reactivation of two important congregations, namely the Lazarists and the Foreign Missions, which had been suppressed by the Revolution¹⁰¹.

After being declared as the emperor, Napoleon obtained a wider field to move regarding religious matters. He initiated the reorganization of missionary organizations by appointing Cardinal Fesch, the Archbishop of Lyon and the Ambassador at the Holy See, as the general administrator of the mission. An

⁹⁷ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, p. 108.

⁹⁸ Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam*, p. 25.

⁹⁹ Paul Dislere et R. De Mouy, *Droits et Devoirs des Français dans Les Pays d'Orient et d'Extrême-Orient*, Paul Dupont, Paris, 1893, p. 333. «Les traités ou capitulations qui, avant l'époque de la guerre, déterminaient entre respectivement les rapports de toute de espèce qui existaient entre les deux Puissances, sont en entier renouvelés... »

¹⁰⁰ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, pp. 33-34.

¹⁰¹ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, pp. 109-110.

allocation was appropriated each year to the budget of the Ministry of Cults for the mission. Missionaries were allowed to return to Paris as from 1806. And they were sent to the Levant and the Far East. Meanwhile an instruction was sent to the ambassador at Istanbul and he was charged to work on behalf of missionaries. Later the Minister of Foreign Affairs Talleyrand assigned him to submit information about the situation of missionaries in the Ottoman Empire and instructed the ambassador as follows¹⁰²:

...the protectorate of the religious establishments in the Levant has always belonged to the French ambassador. As the influence of missions increases the protectorate becomes more meaningful and only this influence can strengthen the France's reputation in the *Echelles* of the Levant.

In this period, the demand of the French ambassador for an allocation to the Lazarists was accepted by Napoleon and an aid amounted to 12.000 francs was made to them in 1806. Few years later, although the Lazarists were again suppressed in 1809 in France Napoleon did not want their activities to be affected in the Levant¹⁰³. Despite some ups and downs the French protection over the missions in the Levant continued during the Napoleonic Era.

During the Napoleonic Era, the French policy of religious protection over Eastern Christians and missionaries was mainly focused on the restoration, as much as possible, of the great damage resulting from the French Revolution. The adverse effects of anticlericalism on the French foreign policy had been realized very soon and the attempts to remove them had been made. After succeeding to the throne Napoleon tried to further the attempts and he aimed at using religion as a mean both in France and abroad. The French initiative to revive her protection over Christians and missionaries in the Levant was a result of such concerns.

The question of the Holy Places, which reemerged in this era, tested the French power concerning the protection. To illustrate, a disagreement on the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre Church, which had partially burned in 1808, had remained unsolved for nine years. France interfered to the situation on behalf of

¹⁰² Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, p. 111.

¹⁰³ Veillot, *L'Eglise, la France et le Schisme en Orient*, pp. 321-322.

Catholics and Russia on behalf of Orthodox¹⁰⁴. As the Ottoman administration was under pressure of two sides, an imperial decree stating the Sultan's sovereignty in the Holy Places was issued in 1817. From the French point of view, this was a failure because she could not get expected results despite all her efforts¹⁰⁵. The debates on the restoration of Holy Sepulchre continued to be a serious problem between Orthodox and Catholics and their protecting states; Russia and France during the following decades¹⁰⁶.

A general evaluation on the protection of Christians and missionaries in the Levant by France reveals a decline after the French Revolution. The Church had been deeply influenced by the animosity of the Revolution against the Ancient Regime. The suppression of many churches; the confiscation of their properties; the suppression of religious congregations and strict secular practices made a deep impact on the religious environment in France. This also directly influenced the missionaries all around the world. As they needed financial and human resources from France the missions had to face with serious difficulties in the absence of such resources. This case was also valid for the French missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. The decision of the Lazarists in Istanbul to accept the Austrian protection instead of France in 1793 was a concrete result of the changing situation for both France and the missionaries. In addition to missionaries, the French protection over Eastern Christians and the Holy Places weakened in the last decade of the 18th Century. Some states emerged as rivals of the traditional role of France and even Spain demanded from France in 1796 to abandon the protection of the Holy Places for itself.

Despite all these undesirable developments France was aware of the political prestige provided by the religious protection. France did not want to risk her economic and political privileges in the Levant and followed a pragmatic policy. Although a campaign against the religious institutions was conducted in France, at

¹⁰⁴ Russia obtained the right for protection of the Orthodox in the Ottoman Empire with articles 7, 8 and 17 of the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca. The 8th article also gave Russia the right to interfere with the Holy Places.

¹⁰⁵ Cirilli, *Le Régime des Capitulations*, p. 191.

¹⁰⁶ Sami Kılıç and İhsan Satış, "Osmanlı Arşiv Vesikalarına Göre Hristiyan Cemaatlerin Kamame Kilisesi ile İlgili Tartışmaları", *History Studies*, Vol: 3/3, 2011, pp. 233-234.

the same time, instructions by the French administration for the continuation of the religious protection were sent to the French diplomats in the Ottoman Empire. And an allocation for the missionaries was set during the reign of Napoleon. However, it should be stated that until the restoration of the monarchy in 1815 the French influence concerning the religious protection remained considerably weak.

2.6 The 19th Century: Restoration and Revival of the Religious Protection

After the restoration of the French monarchy in 1815 Félix de Beaujour was sent to the Levant for a general inspection and sought the ways of strengthening the French religious protection. Meanwhile Marquis Rivière, the new ambassador at Istanbul, began to make efforts in order to defend the rights of Latin Christians in the Holy Places. With the instruction of Paris he was asked to keep the Holy Places and all religious establishments of Latin Christians under his protection. It was said in the instruction that “this protection, which has always been one of the most significant rights of the French ambassadors, should be revived today after a long pause.”¹⁰⁷ The instruction’s stress on ‘pause’ indicates that the French religious protection did not reach the desired level after the French Revolution despite the efforts on the matter.

From the dethronement of Napoleon in 1815 to the 1848 Revolution, France’s interest in the Levant and in the religious protection showed some changes according to the conditions of the time. For example, such developments as the deepening of the Egyptian Question in 1830s and the Egyptian occupation in Syria increased the French attention to the region. As being the supporter of Egypt against the Ottoman Empire and other Great Powers France’s influence strengthened in this period. And Catholics, namely the Maronites, and the Catholic missionaries benefited from the French influence in the region. While the Maronites were getting political and economic advantages the missionaries found an opportunity to increase their field of activity and establishments.

¹⁰⁷ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d’Orient*, p. 123.

The solution of the Egyptian Question in 1840 with an international intervention and the end of the Egyptian occupation in Syria caused the diplomatic weakening of France. On the other hand, the Maronites, who had been close to Egypt and had obtained a privileged position during the occupation, were faced with the Druzes after the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from Syria. There happened bloody clashes between the two sides. Although the system of two *caïmacamats* was introduced in order to solve the problems it did not offer a serious contribution to overcome ethno-religious enmity. France pursued her initiatives for the Maronites. Guizot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, said that “it is France’s responsibility to protect the Catholics of Syria as in the past and not to leave them alone”. Also Cremieux, a member of the French Parliament, addressed to the Parliament in 1847 as follows¹⁰⁸:

Messieurs! These are the Christians of Lebanon. They have been your brothers for centuries. They are not your brothers only in religion but also brothers at battle fields! You always found them by your side: St. Louis found them by his side, Napoleon found them by his side.

In 1848, France was shaken by another revolution and the Third Republic was founded instead of the collapsing monarchy. Despite the regime change France did not put aside her religious protection. Louis Napoleon as the President of Republic established a close relation with the Church in France. The new administration of France supported the missionaries in the Ottoman Empire as well as all around the world as a reflection of the new understanding which assumed an active foreign policy. Moreover the Third Republic regarded itself as the protector of Eastern Christians, especially the Maronites in Lebanon¹⁰⁹. These efforts aimed at reconstituting the French prestige in the Levant which had diminished after the Egyptian Question.

In order to defend its influence the administration of the Third Republic did not hesitate to encounter with the Holy See. When the Holy See considered appointing the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem as the apostolic delegate to Istanbul this was perceived by France as a threat to her intermediary role between the Holy See

¹⁰⁸ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, pp. 161-162.

¹⁰⁹ Vincent Cloarec, *La France et la Question de Syrie (1914–1918)*, Paris: CNRS, 1998, p. 13.

and the Ottoman Empire. Although the apostolic delegates did not have a diplomatic character they were the representatives of Popes with an absolute authority over the Latin Christians and their establishments. They were also responsible with conducting the relations of the Holy See with Eastern Catholics. Thus the French administration declared to the Holy See its protestation concerning any attempt which could be against the France's rights and privileges in the Levant. Apart from the Holy See France struggled with the Italian states in order to keep her position in the Levant. When some signs of violation of the French rights and privileges in the Levant by the consuls of the Italian states were observed, Bastid, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, notified Harcourt, the French Ambassador at Rome, as follows¹¹⁰:

The Government of Republic is determined to defend its secular protection over the Catholics in the Levant and also to make others respect this protection. Rights and privileges connected to the protection offer only a small compensation when compared to its responsibility.

Another rival of the French policies in the Levant concerning the religious matters was Russia which also followed a policy of religious protection over the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The most important matter of conflict between France and Russia was of course the Question of the Holy Places concerning religious matters in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, the origins of the question had laid down in the remote past¹¹¹ and it had been mainly a religious problem between Catholics and Orthodox¹¹². However, when Russia obtained a partial protection over the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman Empire with the Kucuk Kainarja Treaty in 1774 the Question of the Holy Places also turned to a problem between France and Russia in time and it turned to be one of the most significant problems of the Sublime Porte in the middle of the 19th Century¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, pp. 168-169

¹¹¹ For the details of the question of the Holy Places during the early Ottoman rule in Jerusalem see. Oded Peri, *Christianity under Islam in Jerusalem: The Question of the Holy Sites in Early Ottoman Times*, Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001.

¹¹² Although Catholics, Orthodox and Gregorian Armenians were the main religious groups having certain rights in the Holy Places, there were also some other less significant groups like Copts, Assyrians and Abyssinians.

¹¹³ Bekir Sıtkı Baykal, "Makamât-ı Mübareke Meselesi ve Babiâli", *Belleten*, C. 23, 1959 (pp. 241-266).

From the French perspective, the question of Holy Places was considered by Louis Napoleon as a fresh opportunity to increase the diplomatic influence of France, which could not have been fully restored since 1815. France aimed at strengthening her position in the Levant by supporting the Catholic claims in the Levant as well as weakening “the Concert of conservative powers”, i.e. Austria and Russia. Thus France would find a room for maneuver in the European diplomacy¹¹⁴.

The Ottoman administration was aware of the difficulties of finding a solution that could satisfy the France and Russia at the same time. Thus it desired to maintain status quo between Catholics and Orthodox in the Holy Places. However the Latin Catholics insistently made effort for the French intervention and France decided to interfere the question actively ¹¹⁵. As a result, General Aupick, the French Ambassador, delivered an ultimatum to the Ottoman Empire in 1850 and brought forward the Question of the Holy Places once again by strongly defending the Catholic demands¹¹⁶.

Being in a troublous situation between France and Russia the Ottoman administration decided to form a commission in 1852 for solving the question¹¹⁷. The commission was composed of the Ottoman, the Latin and the Orthodox members and it was supposed to reach a conclusion by examining all the documents at the hands of the Latin and the Orthodox Christian concerning the Holy Places. The strongest basis of the Catholic arguments was the 1740 Capitulations between France and the Ottoman Empire. Although Catholics had been granted some rights over the Holy Places the names of the places had not been specified. However Catholics claimed

¹¹⁴ The policy of France concerning the question of Holy Places was stressed by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs as such: “The question of the Holy Places and everything affecting them was of no importance whatever to France. All this Eastern Question which provoked so much noise was nothing more for the imperial government than a means of dislocating the continental alliance which had tended to paralyze France for almost half a century.” Clive Ponting, *The Crimean War: The Truth Behind the Myth*, London: Chatto&Windus 2004, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ For a detailed study on the historical origins of the Question of Holy Places from the Catholic perspective and the French diplomatic interventions on the matter see. Eugène Boré, *Question des Lieux Saints*, Paris, 1850.

¹¹⁶ In this ultimatum, General Aupick demanded the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre Church and the placement of silver star by Catholics. He also demanded the right of common use for three places which belonged to Orthodox. Cemil Karasu, “Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Diplomasisine Genel Bir Bakış”, *OTAM*, No: 4, 1993, p. 211.

¹¹⁷ Fahir Armaoğlu, *19. Yüzyıl Siyasi Tarihi*, TTK, Ankara, 2003, pp. 231-232

the patronage of twelve places like the grand dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Grand Church of Bethlehem, the tomb of Holy Virgin and a part of the Church of Bethlehem¹¹⁸.

After conducting a detailed study on the Orthodox and Catholic documents, the commission suggested to the Sublime Porte the maintenance of status quo in the Holy Places except several changes. Accordingly, the Latins were to have a key of the Church of Bethlehem and they were to be admitted to the tomb of the Holy Virgin and the Greeks were to have new rights in the sanctuary of the Ascension¹¹⁹. The conclusions of the commission were approved by the Sublime Porte and France and Russia were informed about the matter.

When a new firman was issued according to the study of the commission it was seen that it did not mention about the bestowal of a key of the Church of Bethlehem to the Latins. This was protested by La Valette, the French Ambassador at Istanbul and a note was added to the firman saying “a key of the door of the Church will be given to the Latins”¹²⁰. Such developments alarmed Russia who thought that

¹¹⁸ (S.N.), *La Vérité sur la Question des Lieux-Saints, par Quelqu'un Qui la Sait*, Malta, 1853, pp. 13–14.

¹¹⁹ *La Vérité sur la Question des Lieux-Saints*, p. 19-20. “According to the documents it examined, the commission did not accept the exclusive restitution of the sanctuaries claimed by the Latins. The report said that the grand dome of the Holy Sepulchre covering a common place of worship could not exclusively belong to one of the two communities; and about the small dome, which belonged to the Greeks according to the former firmans, the report declared the continuation of the status quo, i.e. its possession by the Greeks. As for the tomb of the Virgin, as the common sanctuary of the Greeks, Armenians and other Christian rites, in which the Muslims also have an altar and from which only the Latins were excluded, the Commission had found intolerant and unjust not to allow the Latins inside the sanctuary, because the former firmans had given them such a right. The Commission also decided that no change would be made inside of this sanctuary, not to further increase the susceptibility of the Greeks, and that the Latins, after having officiated, would remove all the objects of the cult.”

“For the grand Church of Bethlehem that the Latins exclusively claimed as a church built by them, as the form of the Latin cross indicated, the Commission recognized that according to the firmans, this church belonged to the Greek rite for centuries, however, because under the altar of the church there is the grotto of the Nativity which is a sanctuary common to all the rites and that the nave of the church had always been used to get to the sanctuary, the Commission decided that a key of the church and two keys of the altar should be given to the Latins without making any change in status quo of the church, according to which the Latins can only have the right of crossing. After having recognized the common enjoyment to the Greeks and the Latins of two gardens attached to the Church of Bethlehem, the Commission decided the continuing of the status quo on the other sanctuaries claimed by France.”

¹²⁰ Karasu, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Diplomasisine...*, p. 211.

the rights of Orthodox were being violated despite the assurance given by the Sublime Porte.

Russia was a diplomatically improving state in Europe throughout the first half of the 19th Century and it had strong ambitions on the Ottoman Empire. The Question of Holy Places was regarded as an excuse by Russia to get greater gains in the Ottoman Empire. According to Russia, the Ottoman Empire was “the sick man of Europe” and the European powers should be ready to share its heritage. And Russia was decisive to get the biggest share. Thus it strongly intervened the Question of Holy Places. Prince Menshikov was sent to Istanbul in February 1853 as extraordinary ambassador by Tsar Nicolas I.

During his campaign in Istanbul, Prince Menshikov made a great pressure on the Sublime Porte in order to secure the rights of Orthodox in the Holy Places and he demanded an official document like the Kucuk Kainarja Treaty for guaranteeing these rights. The Ottoman administration was ready to reach a compromise with Russia on the Holy Places. However, the demands of Russia were limited to the Holy Places. Russia was trying to assume a protection over all Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire¹²¹. The Sublime Porte considered such an engagement against the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire and rejected the proposals of Prince Menshikov. The support of France and Great Britain had of course played a significant role in this rejection. As he could not achieve his aims Prince Menshikov delivered an ultimatum and left the Ottoman Empire¹²².

After the return of Prince Menshikov to Russia, Comte Nesselrode, the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent another ultimatum to the Ottoman administration and wanted the acceptance of Russian demands asserted by Prince Menshikov. However, the Sublime Porte rejected this once more. This was responded by Russia with the invasion of the Danubian Principalities in July 1853 and the war broke out between Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

¹²¹ Barbara Jelavich, *Russia's Balkan Entanglements 1806-1914*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1991, pp. 118-122.

¹²² Enver Ziya Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, v. 5, Ankara: TTK 1983, pp. 228-230; Karasu, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Diplomasisine...*, p. 213-214.

As diplomatic interventions of the European states during the following months were of no results France and Great Britain declared war against Russia in March 1854. Then Piedmont joined them. The allies of the Ottoman Empire in the Crimean War (1854-1856) mobilized their military capacity in a large extent and they sent thousands of troops as well as warships and other military equipment¹²³. Although Great Britain and other European powers were reactionary against the Russian claims over the Ottoman Empire France had played the most important role in such a mobilization.

The Crimean War clearly revealed how the religious protection can overlap with political and strategic calculations. Actually this was a summary of the French policy oriented towards the Ottoman Empire through centuries. Diplomatic superiority and prestige were very essential for the protection of political and economic interests and these qualities could only be achieved by long-lived policies. Thus it was unlikely for France to let a sudden collapse of her system of protection which had been gained as a result of great efforts and efficiently practiced for centuries. France proved her determination at the Crimean War and pursued her efforts concerning protection after the War. However changing conditions brought new challenges as well as new opportunities.

¹²³ The total number of French troops served in the east during the Crimean War was around 300.000 in rotation. At its peak in the summer of 1855, there were 120.000 troops in Crimea. Ponting, *The Crimean War*, pp. 51-52.

CHAPTER 3

THE FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSIONARY CONGREGATIONS IN LEBANON AND THEIR ROLE IN THE PROPAGATION OF THE FENCH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Before focusing on the French missionary congregations and their activities it would be better to make some explanations concerning the administration of missions. First of all, the matter of administrative and geographical division concerning the Catholic missionaries should be taken into consideration. The obtainment of some permissions beginning from the Holy See at the top to the bottom was an obligation to conduct missionary activities in any given region. Besides missionary activities were conducted within the religious-geographical regions of which the borders were determined by the Holy See.

The Catholic missions were actually administered by a highly complicated bureaucratic mechanism. Pope was at the top of the hierarchy. *Sacra Congregatio Christiano Nomini Propagando*¹²⁴ was the institution in Rome which administered and controlled the missionary activities in the name of Pope. The Propaganda was run by a cardinal and it has a certain authority to give permission, to supervise and to suppress all kinds of activities of the Catholic missions. All the missions all around the world had to be in contact with the Propaganda in their activities. Under the authority of the Propaganda there were dioceses ruled by either a bishop or archbishop. The missionaries were subject to the authority of the clergy in their mission region.

A different structure was established in the regions where the Catholic Church had not had enough members or its institutionalization had not been achieved yet. Such regions were called “apostolic vicariate” and administered by “apostolic vicars”. Being different from the other dioceses the apostolic vicariates were directly

¹²⁴ This institution was created by Pope Gregory XVI in 1622 in order to administer and control all Catholic missions in all over the World. It was called as “*Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*” in Italian, “*Congrégation de la Propagation de la Foi*” in French and “*Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith*” in English.

depending on the Papal authority. The main responsibilities of the apostolic vicars were to head all the Latin Catholics and to administer and control the Catholic missions within the borders of their jurisdictional regions.

The first apostolic vicariates of the Catholic Church in the Ottoman Empire had been established in Istanbul and Aleppo. In the following centuries Smyrna and Mesopotamia were also made apostolic vicariates to respond to the needs of increasing Catholic population. These regions were administered by high-ranking priests, generally by archbishops. In addition to the title of apostolic vicar, as the representative of Pope for the Latin Catholics, some bishops also assumed the title of “apostolic delegate” as the representative of Pope among the Eastern Catholics. The priest having the title of the Bishop of Aleppo was at the top of the Latin hierarchy in Syria. The territory of his jurisdiction covered a territory including the borders of the ancient Patriarchates of Jerusalem and Antioch, and Cyprus and Cilicia. The Diocese of Aleppo had been established in 1645 and a Franciscan priest named Giovanni Battista di Dovara had been appointed there as the first bishop. The seat remained vacant for more than a century upon the resignation of Dovara in 1650. The Diocese of Aleppo was reactivated in 1762 and the Lazarist priest named Arnaud Bossu was appointed as the bishop of the diocese¹²⁵. However the suppression of the Jesuit Order in Europe and the impacts of the French Revolution negatively influenced the diocese and it had to stop its activities after a short while. The diocese could recommence its works once more and permanently in 1817 with the name of the Vicariate Apostolic of Syria, Egypt, Arabia and Cyprus¹²⁶.

As can be seen the hierarchy of the Holy See was composed of Pope, the Propaganda and the Vicariate Apostolic of Syria. And administrative and

¹²⁵ Hanna Kildani, *Modern Christianity in the Holy Land*, Bloomington: Author House 2010, p. 675.

¹²⁶ With the establishment of new bishoprics and the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem during the following years, some arrangements and changes were made concerning these areas of jurisdiction. In 1839, the vicariate apostolic of Egypt and Arabia was formed and a vast region was attached to this vicariate. The Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem was created in 1847 and a region including Palestine, Cyprus and present-day territory of Jordan was left to the control of the Patriarchate. About the past of the Latin Patriarchate, it had been first created in 1099 after the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. Jerusalem had remained as the seat of the Patriarchate until the recapture of the city by Muslims in 1187. Hereafter, even though the title of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem had not been abolished its seat had to be moved in different places during the following centuries. And any appointment to the post of patriarchate had not been made by the Holy See from the 14th century to 1847.

geographical organizations of the Catholic missions were made according to this hierarchy. That is to say that the borders of the Vicariate Apostolic of Syria were also the borders of the Syrian missions for the Catholic congregations. In this respect, the region which constitutes today's Lebanon was a part of the Syrian missions in the 19th Century¹²⁷. Various Catholic orders engaged in missionary activities in Syria by creating their own Syrian missions provided that they received the approbation of the Holy See.

In parallel with the administrative organization of the Holy See, which was the supreme authority of all the Catholic missions, every missionary order also had its own administrative and operational structures including its own headquarters and general superiors. For example the center of the Jesuits was in Rome while the centers of the Lazarists and *Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* (OPF) were in Paris and Lyon, respectively. Each missionary order was run from its headquarters by the superiors and administrative committees of the orders whose names and titles were changing from one order to the other. Being attached to these headquarters, new mission prefectures such as the Syrian mission were created and administrators were appointed to these prefectures. A location considered most suitable for the missionary activities was to be determined as the seat of a mission prefecture and an administrator supervised from there all the activities of the mission.

It will be revealed when each missionary order is taken into consideration that Beirut was determined as the center of the Syrian missions in the second half of the 19th Century by different Catholic orders. In addition to Beirut, the Catholic missionary activities accumulated in the regions of today's Lebanon such as Sidon, Tripoli and Mount Lebanon.

3.1 The French Catholic Missionary Congregations In Lebanon

3.1.1 The Jesuits (The Society of Jesus)

¹²⁷ It should be particularly emphasized that when we mention about the Catholic missions in Lebanon we also mention about the Catholic missions in Syria at the same time. Before Lebanon was established as a state with its present-day territory it had denoted to Mount Lebanon, a region that had been attached to different provinces in different periods in the Ottoman Empire. Lebanon gained an autonomous status in 1861 with the formation of the Governorship of Mount Lebanon in 1861.

The Society of Jesus is one of the leading missionary orders of the Catholic faith by leaving a permanent mark on minds with its widespread and extensive activities¹²⁸. The Society of Jesus was founded in 1534 by a group of students leaded by two Spanish called Ignatius de Loyola and Francisco Xavier from the University of Paris. However the official recognition of the Order occurred with the Papal bull (*Regimini militantis ecclesiae*) issued by Pope Paul III on 17 September 1540¹²⁹. Ignatius was elected as the first superior general of the Jesuits¹³⁰. Then the Jesuit missionaries were sent to everywhere in Europe and they opened schools, colleges and seminaries. The Jesuits preference to begin their activities with opening educational institutions was a result of the basic principles of the Order. The main source that determined the principles and the frame of the Jesuit activities was the work of Ignace de Loyola called *Constitutions and Declarations of the Company of Jesus*.¹³¹

The Jesuits placed educational activities at the basis of their missions. As a reflection of this understanding they focused on the education of the youth in every field, namely theology and literature, and also on the instruction of uneducated people. In addition to educational activities, traditional missionary activities such as doing charitable works and converting infidels to Catholicism were among the other responsibilities of the Jesuit missions.

The Society of Jesuit was strictly loyal to the Holy See and unconditionally obeyed to the orders and instructions of Popes. As the headquarter of the Society was in Rome since the beginning this enabled the establishment of a close relation between the Holy See and the Society. This situation also had a potential of affecting

¹²⁸ The name of the Order was determined by its founders as *Societas Jesu* in Latin. The name was *Compagnie de Jésus* in French. The founders had never called themselves as the Jesuits. This name was first used by Protestants in order to “ridicule” the decisions taken by the Catholic Church in the Consul of Trent (1545-1563) concerning the Counter Reformation. However, the usage of Jesuit became a widely used expression in time. For details, see. H. Bernard-Maitre, « Jésuites », *Catholicisme: Hier, Aujourd’hui, Demain*, Vol. 6, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1967, p. 732.

¹²⁹ Dominique Lormier, *Les Missionnaires: Origines-Organisation-Grandes Figures*, Paris: De Vecchi, 2006, p. 71.

¹³⁰ The chief of the Jesuits is called *Praepositus Generalis* in Latin which means superior general.

¹³¹ J. Crétineu-Joly, *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. 1, Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1851, p. 53. The work had been written in Spanish and not published during the lifetime of Loyola. After the decease of Loyola, the work was published in 1558 by his secretary the Father Polanque.

the position of the Jesuits in the countries where they had missions. That is to say that in case of a political disagreement between the Holy See and any state, the situation of the Jesuits would have been negatively affected. France was one of the countries where the Jesuits had faced with such problems.

Since its establishment the Society of Jesuit had a very influential position in France¹³². The Society had been founded by the Spanish students in France. Following the way of the founders, many young Jesuits from different parts of Europe went to France, especially to Paris, for receiving education. Particularly, the *Collège de Clermont* (1550), which was to be called as *Collège de Louis-le-Grand* later, became the main educational institution of the Jesuits in France. And it was followed by many other colleges.

The second half of the 16th Century was a difficult period for France because of the wars of religion between Catholics and Protestants. The Jesuits in France were also influenced by these developments. And they played a significant role in the French politics as being a member of the Catholic League¹³³ during the wars of religion. The Jesuits also had an influential position in the Palace of France. As an indication of this, Henry III (r. 1575-1589) had chosen a Jesuit priest called Father Auger as his private confessor. And the tradition of having a private confessor among the Jesuits was continued by the kings of France for two centuries¹³⁴.

Despite their favorable situation during the reign of Henry III, the existence of the Jesuits in France was to be seriously tested very soon. Upon the decease of the King without an heir, Henry of Navarre ascended to the French throne as Henry IV (r. 1589-1610). Before his accession to the throne, Henry IV had assumed the Protestant faith and he had supported Protestants during the wars of religion in

¹³² For a detailed research on the Jesuits in France, see. Henri Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France des Origines a la Suppression (1528-1762)*, vol. I-V, Paris: Bureaux des Etudes 1925.

¹³³ Catholic League was an alliance against Protestants founded in France in 1576 by Henry, the Duke of Guise. The aim of the League was to support the Catholic cause in the Catholic-Protestant conflicts of the 16th century and to drive away Protestants from France. Also the Catholic League openly struggled with Henry III by accusing him of being tolerant towards Protestants. As a result of this, Duke Henry was killed by the King's army in 1588. Then the League gradually weakened and dissolved in time after the accession of Henry of Navarre to the French throne in 1594.

¹³⁴ John Hungerford Pollen, "History of the Jesuits Before the 1773 Suppression", *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 14. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912.

France. Even though he converted to Catholicism in order to be the king of France there was a serious doubt among Catholics against Henry IV. As a result of the Catholic discontent, a serious assassination attempt at him was made on 27 December 1594. The assassin was a young man called Jean Chastel who had received his education at the Jesuit College. This caused the rise of a harsh campaign against the Jesuits. Consequently, the Jesuit activities were banned in France and some Jesuits were arrested with the accusation of taking part in the plot against the King and the others were expelled from France¹³⁵.

The Catholic Church made a great effort to reestablish the Jesuits in France. For this purpose, Pope Clement VIII wrote a letter to Henry IV on 19 January 1597. As the Jesuits were regarded as a pawn of the Spanish interests and harmful for France the French administration was distant to such requests. However the Pope continued to send envoys to the King. At the same time, General Aquaviva, the administrator of the Jesuits, repeatedly sent petitions to Henry IV to declare their loyalty and demanded the abolition of restrictions on the Jesuits. These demands were not positively responded by the French administration for a while. However, the Holy See was informed on December 1601 by France that the Jesuits could be admitted under certain conditions. Accordingly all the Jesuits in France had to be subjects of the King of France. This meant that any Jesuit from a nationality other than the French could not be active in France. Moreover all their activities had to be subject to the absolute control of the French administration. The Jesuits were also required to obey the laws of the Kingdom like all other church members in France. In addition to these requirements, all religious and educational activities of the Jesuits were to be under the control of the French bishops within the borders of their dioceses. These severe requirements were seriously restricting the Jesuits activities and liberties. Despite the discontent of the Jesuits, the French administration was determined to apply the requirements which were eventually accepted by the Jesuits and Henry IV issued a decree on 14 August 1603 giving permission to their activities in France¹³⁶.

¹³⁵ François Ribadeu Dumas, *Grandeur et Misère des Jésuites*, Paris: Les Productions de Paris, 1963, pp. 216-218.

¹³⁶ Dumas, *Grandeur et Misère des Jésuites*, pp. 218-223.

Although the Society of Jesus obtained the chance of being again an influential order its character in France and its relations with the French administration were deeply affected by the new conditions. The international character of the Jesuits diminished in time in France and they assumed a more French character. Also they began to work closer with the French administration both in France and abroad. Having such a “national” character influenced the position of the French Jesuits within the Society of Jesus. Any Frenchman was not elected as the general of the Society for centuries mainly because of political reasons. The superior generals were generally elected among the Spanish and Italian priests. The center of the Society of Jesus was in Rome and Italians were very influential within the Society. Thus chiefly Italians and the other missionaries from different nationalities were reluctant to be administered by a French general¹³⁷. Here the main concern of the missionaries was that the French administration could extend its strong control over the Jesuits in France to all other Jesuits.

Attainment of the Jesuit influence in France to a considerable level became possible in the 17th Century and especially during the reign of Louis XIV (r. 1643-1715). In parallel with the French expansion outside of Europe as a political and economic power the French missionaries also spread out all over the world. The Jesuits were one of the most active missionary orders in “the age of awakening of the French missions”¹³⁸. The French Jesuits began to offer very valuable services for France in different parts of the world. Northern and Southern Americas, the Far East and the Ottoman Empire were among the main fields of activity for the Jesuits.

The Jesuits were sent to the Ottoman Empire by the Holy See in the 16th century for the first time and they arrived in Lebanon, Syria and Egypt¹³⁹. Temporary missions for the Maronites were observed in the early stage of the Jesuit activities in the Ottoman Empire. In this frame the Jesuit missionaries were sent to the Maronites in 1578, 1580 and 1596 without creating a permanent mission

¹³⁷ Joly, *la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. I, pp. 81-82.

¹³⁸ Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et Faire Croire: Les Missions Françaises au XVIIe Siècle*, Paris: Fayard, 2004, p. 32.

¹³⁹ Philippe Luisier, “Présence des Jésuites en Turquie au XIXe et au XXe Siècle”, *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, T. 110, No: 2, 1998 (pp. 783-794), p. 784.

center¹⁴⁰. The Jesuit missionaries were also sent to Istanbul in 1583. Pope Gregory III and the General of the Society Aquaviva decided to send five missionaries upon the request of Catholics in Istanbul. They opened a school with the help of the French and Venetian ambassadors and gave religious service in the St. Benoit Church. The Jesuit missionaries were not satisfied with giving service to Catholics and they contacted the leaders of the Eastern Churches to approximate them to Catholicism. However, the first Jesuit mission in Istanbul ended when two missionaries returned to Rome in 1583 and the other three were killed by plague¹⁴¹.

The extended rights of France concerning the religious protection resulting from the 1604 Capitulations gave an opportunity the French missionaries to develop their activities in the Ottoman Empire. The Society of Jesus was one of the orders that benefitted most from the opportunity. The Jesuit missionaries settled in Syria and Lebanon between 1625 and 1643 along with the other French orders like Capuchins and Carmelites. Sidon, Beirut, Antoura, Aleppo, Tripoli and Damascus were among the places where the missionaries settled in. Giving religious service to the French merchant colonies in the Levant was the main duty of the missionaries at the beginning. They also gave service to the Catholic merchants and seamen sailing to the *Echelles* of the Levant. These services naturally increased the function of the French missionaries. Thus they were invited during the 17th century to everywhere in the world where a European colony was established¹⁴².

By the second half of the 17th Century, the Jesuits had missions in Aleppo, Tripoli, Damascus and Sidon. They had arrived in Antoura in 1656 and established the College of Antoura as the first French College in the Levant. The College became in time the center of the French education and culture in the region¹⁴³. It played a

¹⁴⁰ Paul Lesourd, *Histoire des Missions Catholiques*, Paris: Librairie de l'Arc, 1937, p. 192.

¹⁴¹ Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, pp. 86–88.

¹⁴² Bernard Heyberger, *Les Chrétiens du Proche-Orient au Temps de la Reforme Catholique*, Palais Farnèse: Ecole Française de Rome, 1994, s. 275-276. For the establishment of the Jesuit missions in the Ottoman Empire during the 17th century and for the correspondences among them see. Auguste Carayon, *Relations Inédites des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus a Constantinople et dans le Levant au 17^e Siècle*, Paris: Ch. Douniol, 1864.

¹⁴³ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, p. 55.

significant role in diffusing the French language and culture as well as the Catholic faith among Christians of Mount Lebanon namely the Maronites.

It had been previously mentioned how religious protection was regarded and used as an instrument by France. However, it should be emphasized that Louis XIV was the French king who followed the most comprehensive and organized policy on the matter of religious protection. Marquis Chateauneuf, the French ambassador in Istanbul, realized that religion could be used in the Levant as a political instrument at the hands of France and he supported the Jesuit missions in the Ottoman Empire. After gaining efficiency in some measure in Istanbul and Syria the Jesuits began to extend their activities towards the Balkans thanks to the open support of France. A Jesuit mission was founded in Adrianople in 1680. Then the Jesuits moved their mission to Thessalonica in 1706. Here the French Ambassador Marquis Fériol gave, with the consent of Louis XIV, the Jesuit missionaries Vincent and Pipéri diplomatic badges in order to facilitate their works¹⁴⁴. This was an indication of the French administration's close relations with the Jesuits and its support on them.

By the early 18th Century the French Jesuit missions had strengthened their existence in Syria and Lebanon like the rest of the Ottoman Empire. The missionary existence in the region had reached such a high level that this seriously disturbed the Eastern Churches, chiefly the Orthodox Church, and the Ottoman administration. Even the relations between the Ottoman Empire and France faced with very serious troubles because of the missionary activities. On the matter, the French Ambassador Bonnac complained that the French missionaries in the Levant were continuously asking the help of France whenever their activities were prevented by the Ottoman officials or by the clergies of the Eastern Churches. According to the reports of Bonnac, so many missionary congregations like the Jesuits, the Cordeliers, the Capuchins and the Carmelites were active in a very narrow region and this was causing the rise of reaction from the Ottoman officials¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴⁴ Joly, *la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. V, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ Jean-Louis d'Usson (Marquis de Bonnac), *Extrait d'un Mémoire et de Diverses Lettres sur les Missionnaires de Syrie*, en *Mémoire Historique sur l'Ambassade de France à Constantinople*, publié par Charles Schefer, Paris, 1894, pp. 180-182.

During the first quarter of the 18th Century the Jesuit missionaries strengthened their activities among the people of the Eastern Catholics such as the Maronites, the Armenians, the Chaldeans and the Copts. The Jesuit schools in the Levant began to be popular among the Christian people and they were frequented not only by the Eastern Catholics but also by the Orthodox Greeks and the Gregorian Armenians. The Jesuits tried to use the popularity of their schools. They thought that they could reach more people via education and raise new generations according to their expectations. The works of the Jesuits did not remain limited with the education of the young Christians. The Patriarchs of Aleppo and Alexandria declared their subordination to Pope in 1717 as a result of the Jesuit initiatives. However, such developments caused the rise of reactions among the clergies of the Eastern Churches. The clergies sought the ways of preventing the Jesuit activities like the other Catholic missions and made efforts to convince the Ottoman administration for taking steps against them¹⁴⁶.

Despite rising reactions, the Jesuits were successful to strengthen their activities in the Levant through the first half of the 18th Century thanks to the French political protection. However, the Jesuits in the Ottoman Empire were seriously influenced by the problems that the Jesuits were faced with in Europe as from 1760s. In this period a serious campaign was conducted against the Jesuits in Europe due to mainly political and partially economic reasons. By 1767, the Jesuits were suppressed in Portugal (1758), in France (1764) and in Italian principalities (1767). The ultimate blow against the Jesuit was dealt by *Dominus ac Redemptor* issued by the Pope Clement XIV on 21 July 1773¹⁴⁷. The Papal bull vastly ended the Jesuit activities in Europe and in every part of the World.

Upon their suppression in France in 1764, most of the French Jesuits had to leave France for other countries where they could continue their missions. The Ottoman Empire was one of these countries and it was regarded as a place of refuge by the Jesuits. However, their activities in the Ottoman Empire also had to be ended

¹⁴⁶ Joly, *la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. V, pp. 7-8.

¹⁴⁷ Bertrand M. Roehner, "Jesuits and the State: A Comparative Study of their Expulsions (1590-1990)", *Religion* 27:2, (pp. 165-182), p. 167.

after the Papal bull in 1773¹⁴⁸. During the period from the suppression in France to the issue of the bull, the Jesuit missionaries had individually continued their activities without being attached to any religious order, in other words, as secular priests¹⁴⁹. At that time the Syrian mission of the French Jesuits was active in Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli, Sidon, Antoura and Cairo.

As most Jesuits in the Ottoman Empire were French missionaries the French administration had to deal with the question of how to fill up their place after the suppression. The French Ambassador Saint-Priest initially refused to apply the instruction concerning the suppression of the Jesuits in the Ottoman Empire in order to protect the influence of France and the existence of the French institutions. The ambassador insisted on the continuation of the Jesuit activities by stressing the importance of their works on Christians, chiefly on Armenians and Christians of Syria, in the Ottoman Empire. When it was understood that the Jesuits would not be allowed to continue their activities Saint-Priest suggested to the French administration to replace them with the Lazarists. Until that time, he also suggested, new administrators could be temporarily appointed by France to run the Jesuit establishments. His suggestions were accepted by the French administration and the French Embassy and the Ottoman administration concluded an agreement for the placement of the Lazarists instead of the Jesuits¹⁵⁰.

The existence of the Jesuit missions in the Levant disappeared for a long time after the transfer of their establishments in the Ottoman Empire to the Lazarists in 1780. However some Jesuits were able to continue their activities here by joining the Lazarists. Despite the ban on their order many Jesuit priests were appointed as the Episcopal administrators between 1775 and 1800 in Europe. This reveals that the Jesuits secretly and illegally kept their existence. However, it is certain that the Jesuits substantially lost ground during the period of ban. According to Chateaubriand, the losing party was not only the Jesuits but also Europe. He claimed

¹⁴⁸ Jérôme Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam (Damas 1860-1914)*, Les Indes Savantes, Paris, 2005, p. 24.

¹⁴⁹ J.B. Piolet, directeur, *La France au Dehors: Les Missions Catholique Française au XIXe Siècle*, Vol. 1, Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, p. 304. Here, the term of secular priest indicates a priest not affiliated to any missionary congregation.

¹⁵⁰ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, p. 84.

that Europe had experienced an irreparable loss in the fields of education and science along with the suppression of the Jesuits¹⁵¹.

The Jesuits had to wait until 1814 in order to restart their activities. The process was initiated by Pope Pius VII. He had lived in exile for a while during the Napoleonic Wars in Fontainebleau. Soon after his return to Rome at the end of May, 1814 he took a decision to reactivate the Jesuit Order. He issued the bull concerning the matter on 7 August 1814¹⁵². Then the Jesuits quickly began to open their missions in Europe and various parts of the world. These developments also echoed in the Ottoman Empire very soon. Some Greek, Maronite and Assyrian clergy and notables jointly wrote a letter to Pius VII on 25 July 1816 and demanded his permission for the beginning of the Jesuit missions in the Levant without any delation¹⁵³.

Despite some attempts the Jesuits were not able to return to Syria and Lebanon until 1831. Hereafter they began to work for their reestablishment. At the beginning the Jesuits bought a vast land in Beirut in 1839 and created here a permanent station. However, they determined Ghazir in Mount Lebanon as the center of their activities. Here they firstly established a seminary in 1846 and later established a French college attached to the seminary in 1855¹⁵⁴.

When the first attempts were made for opening the Ghazir College in 1843 the Jesuit missions in Syria had accumulated in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. In addition to Beirut, these missions were active in the regions where Christians, notably the Maronites and the Greek Melchites, were populous. The data concerning the Jesuit missions in the region in 1843 was as follows:

¹⁵¹ Joly, *la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. V, p. 369.

¹⁵² Bernard-Maitre, « Jésuites », *Catholicisme*, p. 743.

¹⁵³ Sami Kuri, *Une Histoire du Liban à travers les Archives des Jésuites (1816–1873)*, Vol. 1, Beyrouth: Dar el-Machreq, 1991, pp. 14-15. As it was indicated by Kuri the mentioned letter was the first document from the Levant mentioning about the Jesuits since the allowance for the reactivation of their mission.

¹⁵⁴ Jean Melia, *Chez Les Chrétiens d'Orient*, Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1929, p. 84.

Table 1: The Syrian Mission of the Jesuits in 1843¹⁵⁵

Region and Residence	Population			Clergy		Ecclesiastics
	Catholics	Heretics (Orthodox)	Infidels (Muslims)	Missionaries	Native Sacerdotal	
Beirut	3500	3000	8000	6	7	3
Bikfaia	1200	300	-	2	4	4
Zahle	4000	500	8	2	20	9
Ghazir	2500	-	-	-	5	3

The works of the Jesuit missionaries on education and on the Eastern Catholics had reached a considerable level by the middle of the 19th Century. However, they had some problems with the reproduction of the religious books and pamphlets which were to be delivered to students, whose number was continuously increasing, and to Christians, who were the subject of religious propaganda. The religious publications translated into Arabic could only be reproduced by hand lettering and this was no doubt a serious obstacle for missionary propaganda. Thus the Jesuits needed a printing house. The Protestant missionaries had moved their printing house from Malta to Beirut at the beginning of 1830s and they had forged ahead with the reproduction and delivery of religious publications. This was regarded by the Catholic missionaries as a serious threat.

The establishment of the Jesuit printing house by having the first printing machine became possible thanks to a generous donation. A pilgrim in the Holy Lands named Comte de Trémont became the guest of the Jesuits in Zahle and he donated 5000 Francs to buy a printing machine. Thus the Catholic Printing House of Beirut was established in October, 1852. Later the printing house was developed by adding new machines. The second machine was sent by *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient* in 1856. The third one was obtained in 1860. The Catholic Printing House became a well equipped institution when the first steam-power printing machine was bought in 1867. The priority of the printing house was to publish the books used by

¹⁵⁵ Comptes de S.J. Provincia aut Missio Siriaca (Superior P. Planchet), Anno 1843, Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15 (Jesuites), no. E05190.

missionaries, local priests and students¹⁵⁶. As the capacity of the printing house increased it became easier to respond to the needs of the Jesuit missions in the Levant.

Another problem that the Jesuits had to deal with by the midst of the 19th Century was to take part in the education of girls. Although they gained a strong ground on the matter of the education of boys the Jesuits did not have any activity concerning the education of girls. As long as this deficiency could not be removed the Jesuits would not be considered successful in their mission of “fighting with ignorance”. Since there were no European women’s religious organization attached to the Jesuits it was decided to establish a religious order composed of native Christian women. In this frame an order called *Mariamettes* (Filles de Marie- the Daughters of Marie) was established in Bikfaia. At the beginning four Maronites women aged between twenty and thirty were appointed as teachers on 1 January 1853. During the same period another order called *Pauvres Filles de la Mission* (The Poor Daughters of the Mission) composed of Greek Catholic women was established in the region of Maalaka, Zahle¹⁵⁷. The Jesuits were able to extend their missions to a wider territory thanks to the women’s orders. This not only helped to include girls to the Catholic education but also provided new opportunities to women who desired to choose a religious life within these orders as nuns and teachers.

With the establishment of the printing house and the participation of girls in education in 1850s the Jesuits’ sphere of activity largely extended. A report from 1859 gives detailed information on the Jesuit missions in Syria just prior to the civil war in Lebanon. Beirut, Zahle, Bikfaia and Sidon were the main mission centers in this period. They also had a college in Ghazir that was named as the most significant institution owned by the Jesuits in Syria and also as the sole secondary or higher education institution in whole Syria. In the report, following information and

¹⁵⁶ « Les Œuvres de Presse Beyrouth », Le sixième livre dans la série de *Les Jésuites en Syrie (1831-1931)*: Université Saint Joseph, Paris: Les Editions Dillen, 1931, pp. 7-15.

¹⁵⁷ « Les Auxiliaires du Missionnaire », Le Onzième livre dans la série de *Les Jésuites en Syrie (1831-1931)*: Université Saint Joseph, Paris: Les Editions Dillen, 1931, pp. 7-12.

interpretations were given concerning the activities of the Jesuit missions in Beirut and Mount Lebanon¹⁵⁸:

...Our establishment is situated in a proper location and it consists of a public church, a printing house and quite vast schools... Our church is attended by many people... In the printing house publication in Arabic, French, Italian and Turkish can be done... Our day school is composed of four parts or classes and 170 students are receiving education without any discrimination of religion, language and ethnicity. Here the Greek, the Jewish and the Muslim students are receiving education as well as our little Melchite, Armenian, Maronite and Latin Catholic students. Each class is administered by a teacher and one or more ushers helping the teacher. These teachers are cared by the missionaries. They live under the same roof with us; they apply our instructions and they are under our surveillance... Three young emirs and sons of the Caimacam of Mount Lebanon are among our students... All our students without exception regard teachers' visit to their family as a great grace... Despite all their efforts the missionaries are far from responding the immense needs of the state... Ghazir is the most significant institution that we have in Syria. The main purpose of the College is to create a native clergy who will revive the religious elements in the Levant with its education and virtue. With this peculiarity the College deserves the attention of all who are interested in extending kingdom of faith in Turkey... the Ghazir College is the only secondary and higher educational institution in whole Syria... the school in Zahle has 100 girls and 300 boys; the school of Malaaka has 60 girls and 100 boys; the school of Huadj-el-Havacli has 30 girls and 30 boys; the school of Lescouta has 80 girls and 50 boys; the school of Hablaa 30 girls and 30 boys; the school of Sarrain has 50 girls and 50 boys. In these schools ten catechists and fifteen female teachers are giving service. Demand is much more but deficiency of sources does not let increase the number. The only way of resisting against the enemy of the true faith is to improve our schools in Zahle and Malaaka. For this purpose we should add French, Arabic and basic history and geography to the curriculum of our elementary education. However we need sources to train and recruit teachers... Bikfaia is the sole mission having income. The amount of income is 2000 Francs but we have to give an extra 2000 Francs in order to continue activities. A nice church is situated here. Father Estève, who has been administering the mission here for a long time, attempted to create an order to raise teachers... There have been not many Orthodox in Sidon since the Greeks converted to Catholicism here in 1684 and 1728 as a result of the initiatives of Eutymias, the Archbishop of Tour and Sidon. However the supporters of error, who benefited from the problems of this century and the influence of Russia, destroyed some of the churches of the Greek Catholics... We have 40 students at our school... Most of our students are Jewish and Muslim... Our primary desire is to establish a mission Deir-el-Kamar, the center of Mount Lebanon. Protestants established their center here. We cannot compete with them because of financial difficulties... Our schools are really perfect institutions: strong and durable. However they can only survive with the help of Europe. Our Christians of Syria have the Bible instead of Quran and they respect it. However they do not unfortunately understand necessity of teaching it to their children...

This report shows that the Jesuit missions had highly developed in the Levant at the end of the 1850s. Hundreds of students were attending the schools run or controlled by the Jesuits. There were students from various religious and ethnic groups. Among these students, there were sons of notable families and sons of the

¹⁵⁸ Rapport adressé par le R.P. Damas aux membres du conseil de l'OEO, Œuvre des Ecoles d' Orient, no. 5, Mars 1859, pp. 2-16.

administrator (*kaymakam*) of Mount Lebanon at the Jesuit schools. However, according to the report, the present schools were still not enough to respond the needs of the region and more schools were needed.

Following the bloody civil war in Mount Lebanon in 1860, the Jesuits was able to develop considerably their missions in the region. Increasing allocations from Europe and protection of European powers facilitated their works just like other missionary congregations. In particular, Beirut turned to be an important center for the missions as a result of Christian refugees' arrival in the city. There were many fields of missionary activities to be given these refugees such as providing shelters, food and clothes for the poor; opening orphanages for children who lost their families; founding schools. The development of the Jesuit missions in the 1860s continued throughout the following decade.

Table 2: Statistics of the Jesuit Missions in Syria in 1870s

Population in Syria			Clergy		Churches and Chapels	
1875¹⁵⁹						
Catholics	Heretics (Orthodox)	Infidels (Muslims)	Missionaries	Native Priests	Churches	Chapels
350.000	150.000	1.800.000	82	5	3	7
1876¹⁶⁰						
Catholics	Heretics (Orthodox)	Infidels (Muslims)	Missionaries	Native Priests	Churches	Chapels
350.000	150.000	1.800.000	84	6	5	7
1878¹⁶¹						

¹⁵⁹ Mission de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie (1875), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15 (Jésuites), no. E05214. Here, it should be stressed that the statistics given by the Jesuits concerning the population of Syria should be cautiously treated. According to Karpát, the total population of Syria was 973.000 in 1874 of which 638.920 were Muslims and 334.000 were non-Muslims. Kemal H. Karpát, *Ottoman Population 1830-1914*, Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press 1985, p. 117.

¹⁶⁰ Mission de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie (1876), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15 (Jésuites), no. E05216.

¹⁶¹ Mission de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie (1878), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15 (Jésuites), no. E05217.

Table 2 (continued)

Catholics	Heretics (Orthodox)	Infidels (Muslims)	Missionaries	Native Priests	Churches	Chapels
350.000	150.000	1.800.000	92	6	5	7
1880¹⁶²						
Catholics	Heretics (Orthodox)	Infidels (Muslims)	Missionaries	Native Priests	Churches	Chapels
350.000	150.000	1.800.000	105	6	9	8
Year	Resource		Expense		Deficit	
1875	38.000 francs		206.220 francs		148.220 francs	
1876	25.500 francs		167.800 francs		142.300 francs	
1878	24.000 francs		167.400 francs		143.400 francs	
1880	37.300 francs		260.000 francs		223.300 francs	

As can be seen in the table, the Syrian mission of the Jesuits steadily progressed in 1870s. The increase in the number of personnel is noteworthy. Although there is no certain explanation concerning this increase it can be attributed to the increasing number of schools and churches in the mission field. Especially the transfer of the Ghazir College to Beirut in 1875 and the establishment of the Saint-Joseph University (SJU) increased the need for new recruitments. The SJU became very popular in a short time and many students registered in the university. Thus the recruitment of new missionaries to give service became a necessity. Another reason that caused the increase in the personnel number was the political developments in France in the 1870s. The adoption of strict secular practices deeply affected the missionary activities in France. This process was concluded by a law in 1880 which highly limited activities of the congregations, namely in the field of education. In this period many missionaries had to leave France because of the political pressure. The Ottoman Empire was one of the states which were predominantly preferred by the French missionaries for seeking refuge.

When the missionaries' income-expenditure statistics are concerned it is seen that the incomes were very insignificant in regard to the expenditures. The

¹⁶² Mission de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie (1880), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15 (Jésuites), no. E05220.

expenditures of the Jesuit missions tended to change periodically. In addition to routine expenditures great amount of expenditures were sometimes needed. For example the expenditures of the Syrian mission were extensively increasing when a huge establishment like the SJU in Beirut or the Saint-Vincent College in Damascus was founded. However the incomes were generally stable. A great deal of incomes was received from the annual allocations of the French government and from the Catholic organizations in Europe. Also the Propaganda in the Holy See and OPF in Lyon were the main supporters of the Jesuit missions. On the other hand the income from student tuitions was far from making a serious contribution at the beginning. An example of the annual calculation concerning income-expenditure balance was as follows:

Table 3: Income-Expenditure of the Syrian Mission of the Jesuits in 1875¹⁶³

Annual Resources		Annual Expenses	
Resources	Amount	Expenses	Amount
1. Various Resources and incomes of diocese or apostolic vicariate except allocations from the Propagation of Faith. - From the French Government for the Seminary (20 Scholarship) - From the French Government for the College (5 Scholarship) - Incomes from a land	12.000 frs. 3.000 frs. 3.000 frs.	1. Expenses for staff of the Mission (1000 frs. For each person)..... 2. Expenses for missionaries' voyage to arrive their mission locations..... 3. Annual interest of debts (if it exists).. 4. Expenses for existing establishments..... 5. Expenses for continuing constructions..... - Establishment of residence of Damas with a chapel, schools for boys and girls: for buying; 38.000 frs. and for appropriations; 7.000 frs..... - Establishment of more schools..... - Construction of Catholic University in Beirut	82.000 frs 3.500 frs. 800 frs 74.920 frs. 45.000 frs.
2. Allocations given by foreign Associations to diocese or apostolic vicariate except allocations from the Propagation of Faith. - The Schools of Orient - Various German and Belgian Committees	12.000 frs. 8.000 frs.		
Total Income	38.000 frs.	Total Expenses	206.220 frs.

¹⁶³ Etat des Recettes et Dépenses pour 1875, Mission de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie, Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15 (Jésuites), no. E05214.

In 1870s the Jesuits mostly focused on educational activities. When regional dispersion is concerned it is observed that their institutions were generally gathered in Lebanon, chiefly in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. Also the Jesuits had lesser institutions in Damascus and Aleppo. The statistics of the Jesuit institutions in 1876 were as follows:

Table 4: The Institutions of the Syrian Mission of the Jesuits in 1876¹⁶⁴

Region	Seminaries, Colleges, Schools and other Establishments
Beirut	1 College 1 Grand and 1 small Seminary for all Eastern rites 1 Grand printing house for all Eastern languages, 1 weekly journal in Arabic to struggle against Protestant publications. 1 Novitiate and 1 Teachers' training school for native nuns 8 schools for free
Damascus	1 Residence, 5 schools for free, 1 orphanage for girls
Aleppo	1 Residence, 2 schools for free
Sidon	1 Residence, 4 schools for free
Deir el-Kamar	1 Residence, 3 schools for free
Zahle	1 Residence, 7 schools for free
Bikfaia	1 Residence, 6 schools for free
Ghazir	1 Novitiate, 1 residence, schools in the District of Tour and Baalbek

While their institutions were prospering in the Levant the Jesuits were again faced with a significant problem in France. There had been an increasing tension between the French governments and the Catholic Church since the collapse of the Second Empire and the establishment of the Third Republic in 1870. The republicans regarded the Church as a fervent partisan of the monarchist aspirations. Moreover,

¹⁶⁴ Mission de la Compagnie de Jesus en Syrie (1876), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15 (Jesuites), no. E05216. When compared with the previous year both incomes and expenditures of the Jesuits in Syria had considerably decreased in 1876. The incomes had decreased from 38.000 francs to 25.500 francs. The reason for this decrease was a result of decreasing allocations. And the expenditures had decreased from 206.220 francs to 167.800 francs. This was mainly due to the fact that the construction of a school in Damascus had been finished and the expenditure of this construction was not included in the list of 1876.

according to them, the education in the Catholic schools was presenting a threat to the values of the Republic. Thus the French government began to work on controlling and limiting the activities of the Church and Catholic congregations. The priests were banned in 1879 to take part in the administration of hospitals and charitable organizations. In 1880, strict laws limiting the activities of the congregations were made. Moreover the Jesuits were once more banned to operate in France in 1880 as they had been suppressed in 1764¹⁶⁵.

It is interesting to observe that even though their operation was banned in France the Jesuits continued to collaborate with the French government for the establishment of the SJU in 1883 in Beirut. The French statesmen like Gambetta and Ferry were aware of the advantages that could be provided by the missionary activities in the Levant. The double standard of the French government about the congregations, in France and abroad, was best summarized by Gambetta's expression: "secularism is not an export item"¹⁶⁶. This was an expression of a very pure pragmatism. Although the existence of the congregations in France was not a desirable fact for the secular republicans their approach was different for outside of France. When their considerable services in the fields of education and culture and their contribution to economy and politics are considered, protecting and supporting the missionaries was very crucial for the French interests abroad.

According to the report of Father Clairet, the superior of the Jesuits in Syria, the number of the Jesuit establishments in Syria was 143 in 1891. The latest establishments were the Apostolic School of Beirut and the Orphanage of Tanail, which were founded in 1890. The report informed that the total number of students at the Jesuit schools and orphanages was 8610, of which 5593 boys and 3017 girls. The number of the Catholic students from various groups such as the Maronite, the Greek, the Assyrian, the Armenian, the Chaldean and the Latin Catholic was 7484. In addition to Catholics, there were 972 schismatic, 25 Jewish and 129 Muslim students at the Jesuit establishments. The number of teachers from both genders was 224 of which 144 were native priests and secular teachers and they were educating boys. At

¹⁶⁵ Patrick J. Harrigan, "Church, State, and Education in France From the Falloux to the Ferry Laws: A Reassessment", *Canadian Journal of History*, April 2001, Vol. 36, Issue 1, pp. 51-83.

¹⁶⁶ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, p. 232.

the school for girls 70 native nuns and 10 secular female teachers were giving service. The total amount of money spent for these schools in 1891 was 93500 Francs¹⁶⁷. The schools indicated in the statistics were not the establishments opened and run directly by the Jesuit missionaries. All personnel working at these schools were composed of native priests and nuns as well as secular teachers. This was consistent with the general logic of the missionary works. The missionaries were training the native Christians and then supporting and encouraging them to open new schools. Still these schools were under the Jesuit control and a part of the Jesuit missions. According to the mentioned report of Clairret, all the schools and teachers were regularly supervised and inspected by eight Jesuit missionaries.

In the 1890s, the Jesuit missions in the Levant remained almost stable. There were very little increase in the numbers of teachers and students at the Jesuit schools at the end of the decade in respect to the beginning of the decade. A report submitted by Father Bernardet, the director of the Jesuit missions in Syria, to OPM in 1899 gave the details of the Jesuit missions in the region with some significant observations and interpretations concerning the decreasing financial support of the French government resulting from the secularization process in the state. Firstly, let us see the statistics concerning the Jesuit schools which were as follows:

Table 5: The Schools of the Jesuit Syria Missions (1899)¹⁶⁸

Missions	Schools	Teachers	Students (studying language)				Annual expense
			Only Arabic	Only French	Arabic-French	Total	
Mission of Beirut							
-University	.....1	9	-	52	-	52	-
- Medicine	.....1	9	-	11	45	56	12,000 fr.
- Seminary	.....1	29	-	29	390	419	14,000 fr.
- College	.....5	18	550	-	240	790	8,000 fr.
- Free Schools	.....1	3	-	-	12	12	4,500 fr.
- Novice of Native Sisters							
Mission of Aleppo	1	6	270	-	30	300	3,000 fr.

¹⁶⁷ Ecoles des Jesuites en Syrie par E. Clairret, Superieur de Mission, Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient, no. 192, Septembre 1892, pp. 336-337.

¹⁶⁸ Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15, no. E05224.

Table 5 (continued)

Mission of Bikfaia	12	24	1040	-	100	1140	11,532 fr.
Mission of Damascus	4	8	214	-	40	254	3,160 fr.
Mission of Ghazir	14	25	1484	-	85	1569	11,532 fr.
Mission of Homs	11	20	626	-	60	686	9,179 fr.
Mission of Sidon	21	24	601	-	25	626	6,550 fr.
Mission of Tanail	15	18	870	-	80	950	8,590 fr.
Mission of Zahle	21	37	1459	-	120	1579	14,821 fr.
TOTAL	108	230	7114	92	1227	8433	106,864 fr.

The table clearly shows that the Syria missions of the Jesuits were overwhelmingly active in Lebanon. The exceptions were the missions of Aleppo, Damascus and Homs that had only 16 schools out of 108 and 34 teachers out of 108. Thus the portion of these missions, which were out of Lebanon, in the total was very limited. On the other hand, Bikfaia, Ghazir, Tanail and Zahle were the towns in Mount Lebanon and they constituted a considerable part of the Jesuit mission in the region. Other two mission centers were Beirut and Sidon. Beirut, in particular, was very significant as it had the SJU with three important departments.

In this report, teaching of French at the Jesuit schools had been specifically stressed. The number of students learning French was 1227 out of 8433 students. Despite this peculiarity, according to the report, the Jesuit missions could not receive allocation from France. The only Jesuit mission receiving financial support from the French government was the Mission of Homs, which had received a sum of 1500 francs. However, the total expense of the Jesuit missions was 106,864 francs and the French contribution was very insignificant. Although the superiors of the missions were trying to find economic sources this was difficult because of the situation in France. As it was stressed in the report, the increasing secularization in France was hardening to get the financial contributions. With secularization, not only the missionary school in different parts of the world but also the Catholic schools in France had to struggle with the financial problems. Therefore, the Catholics of

France were primarily thinking to contribute to the schools in their environs instead of the schools abroad. The report continued as follows¹⁶⁹:

We know that the Consul General likes to see us teach French in our schools. We share his desire. We are French and we want to strengthen and spread the influence of France, everywhere we are asked to work. We also believe to have been more successful in this matter than any other people in Syria.

As it was stressed by the Father Bernardet the financial support of France on the Catholic missions began to decline by the end of the 19th century. Anticlericalism in France reached to high point in the beginning of the 20th century and very strict secular laws against the congregations were issued in 1901 and 1905 in France. The Jesuits were among the congregations that were seriously influenced by these laws. Their missions were closed in France and they were forced to leave the country. The Ottoman Empire became one of the states that the Jesuits missionaries arrived for taking refuge¹⁷⁰. Like the other congregations, their allocations provided by the French government were also cut¹⁷¹.

3.1.2 Main Institutions of the Jesuits in Lebanon

3.1.2.1 The Ghazir College

The idea of founding a seminary to give religious education to the Eastern Christians came into being after the return of the Jesuits in the Levant in 1839. Ghazir in Mount Lebanon was chosen as the place for this purpose. Ghazir had a population of 2500, mostly Catholic Maronites, and was situated in a central location in Lebanon. This was influential to determine Ghazir as the center. It is understood from the documents that the first concrete attempts to establish the College had been made in 1843. While there were three Latin priests and five native priests with them there was no Catholic missionary activity in Ghazir at that time. A huge expenditure

¹⁶⁹ Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15, no. E05224.

¹⁷⁰ The arrival of the Jesuit missionaries in the Ottoman Empire after the 1901 Laws and the approach of the Ottoman administration on them will be evaluated in the last chapter.

¹⁷¹ For the details of the French governments' approach towards the French missionary schools in the Ottoman Empire in the first decade of the 19th century, see. Paul Fesch, *Abdülhamid'in Son Günlerinde İstanbul*, trans. Erol Üyepazarcı, İstanbul: Pera 1999, pp. 455-496.

was made by OPF in order to found the College. It donated 37.000 Francs to buy the building and 5.000 Francs to repair it. Also it was decided to allocate an amount of 17.000 Francs to the next year's budget for furnishing and repairing the building¹⁷². These amounts were very high when the conditions of the time are considered and this revealed the ambition of the new institution.

After making necessary preparations the College was required to receive an imperial decree to start its operation. On the matter, Father Benoit Planchet, the Superior of the Jesuits in Syria, sent a letter to Father Canuti, the General of the Jesuits, on 2 May 1844. In his letter Father Planchet stressed that the missionaries could not settle in Mount Lebanon without having an imperial decree. According to him, such a decree was not only important for the Ghazir College but also for the situation of the other Catholic missions in the region. That is to say that if the College had an imperial decree this could be a sample for all other missions. Father Planchet was complaining about problems of the Catholic missionaries by indicating that the American Protestant missionaries had opened five or six colleges by using the only imperial decree they had¹⁷³.

The Jesuits obviously paid a great attention to the commencement of the Ghazir College which was expected to play an important and central role not only in Ghazir but also in whole Syria. The Jesuits were aiming at a spectacular return in the region where they had stayed remote for a long time.

The Ghazir College was opened in 1846¹⁷⁴. By the beginning of the second half of the 19th Century, the College was one of the most important institutions of the Jesuits in Lebanon in terms of the number of personnel and budget along with the House of Beirut. In 1852, there were four fathers, a frère, three auxiliaries and two servants in the House of Beirut. The total expense of the House was 6.500 Francs at that year. In the same year, the Ghazir College had six fathers, two frères, an

¹⁷² Comptes de S.J. Provincia aut Missio Siriaca (Superior P. Planchet), Anno 1843, Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15, no. E05190.

¹⁷³ Copie d'une Lettre du P. Benoit Planchet, Supérieur de la Mission de la S.J. en Syrie au P. Général de la même Compagnie (Beyrouth, 2 Mai 1844), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15, no. E05195.

¹⁷⁴ The Ghazir College had functioned solely as a seminary to train priest until 1855. Thus it was also called the Ghazir Seminary in many documents. The Ghazir College is preferred as a more general usage in this study.

auxiliary and six servants. The College made an expense of 19.200 Francs in 1852. Despite small difference in the number of personnel the reason for more expense of the Ghazir College in regard to the House of Beirut was the construction of new buildings and the cost of students¹⁷⁵.

In a short while the Eastern Christians headed the Ghazir College for education. At the beginning the sacerdotal students began to be educated on religious sciences. However new arrangements were made during the following years at the College in order to meet the emerging requirements in the region. As there was not any institution in the region giving a western style education the idea of filling this void emerged. In this frame, a college section for classical education was founded in 1855 in addition to the Seminary. Soon the Ghazir College became the most significant French institution in the Levant. It was not only competing with the strengthening Protestant institutions but also representing the French power and influence against such great powers as Britain, Austria and Russia.

Father Bourquenoud had defined the Ghazir College as the most significant institution of the Jesuits in Syria. According to him the main objective of the College was “to create an educated and meritorious clergy who would revive the dispersed Christians of the Levant”. Based on information given by Father Bourquenoud, the number of students receiving religious education in the Ghazir College was forty-six in 1859. They were exempted from the tuitions. The paying students were accepted to the college section in order to meet the expenses of the College and those of non-paying students. Among the paying students there were children of the European consuls as well as children of Syria’s rich families, emirs and sheikhs. The number of such students was nearly a hundred in 1859¹⁷⁶.

Father Bourquenoud categorized the students of the Ghazir College under three groups. The first group was composed of students brought up for priesthood (*pépinière sacerdotale*). These students were defined as people “who will relight the torch of science and virtue in the Levant”. Father Bourquenoud considered them as

¹⁷⁵ Tableau des Dépenses des Différentes Maisons de la Mission du Mont Liban (Année 1852), Archives de l’OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15, no. E05206.

¹⁷⁶ Résumé de la lettre envoyée par le Prêtre Jésuite Bourquenoud à une Soeur de la même congrégation (Ghazir, 17 Décembre 1859), Annales de La Propagation de la Foi, Tome 32, 1860, pp. 140–141.

intellectually and morally distinguished people and claimed that they would have an influential position in the future in their societies. The second group consisted of the European students receiving classical education. As there was not any other institution in the Levant offering such an education the College was preferred by the European families in the region. These students were supposed to be the future representatives of the great powers which would protect the interests of Catholicism in the Levant. They were to give a considerable service thanks to perfect mastery in the Eastern languages and customs resulting from the College's education. The members of the third group were the children of the region's notables. On the basis of education at the College, these students who had already had a distinguished status in their society would also manage to relations with Europe when they were to have a voice in the administration of their societies¹⁷⁷.

Although many missionary institutions were damaged by the civil war of 1860 between the Druzes and Maronites the Ghazir College was not affected. The main reason was the location of the College which was in the Kesrowan district of Ghazir. Kesrowan was a region in Mount Lebanon which was almost wholly populated by Christians and harbored important Catholic establishments such as the residence of the Maronite Patriarch, the Antoura College and some monasteries. The Druze attacks to the region were prevented and so the College did not suffer from the destruction of the civil war. The Ghazir College was even filled by the refugees from different regions like the other missionary institutions¹⁷⁸.

The Ghazir College pursued its aids to the refugees after the civil war for a while. The missionaries at the College provided shelter and other basic necessities to the refugees. After the settlement of the events the College was reorganized and continued its educational activities¹⁷⁹.

Despite the detrimental effects of the 1860 events the College like the other missionary institutions in the region was positively affected by the administrative

¹⁷⁷ The same letter by Jesuit Priest Bourquenoud, pp. 142-143.

¹⁷⁸ Letter du Rousseau, Père Jésuite, (Sidon, 6 Juin 1860), *Annales de La Propagation de la Foi*, Tome 32, 1860, p. 414.

¹⁷⁹ Lettre envoyée par Pere Badour aux présidents des conseils de l'OPF à Paris et à Lyon (Beyrouth, 31 Août 1861), *Annales de La Propagation de la Foi*, Tome 34, 1862 p. 98.

transformation in Lebanon and the increasing economic and political support towards the missionaries after 1860. It was important for France to support with all means the College as the most important institution in the region.

In the 1860s, the Ghazir College became a magnet for the Eastern Catholic youth namely the Maronites and Melchites. By 1864 the curriculum of the College was completely consistent with the classical college education in France. The basic difference of the Ghazir College was that it largely focused on Arabic studies¹⁸⁰.

According to Father Canuti, who prepared a detailed report on the College in 1869, the present situation of the College was very satisfactory. The number of students was two hundred and thirty. The seminary section had seventy students from various Eastern Christian groups including the Maronites, the Greeks, the Armenians, the Assyrians, the Bulgarians and the Copts. The number of the Maronite students was higher than the others. Fourteen of the students were mastering in theology and the same number in philosophy. The others were attending various classes in the lower levels. As reported by Father Canuti, the secular college section was elegant and well equipped like the college in Europe and it was attended by the children of the elite families of the region and the European families. Another point indicated by Canuti was that many students from the secular section desired to receive religious education but this was not met because of pecuniary deficiency¹⁸¹.

At the beginning of their education the college students were taking grammar (French, Latin, Greek), humanities or literature, rhetoric, philosophy, physics, mathematics, history and geography courses. After the basic education the students were continuing either the seminary section or the college section. After successfully completing basic courses, the seminary students were attending advanced courses in the fields of theology, moral, the church history, hermeneutics and Hebrew for four years. The students of the college section were taking courses such as elective language, history, geography, commerce, account, arithmetic, algebra, literature, rhetoric, philosophy and physics. Moreover there was a special course for the

¹⁸⁰ « Le Séminaire Oriental », Le premier livre dans la série de *Les Jésuites en Syrie (1831-1931)*: Université Saint Joseph, Paris: Les Editions Dillen, 1931, p. 9.

¹⁸¹ Rapport du R.P. Canuti, de la Compagne de Jesus, sur le College de Ghazir (Ghazir, 1869), Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient, no. 60, Novembre 1869, pp.371-375.

teaching of Arabic as being the common language of the students. In this course the Arab literature and poetry as well as the grammar of Arabic were taught in depth. In addition to Arabic the language courses like Italian, German, Modern Greek, Turkish and Armenian were in the curriculum¹⁸².

The Jesuits thought that their education in the Ghazir College had a significant function. According to them the College was balancing the harmful effects of the Muslim, heretic and schismatic education. It was argued that the colleges in Beirut were creating a great menace on the religious beliefs of the Christian youth and the Jesuits were struggling with such threats. Although there was another important Catholic institution, the Antoura College of the Lazarists, in the region and it was regarded as an “ally” in the struggle by the Jesuits its role in education was seen as less significant in regard to the Ghazir College. The main reason for such an assertion was that the Antoura College was not offering a higher education like the colleges in Europe except the courses on commerce. Therefore, according to the Jesuits, only the Ghazir College “was defending the cause of God and the Church by offering a secondary education just like in Europe”¹⁸³.

During the following decades, many graduates of the Ghazir College obtained very important positions in their societies. The seminary section of the College trained many high-ranked clerics for the Eastern Catholic Churches of Maronites, Armenians, Chaldeans, Copts, Assyrians and Melchites. There were three patriarchs, fourteen bishops and two hundred and sixteen priests from the graduates of the Ghazir and Saint-Joseph Seminaries until 1914¹⁸⁴.

The Ghazir College pursued its activities in Ghazir until 1875 when the decision of moving the College to Beirut was taken. There were several reasons for such a decision. Firstly demographic, economic, social and political changes in Beirut after 1860 should be taken into consideration. After the civil war many Christians left their territories and settled in Beirut which had been predominantly populated by Muslims thus far. Resulting from the migration of Christians the

¹⁸² Prospectus imprimé par les RP. PP. Jésuites sur leur établissement de Ghazir, *Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, no. 60, Novembre 1869, pp. 378-379.

¹⁸³ « Le Séminaire Oriental », p. 11.

¹⁸⁴ « Le Séminaire Oriental », p. 11.

demographic structure of the town dramatically changed in time and Beirut became a town where Christians were the most populous in the region. Secondly, Beirut became the center of commerce and economy in the region as being the most important port of Syria. Therefore the European states determined Beirut as the center of their consular activities and moved their consulates general in Syria to here. In addition to all these developments Beirut became an important center for missionary activities. Many missionary organizations both Protestant and Catholic designated Beirut as their center for the Syria missions.

In addition to the increasing importance of Beirut the Protestant missionaries' strengthening activities in Beirut was another motivation for the transfer of Ghazir College. Especially the foundation of the Syrian Protestant College (SPC) in 1866 by the American missionaries with the strong support of Great Britain was regarded as a serious threat by the Catholic missionaries. The SPC became the main higher education institution in a short time in Beirut and fostered the Protestant missions. Under such circumstances, the decision of the transfer of Ghazir College to Beirut was taken in 1875 in order to respond to the Protestant works. In 1875, a vast terrain was bought and necessary buildings for service were constructed¹⁸⁵.

3.1.2.2 The Saint-Joseph University

Ideas and works for the transfer of the Ghazir College to Beirut and to design it as a higher education institution had emerged in 1860s. Beirut's increasing importance and Protestants' influence had spurred the Jesuits to open an institution for higher education in Beirut. However, changing religious, social and economic structures of the period should also be stressed. The changing and diversifying needs of Christians in the region, chiefly the Maronites, also enforced a new understanding in the field of education¹⁸⁶. Despite its success in theology education the Ghazir College had failed to meet rising needs in other fields of education, namely

¹⁸⁵ Henri Jalabert, *La Vice-Province du Proche-Orient de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Egypte, Syrie, Liban), Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique, 1960, p. 66.

¹⁸⁶ Rafael Herzstein, "The Foundation of the Saint-Joseph University in Beirut: The Teaching of the Maronites by the Second Jesuit Mission in the Levant", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 43:5 (pp. 749-759). In his article, Herzstein emphasizes the social change and the need for a new educational institution among the Maronites in the second half of the 19th century.

commerce and account. The new needs of the region had been firstly seen by the Protestant missionaries who had previously settled in Beirut and established the SPC. This fostered both the French and the Jesuits to move to Beirut and to restructure their institutions.

Financial sources needed to establish the school could not be obtained easily. Father Anbroise Mannot, the superior of the Jesuit mission in Syria by 1869, and Father François-Xavier Pailloux went to America and Britain with the consent of Pope in order to collect necessary money for the establishment of the new institution in Beirut. They managed to receive 300.000 Francs at the end of a six-month period. Then the Jesuits began to construct a building in 1874 over a terrain which had been previously bought¹⁸⁷. The construction had been started without having an official permission of the Ottoman administration and this caused the rise of a long-lasting problem about the legal status of the SJU in the Ottoman Empire¹⁸⁸.

The new institution began its activities in 1875 with the transfer of students in the Ghazir College. Although it was called the SJU the school was serving as the Oriental Seminary during the first years. And it mainly focused on theology in the level of secondary education. It became possible for the institution to have a status of real university in 1881. Upon the suggestion of the Propaganda Fide, Pope Leon XIII gave permission to the Oriental Seminary for conferring undergraduate and doctoral degrees in the fields of philosophy and theology on 25 February 1881. Thus the Seminary really deserved to be called a university¹⁸⁹.

While the SJU was advancing in theology education it also started the initiatives to open a medical school at the beginning of 1880s. The SPC was the only higher education institution in Beirut having a medical school. Both the Jesuits and the French government were eager to establish a similar school in order to compete with the SPC. This meant for the Jesuits to gain an advantage in their competition with the Protestant missionaries and for the French government it was a matter of prestige and influence. In 1880, the French Prime-minister Léon Gambetta had sent

¹⁸⁷ Rafael Herzstein, « Les Phrases de l'évolution de l'Université Saint-Joseph à Beyrouth: les premières décennies (1875-1914) », *Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, p. 23.

¹⁸⁸ The developments concerning the status of the SJU will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁸⁹ « Le Séminaire Oriental », p. 10–11.

instructions to the Consulate General at Beirut and to the Embassy at Istanbul and ordered them to work for the opening of a medical school. The first noteworthy attempts were made in 1881. Then some decisions were taken by the French government in order to make the diplomas of the school more prestigious and to draw the attention of students. In 1882, the government of Jules Ferry announced that the graduates of the medical school would be equivalent to the health officer in Syria and to the graduates of the Medical School of Algeria in Algeria¹⁹⁰. In 1883, the French government gave 150.000 Francs for the establishment of the medical school. Also it was decided by the government to grant an annual allowance of 90.000 Francs for the medical school¹⁹¹.

With the financial and political support of the French government the Medical School began to give education on 30 November 1883 with fifteen students and four instructors¹⁹². All the instructors of the School except Dr. Rouvier of the anatomy chair were both priests and scientists. According to the Consul General Patrimonio, it was impossible to open a secular school abroad and especially in Syria. He stressed that France was able to reach these lands with the help of valuable advantages of the French religious protection in the region. On the other hand, Patrimonio was aware of the contradiction between the secular practices in France and the collaboration with the missionaries abroad. However he tended to ignore the critics on the French protection over the missionaries¹⁹³. The French approach to the matter was highly pragmatic. As long as the French interests were protected such contradictions did not present any problem for the French administration.

The SJU was composed of two parts as being secondary and higher education after the opening of the Medical School. The secondary part had two branches which

¹⁹⁰ Georges Goyau, *La France Missionnaires dans les Cinq Parties du Monde*, Tome II, Paris: Libraire Plon, 1948, p. 369.

¹⁹¹ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, p. 233.

¹⁹² The Medical School was situated at the SJU Campus and it was attached to the University in its administration. However, it was generally mentioned as a independent establishment in many official documents of the French authorities. The school was called "Ecole française de médecine" or "La Faculté française de médecine".

¹⁹³ De M. Patrimonio Consul Général de France à Beyrouth à M. Jules Ferry, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Beyrouth, 11 Décembre 1883), DP no. 169. ¹⁹⁴ Annexe II à la dépêche no. 13 du 8 decembre 1883 (De M. Jules Ferry, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, à M. Patrimonio, Consul général de France à Beyrouth).

were literary and scientific. In the literary branch, Arabic, French, Latin and Greek were taught. Those students whose mother tongue was Arabic had an option of selecting one of such languages as Turkish, Modern Greek, English and Italian. In the scientific section, such courses as arithmetic, algebra, geometry, cosmography, chemistry and history of nature were taught. The students were also taking several courses such as zoology, botanic, geology, anatomy and animal physiology according to the main branch they studied. Also all the students in secondary education were educated on the fundamentals of philosophy. In the higher education part the SJU had the departments of medicine, philosophy and theology. The department of theology had a four-year program and its curriculum consisted of the following courses: dogma, moral, hermeneutic, canon law, church history, Hebrew, Syriac and other liturgical languages of the Eastern Churches. There were boarding, semi-boarding and extern students at the SJU. The practices of the SJU concerning these students were as such:

Table 6: The Students at the SJU According to Their Status¹⁹⁴

Boarding	Semi-Boarding	Extern	
		Guarded Extern	Free Extern
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students under 12 are admitted - They stay all day and sleep at the campus. - They pay 500 francs per year. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students under 12 are admitted - They stay all day at the campus but sleep outside the campus. - They pay 250 francs per year. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students under 12 are admitted - Guarded externs stay all day at the campus but sleep outside the campus. They pay 120 francs per year - Free externs stay at the campus only during the times of classes, religious events and public exercises. 	

Both the Jesuits and the French government wanted to structure the Medical School as an established higher educational institution. Thus considerably high standards concerning the admittance of students, taught courses and conferred

¹⁹⁴ Annexe II à la dépêche no. 13 du 8 decembre 1883 (De M. Jules Ferry, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, à M. Patrimonio, Consul général de France à Beyrouth).

diplomas were determined by the French government. A regulation was made by the French Ministry of Education on 2 May 1883 and it was sent by the Quai d'Orsay to Beirut. The regulation was composed of five articles: 1) The Medical School will teach physics, chemistry and history of medicine; 2) Students should have enough knowledge of French to register the Medical School. To make required examinations, a jury composed and presided by the French Consul General in Beirut will be formed. The candidates will take both written and oral examinations; 3) The graduates will be conferred the diploma of medicine; 4) Duration of education will be three years. The examinations will be made by a jury composed of three members and appointed by the Consul General. If there is a professor in Beirut from the French universities at the time of examination he will preside the jury; 5) Diplomas will be conferred by the French Ministry of Education upon the report of the jury's president¹⁹⁵.

According to the report of the Consul General Patrimonio about the SJU in 1884, a year after the opening of the Medical School, the university had 1170 students and thirty five instructors, mostly from France. As the Jesuits activities were limited in France by 1880 some Jesuit teachers had to leave France. Thus some qualified teachers arrived in Beirut. Patrimonio indicated that the quality of education in the SJU increased with the participation of new teachers so that the interest of the students in the university also highly increased. When compared to its chief rival SPC the SJU had another advantage. As stressed by Patrimonio, secondary education in the region was mostly at the hands of French missionaries. As the students learned French at these schools they generally preferred to attend the SJU. On the other hand, most of the students attending the SPC were also graduates of the French secondary schools, but they did not know English. Thus the SPC had to determine Arabic as the medium of instruction at the beginning¹⁹⁶.

Although the Medical School continued its activities and the students began to graduate from the School its diplomas were not recognized by the Ottoman

¹⁹⁵ Annexe I à la dépêche no. 13 du 8 decembre 1883 (De M. Jules Ferry, Ministre des Affaires étrangères, à M. Patrimonio, Consul général de France à Beyrouth).

¹⁹⁶ M. Patrimonio, Consul General de France à Beyrouth, à M. Jules Ferry, President du Conseil et MAE, (Beyrouth, 17 Mai 1884), DAP no. 189.

authorities for many years. The subject remained a matter of disagreement between the Ottoman administration and the French diplomatic representatives in the Ottoman Empire. The basic reason for the Ottoman administration not to accept the diplomas of the Medical School was that they were not valid in France and the graduates of the Medical School were not allowed to practice medicine in France. They could only practice their occupation in the French colonies. As the Ottoman administration insisted on its decision France decided to give equivalence to the diplomas of the Medical School in 1894 in order to solve the problem. For this purpose, it was decided that every year the French administration would make up a jury composed of three professors from the medical schools in France in order to hold an examination for the students of the Medical School in Beirut. The first jury composed of the professors from the Lyon University arrived in Beirut in 1895¹⁹⁷. Despite the French initiatives the problem of the diplomas' equivalence could not be immediately solved and it turned into a matter of diplomatic disagreement among the Ottoman Empire, France and the United States who had also a similar problem because of the Medical School of the SPC¹⁹⁸.

Despite the ambiguity concerning the acceptance of the diplomas the SJU quickly developed in terms of students and instructors with the opening of the Faculty of Medicine and Pharmacy. A report submitted by the Jesuits to OPF in 1899 was stating the progress in the SJU. According to the report, the main problem of the SJU was still the acceptance of the diplomas by the Ottoman administration and the Consul General of France in Beirut was closely watching all developments concerning the Faculty. The Oriental Seminary, the other important branch of the SJU, was also mentioned in the report in a very positive way. Accordingly, education given by the Seminary was at the standards of the best seminaries in France and Rome. The diploma delivered by the Seminary was equivalent to the diploma of the Gregorian University in Rome. Many graduates of the Seminary were joining the clergy of the Eastern churches as bishop and priest. In addition to the Medical School and the Oriental Seminary, the SJU had the college section, which was giving a

¹⁹⁷ Piolet, *La France au Dehors*, p. 354.

¹⁹⁸ The rivalry between the SJU and the SPC in terms of the equivalence of diplomas and the quality of education and the reflections of this rivalry will be evaluated in the next chapter.

secondary education. However, according to the report, education at the college was in the level of bachelor's degree according to the standards in Syria. The report gave the numbers of students and instructors as follows:

Table 7: The Number of Instructors and Students at the SJU in 1899¹⁹⁹

	Medicine and Pharmacy	Seminary	College	Total
Teachers	9	9	29	47
Students	52	56	419	527

As being successful in the education of theology and medicine, the SJU tried to extend its activities to other fields. In this frame, the Oriental studies on language and culture began to develop by 1880s. The beginning of the Oriental studies was based on the library works. When the Ghazir College was transferred to Beirut in 1875 its library and the library of the House of Jesuits in Beirut were combined to create the library of the SJU. With the efforts of Father Louis Cheikho, who was appointed as the director of the library in 1880, the library created a very rich collection in time. The library did not content itself collecting books and it also worked in the fields of printing and publishing. A journal of Catholicism in Arabic called *Al-Maṣrīq* began to be published in 1898.

Owing to increasing academic and intellectual interest towards the Eastern languages by the late 19th Century the SJU began to become an important academic center for the European specialists on the Oriental studies. At the beginning of 1900s, the SJU was hosting many religious and secular researchers from Europe. The European academicians desired the foundation of an institution dedicated to linguistic and cultural studies in the region. For example, M. Clermont-Ganneau, the French linguist and diplomat, had suggested, in 1899, the establishment of a French institution in Beirut in order to “strengthen the French prestige and to place the French intellectual superiority in Syria”. The SJU was the sole French higher education institution in the region to undertake such a responsibility.

¹⁹⁹ Archives de l’OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15, no. E05224.

3.1.2.3 Social Missionary Works of the Jesuits

Although the basis of the Jesuit missionary activities was educational works the duty of “enlightenment of the poor” was also an important mission which would not be ignored. As educational activities both free and paid were generally aiming at the upper segments of the society there was a risk of ignoring the lower class social groups. The Jesuits led to the establishment of two orders in Beirut in order to make up for the deficiency. The first one was *La Congrégation des Ouvriers (Notre Dame des Sept Douleurs)* which had been created in 1863 to work among workers. The other was *l'Œuvre des Servantes* which had been created in 1911 for female household servants.

The founder of *La Congrégation des Ouvriers* was Father Jean Fiorowich, a Jesuit teacher at the Ghazir College. The main reason for creating this congregation was problematic conditions that emerged after the 1860 events. By escaping from the civil war numerous people took refuge in Beirut and they struggled for life under very inconvenient conditions. Many of them were employed as very low-salaried workers. At the beginning Father Fiorowich did charitable works for them for two years. Then the decision to institutionalize these works under the roof of a congregation was taken²⁰⁰.

According to the data from 1889, that is to say that within twenty six years, nearly 10.000 people had joined the congregation since its establishment. The average number of the congregation's members was around 1700-1800 at any given time. The congregation was dependent on the allocations made by Europe, mainly by France. Since its establishment, the congregation aimed at strengthening religious feelings among people from the lower classes. For this purpose, it made religious organizations such as taking every year fifty-sixty people to the Holy Places in Jerusalem and organizing huge Sunday sermons²⁰¹. In addition to religious works, one of the main works of the congregation was to give material support to the people in need. Beirut had become a semi-western town with a population of nearly 140

²⁰⁰ « L'Apostolat Social Beyrouth », Le septième livre dans la série de *Les Jésuites en Syrie (1831-1931)*: Université Saint Joseph, Paris: Les Editions Dillen, 1931, pp. 7-10.

²⁰¹ Une Congrégation ouvrière à Beyrouth, *Annales de La Propagation de la Foi*, Tome 62, 1890, pp. 184-202.

thousands towards the end of the 19th Century. Poverty and social problems had increased in the town as well as richness. Father Michel, the superior of the congregation after Father Fiorowich, increased the activities among the poor and tried to meet their needs. Due to his effort for nearly 2000 members of the congregation, he was described as “the father and protector of all workers”²⁰².

At the beginning of the 20th Century thousands of people were emigrating from Lebanon to the USA, Brazil, Argentina and Mexico. Those who could not afford such a travel had to come to Beirut to work as household servants. For these people, *l'Œuvre des Servantes* was established in 1911 attached to *La Congrégation de l'Immaculée Conception*. The aim of the congregation was to give spiritual assistance to the Christian women who came to Beirut in order to work in the houses of the rich families of the town. The members of the congregation were gathering once a week on Thursdays at the campus of the SJU²⁰³.

It should be emphasized that social works occupied only a limited place in the Jesuit missionary activities. The reason was quite clear. The priority of the Jesuits was to raise the leaders of the future. Thus they had to use their limited resources for educational activities in order to train either religious or secular leaders of the future in the region. It was difficult to earmark funds and personnel for the works on people from the lower class because they were far from being useful for long-term objectives. Therefore despite relative success of the congregations for workers the social works did not become a priority for the Jesuit missions.

3.1.3 The Lazarists (The Congregation of Saint-Vincent)

The Congregation of Saint-Vincent, one of the most influential and active French missionary congregations, was founded by Vincent de Paul who had received an allocation of 45.000 Francs from a wealthy French family called Gondi in 1625 in order to create a religious organization. The Archbishop of Paris Jean-François de Gondi, a member of the Gondi family, approved the new congregation on 24 April 1626. Later, the congregation received the royal recognition of the French king in

²⁰² Annales de La Propagation de la Foi, Tome 69, 1897, pp. 244–246.

²⁰³ « L’Apostolat Social Beyrouth », pp. 17–20.

1627. Finally, the Lazarists were officially approved by the Holy See with the Papal bull of *Salvatoris Nostris* on 12 January 1633. According to the bull, the Archbishopric of Paris was authorized to make all regulations and constitutions related to the Lazarists²⁰⁴. Thanks to this decision, the Lazarists were able to stay remote from the influence of the Holy See and maintain their French character.

From their foundation to the midst 18th Century the Lazarists worked for the propagation of their activities in different parts of Europe and they founded religious and charitable institutions in such states as Italy, Poland, Spain, Portugal, Austria and Prussia. This caused the participation of priests and missionaries to the congregation from different nations. However, this never led to the termination of the congregation's French character.

The first missionary appointment of the Lazarists to outside of Europe had been made in 1697 when only one missionary was sent to China. However, there was no significant result of this mission. The development that caused the Lazarists' expansion in a large scale in the 18th Century outside of Europe was the suppression of the Jesuit activities in Europe. When the Jesuits were suppressed by the Papal decree in 1773 the future of their establishments became a matter of discussion. Many of such establishments existed in various parts of the Ottoman Empire like the Greek Islands, Thessalonica, Istanbul, Smyrna, Syria and Lebanon. The establishments in these places were being administered by the French Jesuits. Saint-Priest, the French Ambassador at Istanbul, was aware of the importance of such establishments for the French influence in the Levant and so he insisted on keeping them at hand. Thus the French administration decided to replace the Jesuits with the other French missionaries.

Various options were taken into consideration to replace the Jesuits but the attempts were vain at the beginning. In 1779, France decided to negotiate with the Lazarists on the matter. Antoine Jacquier, the Superior of the Lazarists, accepted the establishment of a mission in the Near East in 1780 upon the guarantees of the French administration and the Holy See to support their activities. With the decision of the Conseil d'Etat of France taken on 23 December 1780 and then approved by the

²⁰⁴ R. Chalumeau, « Lazarists », *Catholicisme: Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain*, Vol. 8, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1975, pp. 114-115.

King, all the churches and establishments of the Jesuits in the Ottoman Empire were transferred to the Lazarists. On the other hand, according to the agreement between France and the Ottoman Empire, the Lazarists were to operate within the privileges given by the imperial decree of Mehmet IV to the Jesuits in 1673. Also the Holy See approved the transfer of the Jesuit properties to the Lazarists on 22 November 1782. Although their missions were closed and their properties were confiscated the Jesuits were allowed to stay in their establishments and to participate into the Lazarist congregation if they desired to do so. Under such circumstances, seventeen Lazarist missionaries moved from France to the Ottoman Empire in January 1783²⁰⁵.

The Lazarists had settled and begun their activities within the borders of the Ottoman Empire by 1784. Galata, Thessalonica, Santorin and Smyrna missions attached to the Istanbul Apostolic Delegation and Antoura, Damascus, Tripoli and Aleppo missions attached to the Syrian Apostolic Delegation were the first Lazarist missions in the Ottoman Empire²⁰⁶.

From the French perspective Lazarists' placement in the Ottoman Empire instead of the Jesuits was a very important development. In contrast to the mixed structure of the Jesuits the Lazarists had a strong French character. All the administrators and most of the missionaries of the Lazarists in the Ottoman Empire were Frenchmen. Thanks to their French character, the Lazarists did not only enjoy traditional French protection but also received required political and financial support of the French administration to pursue their activities²⁰⁷. This was a beginning of a new epoch concerning the role of the French administration on the missionary activities. Hereafter, France was to follow a stronger protection over the missionaries with a stronger "French" character.

According to the statement of Etienne, the Superior General of the Lazarists, the French government's sole intention by sending the Lazarists was not to fill the gap of the Jesuits. The Lazarists were expected to be busy with the establishment of "the elements of civilization". For this purpose, the French administration asked

²⁰⁵ Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam*, p.24.

²⁰⁶ O. Werner, *Atlas des Missions Catholiques*, traduit par Valérien Groffier, Lyon: Bureaux des Missions Catholiques, 1886, pp. 19-25.

²⁰⁷ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, p. 7.

them to establish schools everywhere and to propagate the French as much as possible. The Lazarists tried to respond to the demand of France and they opened many schools in the Levant. The Europeans in the Levant and native Christians including “heretics” showed interest in the Lazarist schools²⁰⁸. Many young people received education from these schools by learning French and the French culture.

Soon after the arrival of the Lazarists in the Ottoman Empire, France faced with the French Revolution in 1789. Like the other Catholic congregations the Lazarists were influenced by the interventions of the French revolutionary administrations. On the other hand, as their properties in France were confiscated and plundered, the Lazarist works in the Ottoman Empire also suffered from the shortage of financial and human sources²⁰⁹. The oppression over the Lazarists in France continued until 1804 when Napoleon Bonaparte allowed the reanimation of their activities. However, the activities of Lazarists were again prohibited in 1809 as a result of political disagreements between France and the Holy See.

When the impact of the French Revolution over the Lazarists is considered it can be argued that although the activities of the Lazarists were sometimes banned in France the French governments never ignored their existence in the Ottoman Empire and did not let them assume the protection of any other state. Both the Directory and Napoleon administrations gave orders to the French ambassadors at Istanbul for the continuation of the Lazarist activities and the protection of their properties in the Levant²¹⁰. This kind of protection over the Lazarists was, above all, a political and diplomatic necessity for France in order to maintain her influence in the Levant.

The restrictions over the Lazarists were completely removed with the restoration of the monarchy in France in 1816. Hereafter, an era of revival for the French missionaries began and the Lazarists benefited from this like the other congregations. The revolution in France in 1830 and Louis Philippe’s accession to the French throne caused the rise of a fear among the Lazarists concerning the

²⁰⁸ « Rapport sur les Missions des Lazarists et des Filles de la Charité dans le Levant, présenté par M. Etienne, supérieur général, a MM. Les Membres de l’OEO », Bulletin de l’OEO, no. 1, Novembre 1857, p. 1.

²⁰⁹ The developments after the French Revolution were evaluated in the first chapter.

²¹⁰ Outrey, *Etude Pratique sur Protection de France*, s. 22-23 ; « Rapport sur les Missions des Lazarists », Bulletin de l’OEO, no. 1, Novembre 1857, p. 2.

prohibition of their activities but this did not happen. Like his predecessors Louis Philippe regarded the Lazarists as “an arm of French influence in the East” and supported them²¹¹.

By the 1830s, the number of French missionary establishments in the Ottoman Empire considerably increased and their fields of activity ranged. In 18th Century and early 19th Century, the missionary institutions were generally composed of churches, monasteries and guest houses for the Christian pilgrims. However, by the 1830s, more schools, charitable establishments, hospitals, dispensaries and alms houses began to be opened. It is possible to urge that the main reason for such a shift was the increasing influence of the Protestant missionaries in the region. As Protestants were more concerned with responding to the basic needs of people like education and healthcare rather than founding religious establishments their activities attracted local people’s attention. The Catholic missionaries tried to respond to them by doing similar works.

The foundation of the Antoura College in 1834 was the greatest success of the Syrian mission of the Lazarists thus far. The College continued to remain as the most significant of the Lazarist institutions during the following decades. At the beginning, the College had been designed as a seminary to give higher education on theology for the Eastern Catholics. However, it was redesigned in 1850s as a college like the ones in France and it especially focused on education for commerce. Although a similar college was opened in Damascus later the Antoura College always remained as the most prestigious Lazarist institution in the Levant. In addition to raising priests another important function of the Antoura Collage was to train teachers for the school. The schools under the surveillance and control of the Lazarist missionaries mostly employed the graduates of the Antoura College as teachers.

The Daughters of Charity (Filles de la Charite), who had arrived in Beirut in 1847 and joined the missionary activities, constituted another field of responsibility for the Lazarists. The control and administration of the activities of the Daughters of

²¹¹ Charles A. Frazee, “Vincentian Missions in the Islamic World”, *Vincentian Heritage Journal*, Vol. 5, Iss. 1 (1984), p. 13.

Charity, who had many establishments, especially in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, were attached to the Lazarist missionaries.

The Civil War in 1860 between the Druzes and Maronites deeply influenced the activities of the Lazarists in the region. The superior of the Lazarists' Syria Mission was killed during the events. The mission buildings in Damascus were completely destroyed and the missionaries of the town took refuge in Beirut. The developments were so severe that the Lazarists were about to end their missions in the region. However, the arrival of the French army with seven thousands soldiers under the command of General Haupoul made the continuation of the Lazarist presence possible in the region. Also the Lazarists like other missionary congregations benefitted from the indemnity that the Ottoman administration accepted to pay as a result of international pressure. By using this indemnity the Lazarists reconstructed their building in Damascus and restarted their mission there in 1864²¹². However, Beirut had become the center of the Lazarist mission in the region while diminishing the importance of Damascus after the Civil War. Two factors were especially significant in the strengthening of the Lazarist existence in Beirut: Firstly, there occurred an intense Christian migration to the town after 1860 and this changed the demographic balance in the town on behalf of Christians. Secondly, Beirut became a secure place for Christians and missionaries under the international surveillance. Still, Beirut was not the sole missionary station of the Lazarists' Syria Mission. At the beginning of 1860s there were four stations of the Syria Mission: Aleppo, Damascus, Beirut and Tripoli. In addition to these missions the Lazarists had the Antoura College in Mount Lebanon as the most significant institution in the region.

The Beirut Mission, the center of the Lazarists in Syria, was operating with six priests and four frères in the midst of 1870s. This center was offering spiritual service to the Daughters of Charity missions having forty-three sisters. At that time, the Daughters of Charity were running an orphanage with 260 girls, a hospital, a normal school and a day school with 800 students. The Lazarist missionaries at the center in Beirut were responsible for the control and spiritual guidance of these

²¹² Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam*, pp. 29-32.

activities. Also the missionaries held the responsibility of supervising the surrounding schools. All these responsibilities imposed a serious financial burden to the Beirut mission. According to their expressions the Lazarists depended on allocations from France in order to continue their activities. They were receiving an annual subsidy of 8000 francs from France; 4000 francs from the French government and 4000 francs from the OPF. In addition to these subsidies they only had an income of 300 francs from their activities in Beirut²¹³.

Although mass education was an important matter concerning the missionary activities it did not become possible for the Lazarists to achieve a noteworthy progress on mass education for a long time because of their above mentioned responsibilities. The introduction of new schools to the Lazarist missions mostly happened in 1880s. In his visit at Beirut in 1883, Antoine Fiat, the general superior of the Lazarists, suggested the missionaries to focus on educational activities. The establishment of new schools was regarded as the best way of reaching Christians in the region where the Protestant missionaries were progressively increasing their influence. The Lazarists opened three new schools in 1883 as quick response to the suggestion of Fiat. In a short time, ninety schools were opened in the regions attached to the Beirut and Sidon missions thanks to the financial assistance of the French government and the Lazarist Congregation. By the end of 1884, the Lazarists had a hundred and ten schools in the region²¹⁴.

In 1895, the number of personnel at the headquarter in Beirut was nine; five priests and four frères. There were a hundred and twelve schools in the region under the control of the headquarter. The teachers working at these schools were mostly native Maronite Christians educated at the Lazarist institutions. The Lazarists were giving financial support to the Christian villages for opening new schools and running previously opened schools. On the other hand, the Antoura College, the most significant Lazarist institution in the region, was active in Mount Lebanon with ten priests and nine frères in 1895. The College was in a continuous progress and had three hundred students at that time. Another mission center in Syria was the Tripoli

²¹³ Maison de Beyrouth (1877), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15f (Lazarists), no. E05278.

²¹⁴ Corcket, *Les Lazarists et les Filles de la Charité*, p. 262.

mission and there were four priests and three frères. In addition to the missionary works in Tripoli, the Tripoli mission was also fulfilling chaplaincy of the Daughters of Charity in Lebanon and the missionaries in Mount Lebanon. Two other missions of the Lazarists in Syria were in Akbés and in Damascus. There were two priests and two frères in Akbés and five priests and four frères in Damascus where the most significant institution was the Saint-Vincent College²¹⁵.

According to a statistics of 1900, the Lazarists had three mission centers, namely Istanbul, Smyrna and Syria, in the Ottoman Empire. The number of missionaries was seventy five of which fifty were the French and the others were from different nationalities. The Syria mission had the lowest rate of missionary from the French nationality. The statistics were as follows:

Table 8: Lazarist Establishments and Missionaries in the Ottoman Empire (1900)²¹⁶

Mission	Number of Establishment	Lazarists Missionaries	
		French	Non-French
Turkey (Constantinople)	5	28	8
Asia Minor (Smyrna)	1	11	3
Syria	5	11	17
Total	11	50	28

In the table, the number of the Lazarist missionaries in the Syria mission was given as twenty eight for the year of 1900. However, this number was given as thirty seven at another statistics sent from the Lazarist mission in Syria to OPM in 1901. There is no certain explanation for the difference between the statistics of the two dates. Although it can be argued that nine new missionaries joined the Lazarist missions in Syria in one year, such an increase was not coherent with the general trend. Thus, if one of the statistics is accepted to be valid it should be the one that

²¹⁵ Œuvres des Missionnaires en Syrie, *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission* (1895), Tome 60, pp. 407-411.

²¹⁶ Les Amis des Missions, *Les Missions Catholiques Françaises en 1900 et 1928*, Paris: Imprimerie de la Seine (S.D.), p. 13. In addition to the Constantinople, Smyrna and Syria missions, the Lazarists had a mission in Egypt with an establishment and five missionaries, three of them were French. This work does not include any explanation concerning the nationalities of the non-French missionaries.

was sent from the Lazarist mission in Syria in 1901. The statistics of the Syria mission of Lazarists were as follows:

Table 9: Statistics of Syria Missions of Lazarists (1901)²¹⁷

Mission	Missionaries	Native Priests	Frères	Churches and Chapels	Schools	Students
Beirut	5	-	4	1	140	6000
Antoura	18	-	12	-	1 (College)	325
Tripoli	4	3	2	1	9	400
Damascus	7	3	4	-	1 (College)	260
Akbés	3	-	3	-	5	Not-given
Total	37	6	25	2	154 schools and 2 Colleges	6985

Several important points should be emphasized concerning the missions indicated in the table. Although some of the 140 schools attached to the Beirut mission were located in Beirut most of them were active in various regions, chiefly in Mount Lebanon. These schools were run by either religious or lay teachers who were mostly graduates of the Lazarists colleges or schools. The Lazarists missionaries in Beirut were responsible for the supervision and control of these schools. The Beirut mission of the Lazarists was also responsible for the administration of the Daughters of Charity mission in Beirut, which had numerous personnel and establishments. Besides, the Lazarist missionaries were conducting sermons of Eastern Catholics when they visited the Mount Lebanon. The Antoura College was still the most important institution of the Lazarists in the region. There was a small apostolic school attached to the College. Like the Beirut mission the Tripoli mission had opened nine schools in Mount Lebanon and held the administration of these schools. In addition to these activities, the missionaries were training the Maronite religious men in Mount Lebanon. The number of the Maronite priest attending such trainings was 140 in 1899.

The activities of the Lazarists like the other French missionary congregations were in stagnation at the end of the 19th century. The basic reason for this situation

²¹⁷ Mission des Lazarists en Syrie (1901), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15f (Lazarists), no. E05286.

was the political developments in France. At that time, the negative attitude of the French administration against the religious organizations and missionaries in France was very strong. The situation of the Lazarists, who highly depended on financial support from France to pursue their activities, became very fragile after the adoption of strict secular laws in 1901 in France. With these laws, all educational and economic activities of the congregations in France were banned by the French government²¹⁸. Thus it was indispensable for the congregations all over the world to face with financial and personnel shortages. However, the Lazarists were less affected from the experienced problems in respect to the other French congregations. The French governments tended to make a distinction between the missionary activities in France and abroad. Also the missionaries were not regarded as a problem as long as they were instrumental for the French interests²¹⁹. The rivalry between the European states on religious protection and missionary activities was forcing France to be cautious about the situation of the French missionaries. Especially, the strengthening religious protection of Great Britain on Protestants and of Russia on Orthodox had reached such a point that they were threatening the political and cultural influence of France. In addition to these states, some other states like Italy, Spain and Austria became the open rivals of France on the matter of protection of Catholics.

Despite the efforts of the French administration to make distinction between the activities of the French missionaries in France and abroad, the Lazarists were influenced by the existing stagnation of the missionary congregations. Even though they did not face with a serious decline in their activities the Lazarists could not show an expansion and advancement as strong as the previous times. However, the Syria mission of the Lazarists continued to remain as one of the most influential and significant missions in the region in the first decade of the 19th century. And the situation of the Lazarist missions in 1911, prior to the World War I, were as follows:

²¹⁸ For the impact of the laws on the religious congregations see. Léon Ledoux, *Les Congrégation Religieuses et La Loi du 1^{ER} Juillet 1901*, Thèse pour le Doctorat, Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, Paris 1904.

²¹⁹ Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam*, p.158.

Table 10: Statistics of Lazarist Missions in Syria and Palestine (including the Daughter of Charity) (1911)²²⁰

Works	Numbers and Explanations
Lazarists Missionaries	52
Native Priests (secular)	26
Seminaries	1
Ecclesiastic Students	25
Frères	16
European Religious Women (Daughters of Charity)	252
Infants baptized <i>in articulo mortis</i>	200
Churches and Chapels	29
Schools	200
Students	13.675
Hospitals and Hospices	8
Colleges	2 with 600 students (College of Antoura and College of Saint Vincent in Damascus)
Teacher's Schools (girls)	1 with 45 students
Orphanage	10 with 896 children
Dispensaries	12 (Number of people assisted is 94.671)

As can be clearly seen from the statistics of 1911, there were two colleges and two hundred schools run by the Lazarists and the Daughters of Charity with thousands of students. Also there were many churches, hospitals, dispensaries and orphanages under the control of the Lazarists. With all these schools and charitable establishments, the Lazarists were, as they had always been, an important part of the French missionary presence in the Ottoman Empire.

3.1.3.1 The Antoura College

One of the most significant establishments of the Jesuits was in Antoura when they were replaced by Lazarists in 1784. The Jesuit mission in Antoura had been created in 1651 when Sheik Abu Nevfel Khazen had invited the Jesuits to establish their mission for the Maronites. After the suppression of the Jesuits the Lazarists took over their mission in Antoura and it remained as the most important missionary establishment of the Lazarists in Lebanon and environs in the future.

The idea of organizing the mission in Antoura as a college emerged in the 1830s when the importance of Syria was increasing in terms of missionary activities.

²²⁰Turquie d'Asie, *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission* (1912), Tome 77, p. 210.

As an indication of this situation, the Apostolic Prefecture of Syria was created by the Propaganda Fide in 1832 and Tripoli was determined as the center of the Prefecture. Until that time, missionary activities in the region had been administered and controlled by the Lazarist mission in Istanbul. It should also be stressed that Syria was under the occupation of the Governor of Egypt Mehmet Ali Pasha at that time. The Lazarists aimed at benefiting from the situation. Thus they demanded permission from the Egyptian authorities for opening a college in Antoura and they received it in 1834. Next year, the College went into operation with three priests and twenty students²²¹.

Two points were noteworthy when the timing of the College's establishment is considered. Firstly, Lebanon and Syria had just been occupied by the Egyptian troops and France was supporting the Egyptian occupation. Thus the establishment of the Antoura College with the support and the promotion of France were closely connected with the political developments in the region. For France, the existence of such an institution meant the addition of cultural and religious influence to her political influence in the region. The second point concerning the timing of the College's establishment was related to the arrival of the American Protestant missionaries to the region in 1830s. The Protestant missionaries were active in the region since the beginning of the 1830s and the establishment of the College was a kind of response to their activities.

According to the report of the French Consul at Beirut, who visited the Antoura College in 1861, there were 140 students at the College. Most of the students were attending the College thanks to the financial support from France. *Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient* was covering the expenses of seventy nine students while eleven students were supported by the French government and three students by *Comité de secours de Beyrouth*. The expenses of the other forty seven students were covered by their families. At the time, the Ghazir College of the Jesuits had 150 students. Ninety of the students were supported by *Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient* and five by *Comité de secours de Français*²²². As seen the two colleges had a similar

²²¹ Piolet, *La France au Dehors*, p. 307.

²²² Du Consul général de France à Beyrouth au Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Beyrouth, 15 Août 1861), DP no. 126. In the report of the Consul, there was no indication that the French government

structure in terms of student numbers and financial support received from the French charitable organizations.

The Antoura College had 170 students in 1881 and all of them were boarding. The French government was annually giving fourteen scholarships with an amount of 6600 Francs. The amount of the French government's support was reaching 8000 Francs with some other extra allocations. According to the French Consul at Beirut, the level of education at the College was inferior to the education given by the Jesuits. However it was still good enough to meet the needs of the region. Father Saliège, the superior of the Antoura College between 1879 and 1911, had assured Fiat, the Superior General of the Lazarists, that education given by the College was solid and serious and it had the distinguished characteristics of the classical French education²²³. At the end of the 19th Century, the College was serving as one of the most significant French institution in the region with its nearly 300 students. Students from various places of the Levant were attending the College. Most of the students were from Lebanon and Syria. Besides, there were students from Egypt, Cyprus and the Greek Island in the College.

3.1.4 The Daughters of Charity (Filles de la Charite)

The Lazarist Congregation had been founded in 1626 and approved by the Pope as a missionary congregation in 1633. The Daughters of Charity was also founded nearly at the same time with the Lazarists. The decision for the foundation of the congregation was taken on 29 November 1633 with the primary aim of giving aid to the neediest people. Especially meeting the needs of people from rural areas for food and health was the primary objective of the congregation. The charitable works of the Daughters of Charity, which had begun in France, progressed in time by spreading in various parts of Europe.

The activities of the Daughters of Charity in the Ottoman Empire began on December 1839 with the arrival of two sisters to Istanbul to open a school for girls.

was giving scholarships to the Ghazir College at that time. However, the Ghazir College also benefited from the scholarships of the government.

²²³ Georges Goyau, *La France Missionnaire dans les Cinq Parties du Monde*, Tome II, Paris: Libraire Plon 1948, p. 127.

The next year the sisters went to Smyrna to open a school there. In 1842, the number of the sisters reached thirteen in Istanbul and eleven in Smyrna. When their activities reached a satisfactory level in Istanbul and Smyrna, the Daughters of Charity decided to create a new mission in Beirut. The existence of the Lazarists, who had previously settled in Beirut and had been improving their activities, was a facilitating factor for the arrival of the Daughters of Charity in Beirut. The Sister Gélas was the first person appointed to create the Beirut mission.

Sister Gélas was the leading personality on spreading the activities of the Daughters of Charity in Beirut and different parts of Lebanon and Syria. Her career in the Ottoman Empire had begun in Smyrna in 1840. Gélas had successfully established schools and dispensaries in Smyrna. Gélas' success was the main reason for her appointment as the founder of the Beirut mission of the Daughters of Charity. From her appointment to Beirut in 1847 to her decease in 1898, Gélas actively continued missionary activities and she was accepted as the founder of all the establishments of the Daughters of Charity in Syria and Lebanon²²⁴.

The first establishment in Beirut under the supervision of Gélas was the charitable house of Beirut that was a humble building outside the center of the town. At the first year of the establishment, a day school for girls was opened and the mission of the Daughters of Charity began its mission with the educational activities. In 1848, an opportunity for the Daughters of Charity emerged to be active in the field of health. As the sisters helped the victims of the plague epidemic in Beirut and environs they received the sympathy of the people in the region including Muslims. Hereafter they could pursue more freely their missionary works towards poor and ill people²²⁵. After managing a certain institutionalization in Beirut, Gélas was appointed to found a house in Damascus like in Beirut. The mission in Damascus began to work in 1854 and rapidly improved.

Gélas had an intention to improve the works of the Daughters of Charity in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. For this purpose, she demanded a sum of 5000 Francs from the OEO in 1857 to open a nursery and to develop the normal school. In her

²²⁴ Corcket, *Les Lazaristes et les Filles de la Charité*, p. 100.

²²⁵ Piolet, *La France au Dehors*, p. 310.

letter concerning the matter, Gélas was also informing the OEO about the recently established schools in Ghazir and Edhen and that each school had nearly forty students. In addition to these establishments, the Daughters of Charity had four schools in Beirut, two in Ras-Beirut and one in Zouk, Adette and Bambedoun. According to the statement of Gélas, the young teachers at these schools were doing their best to educate the children who were receiving religious education according to their capacities. As an indication of the importance of religious education, Gélas said that “the children of these lands, which are not free from slavery yet, can only be saved with the light of Catholicism”²²⁶.

While developing and increasing their institutions the Daughters of Charity were shocked by the events of 1860. Especially their establishment in Damascus, which had been founded in 1854, was deeply affected by the events. In 1860, the establishment had several schools and an orphanage as well as a dispensary serving sixty thousand people annually. However, the attacks of the Muslims against the Christians in Damascus following the events in Mount Lebanon lumbered the situation of the mission in Damascus. The mission of the Daughters of Charity in Damascus was destroyed like many other missionary establishments during the events of July 1860²²⁷. The sisters had to desert Damascus for taking refuge to Beirut like missionaries from various congregations.

As Beirut was densely populated by the Christians after the 1860 events there were many missionary works to do for the Daughters of Charity. At the beginning, the sisters were busy with supplying food and giving healthcare services for the emigrants. The mission of the Daughters of Charity held the protection of 4000 poor and gave health service to six hundred people at their dispensary. Also a hundred and fifty children were placed at the orphanage of the sisters²²⁸. Most of the financial sources for these activities were obtained from donations from Europe. Especially, OPF was strongly supporting the Daughters of Charity as it was supporting many other congregations in the region. Besides, the French Consulate General at Beirut

²²⁶ Lettre de la Sœur Gélas, supérieur des Filles de la Charité à Beyrouth, à MM les Membres du comité de l'OEO, Bulletin de Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient, no. 2, Avril 1858, pp. 19-21.

²²⁷ Missions de Syrie, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Tome 32, 1860, p. 416.

²²⁸ Missions de Syrie, Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, Tome 32, 1860, p. 418.

and the French Marine Forces in the region were supporting the activities of the sisters. Fuad Pasha, who had been sent to the region by the Ottoman Government as the inspector, was one of the supporters of the Daughters of Charity. He had written a friendly letter to the sisters and made a donation of a hundred lira in order to appreciate their works for the victims of the 1860 events²²⁹.

According to Father Lavigerie, who was the superior of the OEO and came to the region to organize aids in Lebanon, the Daughters of Charity were successfully distributing generous donations of Europe in the region. The establishments of the sisters were always full of people in need and the sisters were trying to meet their needs by providing food, medicine and clothes. Lavigerie urged in his report that many people would die with their children without the efforts of the sisters so that he had given the sisters a considerable amount of money to contribute to their works²³⁰.

The aids and activities of the Daughters of Charity were very significant after the 1860 events and this strengthened the existing sympathy of people on them. Also these events made serious impacts on the characteristics of the activities of the Daughters of Charity. As thousands of children turned to be orphans after the events the sisters focused on opening orphanages. In 1861, the Saint-Charles Orphanage was founded with the contribution of the OEO and it remained the most important orphanage of the Daughters of Charity in the region. The number of children staying at the Saint-Charles was more than five hundred in 1861²³¹. There were nearly forty girls from the noble families of Lebanon at the orphanages of the Daughters of Charity and the responsibility of their education had been left to the sisters²³². Thirty of the girls were given scholarship by the OEO and they were sent to Deir-el-Kamar to receive religious education²³³.

²²⁹ Le Comte Bentivoglio, Consul General de France à Beyrouth à M. Thouvenel, MAE, DP. 39 (Beyrouth, 21 Juillet 1860).

²³⁰ Rapport de M. L'abbé Lavigerie, Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 11, Avril 1861, p.

²³¹ Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 12, Juillet 1861, p. 29.

²³² Les Orphelinats des filles par la Sœur Gêlas, Supérieur de la Miséricorde de Beyrouth (Beyrouth, Février 1862), Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 15, Mai 1862, p. 10.

²³³ Lettre de la Sœur Gêlas, Supérieur de la Miséricorde de Beyrouth à le Directeur général de l'OEO, Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 17, Septembre 1862, pp. 184-185.

The number of children staying at the Saint-Charles Orphanage in Beirut was around two hundred and fifty in 1869. The Orphanage was not only interested in providing basic needs of children but also in giving religious education to them. Especially activities of the Protestant missionaries were gaining impetus in the region and this was considered as a significant threat by Catholics. Struggling against the Protestant missionaries, who were opening orphanages and schools everywhere thanks to their pecuniary possibilities, was regarded as an important duty by the Daughters of Charity²³⁴. During the following years, the Daughters of Charity continued to open new orphanages attached to their missions in different parts of Lebanon and Syria. These orphanages were mostly receiving girls but they also had boys whose numbers were nearly a hundred and fifty at the end of 1870s. As a result of increasing number of boys it was decided to open an independent orphanage for their accommodation. For this purpose, a vast terrain next to the Beirut mission of the Daughters of Charity was bought thanks to the pecuniary support of the French Government and the Saint-Joseph Orphanage was opened in 1881. In addition to guard children, this orphanage was working like a vocational school and boys were learning there such professions as tailoring, shoemaking, typography, book binding, carpentry, sculpture, locksmithery, weaver and bakery. Many boys were also sent to such French cities as Marseille, Lyon and Paris to specialize on these fields and they taught their learning to other boys at the ateliers when they returned.

The orphanages always remained an important element of the Daughters of Charity missions in the Levant. Raising and educating children according to the Catholic faith was a significant part of their mission. As the running of orphanages was generally considered as a field of female missionaries this mission was pursued by the sisters under the supervision and control of the Lazarist missionaries. In addition to religious and basic education, children were trained in different professions at the orphanages²³⁵.

Another field of mission that the sisters of the Daughters of Charity successfully pursued was health service. The sisters had been giving health service to

²³⁴ L'orphelinat Saint-Charles à Beyrouth par Soeur Pesin, Fille de la Charité, Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 61, Janvier 1869, p. 24.

²³⁵ Corcket, *Les Lazaristes et les Filles de la Charité*, p. 251.

poor people since their arrival in Beirut and they increased these activities by 1860. At the beginning of 1860s, they had created a humble dispensary with three beds and there they gave health and pharmacy services. In her report, Gélas was stating that they had been highly appreciated by the Turks thanks to their works on health. In order to increase their activities, Gélas continued, the sisters had demanded to run the hospital of the town prison and this had been accepted by the Governor of Beirut. According to Gélas' report, although the number would change according to seasons and epidemics they were receiving patients around a hundred and a hundred and fifty each day. The sisters were also visiting patients at home to give dispensary service. The demand for health service from local people was increasing day by day but the possibilities of their dispensary were too low to meet the needs. Thus, Gélas stressed the necessity for aids from Europe to build a bigger hospital and to gather all health services there.²³⁶

Competition among missionaries from different faiths and congregations to be active in the field of health service was very intense. However, this service was mostly given in the rooms of the mission buildings rather than well-equipped hospitals. The Daughters of Charity had founded a modest hospital in order to strengthen their position in the competition. Yet, this hospital was far from being sufficient to meet the needs and the discontent concerning this fact was clearly expressed by Gélas. As she reported the hospital was being supported and protected by France so that it was known by the local people as a French establishment. Thus, inadequate condition of the hospital was defined by Gélas as a shame of France. On the other hand, the hospital of Protestants at Beirut run by the Prussian sisters was superior to the hospital of the Daughters of Charity as "it was supported by all Protestant nations and the French Protestants". Most of the patients were being rejected by the Daughters of Charity because of the huge demand to their hospital despite limited possibilities. In such cases, rejected patients were heading to the hospital of Prussians and this was preventing the Daughters of Charity from reaching

²³⁶ Rapport de la Sœur Gélas, Supérieur de la Miséricorde de Beyrouth, Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 31, Janvier 1865, pp.194-200.

people to give religious inspiration and teaching. Gélas insistently stressed the importance of the French assistance to overcome such problems²³⁷.

The Daughters of Charity could have the hospital that they desired after a painful process. Buying the land for the hospital and collecting the required money for construction took many years. The required source was supplied by the French Government and *l'Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*. The construction was made section by section and the hospital was opened in 1885 with the name of Sacré-Coeur. This hospital was later organized as an independent establishment in 1890 within the mission²³⁸.

Along with their works in the fields of orphanage and health, works on education was one of the most significant missionary activities of the Daughters of Charity. Throughout years they opened many schools in different parts of Lebanon and Syria. The priority of the schools was to raise the Catholic teachers who would go everywhere to educate the Christian children. For this purpose, the sisters had opened a normal school at the Beirut mission as soon as they arrived in Beirut. The main objective of the school was to raise female teachers who can teach in Arabic. The students of the normal school were receiving education in such academic subjects as reading, writing, catechism, history of the saints, mathematics, grammar and letter writing. Besides they were also trained in tailoring, carpet making and embroidery²³⁹.

As it was not possible for the Daughters of Charity to reach everywhere in person to open schools they followed the way of the Lazarist missionaries, who had also trained talented young students to be teacher in different parts of Lebanon. The sisters, first of all, did not have enough personnel to appoint as teacher. Secondly, they were speaking the same language with the local people. Thus the Daughters of Charity indispensably needed new recruitments among the natives of the region. Students at the schools of the mission centers were the main human source. The most

²³⁷ Rapport de la Sœur Gélas, Supérieur de la Miséricorde de Beyrouth, Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 78, Septembre 1873, pp. 182-183.

²³⁸ Corcket, *Les Lazaristes et les Filles de la Charité*, p. 263.

²³⁹ Rapport de la Sœur Gélas, Supérieur de la Miséricorde de Beyrouth, Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 31, Mai 1865, p.197.

successful of them were selected and trained to become teachers. Following their training, some of them were working at the schools and orphanages at the mission centers while the others were sent to different regions to open new schools or to run the existing schools.

In his report to the OEO dated 1857, Father Etienne, the Superior General of the Lazarists, had stressed that the schools founded by the Daughters of Charity had made very deep changes on the customs and behaviors of the people of the Levant. According to Etienne, these schools were actually shaping “the future families by raising the future mothers”. And this was making a serious impact on “the development of a new civilization and changing of ideas on behalf of Catholicism”. Also girls from different faiths were receiving the same education and attending the same religious trainings and rituals with Catholics at the schools of the sisters so that “Catholicism was leaking to their hearts and placing in their customs and behaviors”

240

Most of the schools of the Daughters of Charity were located in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. At these schools, the students were taught basic reading-writing skills and religious subjects. The only school of the sisters that gave a more advanced education was the normal school in Beirut which was a boarding school and directly run by the sisters. At the first years, the school was giving a basic education but its curriculum and level was developed during the following years. According to the statistics of 1880, the number of boarding students at the school was sixty five and its curriculum included such courses as French, Arabic, history, geography, arithmetic and handcraft. In addition to these courses, the students could take elective courses as music and drawing. The other schools run by the Daughters of Charity in the region were as follows²⁴¹:

²⁴⁰ « Rapport sur les Missions des Lazaristes et des Filles de la Charité dans le Levant, présenté par M. Etienne, supérieur général, a MM. Les Membres de l'OEO », Bulletin de l'OEO, no. 1, Novembre 1857, p. 4.

²⁴¹ M. Sienkiewicz, Consul general de France à Beyrouth, à M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, MAE (Beyrouth, 10 Mars 1881), DP. 64.

Table 11: Schools of Daughters of Charity (1880)

Region	Schools
Beirut	Principle school with 689 students (not boarding)
	13 schools in different parts of Beirut with 600 students (not boarding)
Mount Lebanon	1 school in Zouk and 10 other schools in different localities.
Tripoli	1 school
Damascus	1 school

The activities of the sisters continuously developed and they increased the number of people they accessed by opening many schools, dispensaries, orphanages and ateliers in Beirut, Mount Lebanon and Tripoli by the end of 19th century. Thus, the Daughters of Charity became the most influential French congregation of women in Lebanon and Syria in terms of personnel and the number of people they reached. The Congregation was also seen as one of the most significant representatives of the French influence and prestige in the region. A detailed statistics of the Daughters of Charity missions in the region through the end of the 19th century was as follows²⁴²:

Table 12: Establishments of Daughters of Charity (1895)

Charity	Numbers and Explanations
Beirut Main House (established in 1846)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 37 sisters; 924 students; teachers' school for villages of Mount Lebanon; 2 work rooms. - Many charity meetings for poor people. - Family visits at home. - Care for unattended children. - Help and remedy for 115.000 poor at dispensary.
Saint-Charles Orphanage in Beirut for girls (established in 1861)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 14 sisters; 300 orphans. - Children over three years old accepted free of charge. - Children are taught such works as sewing, broidery and ironing etc. - According to director of the establishment, if they have enough place and sources the number of children would be a number between 500 and 600.
Saint-Joseph Orphanage in Beirut for boys (established in 1881)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 10 sisters; 12 chiefs of atelier; 130 orphans. - It is the first orphanage for boys established by Catholic missionaries. In the absence of such a Catholic establishment Catholic children had to attend the Protestant establishments. - Children are taught various professions at the ateliers of orphanage. Tailors are preparing costumes of the Antoura College's students; Shoemakers are making production for all

²⁴² Œuvres des Missionnaires en Syrie, *Annales de la Congrégation de la Mission* (1895), Tome 60, pp. 412-422.

	communities of Beirut, It is same for carpenters; Gardeners are producing vegetables of the establishment and are selling at the public market; Many of children are working at silk and cotton fabric.
Hospital in Beirut (established in 1885)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 10 sisters - Number of patients received last year was 800. - Hospital is serving as a clinic for the Medical School of the SJU. - Expenses are 12.000 francs higher than revenues. And the hospital is in an inferior condition in respect to the Protestant hospitals. - It is reported that 8000 francs received from the French government was cut.
Ras-Beirut	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 9 sisters; 400 students; 2 work rooms; pharmacy; dispensary. - Family visits at home. - The quarter is invaded by Protestant and freemasons. There are many Protestant schools and their numbers are increasing. The schools of masons have nearly 400 students but their income is 45000 francs. While the income of FC is reducing, their income is increasing each year.
Zouk- Mikael (a neighbor village of Antoura)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 9 sisters; 170 students; 48 unattended children; 15 old men; dispensary.
Broumana	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 5 sisters; 40 unattended children; a school for girls of the village; a school for young girls working at filatures; a work room for women; pharmacy; dispensary. - Situation of FC is strong in Broumana. And they struggle against strong Protestant missionary activities.
Tripoli	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 19 sisters; 600 students; orphanage; pharmacy, dispensary; hospital. - Family visits at home. - There is a filature within the orphanage.
Damascus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 22 sisters; 519 students; orphanage; hospital; 2 dispensaries. - Family visits at home. - One of the dispensaries received 80000 and the other received 64000.

This table gives a good summary of the Daughter of Charity missions' activities at the last decade of 19th century. As can be seen, the sisters were working on the basic needs of the region, namely education and health. Thus, they could reach every segment of the society. This was creating a proper environment for them to make charitable works and religious propaganda which were the basis of missionary activities.

Schools, orphanages and ateliers for children were the most widespread charitable works. The sisters were completely interested in girls at their orphanages and schools with the only exception of the Orphanage of Saint-Joseph where the sisters received boys. In addition to basic education, religious and vocational

educations occupied a considerable place at the schools of the sisters. The main aim of the orphanages and schools was to raise children according to the Catholic faith. Also children were trained in such fields as sewing, handcraft and weaving.

Health service was the activity that enabled the Daughters of Charity to reach all social groups in the region. The sisters were helping thousands of people at their dispensaries and they were distributing medicaments so that they could reach people from different faiths. They were also visiting the houses of people who could not come to dispensaries and giving aids at home.

3.1.5 The Frères des Écoles Chrésiennes (Institute of The Brothers of The Christian Schools)

The *Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes* (F.E.C) was established in 1680 in Reims, France by father and theologian Jean Batiste de la Salle. It was recognized by Louis XV in 1724 and then it was approved by Pope Benedict XIII as a congregation in 1725. F.E.C. was banned after the French Revolution like the other religious organizations in France. It was reactivated in 1804 and its institutional status was recognized with the imperial decree of 17 March 1808. The aim of the congregation was to offer a qualified Christian and civil education to youth. The first article of the F.E.C constitution had stipulated that a school could be founded on condition that education was free of charge²⁴³.

The center of F.E.C was in Paris and it was under the Paris Archbishopric's patronage. F.E.C, which had a complete French character, opened numerous elementary and secondary schools as well as normal and vocational schools in different parts of Europe, chiefly in France in 19th century. The arrival of F.E.C in the Ottoman Empire happened in 1841 with the invitation and encouragement of the Lazarists. They firstly arrived in Smyrna in 1841 and then in Istanbul in the same year.

The activities of F.E.C in Lebanon started in 1886 in Tripoli. The first three frères were supported by the Lazarists. After a short while, they opened their first establishment there with the French Government's financial support of 15.000

²⁴³ Prospectus pour un Etablissement de Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes, Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05028.

francs. According to a letter from Eragre, the superior of the Frères in Jerusalem, to the OPF, the school in Tripoli had eight personnel in 1889 and there were seven frères as well as one teacher for Turkish and Arabic courses. The number of students at the school was around a hundred and fifty²⁴⁴. The Frères added Beirut to their field of activity in 1890. The school in Beirut was free of charge in accordance with the principles of F.E.C. In 1895, the number of students at the school in Beirut was more than three hundred and the students were almost completely children of the Maronite families²⁴⁵.

The schools of the Frères attached to the Beirut mission continued to increase and reached to seven in 1902. Six of the schools were free of charge and they had nine hundred and ninety students at twenty one classes. There were three schools in the center of Beirut and two of them were free of charge with more than five hundred students. In addition to Beirut, F.E.C had two schools in Tripoli, one in Beit-Mery, Mount Lebanon and one in Latakia. In their reports, the Frères were mentioning the success of their schools but they were also stressing the financial problems that they faced with. According to the Frères, their schools were very important for defending the Catholic cause against the strengthening Protestant missionaries and such a struggle could only be made by having required financial sources²⁴⁶. The details of the schools of the Frères and their income-expense balances were as follows for the year of 1902:

Table 13: Schools of Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes attached to the Delegation of Beirut (1902)²⁴⁷

Delegation de Beirut Not-Paying Schools	Number of Students	Income	Expense	Deficit	Debts of Schools
Beirut St. Vincent	317	4132	5279	1147	50000

²⁴⁴ Copie d'une lettre des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes de Tripoli (Jérusalem 1889), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05030.

²⁴⁵ Lettre de Frère Isme, Directeur des Frères à Beyrouth (Beyrouth, 10 Mars 1895), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05041.

²⁴⁶ Rapport sur les Ecoles Chrétiennes des Frères, Délégation de Beyrouth (10 Décembre 1902), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05045.

²⁴⁷ Institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes Situation financière de l'année 1902, Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05046.

Table 13 (continued)

Beirut St. Antoine	197	3000	4000	1000	-
Latakia	105	4830	5460	630	3100
Tripoli (City)	142	8000	9110	1110	2664
Tripoli (Marine)	101	5300	5504	204	12606
Beit-Mery	128	0	2000	2000	-
Total	990	25262	31353	6091	68370

The development of F.E.C activities had steadily continued until the beginning of 20th century when F.E.C was affected by the anti-clerical laws in France like many other congregations. The laws had banned the congregations' educational activities and this made detrimental effects on activities of F.E.C in France as education was the only field of activity of the Frères. More than four thousand frères had to leave France upon the prohibition of their activities in the country on 7 July 1904. They either joined the present schools outside of France or opened new schools abroad²⁴⁸.

Despite the developments in France, the Syrian mission of the Frères continued to flourish. They strengthened their existence by opening new schools, especially in Beirut and in Mount Lebanon at the beginning of 20th century. Their schools in Tripoli and Latakia were also progressing. A letter from F.E.C to the OPF in 1904 was mentioning their activities in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon by indicating the progress they achieved. However, the strengthening activities of American and British Protestant missionaries were reported as a serious menace. As reported by an administrator of the Frères in Syria, English was gaining importance thanks to the activities of the Protestant missionaries while French was losing its prestige. He also defined the educational competition between Catholic and Protestant missionaries as a religious competition and said that "everyone in the Orient knows that Englishman and American are synonymous of Protestantism just as Frenchman is of

²⁴⁸F.F. « Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes » *Catholicisme: Hier, Aujourd'hui, Demain*, Vol. 4, Paris: Letouzey et Ané 1956, pp. 1593-1594.

Catholicism.” Thus, the French schools, which were the propagator of French and an important mean of struggle against Protestantism, had to be supported²⁴⁹.

As it was previously stressed, the constitution of F.E.C. had envisaged that their schools would be completely free of charge. This understanding had been followed during the opening of the first schools in the Levant. However, as it was continuously reported by the Frères in the region their schools could hardly meet the increasing costs. This was an obstacle for the admittance of more students and the foundation of new schools. Thus, students were heading for the Protestant schools whose number was steadily increasing. In order to overcome this problem, the Frères began to receive some stipendiary students to their schools. Although there was only one school in 1902 in Beirut receiving stipendiary students, most of the schools in the region began to receive such students in 1904.

Table 14: Statistics of the Schools of Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes attached to the Delegation of Beirut (1904)²⁵⁰

Delegation de Beirut Establishments	Locality	Staff (religious)		Students		Explanation
		French	Native	Catholics	Infidels or Heretics	
Ecole du Sacre Cœur	Beirut	10	-	150	19	½ paying
Ecole du St. Raphael	Beirut	2	-	47	-	Not-paying
Ecole du St. Gabriel	Beirut	2	-	41	9	1/3 paying
Ecole du St. Jean-Baptiste de la Salle	Beirut	3	-	101	23	1/3 paying
Ecole du St. Vincent de Paul	Beirut	4	-	209	10	1/3 paying
Ecole du St. Maurice	Beit-Mery	2	2	128	26	Not-paying
Ecole du St. Nicholas	Baabda	3	1	99	21	1/3 paying
Ecole	Tripoli (Marine)	3	1	70	37	1/3 paying
Ecole	Tripoli (City)	11	-	134	66	½ paying
Ecole du St. Alexis	Latakia	4	2	76	40	½ paying
Ecole	Zghorta	2	2	93	18	1/5 paying
Total		46	8	1148	269	

²⁴⁹ Visiteur des Frères de la Palestine, de la Syrie et du Liban (Bethléem 1904), Archives de l’OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05049.

²⁵⁰ Œuvres des Ecoles Chrétiennes des Frères de l’année 1904, Archives de l’OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05049.

As can be seen from the table of 1904, there were fifty four teacher-religious men, mostly Frenchmen, had been appointed to work at the schools of the Frères. There had also been twenty secular personnel at the schools²⁵¹. Two of the schools of the Frères were completely free of charge. The other schools were receiving both stipendiary and beneficiary students. 833 out of 1417 students were not paying for their education. Although the ratio of the stipendiary students among Catholics was low, most of the non-Catholic students had to pay stipend to the schools.

Despite the efforts to run its schools by admitting paying students, F.E.C. was not successful to solve financial problems. The income-expense balance was worsening every year and the amount of debts was increasing. As this problem could not be solved the Frères had to stop operations of some schools. Especially the schools in Mount Lebanon were affected by the financial problems. The school in Baabda was closed at the end of the 1905-1906 academic year. It was also reported that the school in Zghorta had to be closed unless required sources were obtained²⁵². However, required money could not be found and this school had to be closed in 1907²⁵³. Despite the failure of these schools in Mount Lebanon, the other schools of the Frères continued to prosper in terms of personnel and number of student. The statistics concerning the schools of Freres for the academic year of 1909-1910 were as follows:

²⁵¹ Even though it was indicated in the same document (E05049) that there were 20 secular personnel in the schools of Frères there was no information about their work places and nationalities.

²⁵² Lettre du Visiteur des Frères à OPF (Beyrouth, 29 Novembre 1906), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05054.

²⁵³ Ecoles dirigée par les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes qui relevant de la Délégation Apostolique de Syrie (1907-1908), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05061.

Table 15: Statistics of the Schools of the Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes related to the Apostolic Delegation of Syria (1909-1910)²⁵⁴

Locality	Number of Schools	Students		Students		Total number of Students	Teachers	
		Cath.	Others	Free	paying		Religiou s	Others
Beit-Mery	1	99	-	99	-	99	-	2
Beirut	4	550	332	442	440	882	36	21
Latakia	1	73	96	40	129	169	10	3
Tripoli (Marine)	1	62	92	154	-	154	4	3
Tripoli (City)	2	163	136	60	239	299	16	8
Total	9	947	656	795	808	1603	66	37

Several points should be stressed concerning the table. Firstly, when compared to the statistics of 1904 there was a slight increase in the number of the students. The increase was too low because the Frères' schools in Baabda and Zghorta had been closed. As most of the students at these schools were Catholics both the number and rate of the Catholic students also significantly decreased after the closure of the two schools. However, the number of students from other religions considerably increased. The number of non-Catholic students were 269 in 1904 and this number reached 656 in 1910. This was an indication of increasing popularity of the schools of the Frères among the non-Catholic people of Lebanon. Another significant point concerning the table was that the number of stipendiary students sharply increased and slightly surpassed the beneficiary students. This reveals that the Frères had to completely abandon their policy of free education and had to adapt themselves to changing conditions. The increase in the number of non-Catholic students and financial problems had forced the Frères to receive more and more stipendiary students. Lastly, the number of teachers at the schools of the Frères should be considered. This number was fifty-four for religious and twenty for secular teachers in 1904 and it rose to sixty-six for religious and thirty-seven for secular teachers in 1910. This shift was probably a result of anti-congregational laws in 1904 and 1905 which had forced many missionaries to leave France. Some of the teachers

²⁵⁴ Ecoles dirigées par les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes qui relèvent de la Délégation Apostolique de Syrie (1909-1910), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05067.

who left France came in the Ottoman Empire and joined the Frères' missions in Lebanon and Syria.

Progress in the schools of the Frères continued for the next few years. The last school in the region was opened during the academic year of 1912-1913 in Alexandretta. The other schools in the region were in good condition in terms of personnel and student number. The statistics of 1912-1913, just before the First World War, reveals the latest situation of the Frères in Lebanon and Syria.

Table 16: Statistics of the Schools of Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes related to the Apostolic Delegation of Syria (1912-1913)²⁵⁵

Locality	Number of Schools	Students		Students		Total number of Students	Teachers	
		Cath.	Others	Free	Paying		Religious	Others
Beit-Mery	1	103	-	103	-	103	-	2
Beirut	4	640	465	434	671	1.105	39	28
Latakia	1	73	89	40	122	162	9	5
Tripoli (Marine)	1	65	114	179	-	179	3	4
Tripoli (City)	2	202	221	101	322	423	16	11
Alexandretta	1	28	37	19	46	46	3	2
Total	10	1111	926	876	1161	2037	70	52

Comparing the statistics of the 1909-1910 academic year, the number of teachers and students had increased in the schools of Frères in the 1912-1913 academic year. The most significant change was in the number of students. There was an increase of nearly four hundred. Also the ratio of the paying students showed an increase. Another significant point in the statistics in comparison with the previous one was that the number of the teachers had considerably increased. In particular, the number of secular teachers became fifty-two that was thirty-seven before. All these numbers reveal that despite the crisis of the missionaries in France in the first decade of the 19th century F.E.C. managed to develop their missions in the Levant in terms of student and teacher. However, these efforts were to come to an end with the outbreak of the World War I.

²⁵⁵ Ecoles dirigées par les Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes qui relèvent de la Délégation Apostolique de Syrie (1912-1913), Archives de l'OPM à Lyon, Fond Lyon, E-15c (Frères), no. E05087.

3.1.6 The Œuvre De La Propagation De La Foi (Society for the Propagation of the Faith)

Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi (OPF) was a charitable society founded on 3 May 1822, in Lyon. A woman named Pauline-Marie Jaricot from an aristocratic Lyonnais family pioneered the foundation of the society. In 1820, Jaricot had begun to organize praying meetings and to collect one cent from the participants in order to support missionary efforts in different parts of the world. This organization quickly became very popular at many churches and it was decided to turn it into a comprehensive work. Thus, OPF was founded in 1822 with the participation of Lyon's leading religious personalities and businessmen. In the same year, one of the founders of the society went to Paris and led the foundation of a second central committee there. Thanks to this, OPF did not remain a local society in Lyon and became an influential society in the entire France. The letter of Pope Pius VII in 1823, which encouraged the activities of OPF, smoothed the way for the society. Then the society could rapidly receive similar letters from all prelates in France as well as many other prelates of Europe. And OPF was officially recognized as a universal Christian organization in 1840 with the bull of Pope Gregory XVI²⁵⁶.

The foundation of OPF was closely connected to the attempts for reviving the French missionary works which had been seriously damaged during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Era. After the restoration of the French monarchy, the French missionary congregations were trying to recover and the main purpose of OPF was to supply them required financial support. OPF was not a missionary congregation but a society founded to support the Catholic missions in different parts of the world. Thus, it has no role in the recruitment, education and appointment of missionaries. It was not also involved in works of missions. The mission of the society was to give financial support to missionaries appointed by the Church authorities and the missionary congregations²⁵⁷.

²⁵⁶ *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith*, published by the Society, Baltimore, Maryland 1902, pp. 3-8.

²⁵⁷ *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith*, pp. 11-12.

OPF obtained a considerable income in a short time thanks to donations of the Church attendants and philanthropists and distributed a huge amount of money to the Catholic missions in different parts of the world. It should be noted that OPF did not only support the French missionaries but also missionaries from different nations as long as they served Catholicism. However, a general analysis of OPF's annual income and expense tables reveals that France was the leading state in both terms. The statistics in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, which was the annual journal of OPF and gave detailed information on its financial actions, show that most of the income were obtained from the French donors and again most of aids were made to the French missionaries.

Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire always received a considerable share from the donations of OPF. Carmelites, Capuchins, Franciscans, Lazarists and Jesuits were the missionary congregations supported by OPF. In addition to these congregations, the apostolic delegates in Smyrna and Syria, the highest ranked representatives of the Holy See in the mission fields, and the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem regularly received donations from OPF. The apostolic delegates and the Patriarch were generally using these donations to support the Latin churches and Eastern Catholics in the Levant. The donations of OPF generally continued in a standard level but there were sometimes increases and decreases depending on circumstances. When the establishment of a new school, hospital or orphanage was concerned one of the institution that the Catholic missionaries always applied to in order to receive financial support was OPF. Here some statistics concerning the donations from OPF to the Catholic missions in Syria and Lebanon will be given in order to give an idea about characteristics and standards of the donations.

The total amount of income received from donations and other sources by OPF in 1860 was 4.547.399 Francs and nearly 3.000.000 Francs of that amount was donations from France. A considerable amount was dedicated to the Catholic missions in Syria. OPF joined the massive campaign in Europe to aid the Christians of Syria, especially the Maronites, after the 1860 events. The society submitted financial assistance to the Catholic missions and Eastern Catholics in the region. OPF distributed 282.355 Francs in 1860 to the Catholic missions in the Ottoman Empire.

The missions in Syria, especially those in Lebanon, received the lion's share with 207.355 Francs. The allocations of OPF to the Syria missions were as follows:

Table 17: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1860²⁵⁸

Congregation	1860
Mission des RR.PP. Capuchins in Syria	23.500 fr.
Mission of RR.PP Carmelites in Syria	12.000 fr.
Mission of RR.PP Franciscans in Syria	5.000 fr.
Mission of Lazarists in Syria: in Antoura, in Beirut, in Damascus and in Tripoli, and establishments of Daughters of Charity in Beirut and in Damascus	81.000 fr.
Missions of Company of Jesus in Syria: in Beirut, in Bikfaia, in Zahleh, in Sidon and in Tyr and College of Ghazir	40.000 fr.
Apostolic Delegation of Syria and for various Uniate Rites (Eastern Catholic Churches)	45.855 fr.
	207.355 fr.

As numerous Christians turned to be refugee and demands on the Syria missions, mainly in Mount Lebanon and Beirut, highly increased because of the civil war in 1860, OPF had to double its allocations in the region. However, as it was shown in the next years' tables, the Franciscans were excluded from the list of allocation by 1861. Also the mission of Daughters of Charity in Damascus cannot be observed in the statistics of 1861. The reason for this was that their establishment in Damascus was destructed during the civil war and they had to leave the city like other Catholic missionaries. The Daughters of Charity abandoned their establishment in Damascus and settled in Beirut. Another point concerning the allocations of OPF to the Syria missions was that although the amount received by the congregations generally remained stable there was a considerable increase in the amount of allocations given to the Apostolic Delegation of Syria and Eastern Catholics. The allocations made by OPF to the missions in Syria during the years of 1861, 1862 and 1863 were as follows:

²⁵⁸ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 33 (1861), pp. 161-191.

Table 18: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1861²⁵⁹, 1862²⁶⁰, 1863²⁶¹

Congregation	1861	1862	1863
Mission des RR.PP. Capuchins in Syria	16.020 fr.	16.000 fr.	16.000 fr.
Mission of RR.PP Carmelites in Syria	6.000 fr.	9.000 fr.	9.000 fr.
Mission of Lazarists in Syria and establishment of Daughters of Charity in Beirut	49.000 fr.	21.000 fr.	21.000 fr.
Missions of Company of Jesus in Syria and College of Ghazir	34.200 fr.	24.000 fr.	23.520 fr.
Apostolic Delegation of Syria and for various Uniate Rites (Eastern Catholic Churches)	24.080 fr.	30.721 fr.	35.361 fr.
	129.300 fr.	100.721 fr.	104.881 fr.

During the following years, OPF continued to support the missionary congregations steadily. The amounts of allocations generally had a standard. However, the amount received by the Lazarists and the Daughters of Charity doubled in 1866. Later, a general decrease in the allocations of OPF was observed between 1866 and 1870. The amount of this decrease had nearly reached fifty percent by 1870. Then a trend of increase began after 1870. The congregations except the Lazarists and the Daughters of Charity doubled their receiving from OPF between 1870 and 1875. Especially it was noteworthy that the allocations to the Jesuits increased from 25.000 Francs to 50.000 Francs. The reason for this significant increase was probably the opening of the Saint-Joseph University in Beirut, in 1875 which was an initiative supported by OPF. The statistics concerning the period were as follows:

Table 19: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1866²⁶², 1870²⁶³, 1875²⁶⁴

Congregation	1866	1870	1875
Mission des RR.PP. Capuchins in Syria	18.000 fr.	8.000 fr.	16.125 fr.
Mission of RR.PP Carmelites in Syria	10.600 fr.	5.000 fr.	10.000 fr.

²⁵⁹ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 34 (1862), pp. 192-193.

²⁶⁰ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 35 (1863), pp. 192-193.

²⁶¹ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 36 (1864), pp. 194-195.

²⁶² Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 39 (1867), pp. 189-190.

²⁶³ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 43 (1871), pp. 420-421.

²⁶⁴ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 48 (1876), p. 319.

Table 19 (continued)

Mission of Lazarists in Syria and establishment of Daughters of Charity in Beirut	42.000 fr.	27.000 fr.	35.000 fr.
Missions of Company of Jesus in Syria and College of Ghazir	20.500 fr.	25.000 fr.	50.000 fr.
Apostolic Delegation of Syria and for various Uniate Rites (Eastern Catholic Churches)	29.500 fr.	16.000 fr.	31.102 fr.
	120.000 fr.	81.000 fr.	142.227 fr.

The allocations of OPF generally remained stable between 1875 and 1880. The most significant change in this period was observed in the allocations given to the Syrian Apostolic Delegate and to the Eastern Catholics. OPF's allocations to them increased by nearly fifty percent between 1875 and 1880. Following these groups, the Capuchins' share from the allocations of OPF significantly increased. They used to receive an amount around 12.000 Francs per year until 1880. However, the amount reached 28.598 Francs in 1882 and then it was stabled around 20.000 Francs during the following years.

Table 20: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1880²⁶⁵, 1882²⁶⁶, 1885²⁶⁷

Congregation	1880	1882	1885
Mission des RR.PP. Capuchins in Syria	12.000 fr.	28.598 fr.	19.503 fr.
Mission of RR.PP Carmelites in Syria	8.000 fr.	12.000 fr.	8.000 fr.
Mission of Lazarists in Syria and establishment of Daughters of Charity in Beirut	38.000 fr.	40.006 fr.	35.000 fr.
Missions of Company of Jesus in Syria and College of Ghazir*	50.000 fr.	40.585 fr.	39.727 fr.
Apostolic Delegation of Syria and for various Uniate Rites (Eastern Catholic Churches)	43.805 fr.	37.034 fr.	48.435 fr.
	151.805 fr.	158.223 fr.	150.665 fr.

²⁶⁵ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 53 (1881), pp. 287-288.

²⁶⁶ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 55 (1883), p. 353.

²⁶⁷ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 58 (1886), p. 333.

* The College of Ghazir had taken part in the table of allocations in 1880 for the last time. By 1881 the allocations made to the Jesuits were shown as "Missions of Company of Jesus in Syria".

Table 21: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1890²⁶⁸, 1895²⁶⁹, 1900²⁷⁰

Congregation	1890	1895	1900
Mission des RR.PP. Capuchins in Syria	14.000 fr.	12.000 fr.	10.000 fr.
Mission of RR.PP Carmelites in Syria	6.000 fr.	4.000 fr.	4.000 fr.
Mission of Lazarists in Syria and establishment of Daughters of Charity in Beirut	43.000 fr.	46.000 fr.	40.000 fr.
Missions of Company of Jesus in Syria	37.000 fr.	39.000 fr.	37.960 fr.
Apostolic Delegation of Syria and for various Uniate Rites (Eastern Catholic Churches)	60.000 fr.	56.000 fr.	40.500 fr.
	160.000 fr.	157.000 fr.	132.460 fr.

Table 22: Allocations given to the Missions of Syria by OPF in 1905²⁷¹, 1910²⁷², 1911²⁷³

Congregation	1905	1910	1911
Mission des RR.PP. Capuchins in Syria	10.000 fr.	17.332 fr.	16.518 fr.
Mission of RR.PP Carmelites in Syria	5.000 fr.	9.173 fr.	8.861 fr.
Mission of Lazarists in Syria and establishment of Daughters of Charity in Beirut	39.000 fr.	42.420 fr.	39.200 fr.
Missions of Company of Jesus in Syria	45.350 fr.	44.912 fr.	71.333 fr.
Apostolic Delegation of Syria and for various Uniate Rites (Eastern Catholic Churches)	37.500 fr.	35.770 fr.	37.487 fr.
	136.850 fr.	149.607 fr.	173.399 fr.

A general survey of the accounts of OPF between 1860 and 1913 reveals that there was a constant increase in the incomes. While the Society had an annual income of 4.500.000 Francs in 1860 the amount exceeded 8.000.000 Francs in 1913. The amount of the French contributions for incomes remained almost the same through the years but its share within the total amount decreased. The French contribution to the OPF budget was nearly 3.000.000 Francs in the years of 1860 and 1913. Despite the stable contributions from France the income of OPF continued to considerably increase. This was mainly a result of the constant increase in the amount of contributions from the United States. The total contribution from North

²⁶⁸ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 63(1891), p. 398.

²⁶⁹ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 68(1896), pp. 410-411.

²⁷⁰ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 73(1901), pp.410-411.

²⁷¹ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 78 (1906), pp. 410-411.

²⁷² Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 83 (1911), p. 367.

²⁷³ Annales de la Propagation de la Foi, TOME 84 (1912), p. 367.

America was around 160.000 Francs in 1860. However, the United States individually provided nearly 2.200.000 Francs in 1913.

Although the incomes of OPF doubled from 1860 to 1913, its allocations to the Syria missions did not equally increase during the same period. In the absence of a certain explanation on the matter, this can be attributed to the fact that the missionary congregations in the region became stationary after a particular point. After 1860, the missions rapidly developed in terms of personnel and establishment. They founded many schools, hospitals, orphanages and other charitable establishments in the region, namely in Beirut and Mount Lebanon. However, it was obvious that although the existing establishments of the French missionaries continued to be active in the region, the foundation of new ones could be rarely seen by the end of the 19th Century. This fact became more apparent at the beginning of the 20th Century with the introduction of very strict secular and anti-clerical laws in France. The diminishing protection and support of France over the French missionaries kept them from taking new steps. Stagnation in the Syria missions was probably the main reason for decreasing allocations of OPF.

3.2 France and the French Catholic Missionaries

3.2.1 The French Character of the French Catholic Missionaries

By their very nature, the Catholic missions had an international character. The center that these missions depended on was the Holy See which administered and controlled the Catholic missions all over the world via the Propaganda Fide. The Catholic missions in the whole world were theoretically open to missionaries from all nations. In practice, however, some missions could largely stay homogeneous. From this perspective, there were also regional differences in the characteristics of missions. For example, the French missionaries formed the majority in such missions in Lebanon as Mount Lebanon, Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon. In most cases, the missionaries in these regions stressed their French identity and as such they were identified by the French diplomats. When expressions of the French officials and diplomats are considered it can be argued that all missionary establishments which taught French and received financial support from France were assumed as the French establishments.

Many accounts were made by the French diplomats concerning the French character of missionaries. As an example of such evaluations, Sienkiewicz, the French Consul-General in Beirut, had made a comparison between the Jesuits and Lazarists in his dispatch to the Quai d'Orsay. France had some plans to create new consulates in the Levant and Sienkiewicz expressed his opinions concerning possible agents to use in these consulates. According to him, the Jesuits and the Lazarists were two congregations in Syria that France could effectively use. He defined the Jesuits as qualified teachers and suggested their appointment to nearer regions. Here Sienkiewicz stressed a danger resulting from the partially international character of the Jesuits. He urged that in case of their appointment in regions which was remote from the control of the French consuls, they may forget their French character that they had to have unconditionally and this may cause undesirable consequences. On the other hand, the Consul-General was fully confident about the French character of the Lazarists despite their inferiority to the Jesuits in the field of education. Thus, according to him, they were more trustworthy people to be appointed in the remote regions²⁷⁴.

It was a very often repeated fact from the French point of view that the real French missionaries were the Lazarists and their female branch the Daughters of Charity. Petiteville, the Consul-General in Beirut, had called the Lazarists as “the most French” among the missionary congregations in the region²⁷⁵. Therefore, France was trying to exclude the Jesuits from the missionary activities in the Levant in favor of the Lazarists. Conversely, the Holy See was supporting the Jesuits and preferred to give the guidance of the Eastern Christians to the Jesuits. The Holy See considered the Jesuits as “the most educated and most respectful to the interests of Rome.”²⁷⁶ It is certain that the Jesuits were regarded “less French” by the French authorities. However, this does not mean that they were completely excluded by France. The Ghazir College and then the Saint-Joseph University, two of the most

²⁷⁴ De M. Sienkiewicz, Consul général de France à Beyrouth à M. Freycinet, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Beyrouth, 15 Septembre 1880), DP no. 34.

²⁷⁵ Note sur le Liban et la Syrie, De M. Petiteville, Consul général de France à Beyrouth à M. Flourens, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Beyrouth, Mars 1888), DP no. 65.

²⁷⁶ Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam*, pp. 130-133.

significant Jesuit establishments in Syria, were totally regarded as French establishments and they were supported by the French authorities. In the same report, the Consul-General Petiteville had stressed the notable influence of the Jesuits in Syria and noted 80.000 francs annual contribution to the SJU by the French government. This kind of support was probably an obligation for France because the role of the Jesuits was vital for the continuation of religious protection and cultural influence of France in the region. The Lazarists or any other congregation was far from playing such a role. As it was repeatedly mentioned by the French diplomats, the Jesuits were the most successful missionaries in the fields of higher and secondary education. On the other hand, France's position as the protector of the Latins and the Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire was very important for the Jesuits. Even though the Jesuits were under the spiritual authority of the Holy See they were subjected to the temporal authority of France at the same time. Protection offered by France was indispensable for the continuation and expansion of the Catholic missions.

For the missionaries, being French or pretending so was generally helpful to overcome many problems. Also the French establishments benefitted from the French protection against local authorities, other religious groups and missionary organizations. The French protection over the missionaries increasingly strengthened especially during the second half of the 19th Century. The letters sent from the orphanages in Beirut and Bikfaia in early 1860s had stressed the advantages provided by the name of France and the French protection. According to a letter from the Beirut Orphanages to OEO, "the name of Franc or French had a magical meaning in the Levant" despite the long distances with France. And this name was "causing both respect and fear on Muslims and it means a generous protection for Christians." Furthermore, the letter said that Lebanon was surrounded by "mortal enemies of Christianity" like Turks, Arabs, Druzes, Shiites and Ansaris and there was nothing to stop them but their fears from France²⁷⁷.

As an indication of their protection over the missionary establishments, the French diplomats were interfering on behalf of them in case of necessity. The

²⁷⁷ Lettre du R.P. Canuti, supérieur des deux Orphelinats de Beyrouth et de Biczfaya (Beyrouth, 15 Juillet 1862), à M. le directeur général de l'OEO, no. 17, Septembre 1862, pp. 173-178.

diplomats did not consider them as mere missionary establishments but accepted them as French establishments as well. Thus, they protected these establishments against both the Ottoman administration and local adversaries like the Protestant missionaries, the clergy of local churches and Muslims. Many concrete examples of this protection were indicated in the reports of the French diplomatic representatives. One of such cases was about the Ghazir College of the Jesuits.

In 1864, there had emerged a serious disagreement between the Ghazir College and local Christians concerning the water canals, which carried water to the College, and the problem remained unsolved for a long time. The problem worsened when the College's water pipes were cut and its walls were destructed by the people of Ghazir. Hereupon, the Jesuits laid their complaints to the Consulate-General of France in Beirut. The Consulate energetically and decisively moved in and brought the matter to Governor Davut Pasha's attention. By realizing that the matter was getting serious, the people of Ghazir had to submit their grief to the Jesuits and requested the withdrawal of their complaints. When it was informed about the request, the Consulate declared that the responsible for the events against the College had to be captured and punished by the Governorship of Lebanon for the closure of the case. While asking the views of the MAE on the matter, the Consul-General expressed his thoughts as follows: "If we ignore and do not intervene when a French establishment is threatened and attacked, this endangers the future and security of all of our establishments in Mount Lebanon. Thus, I did not neither accept nor decline the request for forgiveness. I leave the decision up to you on the matter."²⁷⁸ In his reply to the letter, the Minister of Foreign Affairs expressed his approval concerning the approach and language assumed by the Consulate and ordered the continuation of consistent attitude in the process of taking new decisions.²⁷⁹

Another evidence of the French character of the missionary establishments in the Levant was that they regularly received financial support from France. As these establishments were giving service to the France's cultural and diplomatic interests it

²⁷⁸ De M. Ceccaldi, Gérant le Consulat général de France à Beyrouth, à M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Beyrouth, 6 Mars 1864), DP no. 7.

²⁷⁹ De M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Ministre des Affaires étrangères à M. Ceccaldi, Gérant le Consulat général de France à Beyrouth (Paris, 18 Mars 1864), DP no. 1.

was natural for them to be supported by France. This tradition continued during the times of both imperial and republican France. The missionary establishments were openly regarded as French by the French authorities while giving support to them. An example of this understanding was revealed during the debates in the French Parliament in 1890. A sum of 520.000 Francs had been suggested for the budget of the MAE for the year of 1891 to make allocations to the French establishments, to schools and various religious groups in the Levant. In his speech in the Parliament, Jules Delafosse, a conservative member of parliament, stressed the important role of religious establishments in the Levant by teaching French and making charitable works and he proposed an increase of allocations. Delafosse's definition of "our religious establishments in the Levant" was a clear stress on the French character of these establishments. Another member of parliament among the Radicals, Douville-Maillefeu, urged that all congregations, no matter they were men or women or what clothes they wore, had a certain commitment to France and he expressed his respect to the French character of the Catholic congregations in Syria and Palestine. The common point stressed by the members of parliament was that the French missionaries were playing a significant role in the increase of respect among Eastern Christians toward France and in the propagation of French.²⁸⁰

In his report to the MAE, Taillandier, the Consul-General in Beirut, reminded that Italian had been the lingua-Franca forty years ago and said that "thenceforth French has increasingly become the leading language in this region thanks to the increasing number of our religious establishments, the foundation of the Faculty of Medicine and huge investments of Frenchmen."²⁸¹ Two points were noteworthy in this report. Firstly, the missionary establishments in the region were explicitly defined as the French establishments. Secondly, their contribution to the propagation of French in the region was stressed.

Increasing activities of missionaries from different nations and religions in the Levant motivated in time, especially in the late 19th Century, the French

²⁸⁰ Les Ecoles d'Orient devant le Parlement Français, *Oeuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, no. 181, Novembre 1890, pp. 401-403.

²⁸¹ De M. Taillandier, Consul général de France à Beyrouth à M. Develle, *Ministre des Affaires étrangères* (Beyrouth, 13 Juillet 1893), DP no. 24.

missionaries to emphasize their French identity more strongly. In addition to the increasing number of the Catholic missionaries from such nations as Italian, Spanish and German, the Orthodox missionaries having Russian support and the Protestant missionaries having American, British and German support seriously menaced the influence of the French missionaries in the region. Such developments enforced the French missionaries to strongly express their national identities as well as their religious identities.

The German Emperor Wilhelm II's visit to the Ottoman Empire in 1898 demonstrated some typical examples of how the French missionaries perceived their existence connected to the French interests and how they stressed their French character. Through the end of the 19th century, the Ottoman-German relations were developing and the Germany's interest in the Near East was increasing. Under such circumstances, Wilhelm II's visit had raised a disturbance among the French missionaries because this would also increase the influence of German missionaries while reducing their influence. However, Father Charmetant, a French clergyman, seemed confident about the supremacy of the French religious existence in the region. According to his evaluation, Catholicism and Frenchness were nearly synonymous in the Levant and he emphasized these two integral characteristics of the missionary establishments by saying that Wilhelm II "will see our strongly established French Catholic institutions in Constantinople, Beirut, Damascus, Jerusalem and Egypt." He also reported that every year, thousands of missionaries and priests were teaching "French and principles of French civilization" to more than 80.000 youngster from different nations, languages and religions at many charitable works and at more than 6000 schools. By saying this, Father Charmetant was revealing missionaries' attachment to the French identity. He continued that "...our religious establishments are the real fortresses of the French protection and our missionaries are the most zealous propagators of our national interests in the Levant. In all oriental languages, Frank means Christian and French."²⁸² This interpretation clearly reveals that the French missionary activities included a serious national commitment and national identity as well as religious and international meaning.

²⁸² Croisade en Faveur du Protectorat Catholique de la France en Orient, Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient, no. 228, Septembre/Octobre 1898, pp. 425- 428.

By considering above mentioned expressions it can be questioned whether there was a nationalist spirit among the French missionaries? This is a quite speculative question and it is open to polemics. Father Perbal, who was an author of important work on the relation between the French missionaries and nationalism, had expressed his doubts about the matter and claimed that nationalism and missionary work are concepts which cannot be consistent with each other. He urged that nationalism cannot reconcile with the values of missionary work. By making a distinction between nationalism and patriotism, he saw the latter as a more proper concept to reconcile with missionary work.²⁸³

Although it is not possible to easily assert that the French missionaries brought nationalism in the foreground it can still be argued that they emphasized the French character of themselves and their activities. Moreover they were proud of their French character. This approach of the French missionaries was mostly caused by a necessity. The general character of their relations with the Italian prelates appointed by the Holy See and missionaries from various nations in the Levant forced the French missionaries to emphasize their French identity. The role played by missionaries in the 19th Century and the golden age of the Western imperialism, was enforcing such an understanding. That is to say that the missionaries had to defend the interests of their homelands that they “represented” as well as Catholicism that they were assigned to propagate. In this sense, they were not only under the service of God but also of France. Thus, the French authorities were closely and continuously monitoring the missionaries.

The French missionaries’ patriotism and their loyalty to France were always important matters for the French authorities. The celebrations of the 14 July, which had been designed as the national day in 1880, were functional for testing the missionaries’ patriotism and loyalty. The French diplomatic representatives were regularly submitting reports to the MAE concerning the celebrations held in the consulates. These reports were also giving details on the participation of the missionaries and their attitudes during the celebrations. Jullemier, the Consul-General in Beirut, had defined the participation of the French colony to the national

²⁸³ R.P. Perbal, *Les Missionnaires Français et le Nationalisme*, Paris: Librairie de l’Arc 1939, pp. 13-43.

day celebrations as a demonstration of patriotism. However, according to the report of Jullemier, the French missionaries had been poorly represented in previous years and only the Frères, and since the last two years, also the Jesuits had been taking part in “this patriotic event”. The Lazarists and the Italian religious men and the Apostolic Delegate under the French protection had not attended the celebrations in the French Consulate in Beirut until 1895, when all these groups gathered in the Consulate in order to show their respect to “the protector nation”. Jullemier especially called attention to the fact that the Lazarists had not been previously represented in the celebrations. However, he gladly reported that Father Bouvy, the Superior of the Lazarists in Syria, attended the celebration in 1895 and exposed his “patriotic feelings” for France and expressed “enthusiastic patriotism” of the members of his congregation.²⁸⁴

As it was indicated in the report of Jullemier, 14 July was a day for the Church that was reviving the venomous days of the French Revolution. Thus, it was not easy for the clergy and missionaries to enthusiastically attend the celebrations of that day. This was probably the reason for the French diplomats’ concern on the attendance of religious men, who were expected to show their respect to the protection of secular France. This was enforcing the missionaries to make a patriotic spectacle, whether voluntarily or compulsorily.

3.2.2 Functionality of the Missionary Activities for France

The French approach on the religious protection, in general, and on the protection of the missionary establishments was very pragmatic. For France, there had been no problem between the state and the Church before 1870, when the French Empire ended and the Third Republic was declared. The Church, which had experienced serious troubles during the political turmoil periods since the French Revolution, found the chance of recovery during the reign of Louis Napoleon (r. 1852-1870). In this period, the French Empire preferred to establish close relations with the Church in France and abroad. In parallel with this, the efficiency of the French missions highly increased. Also, the French administration supported the

²⁸⁴ De M. Jullemier, Gérant le Consulat général de France à Beyrouth, à M. Hanotaux, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Beyrouth, 18 Juillet 1895), DP no. 34.

missionary activities by realizing their utility for an active foreign policy and imperial interests.

The collapse of the French Empire after the disastrous defeat at the German-French War of 1870 was heralding a new crisis for the Church. The new administration of the French Republic rapidly assumed an anti-Church attitude as it was very suspicious about the Church's and congregations' pro-monarchist inclinations. Although such inclinations really existed among the members of the Church and congregations, the missionaries especially avoided from openly expressing their real thoughts and they continuously enounced their respect and loyalty to France ²⁸⁵ . Both diplomatic correspondences and missionary correspondences included numerous statements showing this approach of the missionaries. Assuming such an approach by the missionaries was probably a result of the sad experiences of the past. The missionaries were well aware of the fact that any dispute with the French administration would lead to disastrous consequences on their works.

The fear of the missionaries became true and the relations between the French administration and the missionaries were seriously tested with the adoption of secular laws in 1880. These laws seriously confined educational activities of the Church and missionary congregations. As it was previously mentioned many teachers from the missionary schools had to leave France for new opportunities.

It was a matter of concern that developments in France would make unfavorable impacts on the missionaries in other countries. It is understood from a report of Sienkiewicz, the Consul-General in Beirut, that this concern rapidly reached the Ottoman Empire and there emerged a curiosity among the Christian subjects of the Empire. The Consul-General reported the developments and explained his thoughts to the MAE as follows:

Religious matters, which caused lately a certain excitement in France, have also aroused, as it can be easily predicted, a curiosity in our religious protégé Syria and possibly in other Eastern countries. Clergymen and some other notables asked whether France would leave or not her ancient protection. When I arrived in Syria, in order to struggle with some disturbing assumptions, I explained on all occasions our determination to pursue our traditional protection

²⁸⁵ Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam*, pp. 136-137.

over the clergy... In order to reveal nothing has changed in our traditional role I first visited the college of the Jesuits before any other French and Eastern Christians. I thanked to teachers and students for welcome celebrations and I expressed that France is concerned with the intellectual development of the Syrian youth ever more than before...²⁸⁶

The obvious support of France to the missionary congregations can be attributed to the imperialistic concerns. The missionaries had an important role to play for the French interests. In addition to political and economic aspects, imperialism also had a cultural aspect and the missionary activities constituted a significant part of it. In other words, the missionaries were the soft power of imperialism. The missionary activities were regarded in the context of “civilizing mission” by the French administrations. The concept of “civilizing mission” was a strong argument of the 19th Century imperialistic discourse and it was often repeated by the French administrations. Prime-minister Jules Ferry had clearly stressed in 1885 that “superior races has a mission of civilizing inferior races”. Upon this understanding, the French educators honored “the civilizing genius of France and her civilizing mission on the inferior races.”²⁸⁷ The French schools everywhere were, of course, the most useful instruments to realize the civilizing mission. This fact was very influential on the French administrations’ hesitation to apply secular laws of 1880 outside France.

The phrase of “secularism is not an exportation product” was the most obvious demonstration of making distinction between the Catholic establishments in France and abroad in 1880s. Along with the above mentioned quotations, it can be asserted that this understanding was a general tendency assumed by the French statesmen. Despite the usefulness of missionary activities for France, relations between missionaries and the French administration had never been easy during the Third Republic. There was always a delicate balance to establish between the strict secularist approach in France and the usefulness of religious congregations abroad. At the beginning of the 20th Century, two third of all Catholic missionaries all over the world were Frenchmen. This was indicating to an important power for political,

²⁸⁶ De M. Sienkiewics, Consul général de France à Beyrouth à M. Freycinet, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Beyrouth, 14 Avril 1880), DP no. 6.

²⁸⁷ Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d’Islam*, pp. 121-122.

economic and cultural interests of France in different parts of the world. However, in 1901 and in 1904, new strict secular laws were made in France and activities of the congregations were widely banned in France. Nearly thirty thousand male and female missionaries had to leave France in order to escape from unfavorable conditions.²⁸⁸

While the secular schools were being founded and missionary schools were being closed by the French government in France, the French administrators continued to send certain instructions to the diplomatic representatives for the protection and support of missionaries. For example, although all institutions of the Lazarists in France except their headquarter and several establishments were closed, the MAE informed the French consul in Damascus that France did not have any thought to cease the Lazarist activities in the region. Moreover, after the secular laws of 1904, the Lazarist missions did not suffer from any decrease in allocations made by the French government.²⁸⁹

This duality was a matter of ongoing political dispute in France. The radical left in France was objecting to the support given by France to the foreign missions as this was perceived as a practice against secularism. On the other hand, there were defenders of such a policy by stressing the advantages of missionary activities for the French interests. In his article published in *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1903, Anatole Leroy Beaulieu said that missionaries, who were an “unpaid and passive instrument”, were serving France all over the world by propagating the French spirit, ideas, language and literature. Thus, according to him, “anticlericalism was a policy of national suicide for France”.²⁹⁰

The dynamics of relations between missionaries and France had a very complicated character. It is essential to keep in mind that this character was highly varying according to periodical and regional changes. However, it was clear that

²⁸⁸ Patrick Cabanel, « Catholicisme et Laïcité, articles d'exportation dans la République coloniale? », *Religion et Colonisation*, eds. Dominique Borne et Benoit Falaize, Paris : Les Editions de l'Atelier, 2009, pp. 55-57. The phrase of “secularism is not an exportation product” (*La laïcité n'est pas un produit d'exportation*) is mostly attributed to the French statesman Gambetta. However, according to Cabanel, this phrase was delivered by Paul Bert, a French politician and scientist, in 1885.

²⁸⁹ Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en terre d'Islam*, pp. 274-278.

²⁹⁰ Cabanel, *Catholicisme et Laïcité*, p. 58.

France generally regarded missionaries as a functional mean for her imperialistic interests and supported their activities.²⁹¹ In this frame, despite some disputes among the French politicians, France continued to support the French missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. Even the foundation of mission laics, which were supported by France as the agents of the propagation of French culture and education in the Ottoman Empire, did not cause the ignoring of the French Catholic missions. The role played by missionaries in the 19th Century, which was the golden age of Western imperialism, was imposing such an understanding. Missionaries were not only defenders of Catholicism but also of interests of their motherland they “represented”. That is to say that they were not only in the service of God but also of France.

3.2.3 The Role of French Missionaries in the Propagation of the French Language and Culture

Students educated in the missionary schools were receiving a religious and scientific formation. The capacity of these schools and teachers were highly influencing the capacity and attitude of the students. There were hundreds of mission schools attached to the Syria Mission in many villages. Most of these schools were only giving a basic training like reading and writing and they did not have a strong or permanent influence on the students. Most of the teachers working at these schools were native Christians. These teachers were trained and encouraged by missionaries to open new schools among their coreligionists. However, missionaries paid more attention to the students attending the seminaries and the colleges. Missionaries also had a more direct and stronger influence on these young students. Seminaries and colleges were the institutions directly run by missionaries and their staff was composed of missionary teachers from religious and laic backgrounds. One of the main aims of these schools was to raise the distinguished personalities of the future in social, political and economic fields.

²⁹¹ For the relationship between missionaries and colonialism and a comprehensive evaluation on the role of missions see. Claude Prudhomme, *Missions Chrétiennes et Colonisations (XVIe-XXe siècle)*, Paris : Les Editions du CERF 2004 ; Dominique Borne et Benoit Falaize, eds., *Religion et Colonisation* , Paris : Les Editions de l’Atelier, 2009.

The basis of the French missionary education was to teach doctrines of the Catholic faith. Not only Catholic students but also students from other religions were receiving a strong Catholic teaching. This understanding was the main characteristic of education beginning from orphanages or primary schools to colleges. Missionaries in the region repeatedly emphasized the importance of the Catholic education for children and youth. According to Sister Pesin from the Daughters of Charity, children in the Saint-Charles Orphanage were receiving “the light of faith with a Christian education.”²⁹² Another missionary in the region, Father Badour from the Jesuits, had said that “young people born in an infidel country would find a chance to grow according to the Catholic faith from now on”. And he continued that thanks to Catholic education, these young people would be protected from “dangerous works of Russian Orthodox and Protestants.”²⁹³

The French missionaries made a great effort to stick their students at Catholic faith and to protect them from “harmful impacts” of other religions. According to them, the devotion to Catholicism was the common peculiarity of all students educated by missionaries. Another peculiarity of these students was their respect and admiration to France and all kinds of values regarding France. Thus, missionaries were contributing to the rise of new generations attached both to Catholicism and the French culture. Correspondences of missionaries and diplomatic representatives included numerous samples of great admiration to France and Frenchmen shown by students at the French missionary schools.

According to accounts of the French pilgrims, who visited the Ghazir College in 1860 after their visit to the Holy Places, they were acclaimed by the students with a huge enthusiasm and sympathy. They expressed that the attention shown to them was very impressive. The students of the College from different ethnicities like Greek, Maronite, Armenian and Arab cheered both the pilgrims and France. Also the students of the College performed *The Miser* of Moliere in order to show their knowledge of French and to please the visitors. According to the visitors, this play

²⁹² L’Orphelinat Saint-Charles à Beyrouth, par Sœur Pesin, Fille de la Charité, Œuvre des Ecoles d’Orient, no. 61, Janvier 1870, p. 24.

²⁹³ Lettre du R.P. Badour, de la Société de Jésus (Beyrouth, 26 Aout 1872), Œuvre des Ecoles d’Orient, no. 74, Janvier 1873, p. 14.

performed with “poor French” was indicating that the young generation at the College situated in Mount Lebanon was rising with French and the French culture.²⁹⁴

After his visit to the Ghazir College of the Jesuits and the Antoura College of the Lazarists in 1864, Captain Fain, the commander of the French military force in Lebanon, sent a report to MAE about his observations. In his report, Captain Fain stressed not only the sympathy of the students to France but also a new kind of political conscious arising among the students against the Ottoman administration. According to him, the students of these colleges were rising “in joy, confidence and pride and by applauding France”. This new youth was a “completely new generation” and they would only be satisfied with new ideas. Thus, Captain Fain asserted, this new generation would recognize neither Turkey nor its administration in the future. His observations were also shared by Davut Pasha, the Governor of Lebanon. He had accompanied Captain Fain during his visit to Mount Lebanon and he had said to the Jesuit priests that they were “rising revolutionaries at their school”. This fact was openly admitted by the Jesuits. Father Henry from the Ghazir College had claimed that they were making a new nation and that all Christians and some Druzes would uprising to breakup from the Ottoman Empire whenever the French Emperor Louis Napoleon demanded.²⁹⁵

Observations indicated in the report of Captain Fain were important as they were revealing the new spirit of the students attending the missionary schools. It should also be considered that the report was submitted in 1864, when the traumatic impacts of the 1860 events were still continuing. Thus, it is possible to mention the existence of a rebellious or revolutionary spirit among the Christian youth. However, the Jesuit missionaries preferred to use a more cautious language in the coming years. In 1869, they said that the sole aim of the Ghazir College was to raise “faithful, smart, honest people who can produce new ideas and can use them for the sake of their country.”²⁹⁶

²⁹⁴ Une Visite au Collège de Ghazir, Œuvre des Ecoles d’Orient, no. 8, Mars 1860, pp. 4-5.

²⁹⁵ Le Capitaine Fain, Chef du personnel militaire français au Liban, à M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Deir el-Kamar, 20 Février 1864).

²⁹⁶ Prospectus imprimé par les RP. PP. Jésuites sur leur établissement de Ghazir, Œuvre des Ecoles d’Orient, no. 60, Novembre 1869, p. 377.

Similar observations were also portrayed by Consul-General Essard. During his visit to Mount Lebanon he was received with enthusiastic ceremonies which had been organized by the Jesuit and Lazarist priests and attended by the students from the Antoura and Ghazir Colleges and local Christian people. The crowd celebrated Essard's visit with songs, dances and gun shots and they cheered for France and the consul-general. After portraying this excitement, Essard stated that all these celebrations and praises were for France in his personality and he understood the responsibilities of his position.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷ De M. Essard, Consul général de France à Beyrouth, à M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Ministre des Affaires étrangères (Beyrouth, 3 Mai 1865), DP no. 6. It should be indicated that the consuls of the other states were also received with a certain respect and enthusiasm by Catholics of Mount Lebanon. However, the level of their enthusiasm could change according to the conditions of time. For example, according to the statement of Captain Fain, the Russian Consul-General had been welcomed much more enthusiastically in his visit to Deir el-Kamar in comparison with the British Consul-General. Lübnan'daki Fransız Askeri Personelinin Komutanı Yüzbaşı Fain'den Dışişleri Bakanı Drouyn de Lhuys'a (Deir el-Kamar, 2 Ağustos 1865).

CHAPTER 4

CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT MISSIONARY RIVALRY FOR THE SUPREMACY IN THE LEVANT

4.1 The Arrival of the Protestant Missionaries in the Middle East

Protestantism emerged in the 16th Century but its institutionalism became possible at the end of a long and problematic process including many wars and political struggles in Europe. The expansion of Protestantism outside of Europe remained quite limited for a long period. This was closely connected to the fact that there was no Protestant nation that was effective in colonial and trade activities in the first century of the religion. Therefore, Protestants did not have enough opportunity to propagate their religion in other continents. Later, British and Dutch Empires began to rise as colonial Protestant powers from the late 16th century having significant economic activities in different parts of the world. The first Protestant missionary society was the “Corporation for Propagation of the Gospel in New England” which was created in 1649 by the decision of the Long Parliament in Britain.²⁹⁸

The late 18th Century and early 19th Century were the periods when the Protestant missions began to institutionalize. In Britain, the Baptist Missionary Society in 1795 and London Missionary Society in 1799 were founded. Those missionaries who were the members of the Church of England gathered under the roof of the Church Missionary Society in 1799. Other important missionary societies outside of Britain were founded in the United States. The establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the most significant missionary organization in the US, happened in 1810. Then, the American Baptists in 1814 and the American Bible Society in 1816 were founded.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Stephen L. Baldwin, *Foreign Missions of the Protestant Churches*, Eaton & Mains Press, New York, 1900, p. 84.

²⁹⁹ K.S. Latourette, “Protestant Missions”, *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Volume 9, Mc Grow-Hill Book Company, New York, 1967.

The activities of the Protestant missionaries in Northern America had begun in the 17th Century and their primary aim was to convert “infidels” into the Protestant faith. However, they were also considering the expansion of missionary activities in the remote parts of the world. This was indicated in the constitution of the first missionaries in the US which stated that the aim of missions was “the diffusion of the knowledge of gospel among the heathen as well as other people in the remote parts of the earth.” Despite this expression, missions “in the remote parts of the earth” had been ignored for a long time.³⁰⁰

As they began their activities later compared to the Catholics, the arrival of the Protestant missionaries in the Near East happened later as well. The crisis of the Catholic missions in the 18th Century had given an opportunity to the Protestant missionaries to intensify their activities in the region. The suppression of all the Jesuit missions between 1759 and 1773 and anticlerical developments in France following the French Revolution had caused the regression of the Catholic missions. These developments were influential in the beginning of the Protestant missionary activities in the Near East.³⁰¹ And a rivalry between Protestants and Catholics began as soon as the Protestant missionaries arrived in the region. The ABCFM announced in 1811 that “the great pillars of the Papal and Mahomedan impostures are now tottering to their fall...Now is the time for the followers of Christ to come forward boldly and engage earnestly in the great work of enlightening and reforming mankind.”³⁰² By beginning their activities in the Ottoman Empire, the ABCFM could find the proper place to work for all their ambitions.

The first Protestant missionaries appointed by the ABCFM to the Near Eastern missions were Pliny Fisk and Levi Parsons³⁰³. The decision for their sending

³⁰⁰ James L. Barton, “One Hundred Years of American Missions: An Interpretation”, *The North American Review*, Vol. 183, No. 601 (Oct. 19, 1906), p. 746.

³⁰¹ Ronald Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914*, 2nd edition, Macmillan Press, London, 1993, pp. 91-92.

³⁰² Marwa Elshakry, “The Gospel of Science and American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut”, *Past and Present*, no. 196 (August 2007), p. 174.

³⁰³ For detailed information about the “seven pioneers” of the Protestant missions in Syria, who were Levi Parsons (the Explorer), Pliny Fisk (the Linguist and Preacher), Jonas King (the Apostle of Modern Greece), Isaac Bird (the Historian), William Goodell (the Scholarly Saint), Eli Smith (the Linguist and the Translator of the Sacred Scriptures) and William M. Thomson (the Explorer), see

to the region had been taken in 1818 but they arrived in the Ottoman Empire in 1820. They firstly settled in Smyrna and began the preparations for their missionary activities. At that time, the plan was to make Jerusalem the permanent center of the Near Eastern mission. Fisk and Parsons were instructed concerning their missionary duties as follows³⁰⁴:

You will survey with earnest attention the various tribes and classes who dwell in that land and in the surrounding countries. The two grand inquiries ever present in your minds will be, "What good can be done?" and "By what means?" What can be done for Jews? What for pagans? What for Mohammedans? What for Christians? What for the people in Palestine? What for those in Egypt, in Syria, in Armenia, in other countries to which your inquiries may be extended?

Fisk arrived in Beirut on July 10, 1823 and initiated the Protestant missionary activities in the region.³⁰⁵ The choice of Beirut for the beginning of activities was a deliberate action and there were several significant reasons for this choice. First of all, Beirut offered a more secure environment for the Protestant missionaries' activities as there was a British Consulate in Beirut and also there existed the protection of the British Navy. Secondly, Beirut was a commercially developing town and there were many Western traders and merchants.³⁰⁶ Thus, there was a considerable population which could support the Protestant missionaries. Another point which made Beirut a magnet for the Protestant missionaries was the strategically important position of the town as a gate for Syria and Palestine. Thus, having a strong missionary station in Beirut was crucial for the next steps in the region.

Like the Catholic missionaries, the Protestant missionaries had arrived in the Near East by considering themselves as the carrier of superior values. According to their perceptions, they had been commissioned to save the Biblical places, where Jesus Christ was born and the Bible emerged, from "barbarism, corruption and

Henry Jessup, *Fifty-Three Years in Syria*, vol. 1, New York: Fleming H. Ravell Company, 1910, pp. 31-65.

³⁰⁴ James Thayer Addison, *The Christian Approach to the Moslem*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1942, pp. 81-82.

³⁰⁵ Bayard Dodge, *The American University of Beirut*, Khayat's, Beirut, 1958, p. 6.

³⁰⁶ Brian Van De Mark, *American Sheikhs*, Prometheus Books, Amherst, New York, 2012, p. 33.

superstitions.” Their primary mission was to “civilize” the people of the region by spreading Western education and culture in the region. Also this mission was a kind of Crusade with a new method and understanding. The missionaries regarded themselves as a part of “historical battle between Christian advancement and Islamic despotism.”³⁰⁷

Although the Middle East was a densely populated region and there were many Christian groups in the region, it had remained untouched by the Protestant missionaries until the 19th Century. This was the main reason for the rise of the ABCFM’s attention to the region. Fisk had said that converting these people into Protestantism would be a great achievement for Christianity. On the other hand, Samuel Newell defined Islam as a heretical branch of Christianity and claimed that activities in the Middle East would bring fruitful results.³⁰⁸

When the instructions given to the first missionaries were considered, their primary objective was to reach “nominal Christians” from the Eastern rites and Jews.³⁰⁹ However, when they arrived in the region the missionaries suddenly realized that the realities of the Levant were quite different from their imaginations. Neither Jews nor other Christians or the so-called “nominal Christians” welcomed the Protestant missionaries. Moreover, the missionaries did not have the right of openly working on Muslims because of the Islamic laws of the Ottoman Empire. Under such circumstances, a laborious task was waiting the Protestant missionaries.

The Protestant missionaries, firstly, had to create a Protestant community in order to increase their influence in the region. However, this was not so easy. When they began to work for this purpose, the Protestant missionaries suddenly came up against the Eastern Churches and the Catholic missionaries. At the very early stages of the Protestant missionaries’ arrival in the Ottoman Empire, in 1824-25, their adversaries were able to secure an imperial decree interdicting the distribution of

³⁰⁷ Usama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism*, University of California Press, London, 2000, p. 16.

³⁰⁸ Waheeb George Antakly, *American Protestant Educational Missions: Their Influence on Syria and Arab Nationalism, 1820-1923*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, The American University, Washington, 1975, p. 49.

³⁰⁹ Jeremy Salt, “Trouble Wherever They Went: American Missionaries in Anatolia and Ottoman Syria in the Nineteenth Century”, *The Muslim World*, Vol. 92, Fall 2002 (pp. 287–313), p. 290.

religious publications by the Protestant missionaries.³¹⁰ The Catholic missionaries and the clergy of the Eastern Churches seriously reacted against the propagation of the evangelical teachings among the members of the Uniate Churches and took preventive measures against conversions to Protestantism.³¹¹ For example, those who converted to Protestantism or who sent their children to the Protestant schools were severely beaten or totally excluded from the society. Especially the Maronites had a very rigid attitude in such cases.³¹² Thus, at the beginning, the Protestant missionaries could not get a strong base in Mount Lebanon where the Maronites constituted an overwhelming majority. Like the Maronites, the clergy of the Greek Catholic Church was adamantly warning its community not to send their children to the Protestant school.³¹³

The Protestant missionaries distributed bibles and tried to open a college in order to gain new believers in Lebanon. However, the Maronite Patriarch's threat of excommunication was generally enough to estrange people from the Protestant missionaries. Religious publications distributed by the Protestant missionaries were being seized and the missionaries were being driven. The pressure over Protestants reached such a point that "any British could not even travel in Mount Lebanon."³¹⁴ Both the fear of losing their community members and inculcations of the Catholic missionaries were the main reasons for the Maronite and the Greek Catholic patriarchates' certain antagonism against the Protestant missionaries.

Despite the burdens of the first years the Protestant missionaries continued their activities. However, they realized that they could not achieve any significant result with preaches of small number of missionaries and with the distribution of religious publications. Hereupon, the Protestant missionaries understood that the best way of reaching the native people, perhaps the only way, was education in an

³¹⁰ Caesar E. Farah, "Protestantism and British Diplomacy in Syria", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 7 (1976), pp. 321-344.

³¹¹ Ömer Turan, *Avrasya'da Misyonerlik*, ASAM Yayınları, Ankara 2002, pp. 9-10.

³¹² Daniel Bliss, *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, ed. Fredrick J. Bliss, Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1920, p. 103.

³¹³ Kamal Salibi, *The Modern History of Lebanon*, Praeger, New York, 1965, pp. 161-162.

³¹⁴ Louis de Baudicour, *La France en Syrie*, Dentu et Challamel, Paris, 1860, p. 13.

environment where strict community rules were in force.³¹⁵ When Fisk arrived in Beirut with Jonas King, who was a missionary and Orientalist and had studied Arabic in Paris, he detected that it was necessary to use specific methods to reach the people of the region. Using Arabic in education and establishing a more direct communication with the people were among his suggestions. This understanding significantly contributed to the success of the Protestant missionaries in the following years.³¹⁶

4.2 The Rivalry between Catholic and Protestant Missionaries in Syria and Lebanon after the Egyptian Occupation

It can be argued that the increase in the influence of the Protestant missionaries in the Near East began after the Egyptian occupation in Syria. The French campaign to occupy Egypt in the late 19th Century with the aim of becoming the most influential power in the Eastern Mediterranean had been a daring but unsuccessful policy. France regarded the revolt of Mehmed Ali Pasha against the Ottoman Empire and his occupation in Syria as a fresh opportunity to increase her influence in the region. France had remained for a while behind the British Empire on nearly all strategic issues related to the Ottoman Empire and she did not want to miss such an opportunity that would serve her interests.³¹⁷ Thus, France gave a strong support to Mehmed Ali Pasha and assumed a very active role in the question. However, an Egyptian supremacy in the Eastern Mediterranean under French hegemony seemed unacceptable for the British economic and political interests in the region. Thus, Britain gave a strong support to the Ottoman Empire for retrieving Syria.

Although diplomatic developments were another matter of discussion it should be stressed that there happened some significant political and social changes in Lebanon during the Egyptian occupation in Syria. The Amir of Lebanon and

³¹⁵ Abdul Latif Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria, 1801–1901*, Oxford University Press, London, 1966, p. 51.

³¹⁶ Antakly, *American Protestant Educational Missions*, pp. 54-55.

³¹⁷ Mathew Burrows, “Mission Civilisatrice”: French Cultural Policy in the Middle East, 1860-1914”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Mar., 1986), p. 113.

Catholics in the region submitted their loyalty to Ibrahim Pasha and received an extensive religious freedom in return. The long standing French influence in the region, especially on Catholics, enabled the establishment of a compromise between France and Egypt. The new epoch was also pleasing for the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who had been traditionally exposed to some social and religious limitations despite their extensive rights in the community matters.³¹⁸ As an indication of changing patterns, Ibrahim Pasha had sent an order to the governor of Lattakia as follows³¹⁹:

Muslims and Christians are all our subjects. The question of religion has no connection with political considerations. (In religious matters) every individual must be left alone: the believer to practice his Islam and the Christians his Christianity. But no one to have authority over the other...

Along with the Christian communities, the Catholic missionaries benefited from the new situation and considerably strengthened their existence and activities in the region. On the other hand, the Protestant missionaries suffered from the changing conditions and their activities weakened. However, the withdrawal of the Egyptian armies from Syria in 1840 with the intervention of Great Britain and Russia not only gave harm to the French political influence in the region but also paved the way for the increase in the Protestant missionary activities under the British protection. Hereafter, political and religious rivalries between France and Great Britain continued with missionary activities.

The Protestant missionaries were well aware of the fact that the only way of being persistent in the region was to have a political support. Catholics had the French and Orthodox had the Russian protections and they were actively using these protections. Thus, the American Protestant missionaries, who constituted the largest share of the Protestant missions in the region, sought the ways of guaranteeing a similar protection and they came closer to Great Britain. Nevin Moore, the British Consul-General in Beirut, especially established close ties with them and he tried to

³¹⁸ Ussama Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, Cornell University Press, 2008, p. 34.

³¹⁹ David D. Grafton, *The Christians of Lebanon: Political Rights in Islamic Law*, Tauris Academic Studies, London, 2003, p. 67.

strengthen connections between the British diplomatic representatives and the Protestant missionaries.³²⁰

The main reason for the American missionaries' rapprochement to Great Britain was the weakness of the American diplomatic presence in the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish-American relations had begun at the end of the 18th Century but the extent of the relations remained very limited for a long time. Although the first American merchantman had arrived in Smyrna in the 1780s no American merchantman arrived in Istanbul until 1800. The average number of American vessels visiting the Port of Smyrna was only twelve in a year until 1820. Although the first trade agreement between the two states was signed in 1830 the American trading activities in the Ottoman Empire remained highly limited until the 1860s.³²¹ Similarly, there was no American diplomatic presence in the Ottoman Empire and in the absence of American protection the American Protestant missionaries could get the required protection from Great Britain. The British diplomatic representatives supported them whenever they needed. This relation reached such a high level that the American missionaries were considered as "British" by the local people as they were under the British protection and they spoke English.³²²

Missionaries' need for a strong political support did not mean that there was a unilateral advantage for them. Missionary activities were also providing some opportunities for the supporting states. To have patronage of a religious group was very crucial to become influential in Syria. France and Russia had found the chance of interfering to various international issues in the region by using their patronages. France assumed the patronage of Catholics, chiefly Maronites, and Russia assumed the patronage of the Greek Orthodox Christians. Great Britain similarly needed a community in the region, on which she would be influential or would assume a certain patronage. However, the Protestant population in the Ottoman Empire and particularly in Syria was insufficient to assert such a claim. Concerning the patronage over a religious community, an American missionary in the region, Eli Smith, had

³²⁰ Farah, *Protestantism and British Diplomacy in Syria*, p. 322.

³²¹ Daniel, *American Influences in the Near East Before 1861*, pp. 72–73.

³²² Makdisi, *Artillery of Heaven*, p. 10.

said “England has no influence but could have it if she wanted” and continued as follows³²³:

...if she had to compete only with the government of Constantinople or of Egypt... (she) would have the multitude in her favor; yet if the question be between her and Russia, or France, she has no such a party attached to her interests...How different would be the case if a Protestant sect existed there, naturally looking to her for countenance and protection? And to no other government could they look. If, for example liberty were granted, through her influence to the Druses of Lebanon, to profess Protestantism (sic) without molestation, what powerful body of friends would she at once call into existence. For it is acknowledged on all hands, that there is not another so brave and warlike a people in Syria, as the Druses...If it is argued that being Mohammedans could not be permitted to the Protestant, argue there is a precedent where hundreds have become Roman Catholics and have never been disturbed in their new Religion.

The competition between the Catholic and Protestant missionaries was so intensified that they regarded each other as enemies and they continuously tried to prevent activities of the other party. The Protestant missionaries were distributing brochures taking aim at Catholics and “nominal” Christians. This caused the rise of a reaction against Protestants and the Protestant Bible among Catholics, chiefly the Maronites. This reaction was intensified with the encyclical of Pope Leon XII called *Ubi Primum* (1824), which demonized the activities of the Bible societies by saying “that by false interpretation, the Gospel of Christ will become the Gospel of men, or still worse, the Gospel of the devil”.³²⁴

According to the Catholic clergy, the Protestant missionaries were people who were attempting to persuade people for religious conversion by the power of money. The Protestant missionaries were distributing Bible, gold, money and brochures to impress people and the amount of money spent by the Americans and British missionaries from 1840 to 1865 had exceeded one million pound. However, according to Catholics, the attempts of the Protestant missionaries were vain and they had no significant numbers of churches and believers in comparison with the Catholic missions’ success to gain people to the Holy See.³²⁵ This fact was accepted by Spencer, a Scotch Episcopal priest, with the following statement:

³²³ Quoted in Farah, *Protestantism and British Diplomacy in Syria*, p. 323.

³²⁴ Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria*, p. 55.

³²⁵ T.W.M. Marshall, *Les Missions Chrétiennes*, Ambroise Bray Libraire-éditeur, Paris, 1865, p. 11.

I am sincerely expressing my view; various establishments founded to support the missionaries in Syria will never get permanent results. I am surprised when I see how little achievement they have made so far. Protestants in Britain have to understand the truth: None of the missions among the Eastern Christians got any result despite the dedicated sources, people and time for the conversion of these Christians. Is it not logical to ask if we will never achieve more than this?³²⁶

In the 1840s, the Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman Empire understood that they needed more advanced educational institutions in order to extend their activities and to compete with Catholics. The Protestant schools were giving only basic education until that time and this was giving insignificant results. Thus, the Protestant missionaries aimed at opening secondary schools to train native religious men to employ at the Protestant missions. This was a practice which had been previously applied by the Catholic missionaries. The first establishment founded by the Protestant missionaries for this purpose was the Abeih Academy in Lebanon. The Academy was founded by Cornelius Van Dyck in 1843 and its primary objective was to train teachers. However, the development of the Academy became slow and there were only twenty four students at the beginning.³²⁷ Still, the Abeih Academy was a successful initiative over the long term as it constituted the basis of the future Syrian Protestant College.

The Protestant missionaries were regarded as a threat by Catholics not only in Syria and Lebanon but also in Palestine. In 1853, Valerga, the Patriarch of Jerusalem of the Catholic Church, stated that Protestants had begun to settle in Nazareth and they had organized plots, provocations and humiliations against Catholics. He also reported that Protestants had also settled in Bethlehem and against them, he had invited the sisters of the Saint Joseph to open a girls' school.³²⁸

By realizing the difficulty of being influential among Catholics, the Protestant missionaries targeted such Eastern Christians as the Greek Orthodox, the Gregorian Armenians and the Assyrians. In addition to these groups, though they did not work among the Sunni Muslims, they paid attention to the heterodox groups like the

³²⁶ Marshall, *Les Missions Chrétiennes*, pp. 59–60.

³²⁷ Daniel, *American Influences in the Near East Before 1861*, p. 80.

³²⁸ Suite de la lettre de Mgr Valerga, patriarche de Jérusalem, à Messieurs les membres des conseils centraux de Lyon et de Paris (Jérusalem, 20 Janvier 1853), *Annales de La Propagation Foi*, Tome 25, 1853, pp. 253-270.

Druzes.³²⁹ However, their works among Armenians were more efficient from the beginning. The Catholic Armenians had received the status of “millet” in 1830 thanks to the long lasting works of the Catholic missionaries and to the efforts of France³³⁰. After a while the Protestant Armenians received in 1850 the status of “millet”.³³¹ Thus, The Protestant missionaries like the Catholic missionaries got the chance of performing the biblical work among Armenians³³².

4.3 The 1860 Civil War and the Escalation of the Rivalry between Catholic and Protestant Missionaries

The ongoing political rivalries of the 19th Century between Britain and France exposed itself during the outrageous civil war in Lebanon as well. France, who had lost much of her prestige in the region after the withdrawal of Egypt from Syria, had taken part with Christians during the conflicts of 1841 and 1845 between the Druzes and Christians. After these events, some administrative arrangements were made to ensure the security of Christians and the peace in Mount Lebanon. Accordingly, Lebanon was divided into two administrative units called caimacamats, each was to be administered by a Christian and a Druze governor. However, this system became unsuccessful in solving the disputes between the Druzes and Christians. Continuing bilateral problems caused to outbreak of a bloody civil war in May of 1860³³³.

At the beginning of the 1860 events, by reporting armament of all Druze and Catholic men, the French Consulate in Beirut had foreseen the danger of a civil war

³²⁹ Hans-Lukas Kieser, “Mission as Factor of Change in Turkey (19th to first half of 20th century)”, *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 2002 (pp. 391–410), pp. 392–393.

³³⁰ Kemal Beydilli, *II. Mahmut Devrinde Katolik Ermeni Cemaati ve Kilisesinin Tanınması (1830)*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1995; Ahmet Türkan, “İstanbul’da Katolik Ermeni Grupların Problemleri ve Papalığın Müdahaleleri (19. yy.)”, *History Studies*, vol. 4/2, July 2012 (pp. 317–341).

³³¹ Ken Parry et al., eds., *The Blackwell Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford, 1999, p. 8.

³³² For the begging of the Protestant missionary works on the Armenians, see. Seçil Akgün, “Amerikalı Misyonerlerin Ermeni Meselesinde Rolü”, *Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, Yıl: 1, Sayı: 1 (1988), pp. 1–12.

³³³ For detailed work on the 1860 civil war in Lebanon, see Leila T. Fawaz, *An Occasion for War: Civil Conflict in Lebanon and Damascus in 1860*, London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1994; And for the developments after the civil war see Engin Akarlı, *The Long Peace: Ottoman Lebanon, 1861–1920*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

and warned the MAE about the serious consequences of these developments.³³⁴ Soon after these warnings, the Consulate reported the outbreak of the civil war. The clashes between the Druzes and Christians were highly violent and bloody.³³⁵ According to dispatches from the Consulate, the number of villages set on fire from both sides was around thirty or forty. In order to settle the peace, the Consul General reported, France was working together with the British, Austrian and Russian consuls. However, France was accused of encouraging and supporting the activities of Christians. The French Consul General denied such assertions and tried to persuade the Druzes about France's impartiality.³³⁶

In one of his evaluation concerning the reasons and the responsible of the events, the French Consul General had openly criticized the Maronite clergy and religious men. According to his interpretation, the clergy had rarely interfered to political matters until 1840 but this changed after the 1841 and 1845 events and the power of the clergy strengthened in Lebanon while the power of the civil authority diminished. The Maronite clergy strengthened thanks to the support of people and to the French protection and they did not hesitate to express their intention to seize the administration of Lebanon. They aimed at founding an administration under the leadership of the Maronite Patriarch and under the control of the bishops. After the 1860 events, the French Consul reported, the Maronites felt themselves betrayed by their own clergy because of increasing political struggles and intrigues in Lebanon. Moreover, some very rich and powerful Maronite Churches did not help the victims of the events by closing their doors. Even the Patriarchate made very little for the victims.³³⁷

Concerning the reasons of the 1860 events, Colonel Churchill, an expert of the region, had stressed the Maronite Patriarchate's ambitions over Southern

³³⁴ Le Comte Bentivoglio, Consul général de France à Beyrouth, à M. Thouvenel, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Direction politique, No. 15 (Beyrouth, 24 May 1860).

³³⁵ Le Comte Bentivoglio, Consul général de France à Beyrouth, à M. Thouvenel, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Direction politique, No. 16 (Beyrouth, 31 May 1860).

³³⁶ Le Comte Bentivoglio, Consul général de France à Beyrouth, à M. Thouvenel, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Direction politique, No. 17 (Beyrouth, 3 Jun 1860).

³³⁷ Le Comte Bentivoglio, Consul général de France à Beyrouth, à M. Thouvenel, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Direction politique, No. 45 (Beyrouth, 10 Aout 1860).

Lebanon where the Druzes constituted the majority. Although the Patriarchate had an extensive power on both temporal and spiritual matters in Northern Lebanon it was not satisfied with this and advanced political claims over Southern Lebanon. Thus, according to Churchill, the reasons for the 1860 events were mainly resulting from political clashes between the Druzes and the Maronites rather than a religious problem. The Greek Orthodox's support on the Druzes during the events, instead of supporting the Christian Maronites, was shown by Churchill as a proof of his assertions.³³⁸

At the beginning, the French Consulate in Beirut did not directly hold the Druzes or the British administration responsible for the events. Clashes had been portrayed as a civil war between the Druzes and Christians. Even there were some statements of the consul accusing the Maronite clergy. Even though the French diplomats continued to use a cautious language the Catholic missionaries openly accused the Druzes and Britain of being the chief responsible of the 1860 events. According to the Catholic missionaries, "strict fanaticism of the Oriental barbarism was applied to numerous victims because of a Protestant power's guarantee to the Druzes not to be punished for their murders". Also the Catholic missionaries portrayed the Druzes as an "idolater and bloodthirsty race" and claimed that "evolution of these religious amphibians is towards Protestantism" by stressing their close relationship with the Protestant missionaries.³³⁹

The existing situation after the 1860 events, whatever their reasons, was very favorable for the activities of the Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Extensive needs of the population in many fields like nutrition, accommodation and healthcare had created proper conditions for the missionary works. Moreover, the international intervention to the region and the new autonomous status of Lebanon enabled the missionaries to work in a free and secure environment.

By 1860, there happened a missionary rush to the region from different faiths and their activities highly increased. However, the Catholic missionaries were very suspicious and anxious about the activities of Protestants and Orthodox. While the

³³⁸ *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, p. 141.

³³⁹ *Missions de Syrie, Annales de La Propagation Foi*, Tome 32, 1860, pp. 402–405.

Catholic missionaries were proudly defining their own aids to Christians as a demonstration of benevolence, on the other hand, they regarded similar aids of the missionaries from other faiths as an attack or challenge against themselves.

The Catholic missionaries tended to consider their charitable works after the 1860 events as a power struggle against the Protestant missionaries, who had also initiated organizations for the victims. At the beginning, the aids from other faiths were positively stressed by Father Lavigerie by saying that “Protestants and Israelites are competing with us to aid our brothers.”³⁴⁰ However, Father Lavigerie began to stress a Protestant threat as soon as the first impact of the events diminished and the rivalry between the missionaries reaccelerated. According to him, this threat was risking the faith of the victims and this was a danger not less important than hunger. By asserting that Catholicism had been the sole religion in Mount Lebanon until that time, Lavigerie stated that the latest events had given a windfall opportunity to Britain and Prussia to penetrate into Lebanon. The nearest threat was, according to Lavigerie, the Protestant orphanages in Beirut, Jerusalem and Nazareth which had been opened to pick up the Greek and Maronite children and to prepare them for apostasy.³⁴¹

Father Fiorowitch, the director of a Catholic orphanage in Beirut, had stated that “the enemies of Catholicism” saw the poor Christians as hunt and they tried to gain them by exploiting their misery. In order to achieve their aims, the United States, Russia, Britain and Prussia had made allocations and they opened hospitals, schools, ateliers and orphanages for girls and boys.³⁴²

The French missionaries had a conviction that they had brought serenity to the region after the events in Lebanon. However, they were suspicious about the increasing influence of the Protestant missionaries, who were allegedly trying to steal their role. On the intentions of the Protestant missionaries, the Catholic missionaries urged that “the evil endeavors of Protestants in every part of Syria...even though

³⁴⁰ *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, No. 10 (Novembre 1860), p. 38.

³⁴¹ Rapport de M. l'abbé Lavigerie, *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, No. 11 (Avril 1860), p. 55.

³⁴² Lettre du R.P. Fiorowitch, directeur de l'Orphelinat de Beyrouth à MM. Les Membres de l'OEO, *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, No. 17 (Septembre 1862), p. 179.

Syria was saved by the efforts of France; Protestants are trying to destroy the activities and influence of Catholicism in Syria with their infernal propaganda...”³⁴³

From the Catholic missionaries’ point of view, they were the representatives of absolute truth while the other religious groups were representing deviance and heresy. And according to their perception, “heretic” Protestants and “schismatic” Orthodox were highly dangerous so that all their activities were regarded as a threat against Catholicism.

While the Catholic missionaries were working for attracting the Eastern Christians to the Roman Catholicism the Protestant missionaries were trying to plant a completely different faith. The Protestant missionaries criticized the use of such local religious traditions as charms, relics and miraculous images and despised the Eastern Christianity by saying that “...idoltrous rites and worship in an unknown tongue, manipulated by an ignorant, degraded, selfish priesthood.”³⁴⁴ The Catholic missionaries were especially disturbed by the Protestants’ rejection of the Catholic religious practices and beliefs and by the efforts of the Protestant missionaries to remove the Catholic symbols and practices. The Superior of the Jesuits in Syria had put it as follows³⁴⁵:

Protestants are doing everything to eradicate the faith from young souls. They force children to remove such religious objects as cross, medallion, imagery, amulet and rosary; they are kidding their religious practices and are telling them negative things about the cult of Holy Virgin, the saints and the sacred Eucharist.

One of the most important means of the Protestant missionary propagation of their beliefs and thoughts was the distribution of religious publication to the Christian people. And they were effectively using the press for this purpose. Protestants had founded their first press in Malta in 1822 in order to print evangelical books and brochures. This press was moved to Beirut in 1834 and its operation

³⁴³ Jérôme Bocquet, *Missionnaire Français en Terré d’Islam (Damas 1860-1914)*, Les Indes Savantes, Paris, 2005, p. 244.

³⁴⁴ Robert L. Daniel, “American Influences in the Near East Before 1861”, *American Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Spring, 1964), p. 77.

³⁴⁵ Reproduction du rapport de R. P. Monnot, supérieur des missions de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie, adressé de Beyrouth le 31 août 1874, à Mme la Supérieure générale de la Congrégation du Sacré-Cœur, *Annales de La Propagation Foi*, Tome 47, 1875, pp. 100–101.

augmented. From 1834 to 1850, around seven million pages as book and brochure were printed in the press and distributed to every part of Syria.³⁴⁶

The Catholic missionaries had realized the importance of the effective use of the press by following the example of the Protestant missionaries. A Jesuit priest defined the press as “a significant tool of civilization” and stressed its importance to overcome the existing ignorance in Syria and Lebanon. The same priest complained about the fact that the Catholic missionaries had only one press in Beirut by 1860 and they had serious difficulties with supplying books to the schools. By emphasizing the favorable condition of the Protestant missionaries’ press, the priest said that “Britain provided the fastest machines to Protestants. The press does not refrain from distributing to Syria what it produces. The British heresy is thus expanding skepticism in Syria and shaking people’s faiths and attachment to the West...”³⁴⁷

The 1860 events had brought about a rapid increase in the population of Beirut, which rapidly tripled. This meant a new challenge between the missionaries from different faiths. As it was anxiously stressed by the Catholic missionaries, the Protestant missionaries were very energetic in Beirut and they opened many schools in the city. These schools were being supported by such states as the United States, Britain and Prussia. Thus, the Catholic missionaries were convinced that the Protestant missionaries had political considerations as well as religious considerations in their activities. And they stressed the necessity of opening new Catholic schools in Beirut to compete with the numerous Protestant schools.³⁴⁸

Although Beirut was the center of the missionary rivalry after 1860 it was not the sole place. A report from Mount Lebanon in 1869 was stressing the increasing Protestant activities in the region. The number and strength of “the followers of Luther and Calvin” was increasing and this was considered as a significant threat by the Catholic missionaries for their existence in Mount Lebanon. The Protestant

³⁴⁶ Addison, *The Christian Approach to the Moslem*, s. 115-116. After the closure of the press in Malta, another press, in addition to Beirut, was founded in Smyrna in 1833. It was very active like Beirut until its transfer to Istanbul in 1852. On the activities of the press in Smyrna between 1840 and 1852, see; Kocabaşoğlu, *Anadolu’daki Amerika*, pp. 64–67.

³⁴⁷ Extrait d’une lettre du R.P. Bourquenoud, de la Société de Jésus, à un Père de la même compagnie (Ghazir, 17 Décembre 1859), *Annales de La Propagation Foi*, Tome 32, 1860, p. 146.

³⁴⁸ Mission de Syrie (Beyrouth, 10 Mars 1869), *Œuvre des Ecoles d’Orient*, No. 58 (Juillet 1869), p. 309.

missionaries, who were described as “the workers of Satan” by the Catholic missionaries, were regularly recruiting teachers among the members of the Eastern Christians for their schools. The Greek Orthodox youth especially constituted the majority of recruitment. They joined the Protestant missionaries as they wanted to receive a regular education and they and their families were paid by the Protestant missionaries. The teachers trained in the Protestant schools were sent to remote villages to open schools, or to “violate” the villages according to the Catholic perception. Thus, the Protestant missionaries could penetrate into many districts like Malaka, Zahle, Beqaa and Hauran and they opened many schools for boys and girls.³⁴⁹

The Catholic missionaries tended to define activities of the Protestant missionaries as an effort for the “invasion” of places which were “made wet with the Catholic missionaries’ sweat, tear and blood”. According to them, the lands of Syria and Lebanon were the “inheritance of the Catholic Church” but Protestants were leaking to these lands by convincing the people to the fact that “they were bringing all the elements of the Western civilization by means of education.” Once the Protestant missionaries succeeded to penetrate into a village the first thing they did was to open a free of charge school. They had colleges and normal schools to train teachers and they were receiving young people among the native Christians of Syria and Lebanon. The Catholic missionaries had understood that the only way of competing with the Protestant missionaries was to open new schools and to give “a completely intellectual formation” to priests and sisters working in the region. This necessity had been reported by the Catholic missions to the Holy See and they reached a consensus on taking required precautions.³⁵⁰

The Catholic missionaries were not the only group being disturbed by the activities of the Protestant schools. The Maronite clergy was similarly felt threatened by these schools. In the absence of any other alternative, the people had to send their children to the Protestant schools, which were providing a free and relatively

³⁴⁹ Joseph Laborde, *Missionnaire Apostolique de Société J s uite* (Maallaka, 8 Novembre 1868), * uvre des Ecoles d’Orient*, No. 58 (Juillet 1869), p. 314-315.

³⁵⁰ Reproduction du rapport de R. P. Monnot, sup rieur des missions de la Compagnie de J sus en Syrie, adress  de Beyrouth le 31 ao t 1874,   Mme la Sup rieure g n rale de la Congr gation du Sacr -C ur, *Annales de La Propagation Foi*, Tome 47, 1875, p. 100–101

advanced education. By realizing the importance of the church schools the Catholic missionaries stressed the necessity of opening new Catholic schools. The Catholic missionaries and the Maronite clergy compromised to struggle against the mutual enemy. The Jesuit seminary in Ghazir was especially playing a considerable role in this struggle by “raising educated priests who internalized the works”.³⁵¹

The economic resources were a significant part of the missionary struggle and the Catholic missionaries were continuously complaining about their financially inferior condition. According to the Catholic missionaries’ accounts, the Protestant missionaries were advancing under the British flag and they were receiving political and financial support from the British and American consuls. Moreover, the Catholic missionaries stated, the Protestant missions had been surrounded by the prestige of a brilliant wealth and each of the Biblical societies had four times more resources than the Catholic missions. According to the Catholic missionaries, “the future of all Christians would be saved”, provided that they received more allocations and that they opened new schools next to the Protestant schools.³⁵²

The Catholic missionaries were convinced that they had to be on the alert at any time for the Protestant missionaries. Their suspicion was so strong that when a Catholic missionary in Broumana was asked to visit Beirut for several days he rejected this by saying that “I have to stay and watch Protestants as they are sneaking around like lions and they may hunt our children at any moment.” He was very satisfied with their works in Broumana and he defined the existing situation as a certain victory against Protestants. According to his report, despite the only seven students of “the huge school” of Protestants the Catholic schools had fifty boys and thirty girls in Broumana. And he continued as follows³⁵³:

By encouraged from these successes we opened two more school in the neighboring villages: Bleibel and Capharchima. We got the same results in Capharchima and quickly received the fifty students who had left the Protestant school. All the books in their hands were the Protestant books and we changed them with the Catholic books. This victory over the heretics was very important... We opened fifteen new schools in May. Today, the total number of our

³⁵¹ Lettre de M. Saliège, prêtre de la Mission, missionnaire en Syrie, à M. Fiat, supérieur général des Lazaristes. (Antoura, 5 Avril 1885), *Annales de La Propagation Foi*, Tome 57, 1885,

³⁵² *Annales de La Propagation Foi*, Tome 53, 1881.

³⁵³ Nouvelles de missions - Syrie, *Annales de La Propagation Foi*, Tome 56, 1884, pp. 394–396.

schools is sixty seven...Protestant stayed in Broumana though they closed their schools here. They have a pharmacy and a dispensary. Our sisters had an intention to found similar establishments. God did not delay this... A nice and vast place was bought for the sisters by paying 10.000 Francs. Thus, we will be able to close all the Protestant establishments very soon.

Another aspect of the missionary struggle between the Catholic and Protestant missionaries was the schools operated by the native missionaries, who had been educated and trained by Catholic missionaries, chiefly by the French missionaries. After completing their education at the missionary schools, the native missionaries were appointed to open new schools for the Eastern Christians. These schools were attached to the Catholic missionaries but they did not legally have the status of foreign school. The Catholic missionaries claimed that the Protestant missionaries were lobbying against these schools by the Ottoman administration in order to prevent their operation. Protestants were also accusing the native missionaries of being the French spies to draw the attention of the Ottoman administration. Upon such interferences, the governor of Mount Lebanon had to correspond with Istanbul concerning the schools' origins and the characteristic of the education given at these schools. In order to avoid any legal and administrative problem, the native missionaries continuously emphasized that their schools were attached to their native bishops, the Maronite or the Greek Catholic. They also stressed their right of giving religious education to children by calling themselves as native priests.³⁵⁴ Although the connection of these schools with the Catholic missionaries was obvious and their legal status was debatable, the Ottoman administration hardly inspected and controlled them. This was an indication of the inefficiency of the Ottoman administration's control over the missionary schools.

The Ottoman administration's inefficiency to control the missionary schools was mainly resulting from the diplomatic pressure of the protector states, which energetically interfered to any matters concerning the missionaries. The French diplomatic representatives in the Levant were closely following the developments and they were trying to consolidate their position in the region. In his report to the MAE, the French consul general in Beirut had submitted his observations concerning

³⁵⁴ Lettre de M. Ackaouy, prêtre de la mission, sur les écoles indigènes du Liban (Beyrouth, 19 Décembre 1889), *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, No. 180 (Septembre 1890), pp. 360-361.

all the aspects of education in Syria and Lebanon, chiefly in Beirut. After reminding the historical roots of the French protection in the region, the consul indicated that the unrivalled position of France had changed when Britain began to support the Druzes after the 1840 events. Activities of the Protestant missionaries also began to increase with the arrival of a Protestant power in the region. As the consul reported, the Protestant existence in the region reached a considerable level in the 1880s. In Beirut, the American missionaries had a Medical School, the German missionaries had an established hospital and the British missionaries had very good schools for girls. However, according to the consul, France had not been able to give a serious response to these establishments yet. Apart from Beirut, the primary education was completely in the hands of the Protestant missionaries and the subject of education totally became a political matter. All the educational establishments except the madrasas were representing the influence of a foreign state. The schools of three Protestant powers were working, voluntarily or not, for the British interests. The consul stressed that France had to make serious effort on the subject of education in order to compete with Protestants and to secure her position. There were two alternatives for France either supporting the missionary schools or the secular schools. This was a decision to be made by the French government by considering necessities.³⁵⁵

The French diplomatic representative in Vatican, Monbel, had also notified the MAE about the increasing challenge of Britain and Russia against the French influence in Syria. The Holy See was also worried about the changing dynamic of the region and this fact had been shared by Cardinal Jacobini with Monbel. The cardinal had said that the French interests in the Levant meant the interests of Catholicism as well. As it was emphasized by the other French consuls, Monbel focused on the increasing rivalry between France and Britain. Religion was the main playground in this rivalry. By reminding the unchallenged position of France in the Levant until 1840 in terms of religion, politics and trade, Monbel continued, this had changed with the arrival of the Protestant missionaries, who began working on the Druzes but especially became very successful in their works on the “schismatic” by achieving

³⁵⁵ Consul General de France a Beyrouth au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Direction Politiques, No. 64 (10 Mars 1881), Archives du MAE.

quite many conversions. They could also secure conversions from the Eastern Catholics, chiefly the Greek Melchites.³⁵⁶

According to the report of Monbel, the Biblical societies in the Levant strengthened after 1870 and their missionaries were very active and smart people. Increasing Protestant schools were raising a new Protestant generation which was an enemy of the Holy See and focused on material wealth by being alienated from religious values. Especially those who studied at the American Medical School in Beirut were defined as the most active agents who were infiltrating the families and destroying the traditions. Although they were from different nations and their activities had an international characteristic the Protestant missionaries in Syria and Lebanon were working for the British interests and they were being controlled by the British administration. The British ambassador in Istanbul and the British consuls in various Syrian cities were practicing an efficient protection over the Protestant missions and missionaries. However, Monbel asserted, the Catholic missionaries were decisively continuing their struggle under the administration of the Holy See but they were aware of the importance of France's support. The situation was also very sensitive for France. As the French protection over the Catholic missionaries was a very important aspect of the French influence in Syria, Monbel reported, any decline in this protection would cause the exclusion of France by the other Great Powers from the matters concerning the whole region. Monbel believed that such a development would be a humiliation for France and when France's position as the protector of the Holy Places was considered, the extent of humiliation would be more severe. Thus, France had to support the Catholic missions in Syria more energetically in their struggle against the Protestant missionaries.³⁵⁷

Monbel's evaluations were clearly exposing the strong interaction between religion and international politics. In order to be influential in the Levant, France had to increase her support to the Catholic missionaries in their struggle against the Protestant missionaries under the British protection. The religious protection in the

³⁵⁶ M. de Monbel, charge d'affaires de France près le Saint-Siège, à M. Duclerc, Président du Conseil et Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (Rome, 19 Octobre 1882), Archives de MAE.

³⁵⁷ M. de Monbel, charge d'affaires de France près le Saint-Siège, à M. Duclerc, Président du Conseil et Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (Rome, 19 Octobre 1882), Archives de MAE.

region had been a French monopoly for centuries but this was being seriously contested by Britain and Russia. And there were serious concerns of the French representatives on the possible negative consequences for France.

4.4 A Rivalry for Predominance in the Levant: The Syrian Protestant College and the Saint-Joseph University

Protestants and Catholics possessed many establishments in the Levant and these establishments continuously competed with each other. However, especially two institutions were more important and more valuable than any others; the Syrian Protestant College of the American Protestant missionaries and the Saint-Joseph University of the French Jesuits. Both of them had been founded in Beirut and they made a deep impact in the Near East, chiefly in Syria and Lebanon. Although even secondary schools were rarely encountered in the region these establishments introduced the people with higher education and taught professional occupations.

Although these institutions gave education in various fields both of them stood out with their medical schools and this constituted the basis of the rivalry between the institutions. Both the institutional rivalry and the diplomatic initiatives around these institutions were demonstrations of the importance of the missionary activities. The activities of these schools were regarded by the protector states as an indication of their political, economic and cultural strengths in the Levant. Thus, they did not refrain from making any effort required for bringing out their schools.

The first initiative concerning the rivalry of higher education had been made by Protestants, who had understood the necessity of restructuring the missionary activities in Lebanon after 1860. Some missionaries saw the inefficiency of the traditional missionary works and they argued that the missionary schools were to quit their narrow purposes and a higher education with a European character was to be given.³⁵⁸

The decision for the foundation of an institution for higher education was made upon the proposal of the Protestant missionaries in Syria. The project led by Priest Daniel Bliss foresaw the establishment of a college in Beirut for the Arabic

³⁵⁸ Fruma Zachs, From the Mission to the Missionary: The Bliss Family and the Syrian Protestant College (1866-1920), *Die Welt des Islams*, New Series, Vol. 45, Issue 2 (2005), p. 259.

speaking people of the Levant. The Protestant missionaries had previously planned to take the young people of the region to Malta for the college education but this initiative had proved abortive. According to Bliss, it was the time for founding an institution in Syria which would compete even with the established American colleges in time. The medium of education and the language of all course books were to be Arabic in the new college. And it was foreseen that the required money for the establishment of the college could be obtained from the United States and Britain. For this purpose, the formation of a respectable board of trustees was necessary. The board of trustees would also be an executive committee for the administration of the college. The college was to be administered by the board of trustees according to a charter, which would be consistent with the laws of either the United States or Britain. However, both states were far away and this would cause some problems concerning the administration of the college. Thus a decision was made to create an administrative committee composed of American and British citizens in Syria in order to take all the decisions on the local matters.³⁵⁹

The opening of such a college was resulting from the desire of the Protestant missionaries to gain ground in their rivalry against the Catholic missionaries. In the post-1860 period, there was an ample scope for missionary works and the Catholic missionaries, especially the French Jesuits and Lazarists, were highly active in the Levant. Although there were several Catholic secondary schools having the status of college the only school of Protestants having similar status was the Abeih College in Lebanon and it was not sufficient for the rivalry in education. Especially the Jesuits, who competed with the Protestant missionaries by founding the SJU later, were considered as a serious threat by Protestants. An influential missionary and a close friend of Bliss had criticized the Jesuits and their education by saying that “those enemies of pure Gospel, those masters of intrigue and duplicity and perverters of human conscience... their education is showy but deceptive.”³⁶⁰

Bliss worked hard and collected donations for the establishment of the college between 1861 and 1863. And the first legal arrangement was made in 1863 according

³⁵⁹ For the details concerning the foundation of the SPC, see. Bliss, *The Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss*, pp. 162–165.

³⁶⁰ Van De Mark, *American Sheikhs*, p. 45.

to the laws of New York. A charter was prepared and a temporary board of trustees composed of six members was constituted. Bliss was nominated for the presidency of the college. The law approving the foundation of the college was signed on May 14, 1864 by Governor Seymour of New York. In the same day, the governor also signed the law approving the foundation of the Robert College in Istanbul. Thus, the foundation of two important institutions in the Ottoman Empire was officially approved in the same day. After the completion of the legal procedures in the United States, Bliss visited Britain to seek financial support for the college. During his works, he visited many important personalities like Lord Calthorpe, Lord Stratford and Lord Dufferin and persuaded them to support the college. At the end of his campaign in Britain between September 23, 1864 and February 13, 1866, Bliss collected a sum of 4000 Pounds and the expenditures for the college to begin its operation were made with this money.³⁶¹

As it had been previously planned, an administrative committee composed of eighteen members was founded to run the regional activities of the college. The members of the committee were the British and American consuls, missionaries and merchants in Syria, Egypt and Palestine. The presence of the British and American consuls in the committee was very meaningful as it revealed both their connections with the missionaries and the importance of the missionary activities for the American and British policies in the region.

At the beginning of its foundation, the objectives and peculiarities of the SPC were explained with an article by S.B. Treat, the Secretary of the ABCFM. In his article, Treat stressed the importance of the Protestant missions and commercial relationships in the rapid penetration of the Christian ideas and the Western civilization into the Levant. He also indicated the emerging need and demand for higher education in Syria and its environs. There was an increasing demand for teachers, preachers, interpreters, doctors, lawyers, engineers, clerks, secretaries and other well educated people. The existing schools and institutions, according to Treat, were far from meeting such needs and although there were more advanced Catholic

³⁶¹ Bliss collected a donation around 100.000 Dollars at the end of his works in the United States. However, the value of the dollar was very low at that time because of continuing American Civil War. Thus, it was decided that this amount should not be used until reaching its real value.

and native schools they were giving a “one-sided, deceptive and perverting education.” And he continued as follows³⁶²:

The enemies of Christianity, professed Infidels as well as Papists, fully alive to the advantages to be gained from the present state of the country, are adopting bold and energetic measures to forestall Protestantism in becoming the educators of this vast population. In order to counteract these efforts, and secure to the people of Syria the means of a sound and liberal education, it is proposed to establish at once an Institution which shall furnish to native youth an Education such as the country demands, in their own tongue, in their own land, and at the smallest cost... The College will be located in Beirut, the seaport of Syria, a city rapidly growing in size and importance, and occupying a central position in respect to all the Arabic-speaking races... The College will be conducted on strictly Protestant and Evangelical principles; but it will be open to Students from any of the Oriental Sects or Nationalities who will conform to its laws and regulations. It is hoped that a strong Christian influence will always center in, and go forth from, this Institution, and that it will be instrumental in raising up a body of men who will the ranks of a well-trained and vigorous “Native Ministry”; become the authors of a Native Christian Literature; supply the educational wants of the land; encourage the industrial interests; develop its resources; occupy stations of authority; and, in a large degree, aid in carrying the Gospel, and its attendant blessings, wherever the Arabic language is spoken...

The SPC was an institution of great expectation and objectives from the very beginning like all Protestant missions. The Protestant missionaries had “notions of racial and civilizational superiority common to European man” and believed that they were “not only the bearers of Gospel truth but...the representatives more generally of a superior civilization in all material and spiritual aspects.”³⁶³ Such understandings were also shared by the SPC and the idea of directing “the inferior people” to truth and advancement was determined as one of the main objectives of the SPC. Although the SPC was administratively independent from the Protestant mission of Syria it was completely Protestant and evangelical in terms of assumed values and objectives. This fact was stressed by Bliss in 1873 with the following statement: “There is no hope for the people of Turkey except through an enlightened Christianity. The work will go forward...”³⁶⁴ A letter from Bliss to his wife was clearly expressing his thoughts on Islam and the Ottoman Empire:

³⁶² This article, titled as the Syrian Protestant College and signed by S.B. Treat, was placed in first volume of the Minutes of Trustees of the SPC in the Archive of the American University of Beirut.

³⁶³ Salt, *Trouble Wherever They Went*, p. 306.

³⁶⁴ Daniel Bliss, *Letters from a New Campus*, ed. Douglas Rugh et al, American University of Beirut, Beirut, 1994, p. 49.

We hear tonight that there is an order from Constantinople to authorities in Tripoli to establish Moslem Schools in all mountains of Nusairiyeh. The American schools there have been closed and their teachers imprisoned. The false Prophet is much doubt alarmed at the power of the truth in this land. There is to be a revival of Moslem fanaticism and Moslem hate. Moslem young men in Damascus are forming secret bands and societies. The conflict is fast coming on –let it come, the quicker the better. The end of abomination will soon follow. It has cursed the earth for over 1200 years, debasing women and brutalizing man. I say the conflict is coming on –it may be 10, 20, 20 years before the crash is heard- yet things move fast in these days. I hope those good fellows will be set at liberty and allowed to go home to their wives and children...Oh that all the Christians by name in the Turkish Empire had the spirit that the Americans had in 1775.³⁶⁵

This quotation from Bliss clearly shows that he had a very deep hatred towards Islam and the Ottoman Empire and he was impatiently waiting for the collapse of this Islamic-Turkic rule over the Christians. His emphasis on “the spirit that the Americans had in 1775” was also significant. This date was referring to the eve of the Declaration of Independence in the U.S. in 1776. Bliss believed that the Christians in the Ottoman Empire had the same revolutionary spirit that the American people had nearly a century ago.

Another objective of the SPC was that the young people educated according to the Protestant values would be influential in Arabic speaking regions, chiefly Syria and Lebanon. Thus, in addition to its religious and educational missions, the SPC had assumed a role of strengthening the economic, political and cultural positions of the United States and Britain in the Levant.

Upon the transformation of the SPC into a significant institution shortly after its establishment, the French missionaries, who were afraid of staying behind in the competition, began to consider having a higher education institution in the region. Thus, the Jesuits transferred the Ghazir College to Beirut in 1875 and called it as the SJU. Although the Jesuits had assumed the name of the SJU as early as 1875 the Holy See just gave the permission for the unification of various departments under the name of the SJU in 1881.³⁶⁶ However, despite the first initiatives, the SJU was not strong enough to compete with the SPC considering its existing sources and condition. Thus, the support of France was vital for the survival of the SJU.

³⁶⁵ Bliss, *Letters from a New Campus*, p. 159.

³⁶⁶ John P. Spagnolo, “The Definition of a Style of Imperialism: The International Politics of the French Educational Investment in Ottoman Beirut”, *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Autumn 1974), p. 566.

Similarly, it was a necessity for France to support the SJU otherwise she would remain behind the other powers in the power struggle in the Levant. In other words, there was a symbiotic relationship between the French administration and the French missionaries in the region.

The French consul-general in Beirut reported in 1881 that the only higher education institution in the region was the Medical School of the Americans and there was a necessity for the establishment of a similar French institution to compete with the American school but without imitating it.³⁶⁷ Thus France began to work on the matter without any delay and the decision for the establishment of a medical school attached to the SJU was made. The Medical School of the SJU was opened on November 30, 1883 with the stimulation and the support of the French government. The aim of the SJU was to compete with Protestants, as the French consul-general in Beirut stated, and it had made a successful start with fifteen students.³⁶⁸

With the establishment of the French Medical School at the SJU, the rivalry between the SJU and the SPC became more severe and the influence of the SPC was shaken. As it can be seen in the table, despite decreases in some years the Syrian Protestant College had generally increased the number of students between 1866 and 1887. However, when the Medical School is considered a decrease in the number of students can be observed since 1883. The Medical School had forty-seven students in the educational year of 1882-83 but this number dropped and became thirty-six in the educational year of 1883-84. And this decrease continued during the following years. This was probably caused by the foundation of the French Medical School in 1883. As the American Medical School lost its unchallenged position the decrease in the number of its students was indispensable.

³⁶⁷ Du Consul General de France a Beyrouth au Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Direction Politiques, No. 64 (10 Mars 1881), Archives du MAE.

³⁶⁸ De M. Patrimonio, Consul General de France a Beyrouth, a M. Jules Ferry, Président du Conseil et Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (Beyrouth, 11 Décembre 1883), Archives du MAE.

Table 23: The Number of Students at the Syrian Protestant College between 1866 and 1887³⁶⁹

Year	Medical	Collegiate	Preparatory	Total
1866-67	-	16	-	16
1867-68	14	27	-	41
1868-69	21	31	-	52
1869-70	29	48	-	77
1870-71	31	54	-	85
1871-72	25	36	5	66
1872-73	26	39	19	84
1873-74	29	29	16	74
1874-75	24	31	13	68
1875-76	27	28	22	77
1876-77	25	34	47	106
1877-78	24	33	51	108
1878-79	29	25	67	121
1879-80	37	33	38	108
1880-81	41	29	51	121
1881-82	47	31	74	152
1882-83	47	37	86	170
1883-84	36	43	99	178
1884-85	34	56	96	186
1885-86	31	61	76	168
1886-87	29	66	75	170

One of the most significant differences which distinguished the SPC from the SJU was that the SPC had assumed Arabic, the language of the region, as the medium of education. It had been supposed by the Protestant missionaries that the SPC could reach the young people more easily and could achieve a more profound cultural transformation in the Levant by offering an education in Arabic. Additionally, it was considered that the SPC would teach English and French as foreign languages as well. However, the sustainability of an education in Arabic became a matter of debate during the following period as the SPC could hardly find Arabic speaking and qualified instructors, especially for the Medical School. Thus making English as the medium of education was seriously discussed at the SPC in 1881 but the college administration determined that the conditions for an education in English at the Medical School were not convenient at that time.³⁷⁰ However, in

³⁶⁹ Annual Report of Faculty (1887) to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College. The annual reports were regularly giving the number of the students at the SPC and the departmental repartition of these students. In 1887, Daniel Bliss had given these statistics beginning from the foundation of the SPC to the present.

³⁷⁰ Annual Report of Faculty (1887) to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College.

addition to the difficulties in recruiting the qualified instructors, the difficulties in finding required books and materials for a medical training in Arabic could not be overcome by the SPC.³⁷¹ As a result, the college administration had to designate English as the medium of education at the Medical School in 1883. It should be noted that as it had been the sole and unchallenged institution of higher education in the region the mentioned deficiencies of the SPC concerning the use of Arabic had not presented a serious problem. However, the establishment of the SJU in 1875 compelled the SPC to ameliorate its education.

Being different from the SPC, the medium of education at the SJU had been French from the beginning. This was a practice in accordance with the general tendency of the French missionaries and with the policies of the French administration. The French missionaries had regarded the teaching of French as an important part of their missions in the region and they taught it in different levels at nearly all their schools. Their success in the diffusion of French was a source of pride for the missionaries. The French administration also gave importance to the teaching of French. Thus, there was a common point between the missionaries and the French government. As the secularization process increasingly accelerated in France after the reestablishment of the republican regime in 1870 the missionary activities in the Levant could only be meaningful as long as they were functional for the French interests.³⁷²

The role of the French missionaries in the diffusion of the French political and cultural influence was a determining factor for receiving the support of France. In addition to such concerns, there was a practical reason for the designation of French as the medium of education at the SJU. The instructors of the Medical School at the SJU, the most significant unit of the university, were mostly coming from France so that it was a kind of obligation to give education in French.

With the establishment of the Medical School, the SJU rapidly progressed. Petiteville, the French consul-general in Beirut, informed the Ministry of Foreign

³⁷¹ Annual Report of Faculty (1901-1902) to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College.

³⁷² Patrick Cabanel, "Catholicisme et laïcité, article d'exportation dans la République coloniale?" en *Religions et Colonisation*, ed. Dominique Borne et Benoit Falaize, Les Edition de l'atelier, Paris, 2009, p. 57.

Affairs in 1888 on the general state of the Medical School. According to the report, the Medical School was receiving an annual allocation of 80.000 Francs from the French government. Even though the director of the school was a Jesuit priest most of the faculty members were secular instructors. The most significant problem that the Medical School faced was to receive the accreditation for the diplomas from the Ottoman administration. The consul-general stated that there was an uncertainty about the future of the Medical School as it had not had any graduates yet. Neither the French Ministry of Education nor the Ottoman administration had given accreditation to the diploma of the Medical School so it was ambiguous what kind of diploma would be given to the students in their graduation. If the problem of diploma could not be solved it would not be possible for the alumni to practice medicine.³⁷³ On the other hand, the Medical School of the SPC also had the same problem and both institutions made strenuous efforts for many years to get accreditation from the Ottoman administration. For both sides, this became a matter of gaining advantage over their rivals.

With the completion of their institutionalizations, the competition between the SPC and the SJU became highly obvious. Both institutions were regarded as the most important representatives of the Catholic and Protestant missionary activities not only in Lebanon and Syria but also in all Near East. They also became a subject of political rivalry with the intervention of the protecting states, namely, the United States, Britain and France. In their competition for standing out, the SPC and the SJU tried to receive some privileges from the Ottoman administration. Two matters were especially important: receiving accreditation for the diplomas and the immunity from taxes by being recognized as charitable foundation. In this respect, an analysis of the competition between the SPC and the SJU would provide some helpful results to understand the characteristics of the international struggle in the Levant in terms of religion, politics and culture.

When the SPC began to receive students to the Medical School there was no agreement between the college administration and the Ottoman administration regarding the status of the alumni. The matter came into question when the first

³⁷³ Note sur le Liban et la Syrie présentée par le Vicomte de Petiteville, Consul général de France a Beyrouth a M. Flourens, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (Beyrouth, Mars 1888), Archives du MAE.

alumni were to practice medicine after their graduations. The SPC applied to the Ottoman administration for the recognition of the diplomas and the permission for the alumni's practices of their profession. At the beginning, the Ottoman administration did not take any steps on the matter. Later, it was decided that the diplomas of the Medical School can be approved by the Ottoman administration provided that the students take and pass their exams before a jury at the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul.

The SPC tried to find out some solutions for the question of the accreditation of diplomas conferred by the Medical School. One of the suggestions was that after taking satisfactory examinations held by the SPC in Beirut the graduates of the Medical School would be conferred a diploma from the New York universities. The Board of Trustees considered the request of the SPC and found it applicable provided that both the Regents of New York and the Ottoman administration accepted such a solution.³⁷⁴ Another suggestion was that the students would attend the American universities during the last year of their study and would receive a diploma from the United States. As the diplomas of the American universities were valid in the Ottoman Empire these students could practice their profession without taking difficult exams in Istanbul.³⁷⁵ In 1898, the SPC informed the Board of Trustees on the fact that the Ottoman administration was reluctant to accept the first suggestion but it would accept the second.³⁷⁶

While both the SJU and the SPC were continuing to make efforts regarding the recognition of their diplomas, the SJU succeeded to get an advantage. As a result of the initiatives of France, the Ottoman administration accepted to make examinations required for the recognition of the diplomas of the Medical School students of the SJU in Beirut by a jury composed of the faculty members of the Imperial Medical School. This alarmed the SPC as the Americans were demanding

³⁷⁴ Archives of AUB, Minutes of Board of Trustees (1895-1916), Meeting of Society, New York (January 22, 1896).

³⁷⁵ Annual Report of 1896-97 to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College, submitted by Daniel Bliss (20 July 1897). According to the report of the SPC, six students had gone to the United States in previous year to study their last year.

³⁷⁶ Archives of AUB, Minutes of Board of Trustees (1895-1916), Meeting of Corporation, New York (January 18, 1898).

the same privileges bestowed to the SJU.³⁷⁷ The reaction of the SPC was comprehensible. Making examinations in Beirut was very important since it was freeing the students from the liability of a laborious and expensive trip to Istanbul for long lasting examinations. Having such a privilege on its own would lead the students to choose the SJU. Thus, the SPC applied to the American diplomatic representatives for putting pressure on the Ottoman administration to have the same privileges as the SJU.

It became a difficult process for the SJU to get the approval of the Ottoman administration for the recognition of their diplomas and to persuade it for making the examinations in Beirut. The Ottoman administration was reluctant to permit the alumni of the French Medical School so it had unwillingly approved the accreditation of their diplomas. The first French initiatives on the matter had proved abortive. The French ambassador in Istanbul sent a report to Paris on April 8, 1894 and suggested that the alumni of the Medical School should be given the right of practicing medicine in France so that the Ottoman administration could be forced to approve their diplomas. The French Ministry of Education regarded this suggestion as the only way for the solution of the problem and proposed to the MAE the designation of the SJU as “*établissement libre d’Enseignement supérieur*.”³⁷⁸

The proposal of the French ambassador was accepted by the French government and the SJU was approved as an institution of higher education just like the other institutions in France. In order to confer a diploma as being valid in France the Ministry of Education was to send a jury composed of instructors from the medical schools in France. The jury was travelling to Beirut every year for making the examinations and it was conferring diplomas to successful students. However, it is understood from the correspondences of the French diplomatic representatives that the Ottoman administration was still reluctant to approve diplomas conferred by the SJU. The dispatch from the French ambassador in Istanbul to the MAE dated October 25, 1897, reported both the Ottoman administration’s pretexts concerning

³⁷⁷ Archives of AUB, Minutes of Board of Trustees (1895-1916), Meeting of Corporation, New York (July 13, 1898).

³⁷⁸ Du Ministère de l’Instruction Public au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (7 Aout 1894), Archives de MAE, Turquie, Syrie-Liban, Faculté Médecine de Beyrouth, vol. I.

the disapproval of diplomas and the diplomatic note given by the French Embassy to the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the matter.³⁷⁹ The diplomatic note was about a graduate of the SJU, who had been conferred a diploma by the Academy of Lyon (*Académie de Lyon*) but his diploma had not been approved by the Imperial Medical School. The ambassador strictly reacted to the event and warned the Ottoman administration that such kind of problems should not be repeated.³⁸⁰

Upon the insistent attitude of France, the Ottoman administration was convinced to accept a compromise formula. Accordingly, a joint jury composed of members from the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul and the French medical schools would hold examinations in Beirut and the diplomas of successful students would be approved by the Ottoman administration.³⁸¹

Despite the gains of the SJU, the SPC could not get a concrete result on the matter of diplomas and this was regarded as the most important problem by the college administration. In the annual report of 1899, the college administration informed the Board of Trustees concerning the content of their report to the American envoy in Istanbul. In this report, by reminding the privileges received by the SJU, the SPC demanded from the American diplomatic representatives to take initiatives from the Ottoman administration in order to be given the same privileges on the basis of previous agreements signed between the United States and the Ottomans declaring the United States the “most favored nation”.³⁸²

As the SPC could not achieve its expectations despite the efforts of the American diplomats, the Board of Trustees presented the matter to the top of the American administration. A report was prepared and presented by the Board to the President Roosevelt and the Secretary of State Hay. The report was giving all details regarding to the college. Accordingly, the SPC had a terrain of thirty-five acres with

³⁷⁹ De l’Ambassade de France près la Porte Ottomane au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Direction Politique, No. 240 (25 Octobre 1897), Archives du MAE, Turquie, Syrie-Liban, Faculté Médecine de Beyrouth, vol. I.

³⁸⁰ L’Ambassade de France a Constantinople au Ministère impérial Ottoman des Affaires Etrangères (22 Octobre 1897), Annexe a la lettre No. 240 (25 Octobre 1897).

³⁸¹ De Ministère de l’Instruction Public au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères (14 Décembre 1898), Archives de MAE, Turquie, Syrie-Liban, Faculté Médecine de Beyrouth, vol. I.

³⁸² Annual Report of Faculty (1899) to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College and Board of Trustees.

thirteen buildings on it. There were forty instructors of which twenty-four were Americans. Nearly six hundred students from various regions were receiving education in the five departments, which were the Preparatory, Arts, Commerce, Medicine and Pharmacy. The SPC had nearly three thousand alumni. The number of the Medical School alumni was a hundred and fifty and they were overwhelmingly working in Syria and Egypt. Such college assets as terrains, buildings, libraries, observatory, scientific collections and other equipments had a value of 425.000 Dollars. Also the SPC had 350.000 Dollars managed by the Board of Trustees. Thus, the SPC had a total value of 775.000 Dollars. By submitting this information, the Board of Trustees tried to reveal the significance of the SPC as an American institution and demanded the intervention of the American administration for the college to receive the same privileges given by the Ottoman administration to the SJU. The demands of the Board of Trustees had been summarized as follows:

1. Irade instructing Imperial Medical Faculty to send or appoint Commissioners to hold annual examinations at Beirut for our medical graduates and issue successful candidate "Diplomas for Doctor in Medicine and Surgery" and in "Pharmacy".
2. Recognition and guarantee of legal status of the College with necessary rights and privileges in relation to holding of property, erection of buildings, release from taxation, Custom House immunities and other grants as made to French institution.³⁸³

The U.S. Department of State responded to the letter of the Board of Trustees on February 28, 1902. Accordingly, a copy of the Board's report had been sent to the American diplomatic representative in Istanbul by instructing him to make the required initiatives concerning the demands of the Board. However, according to another report from the SPC to the Board of Trustees on July 9, 1902, the college could not get the same privileges with the SJU yet. Although the SPC continued to keep its position in the region it had to challenge with the increasing influence of the SJU. The report stressed that:

...we are in this department (the College Department) face to face with competition of the French school here, while perhaps not as efficient as our own, has the official backing of

³⁸³ Archives of AUB, Minutes of Board of Trustees (1895-1916), Meeting of Corporation, New York (January 30, 1902).

France, of the whole Catholic hierarchy, and the advantage of superior facilities for obtaining Turkish diploma.³⁸⁴

As the American initiatives for the SPC proved abortive, a new committee composed of missionaries in the Ottoman Empire was sent to the United States in order to discuss the situation of the college with the American administration. Father W.K. Eddy from the Syria Mission, N.W. Peet from the American Board and Dr. Post from the SPC were the members of the committee from the Ottoman Empire. With the participation of other members from the United States, the committee had twenty three members and was presided by Jessup, the President of the New York Chamber of Commerce and the President of the Board of Trustees. The committee was received by the President Roosevelt on December 11, 1902. The demand of the SPC was to have the same privileges given to other states and the support of the United States was requested. By mentioning the previous similar applications on the matter, Roosevelt promised to take a strong interest in the matter. He also instructed the Secretary Hay to begin to take the required initiatives.³⁸⁵

The French consul-general in Beirut was closely following the initiatives of the SPC taken in the United States. The consul-general informed the MAE in 1903 on the developments concerning the American efforts to get the privileges, peculiar to the French institutions so far, and demanded the instruction of the MAE on the matter.³⁸⁶ The close examination of the matter by the French diplomats was a result of their concern to pursue the distinguished position of the SJU, which was a highly important aspect of the French influence in the region, as much as possible.

The improvement and influence of the SPC had also been identified by the French Ambassador in Washington. In his dispatch to the MAE in 1903, he stated the improvement of the SPC during the last fifteen years. There were also new investment plans of the SPC thanks to considerable sources provided by Jessup. Thus, according to the ambassador, France had to observe the activities of her rival

³⁸⁴ Annual Report of Faculty (1901-1902) to the Board of Managers of the Syrian Protestant College.

³⁸⁵ Archives of AUB, Minutes of Board of Trustees (1895-1916), Meeting of Corporation, New York (January 21, 1903).

³⁸⁶ Du Consulat General de France en Syrie au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Direction Politique, No. 3 (12 Janvier 1903), Archives du MAE, Turquie, Syrie-Liban, Faculté Médecine de Beyrouth, vol. III.

in Beirut and take the required precautions in order to protect and improve the Medical School of the SJU.³⁸⁷

At the end of insistent efforts of the American administration and diplomatic representatives, the SPC could get a part of the privileges that it had tried to receive for many years. The French ambassador informed the MAE about the fact that the SPC received the right of holding graduate examinations in Beirut and this was considered as a new challenge.³⁸⁸

The increasing influence of the SPC forced the French diplomats to observe both the college and the American missions in the Levant more closely. The French consul-general in Beirut prepared a detailed report on the rivalry between the French and American missionaries and submitted it to the MAE in 1903. According to the report, even though the American missionaries had arrived in the Ottoman Empire in 1820 they had not shown a serious success until the establishment of the SPC, which became an important institution in time. Although the American Medical School had good instructors and distinguished doctors, according to the report, the quality of education was lower than the French Medical School at the SJU. The Department of Pharmacy at the SPC, another important department, was offering a degree program with a duration of two years while the SJU had a four year program. Thus, the SPC was regarded as highly inferior to the French college regarding the pharmacy education by the consul-general. The French consul-general confidently claimed that the SJU was also offering a better education in other fields. He continued that like other Anglo-Saxon institutions the SPC was a rich institution and its incomes were provided by private donors, not by the American government. The SPC had not given up the aim of the propagation of Protestantism, which had been the main motivation since the establishment of the SPC. Despite the changing methods, the Americans were still making the propaganda of Christianity. All the students from different faiths were obliged to attend the Sunday sermons. The advantages of the SJU received as a result of intense efforts five years ago, had also been granted to the

³⁸⁷ L'Ambassade de France aux Etats-Unis au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Politique, No. 8 (29 Janvier 1903), Archives de MAE, Turquie, Syrie-Liban, Faculté Médecine, vol. III.

³⁸⁸ De l'Ambassade de France près la Porte Ottomane au Ministre des Affaires Etrangères, Direction Politique, No. 47 (13 Mars 1903), Archives de MAE, Turquie, Syrie-Liban, Faculté Médecine de Beyrouth, vol. III.

Americans so that the SPC had received the right of holding examinations in Beirut and this had strengthened the position of the college vis-à-vis the SJU. The number of students attending the SPC had increased from three hundred and eighty to six hundred and seven during the last five years. This was close to the number of students at the SJU. However, this number would further increase thanks to the improving financial possibilities and the new privileges of the SPC. The medium of education at the SPC was English and this was limiting the new registration to the preparatory school and the collegial department. The SPC was the most significant element of the Protestant propaganda in Syria.³⁸⁹

In addition to having the right of diploma accreditation for the Medical School, the SPC was also trying to get tax exemptions granted to the religious institutions by the Ottoman administration and to have the ownership of the college assets. The correspondences of the college administration with the American diplomatic representatives reveal that the background of initiatives on such matters lasted until the early 1870s. The American consul-general in Beirut had informed the President of the SPC on June 14, 1872 about an instruction of the U.S. State Department asking if there was any document in the consulate archives or in any other place proving the tax immunity of the SPC terrain. And if such a document could be found, the State Department demanded the sending of it.³⁹⁰ And so the American administration could negotiate with the Ottoman administration regarding the tax immunity of the SPC.

The question of missionary institutions' taxation continued for many years just like the question of the diploma accreditation. According to the annual report of the SPC, submitted on July 29, 1905, in accordance with the instruction of the American embassy, the college had not paid any tax in the previous year except

³⁸⁹ Du Consulat General de France en Syrie a Ministre des Affaire Etrangères, Direction Politique, No. 26 (17 Mai 1903), Archives de MAE, Turquie, Syrie-Liban, Faculté Médecine de Beyrouth, vol. III. In the same report, it was stated that there were five missionary stations of the American Presbyterian Church in the region, which were Beirut, Abeih, Tripoli, Zahle and Sidon. The number of schools in these stations run by native teachers and supervised by the Protestant missionaries was eighty-five and four thousand students were attending to these schools, nine hundred and seventy-five of them were girls and the rest is boys. It was also indicated in the report that the main purpose of these missions was to gain new Protestants but their numbers were less than three thousand.

³⁹⁰ U.S. Consulate General to Dr. Bliss (Beirut, June 14 1872), Archives of AUB, A.2.3.1.10 (Daniel Bliss Collection 1866-1902), File 9, Document 10.

several rented shops and rooms. It was stated that this had been possible thanks to the advantages granted to the American institutions, which had been previously given to France, Russia, Britain and Germany.³⁹¹

The annual report of the SPC, July 1907, stressed that the Americans received many advantages in 1906, which was defined as an unforgettable year. In that year, an imperial decree for the establishment of the Women's Hospital and an official approval for the Medical School had been received. Moreover, the American charitable, educational and religious establishments in the Ottoman Empire had received the same advantages as the other nations. This very important development, according to the report, could be achieved thanks to the efforts of the President Roosevelt, the Secretary of States Foster, Hay and Root, and the ambassador Leishmen.³⁹²

Despite the above mentioned statements, a letter from Howard Bliss, the President of the SPC, to the American Consul-General Ravndal in Beirut on April 19, 1909 shows that the problems concerning the taxation of the SPC could not be solved yet. In his letter, Bliss informed Ravndal about the demand of the Governor of Beirut from the SPC. Accordingly, the Governor had demanded a sum of 200.000 piaster as tax payment and Bliss was now requesting for help from the consul-general not to pay this amount by stressing that the American schools were exempted from taxation. In order to support his claims, Bliss also reminded a former letter written on July 22, 1904 by Leishman, the American ambassador in Istanbul at that time.³⁹³ It was written in the letter that:

When I advised Mr. Peet about a year ago to notify all American Schools in Turkey to withhold the further payment of taxes, it was with the idea that American institutions should not be allowed to be placed at a disadvantage owing to the failure of the Turkish Government to act promptly on your just demands, and I so notified the Sublime Port. My understanding with Mr. Peet was that all taxes due up to March 1903 should be paid and I considered this action more than fair in view of the fact that the French were relieved of taxation a year sooner, and our demand filled equality of treatment September 1902.

³⁹¹ Annual Report of Faculty (1904-1905) to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College.

³⁹² Annual Report of Faculty (1906-1907) to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College.

³⁹³ From Howard Bliss to the Consul General Ravndal (April 19, 1909), Archives of AUB, AA: 2.3.2.14 (Howard Bliss Collection), File 3, Document 17.

It can be derived from the letter of Bliss and the letter of Leissman quoted by Bliss that even though the initiatives had been started in the 1870s the question of tax exemption remained unsolved by 1909. The Ottoman administration was still insistent on the taxation of the SPC. Secondly, the Ottoman administration had accepted the tax exemption for the French institutions in 1902 and the Americans were insistent on having the same advantages. Finally, the Americans agreed on paying taxes accrued before March 1903 but not to make any tax payment from this date. Despite all these considerations, the SPC was still being imposed of taxation so Bliss was requesting the intervention of the U.S. embassy on behalf of the college.

While the Americans were continuing to make efforts for improving their condition concerning the mentioned matters, on the other hand, the French diplomats were working against them. For example, Constans, the French ambassador in Istanbul, had personally drawn the attention of Sultan Abdulhamid II about the increasing American influence in Syria. According to his report to the MAE, the ambassador had warned the Sultan that if the French political power decreases in Syria this would also bring about negative results for the Ottoman Empire. For this purpose, he had demanded the issue of an imperial decree for the construction of new buildings of the Medical School at SJU, which was being allegedly prevented by the Americans. And this demand had been accepted by the Sultan.³⁹⁴ All these expressions clearly revealed the importance of the missionary institutions, especially the SJU and the SPC, in the rivalry of the Great Powers to be influential in Syria and Lebanon. Thus, both sides closely observed the other side's activities and took the required precautions to keep their position in the rivalry.

Besides the diplomatic struggles, a veritable rivalry was still ongoing between the SJU and the SPC in the field of education in the beginning of the 20th century. They were competing almost in equal conditions. As Fouques-Duparc, the French consul-general in Beirut, indicated the Medical Schools at the SJU and SPC were the sole institutions for higher education in the region having a hundred and seventy-

³⁹⁴ M.Constans, Ambassadeur de France Constantinople, a M. Delcassé, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (13 Septembre 1903), Archives de MAE.

eight and a hundred and twenty-four students in 1907, respectively.³⁹⁵ Likewise the number of doctors graduated from these schools were quite close to each other. As of 1907, the American Medical School had three hundred and thirteen and the French Medical School had two hundred and ninety alumni since their establishment. The alumni of both schools had widely dispersed in different parts of the Ottoman Empire (Table 24).

Table 24: Comparative Table of the Geographical Repartition of the Doctors Graduated from the French and the American Medical Schools³⁹⁶

The French Medical School (1887-1907)		The American Medical School (1871-1907)	
Syria and Palestine	125	Syria and Palestine	154
In Beirut	28	In Beirut	18
In Mount Lebanon	56	In Mount Lebanon	70
In Aleppo and Antioch	8	In Aleppo and Antioch	10
In Latakia and Tripoli	5	In Latakia and Tripoli	9
In Homs	3	In Homs	3
In Damascus and environs	12	In Damascus and environs	12
In Sidon and Haifa	7	In Sidon and Haifa	18
In Palestine	6	In Palestine	14
Rest of the Ottoman Empire	49	Rest of the Ottoman Empire	67
In Constantinople	5	In Constantinople	3
In The Turkish Land in Europe	2	In The Turkish Land in Europe	1
In Armenia and Kurdistan	12	In Armenia and Kurdistan	34
In Anatolia	21	In Anatolia	26
In Mesopotamia	9	In Mesopotamia	3
Egypt	93	Egypt	75
In Cairo	38	In Cairo	14
In Alexandria	17	In Alexandria	12
In the Egyptian Army	8	In the Egyptian Army	23
Others	30	Others	26
France and Colonies	18	United States	9
In Paris	10	In New York	7
In Province	5	In the Provinces	2
In Colonies	3		
TOTAL	290	TOTAL	313

In addition to the Medical School, the most significant department of the College, the SPC had five other departments such as the School of Pharmacy, the Training School for Nurses, the School of Commerce, the Collegiate Department and

³⁹⁵ Du Consulat General de France en Syrie a Ministre des Affaire Etrangères (Beyrouth, 10 Juin 1907).

³⁹⁶ Nigarendé, « Beyrouth, Centre Médical », *Revue de Monde Musulman*, Publiée par La Mission Scientifique du Maroc, Vol. VII, no. I-II (Janvier-Février 1909) (pp. 39-52), pp. 49-50.

the Preparatory Department. It also conferred the degrees of Master of Arts. The total number of the SPC graduates from 1871, when the Medical School had its first graduates, to 1909 was 1901 (Table 25). And the SPC was still highly popular in the region. In the educational year of 1908-09, the number of students at the SPC was 884. There was a huge diversity at the SPC in terms of religious and ethnic identities of the students. However, the Greek Orthodox students were the majority in number compared to any other group (Table 26).

Table 25: Repartition of the Students at the Syrian Protestant College According to the Graduated Departments (1909)³⁹⁷

School-Department	Opening of the School	Number of Diplomas and Certificates
School of Medicine	1871	346
School of Pharmacy	1875	172
School of Commerce	1902*	15 Certificates- 48 Diplomas
Collegiate Department	1870	310
Preparatory Department	1883	1001
Training School for Nurses	1908	3
Masters of Art		6
TOTAL		1901

Table 26: Religious Repartition of the Students According to Religion at the Syrian Protestant College (1908-1909)³⁹⁸

Religion	Medicine	Pharmacy	Nurses	Commerce	College	Preparator y	Total
Greek Orthodox	42	14	1	25	82	181	345
Protestant	36	16	10	10	40	45	157
Moslem	6	-	-	7	27	88	128
Jewish	4	1	2	2	13	64	86
Greek Catholic	5	-	-	2	16	20	43
Gregorian	13	4	-	2	4	5	28
Maronite	3	1	1	2	6	14	27
Druze	3	-	-	-	4	13	20

³⁹⁷ Annual Report of Faculty (1908-1909) to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College.

* School of Commerce was opened in 1902. Fifteen students registered at that time received the certificate of graduation. The students registered in 1903 and later received the diplomas from the School of Commerce since 1905.

³⁹⁸ Annual Report of Faculty (1908-1909) to the Board of Trustees of the Syrian Protestant College.

Table 26 (continued)

Coptic	1	1	-	-	3	11	16
Roman Catholic	1	-	-	2	1	9	13
Syriac	1	-	-	-	2	5	8
Behai	1	-	-	-	3	3	7
Armenian Catholic	1	-	-	-	-	3	4
Syriac Catholic	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
TOTAL	117	37	14	52	202	462	884

Fouques-Duparc, the French consul-general, claimed that the American Medical School was not as liberal as the French institution because all the professors at the American Medical School were the members of Evangelical churches. Also, the consul-general asserted, the French Medical School was giving a more serious and deep education even though it was being run by the Jesuit priests.³⁹⁹

Fouques-Duparc had a point when he emphasized the strong evangelical characteristic of the SPC. According to its charter, the SPC had been “founded and conducted upon strictly Christian and Evangelical principles; but not sectarian.” Upon these principles, the Board of Trustees of the SPC had accepted “the Declaration of Principles” in 1883. Accordingly, all the professors and adjunct-professors had to be member of an Evangelical Protestant church to be appointed at the SPC. This rule was applicable to all instructors not only from the United States but also from Syria or elsewhere.⁴⁰⁰ All the instructors of the SPC had to declare before beginning their job that they assumed the evangelical principles and they would act according to these principles. However, these principles were occasionally criticized and complained by the instructors. When such discussions arose in 1907, the Board of Trustees needed to emphasize the importance of abiding by the principles.

The SJU had a different character from the SPC. It was administered by the Jesuits and there were Catholic priests among the faculty of the university. However,

³⁹⁹ Du Consulat General de France en Syrie a Ministre des Affaire Etrangères (Beyrouth, 10 Juin 1907).

⁴⁰⁰ Archives of AUB, Minutes of Board of Trustees (1895-1916), Meeting of Corporation, New York (May 16, 1907).

the SJU substantially depended on the economic support of the French governments so that there were many secular instructors among the faculty and most of them were working at the Medical and Pharmacy School. Therefore, this school had a highly liberal character.

4.5 The Increasing Influence of the Protestant Missionaries against the Catholic Missionaries

The relationship of missionaries, no matter Catholic or Protestant, with their mother countries has always had ups and downs. The role of missionaries in the mission fields cannot be limited with religious propaganda, education or charitable works. They also had a determinative role in diplomacy and trade. By arriving in remote and less known regions, missionaries were laying the groundwork for commercial and diplomatic activities.

By forming small colonies in the mission regions, the Protestant missionaries were also carrying the American diplomatic existence to new territories. Once missionaries arrived in a new region, the American administration was creating new consulates for protecting and supporting them. Consuls for these newly created consulates were generally chosen among people close to missionaries or directly among missionaries. The influence of missionaries was so strong on this matter that this was sometimes causing the rise of serious criticism. When John W. Foster, the former U.S. Secretary of State, delivered a speech in 1906 stressing the necessity of supporting evangelical efforts, an American author criticized his approach by stressing the serious problems caused by the American missionaries among the Ottoman subjects. He claimed that the consular activities were captured by missionaries and he continued as follows:

...one of the most intelligently observant travelers now living is General Geo. B. Williams, of Washington. He has seen more of the Orient, to say nothing of Turkey and Russia, than any other American of whom there is authentic record...he has had business affairs in Russia, Turkey and China, and has spent a long time in those parts of the world. It will be seen, then, that General Williams has had the experience necessary to make him an important witness touching missionary activities within the sphere of his personal observation...He is the man who first called public attention to American missionary enterprise in the Turkish Empire, though our naval officers and our diplomatic representatives, having special knowledge of the facts, have long discussed in private conversation the conditions of which General Williams makes specific and detailed mention. For example, he has publicly asserted that a number of

the United State consulates in Asia Minor are maintained for no visible purpose other than that of protecting and encouraging Turkish subjects, chiefly Armenians, in revolt and conspiracy against the lawful government. These consulates are established at points where there is no commerce to look after, nor any other American interest to promote. They are operated by missionaries, for missionaries, and to no useful or legitimate public purpose...Wherever the missionary goes, there is need for protection. Wherever “converts” are found, our consuls are engaged in “judicial functions.”... Americans who have looked into the matter without prejudice, and who seriously declare that the so-called “converts” merely profess Christianity in order to obtain certain substantial secular advantages and immunities. Be that as it may, the practical question before the country is whether the United States Government should permit itself to continue in partnership with a religious propaganda...In Asia Minor, we are maintaining a number of consulates for visible purpose but that of promoting missionary activities which are notoriously offensive to the Turkish Government and people...⁴⁰¹

Senator John Sherman had a different kind of concern about the American missionary existence in the Ottoman Empire. Sherman asserted that “if our citizens go to a far distant country, semi-civilized and bitterly opposed to their movements, we cannot follow them there and protect them.” And he continued that “any act of war by us would be accompanied not only by the murder of the missionaries, but of their converts or sympathizers.”⁴⁰²

Cyrus Hamlin, one of the most influential personalities of the Protestant missionaries in the Ottoman Empire and the founder of the Robert College in Istanbul, published an open letter for responding to the speech of Senator Sherman. In his letter, Hamlin rejected any assertion defining the Ottoman Empire as a “semi-civilized country” and emphasized the long-lasting and unproblematic past of missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire. He claimed that Sultan Mahmud II and Sultan Abdulmecid had been friends of the United States and the American missionaries had not faced with any serious problems during the reign of these Sultans. Similarly, the condition of the American missionaries had been favorable during the reign of Sultan Abdulaziz. However, there emerged, Hamlin asserted, a negative atmosphere against the American missionaries and their schools were put under the pressure by the Turkish Government during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II. Hamlin continued that “the Sultan has seen that it is a safe thing to perpetrate every dignity upon American property has amounted to nearly \$200,000.

⁴⁰¹ Richard Weightman, “Our Missionaries and Our Commerce”, *The North American Review*, Vol. 182, No. 595 (Jun., 1906), pp. 886-895.

⁴⁰² Cyrus Hamlin, “America’s Duty to Americans in Turkey: An Open Letter to Hon. John Sherman”, *The American Review*, Vol. 163, No. 478 (Sep., 1896), p. 276.

Not one dollar would have been destroyed had our government from the beginning protected our rights as all the governments of Europe protect their citizens.”⁴⁰³

As can be derived from the above mentioned examples, there were both supporters and opponents of missionary activities pursued in the Ottoman Empire in the United States. Even though their positions sometimes became a matter of discussion the American support towards the missionaries was never cut. The Protestant institutions were always regarded as an important part of the American and the British existence in the Levant. They pursued to develop their works thanks to the political and economic supports they received from the United States and Britain. By the end of the 19th Century, their works began to give significant outcomes.

Although the Protestant missionaries were dealing with religiously-oriented activities their works reversely strengthened the secular and rationalist aspirations among the people of the Levant, especially among the Christians of Lebanon. There were several basic reasons for such developments. Firstly, the national consciousness awakened by the Protestant schools can be stressed. From the beginning, the Protestant schools had contributed to the rise of nationalism by doing researches on the Arab language and history. Also, the youth of the region could have a stronger connection with the West thanks to these schools. Thus, secular and rationalist thoughts of the West spread among the youth and intellectuals. Another factor that strengthened the interaction between the West and the Levant was the accelerating migration from the Levant to the United States and other Western countries in the late 19th Century. With the increase in the number of people acquainted with the West, the interaction of the Levant with the West also strengthened. Especially, students and intellectuals produced academic and intellectual works and they diffused in the Levant what they learned in the West.

In order to understand the development of new ideas among the Arab students, it is essential to stress the change which was observed in the characteristic of the SPC by the early 20th Century. The “Social Gospel” movement, which was a movement struggling with the conservative interpretation of Protestantism and began

⁴⁰³ Hamlin, *America's Duty to Americans in Turkey*, p. 280.

to be influential by the late 19th Century in the United States, was observed in the SPC. Howard Bliss, who was the son of Daniel Bliss and succeeded him as the President of the SPC as of 1902, was representing a new generation and understanding of Social Gospel in the SPC. The defenders of this understanding believed in the supremacy of the American culture with its economic power, the Protestant faith and the way of governance, and their duty was to remove the disparity between the United States and the Middle East and to place a new understanding.⁴⁰⁴ That is for sure, it was not possible for the SPC to realize such high ideals. However, it contributed to the strengthening of some ideas that had already begun to settle among the students in certain extend.

A new spirit was emerging among both masses having closer communication with the West and educated youth. This new spirit was so strong among Christians that it had a potential of changing the role of France in the region and internal dynamics of Christian communities. Constans, the Ambassador of France in Istanbul, reported in 1899 that the recently developing spirit in Syria, chiefly in Lebanon, was continuously diminishing the French influence in the region. Moreover, he continued, the Maronites and Melchites had been deeply influenced by the cultural and social changes. According to the ambassador, the religious spirit in these communities had been weakening for the last two decades and their members were now leaving their familial peculiarities that had been traditionally preserved under the authority of their patriarchs. Many of them, who had not previously considered leaving their country, were migrating to Europe and the United States because of increasing communication with the West. He also stated that these people were not loyal to their patriarchs anymore. Increasing Protestant propagation in Lebanon resulting from the strengthening of the British influence in the region was an important factor on such changes.⁴⁰⁵

Likewise the French missionaries emphasized the rationalist spirit brought from the United States by the immigrants as a determinative factor for the decline of the Maronites' respect towards their patriarchs. According to a missionary statement,

⁴⁰⁴ Van De Mark, *American Sheikhs*, pp. 69-78.

⁴⁰⁵ M.Constans, Ambassadeur de France Constantinople, a M. Delcassé, Ministère des Affaires Etrangères (21 Aout 1899).

the level of respect shown by the Catholics of Lebanon to their clergy had decreased to such a degree that it was almost equal to the level of respect shown by Catholics once upon a time toward the heretics.⁴⁰⁶

As it was stated by a Lazarist priest in Beirut, the migration of the Lebanese people to the United States had become so much widespread that nearly five or six hundred people were leaving their country for the United States every week. As the number of people willing to migrate increased, the inclination to the Protestant schools also increased. The courses of English taught at these schools were necessary for the immigrants to be more successful in the United States. Another matter concerning the immigrants, according to the Lazarist priest, was that those who became rich in the United States and returned to their country were alienated to religion and inclined to masonry. They were supporting the Protestant schools while making efforts for the closure of the Lazarist schools.⁴⁰⁷

The Protestant schools opened in every part of Lebanon and Syria, according to the Catholic missionaries, were the driving force behind the increasing influence of Protestantism in the region. And “richly equipped SPC in Beirut” had a distinguished place among these schools.⁴⁰⁸ In 1907, the number of the Protestant schools in Mount Lebanon had reached to fifty and English was taught at all of them.⁴⁰⁹

All these missionary reports and accounts reveal that the Protestant influence had irreversibly changed social and religious dynamics in Lebanon. This change continued to strengthen through the end of the first decade of the 20th century as a result of increasing connection and communication between the United States and Lebanon. According to Father Romon of the Lazarist congregation in Beirut, these

⁴⁰⁶ Rapport adresse par le Frère François Joseph, Provincial des Frères Maristes, a Mgr. Charmetant, Directeur General de l'OEO, *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, No. 268 (Mai/Juin 1905), p. 79.

⁴⁰⁷ Lettre de M. Ouanes, prêtre de la Mission de la maison de Beyrouth, a M. Vilette, procureur général des Lazaristes (Beyrouth, 13 Novembre 1906), *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, No. 276 (Septembre/Octobre 1906), p. 328

⁴⁰⁸ Rapport du R.P. Jérôme de Lyon, supérieur de la Mission des Capucins en Syrie et Cilicie, a Mgr. Charmetant, Directeur General de l'OEO (Beyrouth, 5 Février 1906), *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, No. 273/274, (Mars/Avril/Mai/Juin 1906), p. 245.

⁴⁰⁹ Lettre du R.P. Jérôme de Lyon, supérieur de la Mission des Capucins en Syrie, a Mgr. Charmetant, Directeur General de l'OEO (Beirut, 17 May 1907), *Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient*, No. 281 (Juillet/Aout 1907), p. 458.

developments particularly incited the Maronites to such ideas as “independence and religious indifference.” He continued that the wave of migration to the United States was depriving people from their beliefs and traditions. Therefore religious education given at the schools of the Catholic missionaries was very significant for protecting the youth from the danger of Protestant missionaries⁴¹⁰.

A Lyonnais newspaper called *Progrès* published an article in 1912 called “*La France en Syrie*” and made striking evaluations on the declining influence of France comparing to the increasing British influence in the Levant. According to the article, the French influence in the region had been based on the protection over the missionaries and missionary schools for a long time but the policy of protection had been deteriorating since 1906. As of this date, France had been increasing the budget of secular missions while reducing her support over missionary schools. On the contrary, the article continued, the Protestant influence was strengthening in the region thanks to the continuous migrations from Egypt and Syria. English thus became an influential language in the region while the French intellectual influence over the elites of Syria nearly disappeared.⁴¹¹

All these detections and interpretations concerning the declining influence of France were closely connected to the decreasing interest of France in the missionary activities in the Levant beginning from the end of the 19th century. In particular, the strict anticlerical and secular laws in France adopted in 1901 and 1905 deeply influenced the French missions. Even though France continued to claim her protection over the Catholic missions in the Levant she could not keep her former efficiency.

⁴¹⁰ Lettre de M. Romon, visiteur des Lazaristes, a Mgr. Charmetant, directeur général de l'OEO (Beirut, 4 June 1911), Œuvre des Ecoles d'Orient, No. 304 (Juillet/Aout 1911), pp. 105-107.

⁴¹¹ Annexe no.1 à la dépêche no. 520 du Novembre 1912. The summary of article in *Progrès* had been sent by the French consul-general in Beirut to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 20 November 1912. This reveals that the evaluations in the article were considered important by the French officials.

CHAPTER 5

THE ATTITUDE OF THE OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION TOWARDS THE FRENCH CATHOLIC MISSIONARIES

The Ottoman Empire was one of the regions where growing missionary activities of the 19th century were very active. Education was the main field of mission among various missionary activities in the Ottoman Empire. And foreign schools with increasing number and efficacy were largely free from the Ottoman control and inspection. There were also some ambiguities in the procedures concerning foundation and operation of these schools and this was often causing emergence of problems between the Ottoman authorities and foreign schools. In most cases, schools were first opened without having official license of the Ottoman authorities and later they attempted to get such licenses. In the event that the Ottoman administration assumed a negative attitude in such circumstances, protecting countries of foreign schools put pressure on the administration on the behalf of missionaries. In order to remove all these ambiguities the Ottoman administration intended to control foundation and operation of foreign schools. Thus, the matter was inserted in a comprehensive legal arrangement concerning the education in the Ottoman Empire. The Regulation for Public Instruction (*Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*) was issued in 1869 to regulate all aspects of education including an article to control the schools founded by foreigners and non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

According to the 129th Article of the Regulation for Public Instruction, any school intended to be opened by either foreigners or non-Muslim minorities was previously required to receive a license from the Ottoman authorities. This license was to be bestowed by the directorates of instruction or governors in the provinces and by the Ministry of Education in Istanbul. Also the same article stipulated that teachers to be appointed at these schools were required to get their diplomas approved by the directorates of instruction or by the Ministry of Education. Apart

from these technical matters, foreign and minority schools were prohibited to give an education that is contradictory to customs and politics of the Empire⁴¹².

The Regulation, which stood in effect until the end of the Ottoman Empire, was insufficient for meeting expected outcomes. The efforts of the Ottoman authorities to control foundation and operation of foreign schools were continuously hindered by the protectors of these schools. In his report submitted to Abdulhamit II, Cevdet Pasha stated that although there was no direct clause in their contents, foreign states opposed to every limitation concerning foreign schools by using capitulations and the Reform Decree (*Islahat Fermanı*) as an excuse⁴¹³. Therefore, the efforts of Abdulhamit II to restrain foreign schools did not produce a considerable result.

In addition to schools, there were numerous missionary establishments like churches, hospital and orphanages in the Ottoman Empire. Number of these establishments continued to increase until 1914 when the First World War broke out and capitulations were annulled by the Ottoman Empire.

⁴¹² *Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi*, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire 22 Şaban 1292 (1875), pp. 25-36. The Article 129 was regulating the private schools (*mekatib-i hususiye*) in other words the non-Muslim schools founded by whether the Ottoman subjects or foreigners. The article was as follows: “*Mekatib-i hususiye bazı mahallerde cemaatler tarafından veya gerek tebaa-i Devlet-i Aliyye gerek tebaa-i ecnebiyeden olan efrat ve eşhastan biri canibinden ücretli veya ücretsiz olarak ihdas ve tesis olunan mekteplerdir ki bunların masarifat ve muhassasatı ya müessisleri tarafından veyahut merbut oldukları vakıfları canibinden idare ve rüyet kılınır. Memalik-i Şahanede bu nevi mekteplerin tesisine evvela muallimlerin yedinde Maarif Nezareti canibinden veyahut mahalli maarif idaresinden şahadetname bulunmak ve saniyen bu mekteplerde adaba ve politikaya mugayir ders okutturulmamak için talim olunacak derslerin cetveli ve kitapları Maarif Nezaretinden veyahut mahalli maarif idaresinden tasdik edilmek üzere taşrada ise vilayet-i maarif idaresiyle vilayet valisi tarafından ve Dersaadette Maarif Nezareti canibinden ruhsat-ı resmiye verilir. Bu üç şart kamilen mevcut olmadıkça mekatib-i hususiye küşadına ve devamına ruhsat verilmez ve hilafında hareket vukuu takdirinde men ve set olunur. Mekatib-i hususiye küşat edenlerin tayin edecekleri hocaların yedlerinde şahadetname bulunduğu halde onu maarif idaresine tasdik ettirmeleri lazım gelecektir.*” Here, I would like to make a notification for the researchers who study on the Regulation for the Public Instruction in a detailed way. For the Regulation, I consulted the copy in the library of the Turkish Historical Association (TTK-call number A. 5313) . This copy was seemingly used by an anonymous official or expert as a sketch for the planned changes in the Regulation. It consists of many marginalia with handwriting to make changes in the articles or to add new articles. According to the sketch, the 129th article also planned to be changed. Instead of this article, there were six articles (136-141) in the sketch. See. Appendix

⁴¹³ Yahya Akyüz, “Cevdet Paşa’nın Özel Öğretim ve Tanzimat Eğitimine İlişkin Bir Layihası”, *OTAM Dergisi*, 1992, Sayı: 3, pp. 85–114.

5.1 Struggle with the French Missionary Schools and the Ottoman Efforts to Restrain Their Activities

Considering from the Ottoman administration's point of view, education was the most significant aspect of the struggle with missionaries. Educational activities in Lebanon, chiefly in Beirut and in Mount Lebanon, were mostly controlled by foreign and minority schools. Particularly, numerous schools founded by the French Catholic and American Protestant missionaries were determining factor for the characteristics and level of education in the region. Their schools ranged from primary schools to universities.

Missionary schools in the provinces of Beirut and Syria, especially the SPC and the SJU, had become the most important learning institutions in the region. While primary and elementary schools were just offering basic educational skills like writing and reading the SPC and the SJU were offering more advanced education in the fields of medicine, theology and commerce as well as classical college education. In the absence of any secondary school in the region opened by the Ottoman administration, the existence of two institutions for higher education founded by the French Jesuit and by the American Protestant missionaries constituted a huge problem for the Ottoman Empire. These schools became highly popular among the youth of the region and their families as the Ottoman administration did not offer any alternative for them. Not only Christians but also Muslim youngsters showed interest in these schools with the hope of receiving a better education.

It can be supposed that schools run by either Catholics or Protestants would contribute to the increase of qualified manpower needed by the region. However, they were generally suspected by the Ottoman administration. This suspect was not resulting from the quality of education but from the values on which these schools were founded. The Christian teachings and the idea of Western supremacy had been taken as the basis during the foundation of these schools. And the Ottoman authorities had a popular belief that students receiving a Western type of education showed an inclination towards religiously and politically harmful ideas.

As the threat of foreign schools became evident the Ottoman administration assumed a more serious attitude concerning the development of education to struggle with the schools in Lebanon and Syria. The priorities of the administration were to

increase the number of state schools and to control activities of foreign schools. Therefore, the Ottoman administration often demanded reports from the officials and the statesmen on the condition of education and schools in the region or instructed provincial authorities to take precautions to restrain activities of foreign schools.

Mount Lebanon had become an autonomous governorship in 1861 under the surveillance of the Great Power and the Ottoman authority was highly ineffective there. There was a strong existence of missionaries in Mount Lebanon. Especially the French and American missionaries were very active and they had many schools there. The Ottoman administration realized, in every sense, its own weakness and attempted to compete with foreign schools by opening new schools. However, the Ottoman efforts in Mount Lebanon were vain. A dispatch from the Ministry of Education to the Governorship of Mount Lebanon in 1872 stated that foreign schools were trying to gain more students by taking advantage of the weakness of the state schools. It was also stressed that the state schools faced with the danger of being closed because of financial problems⁴¹⁴.

As the Ottoman authority virtually came to an end in Mount Lebanon the control and inspection over the missionary schools thus became largely impossible for the Ottoman administration. However, the Governorship of Beirut and especially the town of Beirut was considered critically important by the administration. Beirut had become the center of education and trade in the Eastern Mediterranean and it ranked first in the region in terms of the number of missionaries and missionary schools. Due to these peculiarities, the developments in Beirut were closely followed by the Ottoman administration.

Conditions and impacts of the missionary schools in Beirut became the subject of numerous reports and official correspondences which increased as from the 1890s in parallel with the increase in the number and influence of missionary schools. The report of Mihran Boyaciyani⁴¹⁵ prepared in 1891 to submit to Abdulhamid II was one of the notable reports in this period. In the report, Boyaciyani

⁴¹⁴ BOA, MF. MKT. 6-114. According to this document, four schools had been opened by making a five per cent deduction from salaries of civil servants in Mount Lebanon. However, the allowance of these schools was cancelled because of the decision of the government to move the deducted amount into treasury.

⁴¹⁵ Boyaciyani was an official in the Governorship of Beirut.

firstly stressed increasing importance of the Governorship of Beirut, especially the town of Beirut, in the region. This had fostered European powers' interests and, he indicated, many missionary schools had been founded in Beirut. According to Boyaciyân's account, France had always had interests in the region and the other European countries, chiefly Britain, had recently begun to evince their existence. Boyaciyân suggested the Ottoman administration to take caution against missionary schools that he regarded as nuisances. Accordingly⁴¹⁶;

1. the Directorate of Instruction in Beirut should be reorganized according to present needs and qualified officials should be appointed here;
2. the Committee of Instruction in Beirut should be instructed on the matter of giving importance to the Turkish and Ottoman history courses which had neglected until then;
3. As foreign countries provide allocations to the schools founded by the native priests and subjects for the propagation of their languages, similar allocations should be provided from the budget of instruction and teaching of the Turkish and Ottoman history courses should be made compulsory;
4. Attendance of the Muslim students to missionary schools should be prohibited;
5. Against schools in such regions as Sidon, Sour, Aqqa, Haifa, Tripoli and Latakia, new schools should be rapidly founded.
6. In order to increase the orientation and sympathy towards the Ottoman schools, proper personalities among graduates should be appointed as temporary or permanent officials;
7. A sum should be allocated from the budget of education for the schools in the central districts of Mount Lebanon to promote teaching of Turkish;
8. Teachers to be appointed should be carefully chosen;
9. Those who do not know Turkish should not be appointed as officials;
10. Government should use Turkish in all kind of correspondences.

⁴¹⁶ Atilla ÇETİN, "II. Abdülhamid'e Sunulmuş Beyrut Vilayetindeki Yabancı Okullara Dair Bir Rapor", *Türk Kültürü*, Sayı: 253, 1984 (pp. 316–324), pp. 318–321.

As it is derived from this report, such courses as Turkish and the Ottoman history were not being taught at the schools in the Governorship of Beirut. Teaching of Western languages, however, was highly widespread in the region thanks to continuously increasing missionary schools. Developing commercial and educational investments of the European countries encouraged the youth to study foreign languages but Turkish was substantially neglected. This exceeded being a matter of education and perceived by the Ottoman administration as a social and political problem. Such concerns became influential in shaping of the Ottoman perception towards missionaries and their schools in a negative way.

Beyond the concerns of the Ottoman administration, there was a fact that the missionary schools had highly raised the level of education in the region, notably in Beirut. As it was not possible to prevent the activities of these schools because of diplomatic pressures, the Ottoman administration had to find out the ways of competing with them. This forced the Ottoman authorities to develop the level of existing schools and to open new ones. In fact, there were request from Beirut to Istanbul on the matter. As the Muslim schools could not “compete with the Jesuit and Protestant schools in Beirut” and those who attended missionary schools “assumed harmful ideas”, it was requested from Beirut that “the existing primary and elementary schools should be developed and a normal school should be founded in order to strengthen Islamic faith by training teachers”. On 20 January 1892, the Ministry of Internal Affairs informed the Grand Vizierate about the requests of Beirut and indicated that the amelioration of the existing schools’ conditions and the foundation of a normal school were necessary⁴¹⁷.

Another report submitted from the Director of Education in Beirut to the Ministry of Education on 21 March 1892 explicitly explained the influential state of the missionary schools in Beirut and Mount Lebanon and the inefficiency of the Ottoman educational institutions. The Director of Education particularly stressed the critical position of Beirut and Mount Lebanon in Syria and because of this, he urged,

⁴¹⁷ BOA, DH. MKT. 1870–9. One of such demands had been made by Abdülkadir Bey, a journalist in Beirut. He wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education in 1891 and demanded the improvement of the present schools and the establishment of a normal school in Beirut. As it can be understood from the correspondences, the demands of Abdülkadir Bey were seriously treated by the Ottoman authorities.

the attention and the ambitions of foreigners on these regions had never lacked. Opening new schools in the region was one of the consequences of the increasing interest of foreigners. According to the report of the Director, there were fourteen considerable schools for boys and girls and sixty primary schools (*sıbyan mektebi*) in the Governorship of Beirut. And there were nine considerable schools and a hundred primary schools in Mount Lebanon. Students were being educated by missionaries from such nations as French, American, British and Italian at these schools. As it was indicated by the Director of Education, these schools did not submit any information to the Ottoman authorities about course contents, course books and teachers. Therefore, the Ottoman administration did not have an accurate knowledge about neither given education nor employed teachers at these schools⁴¹⁸.

One of the main reasons for the popularity of missionary schools was that they were raising qualified manpower needed by the European companies in the region. There was an increasing demand of the youth in Beirut for new fields of study and foreign languages in order to get job in these companies. However, the Ottoman Empire did not have schools in the region that could meet the new expectations. According to the above mentioned report of the Director of Education, the main schools founded by the Ottoman administration in Beirut were the civil middle school (1875), the military middle school (1886), the high school (1888) and the middle school for girls (1890). In addition to these elementary and secondary schools, there were four primary schools for boys and four for girls in Beirut. The middle schools and the high school for boys, according to the Director, were successfully functioning but the middle school for girls had only a low paid teacher and education given by this school was highly incompetent⁴¹⁹.

Another matter that was emphatically emphasized in the report of the Director of Education was the “negative impacts” of the missionary schools on the youth. He claimed that these schools were changing the character and attitude of the Ottoman youth from all religious and ethnic groups. For example, the students in Beirut had begun to imitate hats and attires of the French soldiers. The Director warned against

⁴¹⁸BOA, MF. MKT. 137–81.

⁴¹⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 137–81.

the potential negative impacts and undesired consequences of such changes on the Ottoman social order. He thus suggested the inspection of these schools' activities and taking required precautions to compete with them. Accordingly⁴²⁰;

1. Education given by the foreign schools should immediately be adjusted to the Regulation of Public Education.
2. New schools should be opened to get the Ottoman subjects left gradually foreign schools.
3. A high school (*mekteb-i sultani*) should be established with a capacity of nearly 1500 students. In addition to Turkish and Arabic, this school should also teach French which is highly demanded because of commercial activities in the region. Addition of a medical school to the new school is also a necessity to compete with foreign institutions.
4. A well-equipped press should be established in order to compete with the foreign presses, notably the press of the Jesuits.
5. An orphanage for unattended and poor children and also a middle school for girls should be opened.

Despite these suggestions regarding the region, a noteworthy step could not be taken against the missionary schools and their influence continued to increase. In particular, Beirut began to attract the attention of students not only from nearby but also from remote regions thanks to numerous missionary schools. This trend was deeply suspected by the Ottoman authorities. The governor of Beirut reported on 2 September 1897 that the Armenian students from different provinces of Anatolia, chiefly from the provinces of Sivas and Diyarbakır, were arriving in Beirut to study at the schools of Jesuit and American schools. He urged that education and training given by these schools had a kind of characteristic that dissented from “the national customs of Ottoman” and served “the purposes of foreigners by awakening harmful aspirations”. In order to prevent these undesired impacts, the governor demanded taking of required precautions for preventing the arrival of the Armenian students in Beirut⁴²¹.

⁴²⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 137–81.

⁴²¹ BOA, A.) MKT. MHM. 702–33.

The fact that missionaries “diffused harmful ideas” and “served the interests of foreign countries” by means of their schools was an aspect which was repeatedly stressed in the Ottoman official correspondences. It is also understood from the correspondences that such arguments were taken into consideration at utmost level in Istanbul and some steps were taken to compete with the missionary schools. As a result of such concerns, a report had been prepared by a special committee (*meclis-i mahsus*) and submitted to the Grand Vizierate on 29 June 1899. This report emphasized the problems caused by the foreign and minority schools, whose number had largely increased in the Ottoman Empire, and comprehensively put forward required precautions to struggle with these schools. The report suggested making of the following regulations⁴²²:

1. Foreign teachers should not be allowed to work at primary schools attended by Muslim students;
2. When a request is made by foreigners to open a school in any given region this request should be refused if there are no children from foreign nations in that region. If there are foreign children the permission should be given according to the existing regulations;
3. The required inspections on the Muslim and non-Muslim schools should be made and course books should be controlled beforehand;
4. Registration of the Ottoman subjects to newly founded schools should be certainly prevented. Also the attendance of non-Muslim children to the existing schools, if it would be possible, should be prevented hereafter.
5. Non-Muslim children attending to middle and high schools of missionaries should be required to take Turkish courses.
6. Even though it would remain partial for now, Muslim and non-Muslim children would unite in the idea of loyalty to their county when they are educated under the same method and administration. By this way, the interest of these students in the foreign schools would gradually decrease and they would recede from harmful

⁴²² BOA, Y.A. RES. 101–39.

aspirations of these schools. For this purpose, free primary and middle schools should be initially opened in such provinces as Syria, Beirut, Aleppo, Aydın, Hüdavendigâr, Diyarbakır, Mamuretülâziz, Adana, Sivas, Adrianople, Bitola, Thessalonica, Kosovo and Ioannina. According to results obtained from these provinces, these schools should be opened in other provinces. These schools should take successful foreign and non-Muslim school in their regions as example. At these schools, students should be educated on sciences in Turkish according to the needs of the region for duration of six or seven years.

7. At these schools, in addition to Muslims instructors, non-Muslim instructors among the graduates of college (mekteb-i aliye) and high schools (idadi) will also be charged. And religious instruction will be given to non-Muslim students by their coreligionist instructors. The schools will have three hundred, two hundred and fifty or two hundred students according to the vastness of region that they will be opened.
8. Primary instructors (muallim-i evvel) would be appointed to middle schools from the normal school in Istanbul. However, it would be appropriate to open normal schools in the provincial centers to train instructor because the appointment of secondary and tertiary instructors (muallim-i sani and muallim-i salis) from Istanbul would be difficult because of low wages.

As it was clearly shown by this report, the Ottoman administration considered foreign and non-Muslim schools as a significant threat and sought the ways of struggling with them. In this frame, the importance of offering a more widespread and qualified education by opening new schools was realized. It was also a significant development that there had emerged the idea of receiving both Muslim and non-Muslim students at the same time to the Ottoman schools. The Ottoman authorities aimed at removing non-Muslim students from the foreign schools because the influence of these schools was particularly strong on non-Muslims. It was thought that the mixed schools would make a considerable contribution to the social

and political unity of the Ottoman Empire. In accordance with such concerns, such Ottoman provinces as Beirut, Aleppo and Damascus, where the foreign schools were numerous and the foreign influence was highly felt, were determined as the priority areas for opening of new schools and the application of new educational regulations.

Table 27: Beirut High School (*Mekteb-i İdadi*) in the Academic Year of 1316-1317 (1900-1901)⁴²³

Boarding Students				Day Students		Total	
Paying		Not Paying					
Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim	Muslim	Non-Muslim
68	3	23	3	121	6	212	12

Table 28: The High Schools (*Mekatib-i İdadi*) in the Province of Beirut in the Academic Year of 1316-1317 (1900-1901)⁴²⁴

High Schools	Muslim Students	Non-Muslim Students	Total
High School in Latakia	80	3	83
High School in Acre	105	5	110
High School in Tripoli	255	-	255
High School in Nablus	179	-	179
Total	619	8	627

Total number of the high school students in the Province of Beirut was eight hundred and fifty-one (851), of which eight hundred and thirty-one (831) were Muslims and only twenty (20) were non-Muslims. In addition to the high schools, there were ten middle schools (*rüşdiye*) for boys in different districts of Beirut, Acre, Nablus and Latakia sandjaks and the total number of the students receiving education at these schools was only two hundred and twenty-nine (229). There were also three middle schools for girls in Beirut, Acre and Latakia and the total number of the students was two hundred and thirty-nine (239). In addition to these schools, there was a military middle school (*askeri rüşdiye*) in Beirut with one hundred and fifty-six (156) students⁴²⁵.

⁴²³ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye*, Def'a 4, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Amire 1319(h.), pp. 485-486.

⁴²⁴ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye (1319)*, pp. 486-488.

⁴²⁵ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye (1319)*, pp. 488-491.

According the Ottoman state statistics concerning the non-Muslim and foreign schools in the Province of Beirut by the academic year of 1900-1901, the total number of the students at the non-Muslim middle and high schools was eight hundred and thirty-three (833), of which two hundred and forty-five (245) were attending to the middle schools and five hundred and eighty-eight (588) were to the high schools. All the students were boys and there was no middle or high school for girls opened by the non-Muslims. On the other hand, the number of students at the foreign schools of middle and high level was 1562, of which 1352 were boys and two hundred and thirty (230) were girls⁴²⁶.

Despite the efforts of the Ottoman administration to increase the number of state schools and students, statistics shows that these efforts were far from giving the expected results. The weakness of the Ottoman schools in their competition with the foreign schools led the Muslim students as well as non-Muslim students to attend these schools. Despite the imperial decrees forbidding the attendance of the Muslim students to the foreign schools this was not completely prevented. For example, a report from the Province of Syria to the Ministry of Education stated that a great number of children of the Muslim tradesmen and officials were attending to the college of the French Lazarists in Damascus⁴²⁷. As it was indicated in another report sent by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Grand Vizierate on 8 February 1900, the Muslim students continued to the missionary and foreign schools despite repeated warnings and the Ministry of Education demanded taking necessary precautions to prevent such cases⁴²⁸.

Similar concerns were also expressed by the Province of Beirut. According to a dispatch of the governor, children of some Muslim families and civil-military officials were still attending to the Jesuit schools in Beirut despite the repeated and certain notifications of the local authorities on ground of previously issued imperial

⁴²⁶ *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye (1319)*, pp. 492-495. For the detailed list of non-Muslim and foreign schools in the Province of Beirut see appendices.

⁴²⁷ BOA, MF. MKT. 327-41. The names of twenty-three Muslim students and their parents were listed and submitted to Istanbul. As it was indicated in the correspondences, the parents had been called by the Educational Assembly in Damascus and they had been told to withdraw the register of their children from the French school.

⁴²⁸ BOA, DH. MKT. 2302-99.

decree. As these schools were “propagating Christianity and thus would have negative impacts on the beliefs and morals of the children”, the dispatch stated, the parents of children had to be strictly warned and required precautions had to be taken for sending such children to the Muslim schools⁴²⁹.

Despite all these warnings and taken precautions of the Ottoman authorities, it is derived from the Ottoman correspondences that Muslim students both in Beirut⁴³⁰ and in other provinces⁴³¹ continued to attend the foreign and non-Muslim schools. This can be attributed to the weakness of the Ottoman administration in terms of human and financial sources. The deficiency of these sources was a serious obstacle before the foundation of new schools by the administration to compete with the foreign schools. As a result of this, besides the non-Muslim students quite many Muslim students preferred to attend the foreign schools to get a better education.

To sum up, it can be said that the foreign schools were considered as a serious menace by the Ottoman administrations and a great deal of such schools were run by the French missionaries, in particular by the Jesuits. Even though the problems caused by the French missionary schools in social, religious and political terms were repeatedly exposed and some measures were suggested against them by the Ottoman authorities the increase in the number of these schools could not be stopped. The main reasons for this, France was providing financial and political support to the missionary schools and the Ottoman administration was not able to take required steps to respond these schools.

5.2 The Ottoman Approach to the French and American Medical Schools and the Foundation of the Medical School of Damascus

The previous chapter had included a detailed analysis of the processes concerning the foundation and development of the French Medical School at the SJU

⁴²⁹ BOA, MF. MKT. 624–30.

⁴³⁰ BOA, MF. MKT. 613–12.

⁴³¹ BOA, MF. MKT. 788–3.

and the American Medical Schools at SPC as well as the rivalry between two institutions. As being another aspect of the matter, it will be evaluated here that how the Ottoman administration approached to these institutions and how it struggled with them.

There had been some controversies between the Ottoman officials and these institutions and their protecting consuls and ambassadors since the establishment of the mentioned medical schools. As it was previously discussed, the initiatives on the questions concerning the equivalence of diplomas granted by the French and American Medical Schools and the holding of the equivalence examinations in Beirut were the beginning of controversies⁴³². The first of such initiatives had been shown for the American Medical School in 1871 when the School had its first graduates. At that time, the American Consul in Beirut applied to the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs to bestow the diploma of the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul upon the graduates of American Medical School so that they were to have the right of practicing their profession in the Ottoman Empire⁴³³. The similar demands were made by the French Medical School soon after its establishment in 1882.

Despite the intensive efforts, the demands of American and French diplomats and missionaries were not positively responded by the Ottoman administration. The main reason for this negative approach was that the right of practicing a prestigious profession like medicine by the graduates of missionary schools would negatively affect the Ottoman social structure. That is to say that the American and French Medical Schools were the sole medical schools in the region until the establishment of the Medical School of Damascus (*Şam Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiyesi*) in 1903 by the Ottoman administration⁴³⁴. Thus not only from Lebanon and Syria but also from

⁴³² The developments concerning the equivalence of diplomas and the holding of examinations in Beirut had been evaluated in the Chapter 3 in details..

⁴³³ BOA, HR. TO. 147–38.

⁴³⁴ The Medical School of Damascus was the third medical school in the Ottoman Empire. The Imperial Medical School (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*) was the first medical school founded on 14 March 1827 with the aim of training doctors for the army. The second one was the Civil Medical School (*Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye*) founded on 1 March 1867 for training civil doctors. Emre DÖLEN, “II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Darülfünun”, *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları*, X–1 (2008), pp. 1–46.

different regions like Egypt, Iraq and Cyprus many students showed an interest in these schools. This was strengthening the missionary presence in the region. Consequently the Ottoman administration was reluctant to see more non-Muslim doctors graduated from the missionary schools⁴³⁵.

While the Ottoman officials were taking a stance against the medical schools of the Protestant and Catholic missionaries the United States and France were working on behalf of them as being the protectors of schools. This was the case despite the differences in the nature of these schools' relationship with the protector states. The American Medical School had been established thanks to the efforts and financial potential of the Protestant missionaries and it was extensively independent from the influence of American administration in terms of administration. The French institution had a different character. The establishment of this school had come up thanks to the generous financial support of the French government whose support regularly continued during the following years. Therefore, strong influence and control of the French government was continuously felt over the French Medical School. Because of these peculiarities, the school was regarded as a genuine French institution and a representative of French prestige in the region by the French authorities.

As the missionary schools were considered as the places where harmful activities were conducted and the interests of foreign states were defended the Ottoman administration desired to stop the increasing strength and prestige of these schools. For this purpose, all demands concerning the official approval of their diplomas were protracted by the Ottoman officials. Despite this negative attitude, the administrators of the French and American medical schools continued to make efforts in Istanbul by the mediation of their diplomatic representatives in order to improve their present conditions.

As a result of unceasing initiatives of the consuls in Beirut, the Governorship of Beirut had to deliver the requests of the medical schools to Istanbul. In a correspondence from Beirut to Istanbul, the requests of the French and American medical schools were summarized as follows: A commission under the presidency of

⁴³⁵ BOA, DH. MKT. 2113-111.

the Health Inspector of the Governorship of Beirut was to be formed in order to inspect the courses taught at the medical schools and to be present during the examinations of students. Thus the diplomas of graduates would be approved by the Ottoman authorities. However, this request was not considered applicable by the Sublime Port. A telegram from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to Beirut on 11 October 1891 said that the graduates of the American and French medical schools had always taken examinations at the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul. And it was reminded that this practice had been accepted by the American missionaries long before and by the French Jesuits and the French Embassy previous year. Therefore, the requests of the medical schools were rejected by the Sublime Porte on account to the fact that they were against the settled practices and they would bring about undesired consequences in the future⁴³⁶.

Although the unwillingness of the Ottoman authorities was evident this was to change owing to the insistent initiatives of the French diplomats on behalf of the French Medical School. The Sublime Porte had to accept in 1898 that the students of this school would take their examinations in Beirut before a committee composed of members from the Imperial Medical School and the French universities and successful students would get their diplomas approved by the Imperial Medical School. Similar rights were also granted to the American Medical School in 1903. The change in the attitude of the Ottoman administration was, of course, a result of the diplomatic pressure of France and the United States.

The French and American medical schools had continued to develop despite all administrative hindrances of the Ottoman authorities. A report, submitted by the Governor of Beirut to Sultan Abdulhamid II on 23 May 1900, had described the French and American medical schools as the most significant establishments in the region and had suggested the multiplication and development of the Muslim establishments to struggle with “the harmful impacts” of these schools⁴³⁷. The clearest response of the Ottoman administration to the medical schools in Beirut, in particular, and to all the missionary establishments in the region, in general, was the

⁴³⁶ BOA, DH. MKT. 1876–64. The Ministry of Health had also asserted a negative opinion concerning the requests of the medical schools.

⁴³⁷ BOA, Y. PRK. UM. 50–47.

establishment of Medical School of Damascus in 1903⁴³⁸. Establishing such schools in the different parts of the Empire had been considered at the end of the 19th century but this could not be achieved because of financial difficulties. Even though other projects had to be shelved the establishment of a medical school in Damascus was approved by the Sublime Porte.

A commission was formed to prepare a report concerning the foundation of a medical school in Damascus and it submitted its report to *Meclis-i Vala* on 29 March 1903. At the end of evaluation in *Meclis-i Vala*, the foundation of medical school was approved and the case was presented to the Sublime Porte for the fulfillment of the requirements. In the report, two points had been shown as the reason for the choice of Damascus. Firstly, the missionary activities of the French and American medical schools in Beirut were very influential in the region. These schools were simultaneously carrying on both missionary and education activities and they played a leading role in the field of science in the region. According to the report, this role was to be played by the Ottoman institutions instead of foreign schools. Secondly, just like all other parts of the Empire there was a requirement for a medical school in the region in order to meet the needs of both army and people⁴³⁹.

The Medical School of Damascus was officially opened on 31 August 1903 and began the education in October. At the beginning, the Medical School had twenty five students of which the fifteen was at the Department of Medicine and the ten was at the Department of Pharmacy. And there were only three instructors and this increased to six in January 1904 with new appointments⁴⁴⁰.

In order to compete with the French and American medical schools the Ottoman administration took a decision concerning the acceptance of foreign students to the Medical School as well as the Ottoman citizens. The Ministry of Education had asked the opinion of the Grand Vizierate when this matter came to the

⁴³⁸ For some observations concerning the establishment of the Medical School of Damascus and activities of the French and American Medical Schools see. Kürşat Çelik, "Misyonerlerin Suriye'de Sağlık Alanındaki Faaliyetleri ile Şam Tıp Fakültesinin Açılmasına Dair Bir Rapor", *The Journal of Academic Social Science Studies*, No: 29, Autumn III 2014 (pp. 139-164).

⁴³⁹ Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Suriye'de Modern Osmanlı Sağlık Müesseseleri, Hastaneler ve Şam Tıp Fakültesi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1999, p. 36-37.

⁴⁴⁰ İhsanoğlu, *Suriye'de Osmanlı Sağlık Müesseseleri*, p. 41.

agenda. In its response the Grand Vizierate reminded that the Medical School in Damascus did not have its own private regulations so that it was depending on the regulations of the Imperial Medical School in Istanbul. Accordingly there were no obstructive precepts in the content of the regulations of the Imperial Medical School concerning the acceptance of foreign students. Thus the Ministry of Education was instructed by an imperial decree which said that if there were foreign students intended to leave the foreign schools in Beirut for the Medical School of Damascus they could be accepted in the condition of meeting the requirements of the school⁴⁴¹. By doing so, it was expected by the Ottoman authorities that the Medical School of Damascus would pick up some students from the foreign schools in Beirut and would compete with them in time.

The Medical School of Damascus progressed to a certain extent in terms of the numbers of instructors and students during the following years. However, the total number of the graduates of the school was limited to a hundred and fourteen from 1909⁴⁴² to 1914 for the Department of Medicine. And its Department of Pharmacy had a hundred and sixty-four graduates from 1906 to 1914⁴⁴³. It can be said that the foundation of the Medical School of Damascus was an important but a delayed step taken by the Ottoman administration for competing with the foreign schools in the Levant. It could not pose a serious threat against the influence of the French and American medical schools which had rooted and increased their efficacy in the region for many decades.

As being the most significant French institution in Beirut, even in the whole Empire, the Medical School of the SJU carried on its activities until 1914 when it was closed like all other French establishments by the Ottoman administration with the outbreak of the First World War.

⁴⁴¹ BOA, MF. MKT. 1018–82.

⁴⁴² The Medical School of Damascus had its first graduates in 1906 for the Department of Pharmacy in 1906 and in 1909 for the Department of Medicine.

⁴⁴³ İhsanoğlu, *Suriye'de Osmanlı Sağlık Müesseseleri*, p. 60.

5.3 The Problems between the Ottoman Administration and the French Missionary Establishments Concerning Licenses and Permissions

One of the main problems of the Sublime Porte concerning the missionary works in the Ottoman Empire was the license demands of the missionaries to establish new institutions. Any school, church, hospital and orphanage in the Empire was required to have an official permission from the Ottoman administration to be constructed and to be operated. However, these requirements were generally ignored by the French missionaries just like other missionary groups. Whenever the French missionaries needed to have a license or permission for their establishments they submitted their demands to the closest French consuls, consul-generals or ambassadors in the region. And these diplomats were requesting the necessary permissions from the Sublime Porte with the mediation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The demands of the missionaries were mostly causing a dilemma for the Sublime Porte. Even though they had a deep suspicion about the missionaries and their activities the Ottoman authorities could hesitantly intervene because of the French protection over the French missionaries. In fact this was the main reason why it was essential for the missionaries to have the protection of a great power. This necessity made the French protectorate indispensable for the French missionaries. As can be derived from many Ottoman documents, “the inconvenient and inadmissible” demands concerning the missionaries had to be accepted by the Sublime Porte because of the interventions of the French consuls and ambassadors on behalf of them.

The Ottoman documents about the request for the establishment of the SJU in Beirut by the Jesuits are quite explanatory for understanding the approach of the Ottoman authorities concerning the establishment of an important missionary institution and for revealing the procedures to be followed. Accordingly, the process for the establishment of the SJU had begun with the application of the French consul to the Province of Syria that had submitted the case to the Sublime Porte in 1875. However, as it can be followed from the documents, the process had not been still completely finished in 1882. Many correspondences had persisted for several years on the matter between the Ottoman public offices like the Ministry of Internal

Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Council of State (*Şura-yı Devlet*) and the Grand Vizierate.

The request of the Jesuits to establish the SJU was presented by the Ministry of Education to the Sublime Porte on 3 September 1875. According to information given by the Ministry, the Jesuits had decided to transfer their college from Gazhir to Beirut to establish the SJU. Their request had reached to the Sublime Porte via the Governorship of Syria. In Istanbul, the case had been firstly discussed at the Assembly of Education (*Meclis-i Maarif*). The Jesuits already had two large schools in Gazhir and Beirut and now they were planning to establish a larger one. In their request, the Jesuits had not indicated their plans for the future of the present schools. Thus the Assembly of Education took a dim view about the new school. It was thought that the Jesuits would not abandon their former schools after the foundation of new school. According to the Assembly of Education, the actual aim of the Jesuits was to increase the influence of their congregation in “a locality situated in the most important region” of the Ottoman Empire⁴⁴⁴.

The Jesuits renewed their application upon the decline of the first one. This application was transferred from Syria to Istanbul with some observations about the Jesuit schools. Accordingly, the Jesuits had two schools in Ghazir. The first one had been established in h. 1250 (1834-35) and it had forty rooms. The second one had been established in h. 1265 (1848-49) and it had sixty rooms. The Jesuits was now requesting the integration of two schools by emphasizing that the existing conditions were causing high operating costs as well as difficulties in the education and discipline of students. The Jesuits had bought a terrain of 35.000 square meters in Beirut for the building of school. As this terrain was not close to such military zones as fortress and strongholds the Governorship of Syria did not object to the building of school. However, the Ministry of Education asked from the Province of Syria to get the regulations (*nizamname*), course tables (*ders cetvelleri*) and student registrations (*öğrenci cetvelleri*) of the school by reminding that all indigenous and

⁴⁴⁴ BOA, MF. MKT. 31–4. The expression in the document was “*memleketin en mühim noktasında bulunan bir mevkiye...*” According to the document, the Ottoman authorities thought that the Jesuits intended to create a large center in Beirut having a hundred and fifty rooms on the pretext of giving education. Thus giving concession to the Jesuits was not approved by the Ministry of Education.

foreign schools were obliged to operate according to the clauses of the Regulation for Public Instruction. Also the Ministry instructed the Province to take required precautions about the school unless it acted in accordance with the general education and rules of the Ottoman Empire. After submitting all these information, the Ministry of Education had left the final decision to the Grand Vizierate⁴⁴⁵.

The matter concerning the new Jesuit school was addressed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this time. And it sent the case to the Council of State to receive its opinion. Here a committee (*meclis-i mahsus*) was created to examine the matter. The committee decided to deliver the case to the Ministry of Education for inspecting the consistency of the new school to the Regulation for Public Instruction in terms of its regulations and curriculum. Upon this decision, by indicating the decision of the Council of State, the *Mektubi Kalemi* transferred the case to the Ministry of Education on 23 April 1876 and asked the fulfillment of required inspections and controls⁴⁴⁶.

In its reply to the Grand Vizierate on 27 June 1876, the Ministry of Education repeated its previous opinions once more by reminding its former correspondences with the Grand Vizierate and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accordingly, if permission was to be given for the new school the other two schools were to be closed. The school would not be allowed to cause religious and moral disturbances with the pretext of giving education. Moreover, the student and teacher registries and the diplomas of teachers were to be submitted to the approval of officials and no book other than in the list of books would not taught at the school. Finally, whenever the Ottoman government was to send inspectors they would not be prevented from doing their job. The Ministry of Education approved the concession of license to the school under the given conditions. In the event that the present two schools were not closed or the teachers and clerks in the newly founded school assumed an attitude against the determined regulations the decision would be changed. The Ministry again left the final decision to the Grand Vizierate about the case⁴⁴⁷.

⁴⁴⁵ BOA, MF. MKT. 31–4.

⁴⁴⁶ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 480–41.

⁴⁴⁷ BOA, MF. MKT. 38–100.

The Grand Vizierate took the decision on the establishment of new Jesuit school in Beirut and communicated the decision to the Province of Syria on 22 January 1880 by appending two documents dated 1876. One of them was a document (*müzekkere*) prepared by the Council of State suggesting the decline of the request of the French Embassy on the ground that the Jesuits did not guarantee the closure of their present schools and also they “aimed at increasing their influence in the region on the pretext of education and this would produce negative results”. The other document was from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which had informed the Grand Vizierate about the insistency of the French Embassy to receive license for the establishment of new school and advised the French request not to be refused. As a result, the Grand Vizierate concluded that there was no necessity for a new application concerning the new school as its establishment had already begun, even finished⁴⁴⁸.

As it can be derived from the documents, to bring the application process for the establishment of the SJU to an end was a perennial process. The main reason was that there was a deep suspicion against the missionary activities by the Ottoman administration in the context of the establishment of the SJU. The Jesuits already had two schools in service and the Ottoman administration was convinced that the Jesuits desired to strengthen their mission in the “most important region” of the Ottoman Empire by establishing this new school. Despite all these suspicions and the negative opinion of the Council of State, the application of the Jesuits could not be refused because of the pressure from the French Embassy to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. What was interesting in this case that when the last telegram was sent by the Grand Vizierate in 1880 the SJU had already begun education. This was a kind of *fait accompli* and was not an exception. The French missionaries frequently ignored the procedures and did not wait for having an official permission from the Ottoman administration.

A report submitted by the Governor of Beirut to the Grand Vizierate on 9 February 1882 informed that various missionary congregations under the French protection had opened many establishments in the Province of Syria, especially in

⁴⁴⁸ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 485–17.

Beirut, and the Sandjak of Jerusalem without having any official permission or license. In particular, the Jesuits and the Lazarists were pursuing unlicensed construction activities in Beirut. In addition to the existing Jesuit and Catholic schools in Beirut under the French protection, according to the report, there were endeavors to establish an almshouse and a new medical school within a campus⁴⁴⁹.

In the same report of the Governor of Beirut, a dispute with the French consul-general in Beirut concerning the new children's hospital of the Lazarist missionaries was communicated to Istanbul. The Lazarists had begun to work for adding new buildings to their new hospital and the French consul-general had officially applied to the Customs Office of Beirut in order to get an exemption from custom duties for the equipments of new hospital to be brought from Europe. Upon this application, the Governorship reminded a clause of the Reform Decree dated 21 Cemaziyülahır 1272 (1856) in its reply to the French consulate. According to the clause, establishment of new buildings such as church, school, hospital and cemetery would only be possible with the application of religious leaders (*millet başları*) to the Sublime Porte and with the approval of application with an imperial decree⁴⁵⁰.

After stressing the above mentioned cases, the Governor of Beirut informed Istanbul about some general problems in the region. According to him, the requirement of getting authorization to build new establishment in accordance with the regulations was "completely null and void in Beirut" (*Beyrut'ta tamamıyla yok hükmünde*). Many large schools had been opened without having official permission. He continued that the negligence of the authorities in Beirut was so high that when the Municipality of Beirut was asked how the new hospital of the Lazarists had obtained the official permission it replied that they did not have any information on the matter. According to the Governor, the construction of unlicensed building was occurring because of the local authorities' indifference for they preferred not to

⁴⁴⁹ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 486-93. According to the statement in the report, information concerning the new buildings and campus had been obtained as a result of secret investigation. Although its name was not indicated in the report, the mentioned medical school was the Medical School of the SJU and it was opened in 1882 by the Jesuits. We understand that the Ottoman officials could get information just before the establishment of the school and this information could only be got by a secret investigation. This clearly shows the inefficiency of the Ottoman control over the French missionary activities.

⁴⁵⁰ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 486-93.

interfere in such activities “to prevent the emergence of complaints and to have a good time” (*şikayet ortaya çıkmaması ve hoşça vakit geçirmek için*) at their works. As the foreigners “will try to construct such unlicensed buildings in the coastal towns of Syria and in Jerusalem from now on”, the Governor continued, “the Sublime Porte should remind all local authorities and municipalities of the Sublime Firman that has not been in effect anymore in the region”. For this purpose, the Governor suggested, the Sublime Porte was to send instructions to all relevant governors of provinces and sandjaks⁴⁵¹.

Upon the report of the Governor of Beirut, the Grand Vizierate communicated the matter to the Grand Mufti to receive opinion. In his reply to the Grand Vizierate, the Grand Mufti reminded the fact that all religious buildings and schools were required to get the official permission of the Sublime Porte in accordance with the Reform Decree. This permission would be given after a proper application process and the completion of the required examinations by the Sublime Porte. In this frame, the Grand Vizier indicated the necessity of sending instructions to the provincial administrators in the Ottoman Empire to ensure the application of the rules carefully⁴⁵².

As it can be derived from all these correspondences, the missionaries in the Levant under the French protection created new establishments without following the legal procedures in many cases. Again it was openly emphasized that the local Ottoman authorities generally ignored such activities. In many cases, there emerged a *fait accompli* once these establishments began to operate. Sometimes as a result of perennial efforts and the insistent pursuit of the French diplomats these establishments could obtain licenses from the Ottoman administration.

One of the reasons which caused the emergence of problems concerning the establishment of the foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire was the absence of certain standards applicable all around the Empire. The main reason for this, there was no legal regulations that determined the process of creating an establishment in a detailed way. When an application was made to create a new missionary

⁴⁵¹ BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 486–93.

⁴⁵² BOA, A. MKT. MHM. 486–93.

establishment it was submitted to the Sublime Porte and a decision was made according to the present conditions. Even though such decisions were made according to such legal regulations as the Reform Decree or the Regulation for Public Instruction there were also subjective deliberations in the decision making processes. That is why the applications for the missionary establishments submitted by the Ministries of Education, Interior Affairs or Foreign Affairs to the Grand Vizierate were generally communicated to the Council of State to take its opinion. Presence of many different bureaucratic processes and hesitation of the state institutions to take initiative caused ambiguities in the decision making process.

The correspondences between the Province of Mamuratulaziz and the Ministry of Interior Affairs can be given as an example of the legal ambiguities in the Ottoman Empire⁴⁵³. The Governor of Mamuratulaziz wrote to the Ministry in February 1891 and demanded a clarification about an instruction sent by the Ministry to all provinces on 29 January 1891. Accordingly, it was an obligation to receive an imperial decree prior to open a school or campus (*küllîye*) and the officials who permitted opening of such establishments without an imperial decree would be held responsible. However there was no clear determination concerning the applicability of the instruction to primary schools and the Governor wanted to learn the opinion of the Ministry on the matter. Upon the correspondence of Mamuratulaziz, the Ministry of Interior Affairs wrote to the Grand Vizierate how to respond. However, before giving a response, the Grand Vizierate transferred the matter to the Council of State to take opinion by appending the correspondences of Mamuratulaziz and the Ministry of Interior Affairs⁴⁵⁴. All these developments reveal that there was no standard practice concerning the foreign establishments. Because of ambiguities in the regulations and applications, so many bureaucratic correspondences had to be done between state institutions.

Owing to both the absence of certain standards and the arbitrary practices of missionaries, the problems concerning the license for the foreign establishments became more complicated and it came to almost an ungovernable state for the

⁴⁵³ BOA, ŞD. 2567–26. Even though these correspondences were made with Mamuratulaziz their contents were related to all provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴⁵⁴ BOA, ŞD. 2567–26.

Ottoman administration. A report prepared by Ahmet Zühtü Pasha⁴⁵⁵ upon the order of Abdülhamit II on the foreign and non-Muslim schools in the Ottoman Empire and submitted to the Sultan in 1893/94 showed the difficulties of existing conditions. According to the report, there were 413 foreign and 4547 non-Muslim schools in the Ottoman Empire and most of them did not have an official license. Ahmet Zühtü Pasha also emphasized that these numbers could be even more and the determination of the exact number was not possible. Many schools had been opened in the course of decades without making any application for license and even though some of them had applied for license the results of such applications had not been steadily followed by the Ottoman authorities⁴⁵⁶. Consequently, the Ministry of Education did not have a full control in the establishment and inspection of the foreign schools.

As the Ottoman administration could not manage to take a serious precaution against the missionary establishments it tried to prevent or to delay the foundation of such establishments by putting some bureaucratic obstacles. This caused the rise of repeated confrontations between the Ottoman administration and the foreign diplomatic representatives. France was the leading state in this sense.

The Ottoman preventions against the French establishments in the Ottoman Empire, which were unlicensed or whose statuses were debatable, had become a constant problem throughout the 19th century. The presence of hundreds of legally contentious establishments in the Empire under the French protection like schools, hospitals and orphanages made the solution of problems difficult. France took a considerable step forward in 1901 for the solution of problems according to her interests. Then France sent a navy to the Island of Mytilene and threatened the Ottoman Empire with the invasion of the Island in order to put pressure on the Ottoman administration for the solution of some economic and political problems between two states. However, the French demands did not remain limited with economy and politics. One of the French demands from the Ottoman administration was that all schools and religious establishments under the French protection should

⁴⁵⁵ Ahmet Zühtü Pasha was an experienced statesman who was charged in many positions in the state administration including the Minister of Education.

⁴⁵⁶ Atilla Çetin, "Maarif Nazırı Ahmed Zühdi Paşa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Yabancı Okullar Hakkında Raporu", *Güney Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Sayı: 10-11 (pp. 189-219), pp. 193-202.

be given legal status. Also issuing of an imperial decree for the reparation and expansion of the establishments under the French protection that had been destructed during the Armenian events between 1894 and 1896 was among the demands of France. The French military and diplomatic pressures rapidly produced results and the Ottoman administration had to accept to officially recognize the all establishments under the French protection and to exempt them from custom duties and property taxes⁴⁵⁷.

The solution of two basic and long-lasting problems according to the French demands with the agreement between France and the Ottoman Empire in 1901 provided a huge gain to the French missionaries. Hereafter, the French establishments, which had been operating unlicensed so far, were not to experience any difficulty in the Ottoman Empire. Thus the French establishments could find the chance of fully benefitting from the regulations of 3 May 1865 that had granted exemptions from custom duties for all officially recognized foreign religious and charitable establishments⁴⁵⁸. Consequently, the limitations over some French missionary establishments imposed by the Ottoman administrations concerning the use of advantages resulting from the 1865 Regulations came to an end as the result of significant concessions given by the Ottoman administration in 1901.

5.4 The Censor and Control of the Ottoman Administration over the French Missionaries

One of the most significant indications of the Ottoman administration's suspicion towards the activities of the French missionaries was the Ottoman efforts to take their activities under control. Besides the religious publications, historical or scientific publications made by the missionaries were seriously examined by the

⁴⁵⁷ Şerife Yorulmaz, "Osmanlı-Fransız İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Osmanlı Topraklarında Açılan Fransız Kültür Kurumları ve Bunların Meşruiyet Kazanması (19. Yüzyıl- 20. Yüzyıl Başları)", *OTAM Dergisi*, 2000, Sayı: 11 (697-768), pp. 725-728. Ayrıca bkz. Şamil Mutlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Misyoner Okulları*, İstanbul: Gökkuş 2005, pp. 151-166.

⁴⁵⁸ According to these regulations, these establishments had to be officially recognized by the Ottoman administration in order to get exemptions from custom duties. However these regulations were continuously abused by the missionaries who were insisting not to pay taxes for their shops and estates even though they were established for profit. This was causing problems between the Ottoman administration and the missionaries. For the Custom Regulations see. Mutlu, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Misyoner Okulları*, pp. 22-25.

Ottoman authorities and they were censored in case of necessity. However such controls and inspections caused the rise of disputes between the Ottoman authorities and the French diplomatic representatives time to time.

The publication of works with religious content was one of the means used by the missionaries in order to teach and propagate their religious beliefs. Especially Beirut was the center of such activities for the French missionaries. The religious publications printed in Beirut were in a dense circulation in the region. As it was stressed by the Governor of Beirut in 1900, Beirut had become a place for “harmful documents and activities”⁴⁵⁹. Because of this, a tight control over the publications printed by the missionaries became an obligation for the Ottoman administration. The missionary publications were not just satisfied with the propagation of the Catholic faith. They sometimes included expressions against the Islamic values or the Ottoman administration. In such circumstances, prevention of the circulation of harmful publications or partial destruction of the relevant parts of these publications was general practices. Although there were many instances of such practices it is possible to show the control of the Ottoman authorities over the missionary publications with several examples.

The Journal of El-Beshir⁴⁶⁰ published by the Jesuits in Arabic in Beirut was one of the missionary publications that confronted with censor of the Ottoman authorities because of its harmful content. A correspondence sent from the Province of Beirut to the Ministry of Interior Affairs in 1892 stated that an unpermitted article in the 192nd issue of the El-Beshir had included some offensive expressions against Islam and other faiths so that its publication had been stopped for a month. However, the Administrative Assembly of the Province of Beirut (Beyrut Vilayeti İdare Meclisi) demanded from the Sublime Porte a complete ban for the journal by annulling its license. The reason for this demand was that the local authorities were

⁴⁵⁹ BEO, Y.PRK. UM. 50–47. The Governor of Beirut especially emphasized that the increase in the number of post offices owned by foreigners was causing the increase of harmful publications brought from abroad. According to the Governor, the French post office in Beirut was taking the lead among all others.

⁴⁶⁰ El-Beshir was a journal published by the Jesuits in Beirut from 1870 to 1947.

convinced that El-Beshir would continue to make publications with similar harmful content at the end of one-month closure⁴⁶¹.

The demand of Beirut concerning the complete ban for El-Beshir was considered by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry delivered its opinion to the Grand Vizierate. Accordingly, the writings in the journal on Islam were considered as an important matter that would require the annulment of the journal's license. However the Ministry had some hesitations. In case of the closure of the journal, it was thought, this would be made "a matter of constant complaint by some ambassadors." Thus finding another solution was considered necessary. The Ministry of Internal Affairs proposed the bestowal of a new license for the journal after the appointment of one of the journal's writers as the responsible director⁴⁶². Here the dilemma of the Ottoman administration was obvious. In one hand, the discontent with the activities of Jesuits was being exposed. On the other hand, the hesitation of the Ottoman authorities to interfere the missionaries because of the protection of the foreign ambassadors, namely the French, was being openly stated.

Al-Beshir again became a subject of investigation for the Ottoman administration in 1895. On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its publication, the El-Beshir had received a letter from the Pope praising the journal for its contributions to Catholicism. The El-Beshir printed the Pope's letter and photograph in the cover page by using some decorations and depictions. This publication received the reaction of the Ottoman authorities on account to the fact that the use of such decorations and depictions "would cause some wrong interpretations". And the Ministry of Internal Affairs instructed the Province of Beirut not to permit this kind of activities⁴⁶³.

The distrustful attitude of the Ottoman authorities concerning the missionary publications was not limited with the religious works. A correspondence from Mahmut Celalettin Bey, the Director of Education in the Province of Beirut, to the Ministry of Public Education on 14 January 1890 reveals that the publications on

⁴⁶¹ BOA, BEO. 92-6869.

⁴⁶² BOA, DH. MKT. 2016-59.

⁴⁶³ BOA, DH. MKT. 337-12.

scientific subjects were also skeptically approached. According to the correspondence, Doctor Jules Rouvier from the French Medical School had applied to receive license to publish a scientific journal in the fields of medicine, pharmacy and veterinary. Receiving a license would be possible after completing some procedures. Firstly, a draft of the journal had to pass from the control of the Directorate of Education. After the publication of the journal, the approved draft and a copy of the published journal had to be submitted to the Directorate of Education once more in order to check whether or not the journal was published according to the submitted and approved draft. After all these procedures, the Directorate had agreed that the journal would receive a license of publication on the condition that it would not “include nothing but the scientific subjects”. However, the Directorate communicated the matter to the Ministry of Education because it still had some hesitations about the publications to be made by the journal. The Ministry approved the publication of the journal provided that it respected the determined rules and the authorization on the matter was left to the Province of Beirut⁴⁶⁴. It should be stressed that the main reason for the hesitations of the Ottoman authorities was that the journal would possibly make publications “with harmful content” once they received license for scientific publication.

*Târîhu Muhtasari'd-Düvel*⁴⁶⁵ (Comprehensive History of States) was one the publications printed by the Jesuit Press in Beirut and inspected by the Ottoman authorities. The book had been “inspected and examined by necessity” (*görülen lüzum üzerine tetkik ve muayene edilmiş...*) by the Directorate of Education in Beirut and it had been realized that one of the pages had included “some harmful and wrong thoughts” (*birtakım zararlı ve yanlış fikirleri içerdiği...*). Hereupon, the Directorate of Education sent the relevant page and the following eleven pages to the Ministry of Education and asked how they should deal with the matter (*küsurunun toptan takdim edilmesi veyahut ihrak olunması hakkında nasıl bir yol izlenmesi iktiza ettiği...*). The

⁴⁶⁴ BOA, MF. MKT. 115–28.

⁴⁶⁵ *Târîhu Muhtasari'd-Düvel* had been written by Ebü'l-Ferec İbnü'l-İbri in Arabic and published by Edward Pocock in Arabic and Latin in 1663 in Oxford. The Arabic text was published by a Jesuit priest called Anton Salhani in 1890 in Beirut. This work was published by the Turkish Historical Society in 2011.

Ministry communicated its decision, which recommended the disposal of the mentioned page in Beirut, to the Grand Vizierate on 2 December 1891⁴⁶⁶.

The Ottoman authorities were tightly controlling not only the publications printed in the Empire but also those brought by the French missionaries from abroad and they were trying to prevent the penetration of “harmful publications” to the Empire as possible. Even though the Ottoman administration sometimes had to confront with the French diplomats because of such controls and preventions it continued to make efforts on this matter. As an indication of the determination on the matter, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had sent a circular note in 1895 to all embassies in Istanbul and informed them with regard to the decision of the Sublime Porte stipulating that all the books brought from abroad would be carefully examined by the Ottoman authorities. However, this decision received a general reaction of the ambassadors⁴⁶⁷.

Despite the objections of the ambassadors, the Ottoman administration continued the control of publications brought from abroad. For example, the Ministry of Education had warned the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Posts and Telegraph about “*Şark Mekteplerinin İmali*”, a bimonthly journal published by a missionary congregation in Paris. As the journal had included negative expressions against the Ottoman administration in its 225th issue dated March-April 1898 it had been regarded as a harmful publication. Therefore, the Ministry of Education demanded from the mentioned ministries the prevention of the journal’s penetration and distribution in the Ottoman Empire⁴⁶⁸. Another example of the Ottoman control can be observed from a correspondence sent by the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Grand Vizierate on 27 October 1899. Here the Ministry had demanded the prevention of penetration and distribution of two books called “the Church History” and “the Catholic Missionaries in the 19th Century” in the Ottoman Empire. If these

⁴⁶⁶ BOA, MF. MKT. 133–59.

⁴⁶⁷ İlknur Polat Haydaroglu, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yabancı Okullar*, Ankara: Ocak Yayınları 1993, p. 20–21.

⁴⁶⁸ BOA, MF. MKT. 398–58.

books had already penetrated, the Ministry urged, they should be immediately concentrated and disposed⁴⁶⁹.

Besides the publications which were whether printed within the borders of the Ottoman Empire or brought from abroad, the printing houses owned by missionaries were also followed closely by the Ottoman authorities. The printing houses were publishing Bibles, religious books and pamphlets which were highly needed by missionaries to reach large masses. Thus they were very functional for the missionary activities. Beirut was the center of printing activities in the Levant both for the Catholic and Protestant missionaries. The printing houses of the missionaries had the right of publishing on the condition that they received the approval of the Governorship of Beirut for their publications. However, the printing houses were not allowed to produce press letters. A correspondence sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs on 25 June 1900 to the Governorship of Beirut had mentioned about intelligence saying that the French and American schools had machines used for producing letters despite the restriction on them. Upon this intelligence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had warned the French and American embassies on the matter. The American Embassy declined the rumors by informing the Ministry about the statement of the president of the SPC who said that the School had never owned such a machine. Unlike the American Embassy, the French Embassy did not make any comment on the question of press letters⁴⁷⁰.

Another aspect of the Ottoman control over the missionary activities was the following of preaches of missionaries. If these preaches were considered as inconvenient and dangerous the authorities were taking required precautions. For example, “upon receiving information about the inconvenient church preach” (*bir kilisede verdiği vaazda uygun olmayan sözler ettiğinin haber alınması üzerine*) of Father Olivier, a Dominican priest came from Paris to Beirut, the Governorship of Beirut had warned the General-consulate of France not to be made this kind of preaches by the mentioned priest and the other French priests hereafter. As the result of this warning, a consulate official had come to the Governorship and assured that

⁴⁶⁹ BOA, DH. MKT. 2262–15.

⁴⁷⁰ BOA, DH. MKT. 2364–95.

Father Olivier would soon leave for Jerusalem and he would preach neither in Beirut nor in Jerusalem thereafter. According to the correspondence sent from the Ministry of Internal Affairs to the Grand Vizierate on 25 January 1905, the Governorship of Jerusalem had been instructed by the Ministry to follow Father Olivier in Jerusalem and to prevent him from preaching⁴⁷¹.

Numerous correspondences between the Ottoman authorities, several of them has been given here, clearly show that the Ottoman administration was highly cautious about the activities of the French missionaries in the Levant. In this frame, the missionary publications produced in the Ottoman Empire or brought from abroad were closely followed by the authorities. By thinking that these publications would cause the diffusion of detrimental ideas in the Empire the Ottoman administration tried to apply a serious censorship. Many publications that were considered harmful were partially or completely disposed. However, the deficiencies in financial and personnel resources reduced the efficiency of the Ottoman control.

5.5 The Expulsion of the Jesuits and the Attitude of the Ottoman Administration

Following the anticlerical and secular laws enacted in 1901 in France, the educational institutions of the Jesuits in France were closed and numerous Jesuit missionaries were forced to leave the country by the French government⁴⁷². Thus the Jesuits had to migrate to the different parts of the world and some of them headed to the Ottoman Empire where a considerable Jesuit presence had already existed. A report sent by the Ministry of Police to the Yıldız Palace in 1901, shortly after the enactment of the laws in France, stated that a French steamboat had come from Marseille to Smyrna with more than one hundred French missionaries. According to the report, the steamboat had departed from Smyrna for Istanbul and the required

⁴⁷¹ BOA, DH. MKT. 930–61.

⁴⁷² Patrick Cabanel, “Le Grand exil des congrégation enseignantes au début du XX siècle. L’exemple des Jésuites”, *Revue d’histoire d l’Eglise de France*, Tome 81, no: 206 (pp. 207–217). With the anticlerical laws of 1901, which is called as the Law of Waldeck-Rousseau, and of 1904, the congregational education was completely interdicted in France. The number of schools closed in France and congregants departed France can be expressed by thousands. The number of members of different congregations was around 30.000 and 2.100 of them were the Jesuits. The departed congregants migrated to all over the world, mainly to Quebec (Canada), Spain and Belgium.

procedures about the passengers would be applied when the steamboat arrived in Istanbul⁴⁷³. Even though the identities of arriving missionaries were not specified in this report, as it can be derived from other correspondences between the Ottoman authorities, they were the Jesuit missionaries who had been made to depart from France.

As soon as the news concerning the expulsion of the Jesuits from France reached the Ottoman administration began to take precautions in the apprehension of their arrival in the Ottoman territories. Accordingly, an imperial decree was issued declaring that the Jesuits expelled from France would not be accepted to the Ottoman Empire⁴⁷⁴.

The Grand Vizierate sent an instruction to the Ministry of Police and municipalities (*şehremaneti*) on 31 October 1901 and warned against the entrance of the Jesuits to the Ottoman Empire. The Grand Vizierate stated that even though the decision for the expulsion of the Jesuits was taken by the French government they would continue to be protected abroad by France. Therefore an imperial decree had been issued to declare that the expelled Jesuits would not be permitted to enter the Ottoman Empire. In the instruction, the Grand Vizierate had specifically stressed that the Ottoman administration could independently take decision on the matter⁴⁷⁵.

Upon the imperial decree on the matter, the instructions were sent to all provinces and towns and all local administrators were warned not to accept the expelled Jesuits to the Ottoman territories. The administrators were also strictly instructed that if the Jesuits somehow manage to enter the Ottoman territories despite

⁴⁷³ BOA, Y.PRK. ZB. 29–70.

⁴⁷⁴ BOA, İ. HR. 374–1319 B–3.

⁴⁷⁵ BOA, DH. MKT. 727–1. The instruction (tezkire) of the Grand Vizierate was as follows: “Fransa’da bulunan Cizvit rahiplerinin teşrin-i evvel-i efrancisi ibtidasında Fransa’dan harice çıkarılacakları mervi olarak mezkur rahipler bu suretle tard ve ihraç olunsalar bile hariçte himaye edilecekleri cihetle bunların memalik-i şahaneye kabul edilmemeleri zımmında ittihaz-ı karar olunması emir ve ferman buyurulup bir devletin memalikinden tard ve ihraç eylediği bir kısım ahalinin diğer bir devletin memalike kabulü için bir mecburiyet olmadığına binaen zikrolunan rahipleri memalik-i şahaneye adem-i kabulde hükümet-i seniyye muhtar olduğundan ve şu kadar ki ittihaz olunan böyle bir kararın evvelce alakadar olan devlete ihbarı ve icabı takdirde evrak-ı havadisle ilanı hususuna meclis-i mahsus-u vükela kararıyla irade-i seniyye-i hazret-i hilafetpenahi buyrularak...”

the interdiction and if this is detected they should be departed from the country with the enforcement of police⁴⁷⁶.

The Sublime Porte hesitating from a possible French pressure for the admittance of the expelled Jesuits to the Ottoman Empire decided to inform the French embassy on the fact that the Jesuits would not be admitted. Here it is possible to talk about a lesson taken from the past by the Ottoman administration. After the secular laws in France in 1880s, so many Jesuit missionaries had to leave France and some of them had come to the Ottoman Empire and pursued their activities here. The Ottoman hesitated from the repetition of that missionary flow which had strengthened the Jesuit presence in the Ottoman Empire. Therefore the Ottoman administration assumed a more cautious attitude and worked for preventing a possible French pressure on behalf of these missionaries.

Despite the decisions and precautions taken by the Ottoman administration, it is understood from the Ottoman correspondences that the Jesuits expelled from France continued to secretly enter the Empire. For example, an imperial decree sent on 29 August 1902 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that around sixty Jesuit missionaries had come from Marseille to the Ottoman Empire with a steamboat called *Oregon*⁴⁷⁷. The Ministry was warned by the decree that these missionaries should not be accepted to the Ottoman territories according to former orders and imperial decrees⁴⁷⁸.

In its response to the decree, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reported that there were fifty-six Jesuits in the *Oregon* steamboat. The report of the Ministry stressed that according to the investigation conducted by the Ministry of Police, nine of the Jesuits were planning to go to Beirut and Jerusalem and the rest of them to settle in the French churches in Galata and Kadıköy and in the Jesuit school in Beyoğlu. However, the Minister of Foreign Affairs had some doubts about the

⁴⁷⁶ DH. MKT.2555–108. The French Embassy was also notified that the Jesuits would not be accepted to come the Ottoman Empire see. DH. MKT. 2550–83. As it is understood from the correspondences of the Ottoman authorities, there was some intelligence saying that the Jesuits expelled from France would come to Ottoman Empire by receiving Italian passport. This possibility was considered by the Ottoman authorities and the officials were reminded to take the required precautions see. DH. MKT. 2558–26.

⁴⁷⁷ Oregon belonged to a French company called *La Compagnie de Messageries Maritimes*.

⁴⁷⁸ BOA, Y.MTV. 233–164.

deportation of the Jesuits as a result of some considerations. Firstly, those priests who were planning to go to Beirut and Jerusalem had seemingly the intention of just paying a visit to these cities. Secondly, it was not certain whether the others aiming to stay at the officially recognized religious establishments in Istanbul were the priests expelled from France or not. Therefore the Minister of Foreign Affairs suggested the reevaluation of the decision concerning the deportation of the Jesuit missionaries from the Ottoman Empire⁴⁷⁹.

The case of *Oregon* was quite significant from several perspectives. Firstly, it showed extend of the Jesuit rush to the Ottoman Empire after their expulsion from France. In this case, according to the report of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, fifty-six Jesuits had come to the Empire at a time. This proved that the Ottoman Empire was considered by the Jesuits as a secure place for pursuing their activities. Secondly, the Jesuits probably relied on the French protection when they decided to come to the Ottoman Empire because the France had not abandoned its protection, despite the developments in France, over the Catholic missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. Importance of the French protection can be understood from the language used by the Ottoman Ministry of Foreign Affairs in its correspondences. In its report to the Grand Vizierate, despite the certain orders from the Sublime Porte, the Ministry had used a quite discreet language concerning the deportation of the missionaries. This most probably resulted from the fact that the Ministry hesitated from an actual or a possible French pressure.

⁴⁷⁹ BOA, Y.MTV. 233–164.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Although there had been Catholic priests in different parts of the Levant since the times of crusades, the arrival of the Catholic missionaries from Europe to the Ottoman lands occurred in the 16th century and they expanded their activities under the French protection in the 17th century. In the 18th century, the number of Catholic missionaries and the French protection over the missionaries considerably increased in the Ottoman Empire⁴⁸⁰. Particularly, such regions in the Eastern Mediterranean as Syria, Lebanon and Palestine came into prominence as being the main fields of Catholic missionary activities.

When the Catholic missions began to gain a ground among such Eastern Christian groups as Armenians, Greeks, Assyrians and Maronites by the 18th century they turned to be a significant problem for both the Ottoman administration and the Eastern churches that faced with the danger of losing their community members. The Ottoman administration had traditionally carried out its relations with its Christian subjects via the mediation of patriarchates who had extensive rights on religious, legal and educational matters of their communities. Peculiarities of the existing relationship between the Ottoman administration and patriarchates and clergies of the Eastern churches had been shaped by legal and traditional practices and the stability of this relationship was vital for the continuation of social order in the Ottoman Empire without facing with significant problems concerning Christian subjects. This was desirable for both the Ottoman administration and the clergies of the Eastern churches.

The strengthening of the Catholic missionaries in terms of number and influence in the 18th century concerned firstly the clergies of the Eastern churches. When their influence in Syria reached a disquieting level for the Greek Orthodox and the Gregorian Armenian churches their patriarchs demanded the intervention of the

⁴⁸⁰ Ahmet Refik, “Türkiye’de Katolik Propagandası”, *Türk Tarih Encümeni Mecmuası*, No: 5, sayı: 82 (Eylül 1340); Durmuş Yılmaz, *Fransa’nın Türkiye Ermenilerini Katolikleştirme Siyaseti*, Konya: Selçuk Üniversitesi Vakfı Yayınları, 2001.

Ottoman administration. Hereupon, the Ottoman governors in the Province of Syria, namely Damascus and Aleppo, were instructed in 1773 with an imperial decree prohibiting conversion of the Ottoman Christians to Catholicism. It was also ordered that those who had previously converted should be turned to their original religion and their contact with the Catholic missionaries should be prevented⁴⁸¹.

For the Ottoman administration, the actual duty of the Catholic missionaries was to give religious service to the merchants trading in the Ottoman Empire and the pilgrims visiting the Holy Places. However, missionaries did not limit their activities with these services and they incited Christians from various rites to accept supremacy of Pope and to assume Catholicism. Hereafter, the Ottoman administration began to regard them as a threat for the social order and tried to prevent their activities⁴⁸². However, the Ottoman efforts to put sanctions on the Catholic missionaries and on their activities were continuously limited by France. The French diplomatic representatives worked for the good of the Catholic missionaries by the Ottoman administration by using their rights generating from the capitulations.

The subject of religious protectorate has proceeded together with the claim of being a political and economic power for France. France created a strong link between its political and economic power and religious protection in the Levant. This link had a potential of being very useful in the 19th Century politics when religious rhetoric and intervention became important elements of imperial struggle and means for the legitimization of imperial enterprises. To prevent international reactions against the imperial enterprises and to direct public opinion, religious rhetoric was widely used and proved to be useful. France had previously used these means successfully but the French Revolution and continuous regime changes had caused some deterioration in their use in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Thus other powers in Europe such as Austria, Spain and Italian states began to test the strength of France. Louis Napoleon (r. 1852-1870) put an end to this situation for France. He assumed the title of emperor in 1852 and began to follow an aggressive policy to

⁴⁸¹ Roux, *France et Chrétiens d'Orient*, pp. 65-66 ; Frazee, *Katolikler ve Sultanlar*, pp. 235-259

⁴⁸² Yılmaz, *Fransa'nın Türkiye Ermenilerini...* p. 66.

increase France's reputation and to make France an imperial power. For this purpose, he strongly supported the religious protection understanding and the missionary efforts.

The Eastern Mediterranean was a very crucial region for the French imperialistic interests in the Ottoman Empire. Thus France delicately approached every development in the region. When France joined the Crimean War (1853-1856) against Russia the French administration stressed religious reasons and France's historical mission in the Holy Places to justify the war in the eyes of public opinion. After a short while, France played the most active role in the international intervention of the European powers to Lebanon in 1860 which was a result of ethnic and religious conflict experienced in Lebanon and Syria between the Maronites and Druses and Muslims. In order to explain this intervention to French and European public opinion traditional French religious protectorate was repeatedly stressed. Also French missionaries played a significant role in providing attention and support of French people to the region. Being very active in the region, missionaries made every effort to justify French intervention and to mold public opinion via publications and propaganda.

The obvious support of France to the missionary congregations can be attributed to the imperialistic concerns. The missionaries had an important role to play for the French interests. In addition to political and economic aspects, imperialism also had a cultural aspect and the missionary activities constituted a significant part of it. In other words, the missionaries were the soft power of imperialism. The missionary activities were regarded in the context of "civilizing mission" by the French administrations. The concept of "civilizing mission" was a strong argument of the 19th Century imperialistic discourse and it was often repeated by the French administrations.

By relying on the political and economic support of the French governments, the French missionary existence highly developed in the second half of the 19th Century in the Ottoman Empire. Defining the missionaries as individuals offering only religious service or propagating religion would not be sufficient to draw a complete picture of the phenomena. In addition to their religious concerns, missionaries were offering services in such fields as education and health as well as

charitable works for poor and orphans. All these services of the missionaries were significant but the education had a distinguished place in respect to others.

There were geographers, historians, linguists, mathematicians, astronomers and experts from other fields of science among missionaries. These people were carrying to the regions they went not only their religious beliefs but also scientific and cultural values of the West. They made deep changes in their mission fields in parallel with the plurality and efficacy of their schools. Although it was not directly intended, the missionary schools introduced nationalist and secular thoughts to the students. In this sense, the French Catholic missionaries and their schools were important in the Levant. Particularly, Lebanon was the center of missionary schools. Throughout the 19th Century, hundreds of school were opened by the French missionaries in the region and thousands of students attended to them.

In parallel with the increasing number of the French schools in the region, a new kind of people learning and admiring the French language and culture emerged. The French missionaries and the diplomatic representatives continuously expressed their content with the developing new spirit among the youth of Lebanon. This was also considered an indication of the French prestige and supremacy in the region. Therefore, the French governments continued to support the French religious establishments despite secular aspirations in France.

Although the French missionary presence had a rooted tradition and strong institutionalization in the Levant it was not unchallenged. Beginning from the 1820s, the American Protestant missionaries began to arrive in the region and threatened the French missionary monopoly. This rivalry accelerated in the second half of the 19th Century. The parties opened countless schools from primary level to university. The Syrian Protestant College and the Saint Joseph University were the zenith of missionary education in the Levant.

In the absence of any considerable secondary educational institution opened by the Ottoman administration, the presence of these institutions were clearly revealing the level of missionary activities in the region. The Ottoman administration was well aware of its weakness in the education and tried to improve the situation of state education. However, as it was shown by many statistics and the reports of the Ottoman officials the Ottoman administration was far from competing with the

missionary education and foreign schools. The Ottoman administration continuously tried to put legal and bureaucratic obstacles to prevent improvement of missionary activities but its attempts were vain because of political support given by the Great Powers. France was one of the most active of these powers and she energetically defended the interests of the French missionary establishments until the early 20th century.

Missionary accounts and diplomatic correspondences reveal that the French religious protection over all the Catholic missions in the Ottoman Empire began to weaken in the end of 19th Century and it was in crisis in the beginning of the 20th Century. France had always been careful about distinguishing political developments in France and religious protection abroad. However, the issue of strict secular laws in France in 1901 and 1905 and decreasing economic support of France towards the Catholic missions caused to the decline of French protection.

After 1905, the French protection over the Catholic missions gained new characteristics. The other great powers of Europe began to question the French rights concerning the protection. However, France was of course reluctant to abandon her policy of protection that she had followed and effectively applied for centuries. While the debates on the matter was continuing in Europe the Holy See confirmed the continuation of the secular rights of France over the Catholic missions. Despite the efforts of France to defense her rights and the declaration of the Holy See, political conditions in Europe at the time began to force France. In 1906, Italy was able to assume protection of a part of the Italian missionaries in the Ottoman Empire. Hereafter the other European powers, especially Spain and Austria, began to claim protection right over the Catholic missionaries. Although such claims were not desirable for France who had to reconcile with the facts of the time.

Even though France followed different policies in France and outside, her policies began to influence the French missionaries in the Levant in a negative way since the beginning of the 20th Century and this became highly apparent prior to World War I. This was not essentially a result of decrease of diplomatic support provided by France to the missionaries. The French ambassadors and consuls were continuing to support the French missionaries and their establishments when they needed. However, negative impacts of the anticlerical laws strongly surfaced in the

following years. Closure of the Catholic seminaries in France and expulsion of congregations negatively influenced recruitment of new missionaries. It was not easy to find enough number of qualified missionaries to send different parts of the world. Nearly 2/3 of the Catholic missionaries in all over the world were French in the early 20th Century and it was a serious problem to find enough missionaries to meet the needs of mission under the existing circumstances. As a matter of fact, the number of French missionaries considerably decreased in all over the world. The only exception was the Jesuits as they had a more international character and they had a strong organization outside France. Thus they were not influenced as much as Lazarists, *Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes* and *Filles de la Charité* who had a complete French character.

Despite all these ups and downs and despite the rivalry of the Protestants and other Catholic states the French missionary establishments were able to survive successfully until World War I. With the participation of the Ottoman Empire to the war as the enemy of France, all the French establishments were seized by the Ottoman administration. The state continued until the end of the war. After the war, France, as the victorious side, was able to recover all the establishments and the French schools in Lebanon and Syria were immediately reopened. Within a year after the war, in 1919, the number of students attending to a school under the French influence in Syria and Lebanon was more than fifty thousand⁴⁸³. This reveals strong French educational tradition as well as the utmost attention paid to the French educational institutions and French language.

After World War I, the whole region of Syria and Lebanon underwent a significant political change. The five century long Ottoman domination ended and new arrangements were applied in the region. Syria and Lebanon were left to the French mandate in 1922 with the decision of the League of Nations⁴⁸⁴ and the mandate remained in effect between 1923 and 1946. France designated the region by setting new administrative structures and borders. Mount Lebanon was merged with important cities such as Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon as well as Bekaa Valley. Thus the

⁴⁸³ Spagnolo, *The Definition of a Style of Imperialism*, p. 571.

⁴⁸⁴ "French Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon", *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 17, No. 3, Supplement: Official Documents (July, 1923), pp. 177-182.

Greater Lebanon was created by France. Despite the Muslim opposition and resistance against the French control over the region the Christian population mostly welcomed the new administration.

The history of Lebanon from 1861, when the autonomous governorate of Mount Lebanon was established, to 1923, when the French mandate on Lebanon was established, was a theatre of social, cultural, political and economic change and transformation. As well as its increasing economic importance, Lebanon was a gateway to the Middle East. Thus the region became a center of attraction for all European powers. In order to increase their influence, they used economic and political means but this was not all. Religious and cultural influence proved to be very useful for the power struggle. In this sense, missionaries from various religions and nations arrived in the region and they closely worked with their mother states. They established numerous religious and educational institutions and thousands of people attended their institutions. Eventually this brought about emergence of a new kind of society which was both modern and traditional, Oriental and European at the same time. The new generations received secondary and higher education at the foreign schools and they learned foreign languages.

The French missionaries as the most active and well-established of the Catholic missionaries, were one of the most significant factor of change in Lebanon. They educated thousands of students and taught them French. Thus they immensely contributed to the increase of French influence and prestige in the region. The legacy created by the French missionaries became one of the determining factors in the legitimization of the French mandate on Lebanon.

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A. PLACE NAMES IN LEBANON

APPENDIX 1: Place Names in Lebanon

Arabic	English	French
عينطورة	Antoura	Antoura
بعبدا	Baabda	Baabda
بعلبك	Baalbek	Baalbek
البترون	Batroun	Batroun
بيروت	Beirut	Beyrouth
بيت الدين	Beiteddine	Beiteddine
بيت مري	Beit-Mery	Beit-Mery
بكفيا	Bikfaia	Bikfaiya
برمانا	Broummana	Broumana
بشري	Bsharri	Bcharré
الشوف	Chouf	Chouf
دير القمر	Deir el-Kamar	Deir-el-Qamar
غزير	Ghazir	Ghazir
حاصبيا	Hasbaya	Hasbaiya
جزين	Jazzin (Jezzine)	Jezzine
جبيل	Byblos(Jbeil)	Byblos (Jbeil)
كسروان	Kesrewan	Kesrewan
المتن	Metn	Mtein
راشيا	Rashaya	Rachaiya
صيدا	Sidon	Sidon (Saida)
طرابلس	Tripoli	Tripoli
صور	Tyr	Sour
زحلة	Zahle	Zahlé
زغرتا	Zgharta	Zgharta (Zghorta)

B. MAPS

APPENDIX 2: The Map of the Province of Beirut



APPENDIX 3: The Map of Lebanon



C. STATISTICS

APPENDIX 4: The Non-Muslim Schools in the Province of Beirut According to *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye (h.1319)*

Town (<i>Liva</i>)	District (<i>Kaza</i>)	Name of the School	Religion (<i>Cemaat</i>)	Responsible Director	Level of school	The number of students		Date of Opening	Date of License
						Boys	Girls		
Beirut	Beirut	Zaki Kohen	Jewish	Zaki Kohen	High (<i>idadi</i>)	88		1291	1 308
Beirut	Beirut	Patriarchate	Greek Cathlc.	-	High	150		Ancient	Not licensed
Beirut	Beirut	Assyrian	Assyrian	Deputy Patriarch Anton Effendi	Middle (<i>rişdi</i>)	90		1299	1308
Beirut	Beirut	Maronite	Maronite	-	High	200		1291	Not licensed
Acre	Acre	Greek School	Greek Orhdx.	Yakup Bakofin	Middle	73		1295	1308
Acre	Safed	-	Maronite	-	Middle	22		Ancient	Not licensed
Acre	Safed	-	Jewish	-	Middle	60		1303	Not licensed
Acre	Haifa	-	Jewish	-	High	150		1300	Not licensed
						833			

APPENDIX 5: The Foreign Schools in the Province of Beirut According to *Salname-i Nezaret-i Maarif-i Umumiye (h. 1319)*

Town (Liva)	District (Kaza)	Name of the School	Nation	Level of school	The number of students		Date of Opening	Date of License
					Boys	Girls		
Beirut	Beirut	The School of Mahliye	America	Middle and High	314	-	1240	Not licensed
Beirut	Beirut	Italian School of Commerce (<i>Ticaret Mektebi</i>)	Italy	High	20	-	1310	Not licensed
Beirut	Beirut	Italian School	Italy	Middle and High	120	-	1306	Not licensed
Beirut	Beirut	Saint-Joseph University	France	University (<i>Âli</i>)	50	-	Ancient	Not licensed
Beirut	Beirut	?	France	High	150	-	Ancient	Not licensed
Beirut	Beirut	Frère School	France	Middle	100	-	Ancient	Not licensed
Acre	Safed	-	Britain	High	50	-	1300	Not licensed
Acre	Nazareth	-	Russia	High	30	-	1304	Not licensed
Acre	Nazareth	-	Russia	Middle	70	-	1304	Not licensed
Acre	Nazareth	-	Germany	High	45	-	Ancient	-
Acre	Haifa	-	Germany	Middle	30	25	1301	-
Acre	Haifa	-	Germany	Middle	-	-	-	-
Acre	Haifa	-	Germany	High	55	120	Ancient	-
Acre	Haifa	School of Sisters	France	High	-	-	Ancient	-
Acre	Haifa	Frère School	France	High	150	-	1298	-
Tripoli	Tripoli	-	America	High	70	-	1293	-
Tripoli	Tripoli	Frère School	France	High	60	85	Ancient	-
Tripoli	Tripoli	School of Sisters	France	High	-	-	Ancient	-
Tripoli	Saftiya	-	America	High	29	-	Ancient	-
Tripoli	Hüs'n'el-ikrad	-	America	High	39	-	Ancient	-
					1382	230		

D. ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTS

APPENDIX 6: The Syrian Missions of the Jesuits (1875)

Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie

Délégation Apostolique de la Syrie.
M^{re} Evêque
M^{re} Coadjuteur

E05214

(Ce Tableau, pour servir à la répartition prochaine, doit être revu entre les mains du Conseil central de Lyon, au plus tard, le 1^{er} décembre.)

ANNÉE	POPULATION		NOMBRE DES BAPTÊMES D'ADULTES OU CONTRACTIONS ANNUELLES	NOMBRE DES CHAPELLES	CLERGÉ	ÉGLISES DE CHAPELLES CONTRACTIONS	SÉMINAIRES, COLLÈGES, ÉCOLES, HÔPITAUX ET AUTRES ÉTABLISSEMENTS	OBSERVATIONS SUR L'ÉTAT DE LA MISSION. Exposer dans cette colonne, d'une manière sommaire, l'état actuel de la Mission et les prévisions concernant son avenir.
	CATHOLIQUES	HEBREUX, ISRAËLITES.						
1875	350.000	150.000		82	5	3	7	<p>La Compagnie cherche en ce moment, en s'appuyant sur les grandes puissances catholiques à s'opposer à l'extension de l'islamisme par les traités en faveur des chrétiens et à l'émigration des diverses communautés catholiques de l'Orient à la seule autorité du Sultan. De là, les méfiances de l'administration et celle des musulmans envers le Séminaire. Chaldéen.</p> <p>— La liberté de prêcher l'évangile n'est pas en Orient et, tant que les Turcs n'auront pas une prépondérance politique, subsistant à leur profit, tous les efforts civils et militaires, en vue de leur gain, sont destinés à l'islamisme.</p> <p>— Et, dans les provinces catholiques où l'église latine est bien représentée, les relations sont généralement en de mauvaises, à devenir latines ou les verrait revenir en grand nombre.</p> <p>— L'avenir s'annonce sombre à cause que, pendant bien des années, les chrétiens orientaux, si importants de l'éducation des enfants, les pasteurs l'ont bien compris et l'ont, par conséquent, été multipliant partout leurs collèges et leurs écoles.</p>
	150.000							<p>1 Grand et petit Séminaire 1 Collège. 8 Résidences. 54 Ecoles gratuites 1 Noviciat et Ecole normale pour les religieux indigènes musulmans d'école. 1 Imprimerie à vapeur pour les langues orientales et européennes comprenant depuis la fabrication des caractères et la fonte des caractères jusqu'à la reliure inclusivement 1 Journal arabe hebdomadaire destiné à combattre l'influence des journaux protestants et attaché à l'imprimerie.</p>

Want compter les populations nomades.

12. ROY. B.P.N. LYON

05214

ÉTAT DES RECETTES ET DÉPENSES présumées pour l'année 1875.

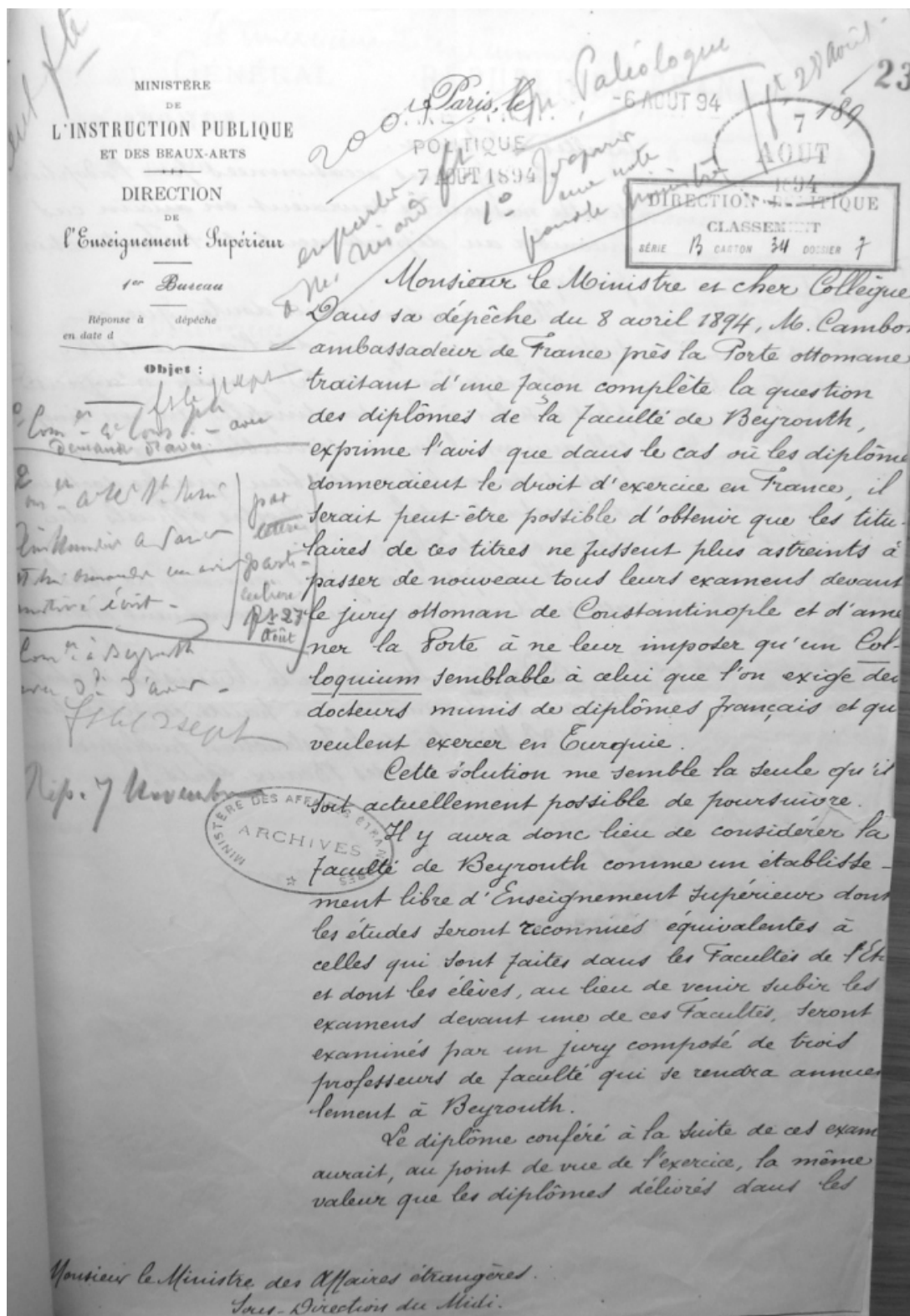
(Ces recettes et dépenses doivent être indiquées en francs et non en monnaie du pays.)

RESSOURCES ANNUELLES.	DÉPENSES ANNUELLES.	OBSERVATIONS GÉNÉRALES.
<p>1° Ressources diverses et annuelles du diocèse ou du vicariat apostolique, autres que celles qui proviennent des allocations de la Propagation de la Foi</p> <p>2° Du Gouvernement pour le séminaire 20 bourses</p> <p>3° " " " " 5 bourses</p> <p>4° Revenus d'immeubles</p> <p>5° Allocations faites par des Associations étrangères au diocèse ou vicariat apostolique, et différentes de celles de la Propagation de la Foi.</p> <p>6° Des Ecoles d'Orient y compris le premier d'une souscription ouverte par les Dames du Séminaire</p> <p>7° De divers comités Allemands et Belges</p> <p>8° Le séminaire de Gharhar</p>	<p>1° Dépenses du personnel de la Mission, évaluées pour l'année à 1000 par personne.</p> <p>2° Dépenses pour le voyage de Missionnaires devant arriver dans la Mission pendant le cours de l'année</p> <p>3° Intérêt annuel de la dette, s'il en existe une</p> <p>4° Dépenses pour l'entretien annuel des établissements déjà fondés.</p> <p>5° S'il existe, dans la Mission, des établissements commencés, indiquer la portion des dépenses à payer nécessairement dans l'année, pour la continuation de ces établissements.</p> <p>6° Fondation de la Rédemption de Damas avec une chapelle et écoles de garçons et de filles</p> <p>7° Prix d'achat 38.000 - Appropriations 7.000</p> <p>8° Etablissement de plusieurs écoles</p> <p>9° Construction de l'Université Catholique à Beyrouth. (Dedicée par la Sacre Propagande à Rome.)</p>	<p>1° La mission doit aux S. J. 3000 francs pour une maison à Beyrouth en nous avons habili des localités la somme de 20.000</p> <p>2° Le Gouvernement nous réclame pour des impôts arriérés remontant à plus de 40 ans environ 14.000 fr. Nous ferons tous nos efforts pour ne pas payer ou pour arriver à une transaction</p> <p>3° Pour l'acquisition et l'appropriation de la maison de S. J. pour l'Université à Damas qui se réalisera dans le courant de l'année 45.000</p> <p>4° L'Université de l'Université catholique à Beyrouth (pour mission) - Avec les revenus nous espérons vendre de l'ouvrage, nous pourrions une partie du</p> <p>5° Nous comptons en location à Alep une maison pour être suffisante, mais pour ne pas accumuler trop de charges dans la même année, nous ajournons à une autre époque une habitation plus décente</p>
FRANCS.	FRANCS.	FRANCS.
12.000.	82.000.	82.000.
3.000.	3.500.	3.500.
3.000.	800.	800.
3.000.	74.920.	74.920.
12.000.	45.000.	45.000.
8.000.	206.220.	206.220.
38.000.	38.000.	38.000.
38.000.	168.920.	168.920.
38.000.	38.000.	38.000.
38.000.	38.000.	38.000.
38.000.	38.000.	38.000.
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38.000.	38.000.	38.000.
38.000.	38.000.	38.000.
38.000.	38.000.	38.000.
38.000.	38.000.	38.000.

APPENDIX 7: The Jesuit Schools in Lebanon and Syria in 1889

Ecoles. (mission de Syrie 1/)														
Ecoles de Garçons.														
	Maitres		Nombre.					Elevés.					Vosiles des Ecoles.	
	Nombre de Professeurs	Nombre de Classes	Nombre.					Catholiques	Syriens	Israélites	Musulmans	Français	Turcs	Arabes
			Total	Arabes	Nouveaux	Gratuits	Payants							
Seminaire	7	1	62	50	12	24	38	62				28		34
Maitres	9		51	38	13		31	42	2	1				
Beirut Collège	40	33	320	330	90	66	334	342	63	4	2	223	7	370
Ecole primaire	13	13	390	380	270	103	342	45				99		319
Total: 11 maitres, 9 classes, 1130 élèves.														
Alep														
Beirout	18	1	643	473	152	632	5	470	173			26		643
Damas														
Ghazir	10	3	300	260	140	300		294	3		3	60		300
Hama	12	11	323		323	333		7	12		300			323
Homs	12	7	321	100	221	296	25	184	112		19	24	20	295
Saida	22	22	332		332	332		332						332
Tanail	12	10	700		700	700		695	3		2	20		700
Tahle	17	13	622		622	622		620	61		1	52		622
Ecoles de Filles.														
Beirut	2	4	210		210	210		200	10					210
Alep	5	1	346		346	346		333	4					346
Beirout	12	5	339	210	229	339		333	72			20		339
Damas	6	1	124		124	124		124	10			21		124
Ghazir	2	1	70	50	20	70		70						70
Hama														
Homs	6	3	233	170	133	233		233	163		3	10		233
Saida	6	3	100		100	100		92			2			100
Tanail	3	4	156		156	156		152	3		3	73		156
Tahle	13	11	494	294	294	494		490	14			52		494
Total	59	26	3124	993	1190	3124	23	1839	490	6	14	221		3124
Nombre total des élèves: 7033														

APPENDIX 8: Letter from the Minister of Public Instruction to the Minister of Foreign Affairs about the Diploma of the French Medical School in Beirut



facultés de France.

Les dépenses occasionnées par l'adoption de cette mesure ne sauraient en aucun cas incomber au département de l'Instruction publique.

Il conviendrait sans doute que ce système fût inauguré dès l'année 1895.

Les diplômés de Beyrouth n'ayant plus à subir à Constantinople qu'un simple colloquium, il serait désirable que ces docteurs fussent nommés aussi bien que les docteurs de Constantinople aux postes officiels du Liban et de la Syrie.

Tous apprécierez s'il convient de soulever cette question auprès du Gouvernement ottoman.

Agreez, Monsieur le Ministre et cher Collègue, l'assurance de ma haute considération.
Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique et des Beaux-Arts,

E. Luyten

Instruction d'après la
révision par un
à l'École normale
l'Instruction d'après
le plan de l'École normale
C'est d'après
et pour l'enseignement
normal et l'enseignement
normal y faire face ?

a) 4.000 fr. en plus soit
6.000 fr. en tout. soit 2.000
fr. par la faculté
elle-même

b) si les Arabes restaient à l'École
il faudrait un chiffre de 4.000 fr. en
plus pour l'enseignement normal,
on pourrait trouver les 4.000 fr. sur
les fonds de secours et porter l'attention
à la faculté de 95.000 fr. à 99.000 fr.

Amirauté des Mers n° 2592 12 m. 1892 31
3523
Paris, le 25 SEPT 95
25 SEPT 95
189
DIRECTION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPÉRIEUR
1^{er} Bureau
Réponse à en date de
Objet :
En réponse à votre dépêche du 6 août dernier, j'ai l'honneur de vous informer que la présence des professeurs de la faculté de médecine de Beyrouth dans le jury qui sera chargé d'examiner les élèves de cette faculté constituerait une illégalité. Il a été décidé en effet que la faculté de Beyrouth serait considérée comme une faculté libre. Il est par suite indispensable que les élèves de cet établissement, soient, en ce qui concerne les examens, soumis au même régime que les étudiants des facultés libres de France. Or ceux-ci, depuis la loi de 1880 qui a supprimé les jurys mixtes, ne peuvent subir les épreuves qui déterminent la collation des grades que devant un jury composé de professeurs et d'agréés d'une faculté de l'Etat. La combinaison que suggère le Consul général de France à Beyrouth aurait pour effet de rétablir, au profit de la faculté libre de Beyrouth, le jury mixte supprimé par la loi, et d'établir ainsi un précédent que ne manqueraient pas d'invoquer à très bref délai les facultés libres de France. C'est donc le jury envoyé de France qui seul aura qualité pour signer les certificats d'aptitude. Toutefois, prenant en considération les raisons invoquées par notre Consul général à Beyrouth, et qu'avait déjà fait valoir M. Lortet auprès de mon administration, j'ai décidé que le jury, composé cette année de

trois membres de la Faculté de Lyon, seront assistés à chacun des trois premiers examens par deux professeurs de Beyrouth. L'autorité morale du corps enseignant ne sera ^{donc} pas amoindrie par le changement de régime aux yeux des étudiants.

Le diplôme de docteur en médecine qui sera délivré aux étudiants de la Faculté de Beyrouth donnera à ceux qui en seront pourvus les mêmes droits qu'aux docteurs en médecine français. Il y a donc lieu, dans ces conditions, d'exiger de ces étudiants le versement de droits égaux à ceux acquittés par les étudiants en médecine français (ancien régime).

Ces droits ont été fixés, par application du décret du 20 Juin 1878, à la somme de 1360^f, à laquelle il convient d'ajouter les droits de dispense du baccalauréat de l'Enseignement secondaire classique (120^f) et du baccalauréat sciences restreint (50^f), soit au total la somme de 1530 francs.

L'acquittement de ces droits, qui se décomposent la manière suivante, aura lieu entre les mains du Consul de France à Beyrouth pour le compte des Facultés du lieu académique qui enverra les membres du Jury.

1 ^{re} Année	{	Droits acquis	{	dispense du baccalauréat de l'Enseignement secondaire classique —
				dispense du bacc ^l sciences restreint —
				4 inscriptions à 30 ^f par trimestre —
				4 droits de bibliothèque à 2 ^f 50 par trimestre —
	{	Consignations	—	4 droits de travaux pratiques à 1 ^f par trimestre —
				1 ^{er} Examen { 1 épreuve — 30 ^f 1 certificat — 25 ^f } —

Total pour la 1^{re} année

1 ^{re} Année	Droits acquis	H inscriptions à 30 ^f par trimestre	120 ^f
		H droits de bibliothèque à 2 ^f 50 par trimestre	10
		H droits de travaux pratiques à 10 ^f par trimestre	40
		Total pour la 1 ^{re} année	170 ^f

2 ^e Année	Droits acquis	H inscriptions à 30 ^f par trimestre	120
		H droits de bibliothèque à 2 ^f 50 par trimestre	10
		H droits de travaux pratiques à 10 ^f par trimestre	40
	Consignations	2 ^e examen (2 épreuves) { 2 épreuves à 30 ^f = 60 2 certificats à 25 ^f = 50 }	110
		Total pour la 2 ^e année	280

3 ^e Année	Droits acquis	H inscriptions à 30 ^f par trimestre	120
		H droits de bibliothèque à 2 ^f 50 par trimestre	10
		H droits de travaux pratiques à 5 ^f par trimestre	20
	Consignations	3 ^e examen (2 épreuves) { 2 épreuves à 30 ^f = 60 2 certificats à 25 ^f = 50 }	110
		4 ^e examen { 1 épreuve à 30 ^f 1 certificat à 25 ^f }	55
		5 ^e examen (2 épreuves) { 2 épreuves à 30 ^f = 60 2 certificats à 25 ^f = 50 }	110
		Thèse - 100 ^f Certificat - 40 Diplôme - 100	240
		Total pour la 3 ^e année	665

Il demeure entendu qu'en cas d'échec, il est remboursé aux étudiants les droits de certificat d'aptitude et de diplôme. Les droits d'examen ne sont jamais remboursés, ils sont acquis définitivement au trésor par le fait même du versement.

En résumé, les étudiants de la faculté de Besançon, pour obtenir le grade de docteur en médecine (régime de 1878) devront acquitter intégralement la somme de 1530^f.

Suivant l'année d'études à laquelle ils se préparent, ils
vont verser :

Ceux de la 1^{re} année, compris les droits
de dispense des baccalariats 415^f

Les étudiants entrant en 2^e année devront
acquitter, avant de prendre la 5^e inscription, la
dite somme de 415^f, plus au cours de la 2^e année
celle de 170^f, soit au total 585^f

Les étudiants entrant en 3^e année, avant
de prendre la 9^e inscription, devront verser
la somme de 585^f et acquitter au cours de
l'année 280^f, soit au total 865^f

Les étudiants de 4^e année, avant de prendre
la 13^e inscription devront acquitter la
somme de 865^f immédiatement, et, au
cours de l'année celle de 665^f, soit au total . . . 1530^f

Je vous serai obligé de vouloir bien faire part de ces dis-
positions au Chancelier de la Faculté.

Agrez, Monsieur le Ministre et cher Collègue, l'as-
surance de ma haute considération.

Le Ministre de l'Instruction publique, des Beaux-
Arts et des Cultes,

Ministère

APPENDIX 10: From Consul General of France in Beirut to the Minister of Foreign Affairs about the French Medical School in Beirut

Consulat Général
de France
en Syrie

Beirut, le 3 Mai 1897

55

Direction des
Affaires Politiques.

Sous-Direction du
Midi.

N° 27

M. Violon

la situation spéciale
par M. Joubert au 1^{er} Mai 1897
évidemment très favorable
qui n'a rien de proposé ni
applicable - 26 juillet

DIRECTION
POLITIQUE
1^{er} Mai 1897

SERIE B CARTON 36 COSSIER 7

RE DES AFFAIRES
Etrangères
ARCHIVES

Monsieur le Ministre,

Depuis l'institution d'un Jury de
l'Etat réuni à Beyrouth pour faire
subir aux élèves de notre Faculté de
Médecine les épreuves de l'examen de
Doctorat, la question s'est posée à deux
reprises de déterminer les formes dans
lesquelles la consignation préalable,
formellement exigée des candidats,
du montant des droits afférents à
ces actes scolaires, devait être effectuée.
Le caractère provisoire d'une partie
du versement dont il s'agit, pour

Site de 5^e examen
Doctorat en médecine
aut le Jury de l'Etat
à Faculté française de
Beirut.

Son Excellence
Monsieur Hanotaux
Ministre des Affaires Etrangères
à Paris.

laquelle les titres définitifs du Trésor à en-
bénéficier dépendent du résultat des épreuves,
devait interdire d'en faire immédiatement
recette, afin de conserver la possibilité des
remboursements prescrits en cas d'insuccès
de celles-ci. Mais en l'absence d'instructions
s'appliquant à ce cas exceptionnel, ma
Chancellerie continue à encaisser les consignations
au titre de recettes pour ses correspondants
administratifs, et elle en transmet ainsi le
montant, de suite, en traites au profit du Trésor.
Ce mode de procéder a pu, jusqu'à présent n'offrir
aucun inconvénient, tous les élèves ^{qui le sont} étant
présentés dans les deux dernières sessions aux
examens du Doctorat ayant été reçus, mais
c'est là une exception; aussi je crois devoir
appeler aujourd'hui de nouveau, l'attention
du Département sur une situation de nature
à nuire, dans une certaine mesure, à une
œuvre pour laquelle nous n'avons jamais hésité
à consentir d'importants sacrifices. Les jeunes
gens qui viennent chercher dans notre Faculté,
avec la pratique de nos méthodes, un enseignement
en somme tout français, n'ont pour la plupart
aucune fortune. Ils appartiennent souvent à
la clientèle dévouée que nous possédons en Syrie,
et beaucoup d'entre eux, anciens titulaires de

56

bourses accordées par le Gouvernement, doivent toute leur éducation à la France. L'obligation où se trouvent ces jeunes gens d'acquitter, à la fin de leurs études, des droits relativement élevés d'examen, peut, à la rigueur, être accueillie assez volontiers par ceux que le résultat des épreuves a favorisés. Mais condamner les candidats moins heureux à des démarches compliquées et à des délais forcément longs pour rentrer dans la possession de sommes sur lesquelles le Trésor n'a aucun droit, me paraît une anomalie devant être soigneusement évitée. Nous devons donc rechercher un moyen pratique d'obvier à cet inconvénient résultant d'une situation exceptionnelle que ne pouvait prévoir le Règlement Général de la Comptabilité du Département.

Dans une note adressée l'an dernier à la Division des Fonds, j'ai écarté l'éventualité de la conversion des consignations dont il s'agit en dépôts en numéraire. Les formalités qui régissent minutieusement cette matière sont naturellement inapplicables dans l'espèce avec un personnel aussi

restreint que celui dont dispose ma
Chancellerie.

Il m'avait donc paru utile de solliciter
sur cette question l'avis du Doyen de la
Faculté de Médecine de Lyon qui est en relations
intimes avec notre établissement de Beyrouth.
Dans une communication récente, dont je
détache les conclusions, M. le Dr Lortet me
fait part des observations qu'ont amenées
l'étude, de sa part et de celle du Secrétaire
de la Faculté, des considérations que j'avais
fait valoir et des conclusions que j'avais
suggérées à ce propos. Le régime auquel le
Doyen donnerait la préférence serait celui-ci :

« Les candidats verseraient avant l'examen
« les consignations exigées d'eux et reprendraient
« immédiatement, en cas d'échec, la partie
« de ces consignations dont la restitution est
« prévue par les règlements en vigueur. En
« même temps, il serait dressé un état d'emploi
« des consignations conforme au modèle employé
« dans les Facultés de France, et cet état,
« certifié par le Consul Général, serait adressé
« à M. le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères,
« avec les sommes restant dûes au Trésor.
« Le Secrétaire de la Faculté de Lyon, sur le
« vu de ce document délivrerait, à la fois,

" des bulletins de versement pour le
 " montant brut des consignations et des
 " ordres de remboursement pour les sommes
 " rendues aux candidats, ce qui permettrait
 " au comptable de faire balancer ~~les~~ écritures
 " par un simple jeu de chiffres.

La procédure recommandée par M.
 le Dr Lortet, si elle était adoptée, me
 paraîtrait de nature à écarter les difficultés
 auxquelles nous nous heurtons, chaque
 année, lors de la session des examens.
 En simplifiant les formalités pour les
 divers comptables appelés à régir les
 versements, cette solution présente le
 grand avantage, sur lequel je ne saurais
 trop insister, de nous permettre de
 régler immédiatement la situation de
 chacun des candidats vis-à-vis du Trésor.

Je ne puis que soumettre à
 l'appréciation du Département les
 règles proposées; mais j'ose espérer
 que Votre Excellence estimera que
 les motifs qui ont dicté cette lettre
 sont de nature à faire vivement
 désirer l'adoption d'un système,
 quel qu'il soit, qui éviterait aux
 élèves de notre Faculté de Beyrouth

l'énorme obligation de versements inutiles; ^{qui}
en même temps, mon Consulat Général ne
se trouvera pas exposé à procéder irrégulièrement
comme il l'est aujourd'hui, par suite du
manque d'instructions spéciales déjà réclamés,
sans succès, à la Division des Fonds.

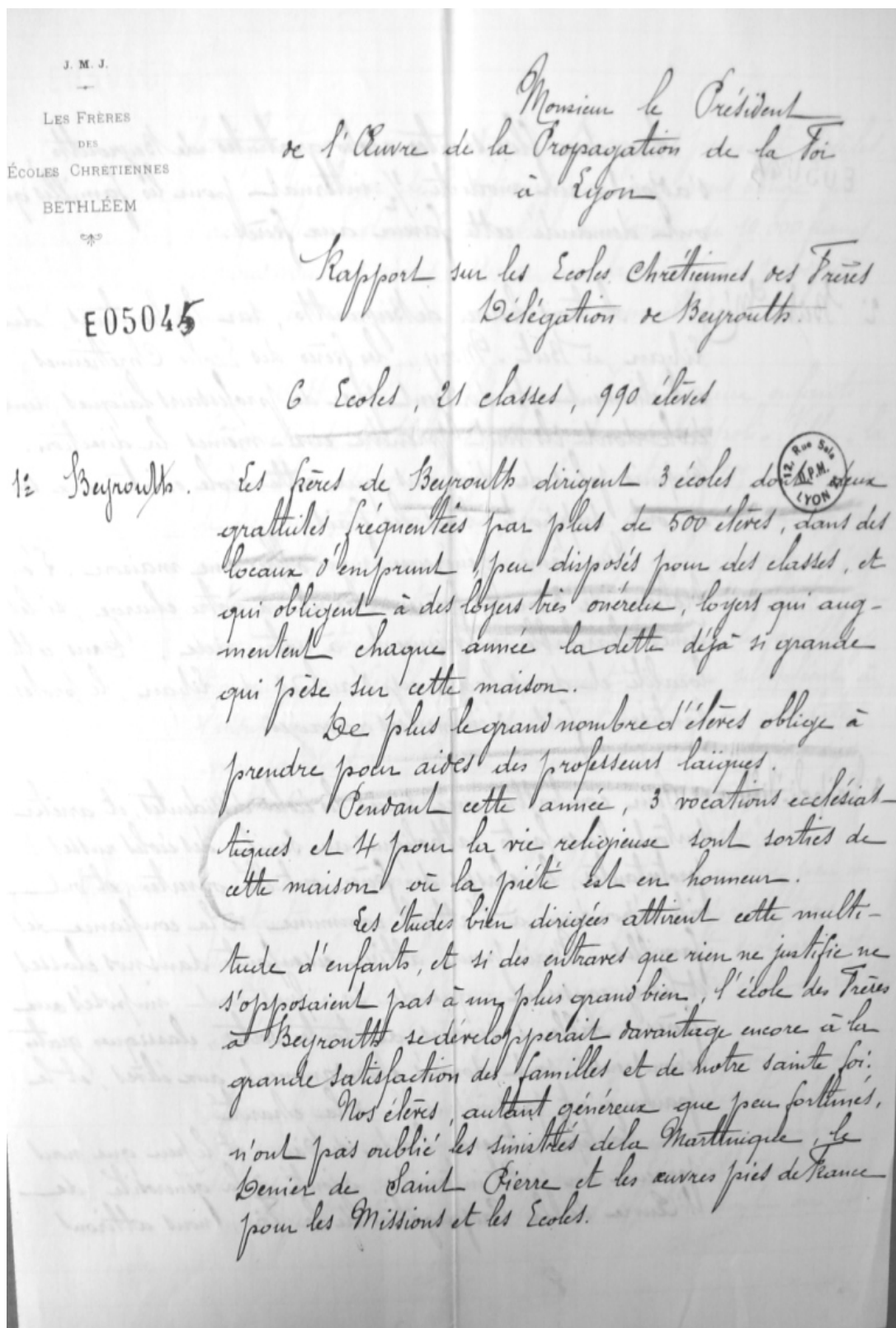
J'ai d'ailleurs l'honneur de communiquer
ci-joint au Département l'état administratif
qui accompagnait la communication de M.
le Dr Lotet. /.

Veuillez agréer les assurances du
respect avec lequel l'honneur d'être,
Monsieur le Ministre,
de Votre Excellence

le très humble et très
obéissant serviteur,

J. Souhan

APPENDIX 11: The Report submitted by *Frères des Ecoles Chretiennes* to Propagation de la Foi about their Schools in the Levant (1902)



EU5045

Aux deux florissantes écoles gratuites de Beyrouth, s'ajoute un modeste $\frac{1}{2}$ internat pour les familles qui ont demandé cette faveur aux frères.

2. Beit-Miry

A trois heures de Beyrouth, sur les hauteurs du Liban, à Beit-Miry, les frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes entretiennent et dirigent par des professeurs laïques, une école dont ils vont prendre eux-mêmes la direction. Depuis plus de dix ans que cette école existe, eux seuls en ont supporté tous les frais.

Une âme généreuse nous offre une maison. L'entretien de 3 ou 4 frères reposerait à notre charge, si les âmes charitables ne viennent à notre aide. Dans cette localité et dans beaucoup d'autres du Liban, le protestantisme fait d'immenses ravages.

3. Tripoli-Ville.

Pour combattre avec succès les écoles dissidentes, et arrêter surtout les enfants catholiques au seuil des écoles russes et protestantes, les classes des frères ont été ouvertes, et ont vite répondu à l'appel commune, à la confiance des familles. Mais pour attirer ces enfants dans nos classes et les y conserver, que de sacrifices sont imposés aux frères. Ailleurs, secours de toutes sortes, classiques gratuits, récompenses, sont donnés abondamment aux élèves, et le pauvre n'est pas insensible à la charité.

Boutefais, et avec l'aide de Dieu, et le peu que nous procure un petit internat, ajouté à la générosité de l'Œuvre de la Propagation de la Foi, nous attirons

les enfants chez nous, et nous les voyons pieux et dociles.

Un loyer de 700 francs par an nous oblige à l'acquisition d'un immeuble au prix de 10.000 francs, si nous voulons nous assurer un avenir plus prospère encore et diminuer nos dépenses annuelles.

4. Gripoli-Marine. - Cette école, établie pour faciliter aux enfants éloignés de 4 kilomètres environ de Gripoli-Ville, la fréquentation de nos classes, a été ouverte en 1889 à la demande des parents. Toutefois, là aussi, une école russe qu'aucun motif religieux ne justifie, et les écoles grecques et protestantes ne laissent pas que d'attirer bien des enfants, ou encore, ou toujours les avantages matériels que les familles y trouvent. Exile et dévouement des frères suppléent à l'insuffisance des ressources, et c'est ce que l'on constate avec satisfaction. Œuvre Orient, et qu'il mérite nos sympathies.



5. Sattaquié. Pourrai-je nommer une localité en Syrie, quelque peu importante sans y voir, soit poussée par le prosélytisme, soit par la politique, des établissements scolaires anticatholiques. C'est encore la raison de notre école de Sattaquié : défendre, soutenir le catholicisme.

Pour soutenir cette école, nos frères ont dû élever le niveau des études ; de là, la nécessité d'un personnel apparemment nombreux pour un nombre d'élèves assez restreint. Les enfants de Sattaquié sont intelligents et très sensibles à l'affection dont on les

entouré.

En Syrie, sous la Délégation de Beyrouth, bien
des demandes ont été faites aux Frères s'ouvrant des Ecoles,
E05045 surtout dans le catholique Liban rongé par le protestantis-
me. Mais qui, dans ces pauvres contrées, entreprendrait ces
Ecoles? Dieu aura son heure

Bethléem, 10 Décembre 1902

Le Visiteur Provincial

A. M. G. 5.
Institut des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes.
District de Lyrie

E05046

Situation financière de l'année 1902.

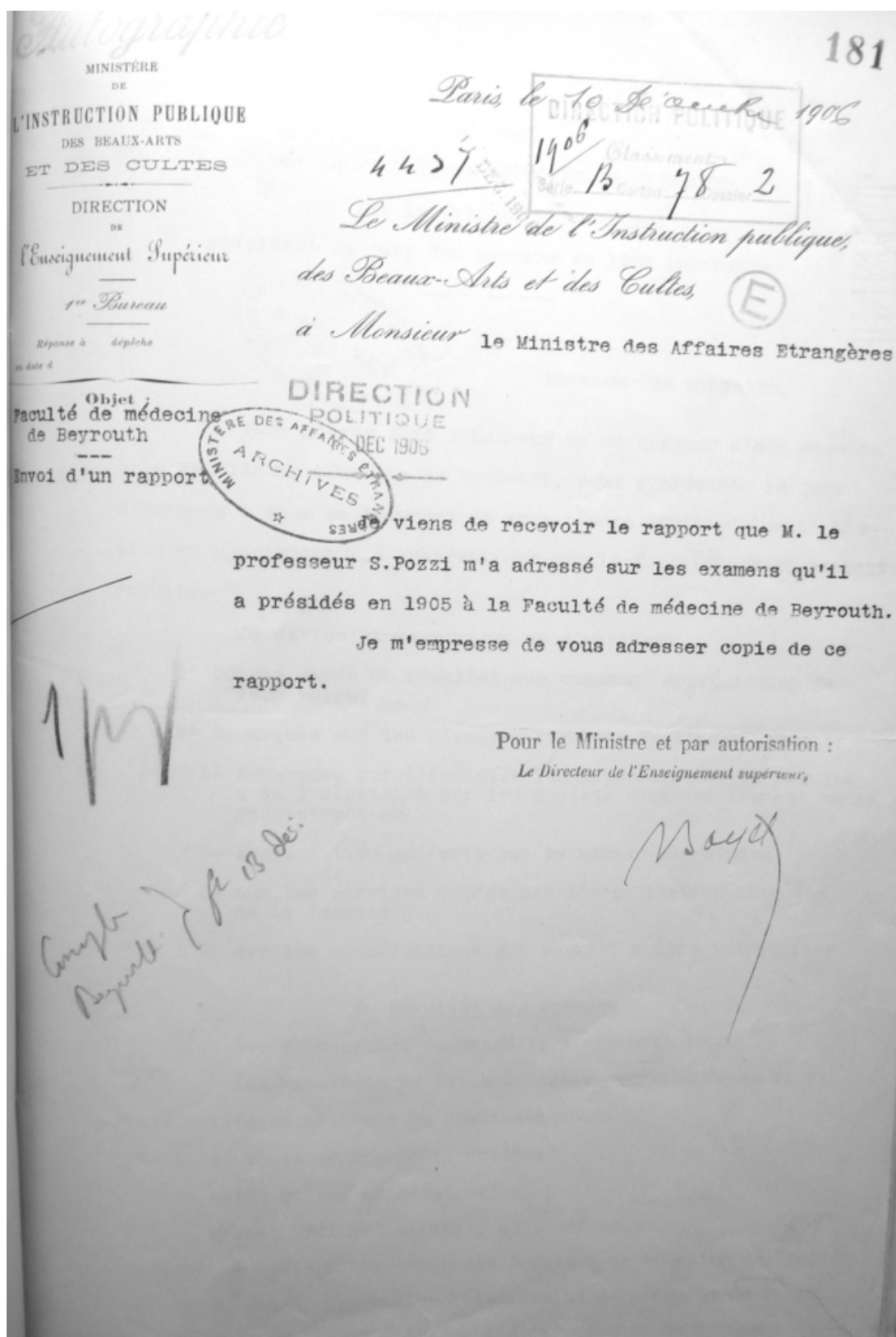
1 Délégation de Bayrouth composant — Ecoles gratuites Ayvoir:	2 Recettes	3 Dépenses	4 Déficit	5 Dépenses exclusives pour l'année 1902.	6 Solde concernant les écoles gratuites.
1 Bayrouth, La. St Vincent 217	4132	5279	1147		5000
2 " La. St Antoine 197	3000	4000	1000	10000	
4 Lattayuni La. St Jean 107	4830	5460	630	500	3100
5 Grigori. V. La. St Georges 162	8000	9110	1110	8000	2664
6 Grigori. M. La. Sacre-Coeur 108	5300	5400	204	3000	12606
7 Beit-Miny La. St Maurice 128	0	2000	2000	1500	0
8					
9					
10					
Total des élèves:	25262	31353	6091	23000	88370



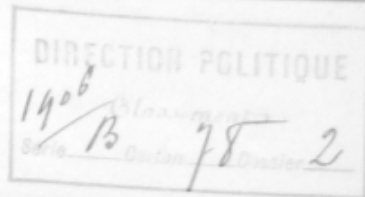
Le Vicaire,
F. Lamy

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APPENDIX 13: The Report of Professor of Pozzi about the French Medical School in Beirut



Autographié



RAPPORT

sur la FACULTE de MEDECINE de BEYROUTH
par le Professeur S. POZZI
président du jury des examens en 1905 (novembre)

182



Monsieur le Ministre,

Vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me charger d'une mission à la Faculté de Médecine de Beyrouth, pour y présider le jury d'examens & vous me demandez de vous rendre compte de cette mission en y joignant mes observations sur le fonctionnement de cette Faculté.

Je diviserai ce rapport en 4 parties:

- 1° Compte rendu du résultat des examens. Appréciation de leur valeur
- 2° Remarques sur les diverses branches de l'enseignement:
 - A- Remarques sur l'installation matérielle de la Faculté & de l'Hôpital & sur les projets d'agrandissement ou de reconstruction.
 - B- Appréciation générale sur le niveau des études
 - C- sur les services rendus par l'organisation actuelle de la Faculté
 - D- sur les modifications qui peuvent y être introduites

I- Résultat des examens

Les examens ont commencé le 7 novembre 1905.

Les examinateurs étaient: trois professeurs de la Faculté militaire ottomane de Constantinople:

S. E. Youssouf Bey Rami, colonel;

Dr Halid Chazi, adjudant major;

Dr Rifaat Tralheri Effendi, adjudant major;

& trois professeurs des Facultés de médecine de France:

Dr S. Pozzi, professeur à la Faculté de médecine de Paris

Dr Abadie, agrégé à la Faculté de médecine de Bordeaux

Dr Regaud, agrégé à la Faculté de médecine de Lyon.

Les examens ont été poursuivis les 7, 8 & 9 novembre; ils ont été interrompus les 10, 11, 12 & 13 novembre & se sont continués les 14, 15 & 16 novembre. La séance solennelle de clôture de ces examens a eu lieu le jeudi 16 novembre sous la présidence du Consul général de France (Au nom du jury d'examen j'y ai prononcé un discours).

Voici les résultats généraux pour l'ensemble des examens:

	69	Très bien
434 épreuves	121	Bien
médecine & pharmacie	131	Assez bien
	101	Passable
	12	ajournés

Les résultats des examens pour la médecine seule se décomposent ainsi:

	56	Très bien
376 épreuves	107	Bien
pour la médecine	114	Assez bien
seulement	89	Passable
	10	ajournés

(voir pièces annexées n° 1 & n° 2)

1er examen

Le premier examen de doctorat se décompose réglementairement en deux parties:

- 1° Epreuve pratique de dissection
- 2° Anatomie- moins l'anatomie topographique

L'absence complète de cadavres (on en peut avoir deux ou trois par an environ) rend illusoire la première épreuve. Il est à peu près impossible de se procurer des sujets de dissection légalement: les indigents morts à l'hôpital sont enterrés aux frais & par les soins des diverses Associations religieuses. On ne pourrait avoir un nombre suffisant de cadavres qu'en les achetant à des individus qui les déterreraient dans les cimetières(1)

(1) Les étudiants m'ont affirmé que c'est par ce moyen que la Faculté américaine parvient à fournir de cadavres sa salle de dissection: il y aurait eu à ce sujet des aventures fâcheuses..... Des conversations que j'ai eues avec les professeurs de la Faculté de médecine française, il résulte que les Jésuites considéraient (non sans raison) que ce procédé immoral semait dangereux pour le bon renom de leur Ecole.

L'enseignement de l'anatomie est donc purement théorique, sauf pour l'ostéologie. Les pièces sèches qui ont été envoyées des Facultés de France au Musée de la Faculté de Beyrouth sont absolument insuffisantes pour remplacer l'étude sur le cadavre. Je reviendrai ultérieurement sur cette lacune & sur le moyen de la combler en quelque mesure.

Les réponses des élèves sur l'anatomie sont aussi satisfaisantes qu'elles peuvent l'être dans cet état de choses.

2ème examen



Histologie & Physiologie
Physique biologique & chimie biologique

M. l'agrégé Regaud qui a une compétence spéciale en histologie avait apporté des préparations à reconnaître & à expliquer. Il a été très peu satisfait; les élèves ne sont pas suffisamment exercés à l'histologie pratique &, comme pour l'anatomie, on ne fait appel qu'à leur mémoire verbale.

Pour la Physiologie, les élèves paraissent un peu plus instruits; mais là encore ils ne peuvent étudier de visu dans un laboratoire. C'est le même professeur (M. le docteur Nègre) qui enseigne à la fois l'anatomie, l'histologie & la physiologie. Le cumul est regrettable.

La Physique biologique est enseignée par le P. Collangettes qui a réussi à installer très convenablement le laboratoire dans un local assez défectueux. Ce laboratoire est riche en instruments: l'électricité & ses applications biologiques y tiennent une place peut-être excessive. Il y a une bonne installation radiologique qui est utilisée pour les besoins de la clinique hospitalière.

La chimie biologique est professée par le P. Soulerin: il a installé un laboratoire qui pourrait suffire si les élèves mettaient plus de zèle. Mais ceux-ci ne paraissent pas se soucier de dépenser leur temps à apprendre les sciences dites accessoires. Aussi, malgré la bonne volonté des professeurs & leur mérite réel, les examens ont-ils été très faibles.

3ème examen 1ère partiea) médecine opératoire & anatomie topographique

L'absence complète de cadavres a rendu cet examen en partie illusoire. La mémoire seule des élèves peut entrer en jeu; on ne peut se rendre en aucune façon compte de leur habileté opératoire puisqu'on ne peut les faire opérer. Ils récitent comme une leçon les descriptions anatomiques & la moindre question les déconcerte. C'est de tous les examens le plus faible: sur 40 candidats ~~inmitté~~ près de la moitié aurait pu être refusée; il y a eu 4 ajournés absolument nuls & 14 passables que l'on aurait ajournés sans l'indulgence spéciale que réclamait la situation. (voir pièce annexée n° 1) Il sera indispensable d'y porter remède.

3ème examen 1ère partieb) Pathologie externe & accouchements

Les réponses en pathologie externe (prof. docteur Hache) & en accouchements (prof. docteur Chapotin) ont été assez satisfaisantes: sur 36 candidats il n'y a pas eu un seul ajourné & la moitié ont mérité une bonne note (voir pièce annexée n° 1)

3ème examen 2ème partiePathologie générale- Pathologie interne- Bactériologie
(épreuve pratique & épreuve orale)

Le résultat de cet examen a été très bon. (sauf pour la bactériologie assez faible). L'enseignement de la pathologie interne (prof. le docteur de Brun) paraît être le meilleur de toute la Faculté. sur 36 élèves il y a eu 15 très bien & 14 bien à l'épreuve pratique; 4 très bien & 10 bien à l'épreuve orale. Pas un seul ajourné (cf. pièce annexée n°1)

4ème examenThérapeutique- Hygiène- Médecine légale- Matière médicale- Pharmacologie- Applications des sciences naturelles

Les réponses ont été bonnes aux examens; mais on voit que la mémoire est seule en jeu. Le professeur de pharmacie & matière médicale est M. Guignes qui enseigne depuis 13 ans (1894)

avec beaucoup de zèle & avec un matériel insuffisant (dروguer tout à fait rudimentaire).

La partie la plus faible de cet examen est celle relative aux applications des sciences physiques & naturelles, car l'étude de celles-ci est très négligée. L'esprit des étudiants de Beyrouth n'est pas tourné vers les choses scientifiques, mais seulement vers les branches d'enseignement qui leur paraissent comporter un résultat immédiatement pratique & professionnel.

Le personnel enseignant n'est assurément pas responsable de cette tendance. Elle résulte du milieu oriental & des conditions mêmes de l'exercice de la médecine dans les pays d'Orient. Cependant, il serait désirable que les professeurs pussent réagir contre cette tendance en rendant leur enseignement attrayant & plus expérimental que dogmatique.

Je me suis aussi rendu compte que le travail de laboratoire, la recherche originale, fait à peu près défaut, même parmi les professeurs.

5ème examen 1ère partie

Clinique obstétricale - clinique chirurgicale

Il n'y a pour ainsi dire pas moyen de faire examiner des femmes en couches à l'Hôpital vu le petit nombre de sujets qui s'y trouvent réunis; on a remédié à cette pénurie en faisant venir quelques femmes vues à la consultation. M. le professeur Dr Chapotin déploie beaucoup de zèle pour l'instruction des élèves & les résultats de l'examen sont assez bons, très comparables à ceux de nos Facultés françaises (Cf. pièce annexée n° 1).

Pour la clinique chirurgicale (professeur Dr Hache) les résultats ont été un peu moins bons; il y a eu un ajourné & 7 passables dont la plupart auraient pu être refusés. La moyenne est pourtant satisfaisante (Cf. pièce annexée n° 1)

5ème examen 2ème partie

Epreuve d'anatomie pathologique - Clinique interne

L'anatomie pathologique est faible. Par contre, le niveau

de l'instruction pour la clinique interne est particulièrement élevé (professeur le docteur Brun) Il est supérieur à celui de la plupart de nos facultés & fait le plus grand honneur au professeur. La moyenne des notes est éloquent: 35 candidats: 14 très bien, 18 bien, 3 assez bien, pas un seul passable, pas un seul ajourné. (Cf. pièce annexée n° 1)

II. Remarques sur l'enseignement à la Faculté de médecine de Beyrouth

A. Installation matérielle - Projets d'agrandissement & de reconstruction.

J'ai déjà insisté sur l'insuffisance des laboratoires & des collections.

L'enseignement de l'histologie normale, de l'anatomie pathologique, de la physiologie, de la bactériologie est purement théorique; il faudrait le réorganiser entièrement.

A cet égard, la comparaison de l'Ecole française & de l'Ecole de médecine américaine à Beyrouth est écrasante pour la première. Je m'en suis rendu compte de visu; cependant, j'ai hâte d'ajouter que la valeur des études est, malgré cette infériorité matérielle, au moins aussi grande à l'Ecole française. Mais cette supériorité ne pourra toujours être maintenue si les conditions de la lutte ne sont pas modifiées rapidement.

Les collections diverses, la bibliothèque, sont aussi déplorablement pauvres.

Des Jésuites, frappés de cet état de choses, ont formé le projet non d'agrandir la Faculté actuelle, mais d'en construire une nouvelle, sur un vaste terrain acheté dans le quartier haut de Beyrouth. L'iradé impérial est accordé. L'incertitude du lendemain empêche seule les Jésuites de commencer les travaux; ils attendent de savoir si le Gouvernement français continuera sa protection à la Faculté dont ils ont la haute direction. Le P. Chancelier m'a laissé voir nettement que les intentions du Gouvernement lui seraient indiquées par le vote de la subvention

annuelle qui est actuellement de 92.000 francs. Si elle était légèrement augmentée & portée par exemple à 95.000, les Jésuites se croiraient en droit de compter sur l'avenir & commenceraient la construction. (Il est vrai que j'ai recueilli cette impression avant les derniers événements qui ont amené la séparation de l'Eglise & de l'Etat. Il faudrait sans doute aujourd'hui envisager les choses d'une manière différente).

Si rien n'est changé dans l'installation matérielle de la Faculté, elle est destinée à une décadence certaine, en présence de la concurrence que lui fait la riche Faculté américaine (dont le personnel est encore inférieur relativement) qui se développe & se perfectionne d'année en année,

B. Appréciation générale sur le niveau des études.

Les élèves, à leur entrée dans la Faculté, ont une instruction générale très insuffisante, & surtout une instruction scientifique très restreinte. Cela tient à ce que les Etablissements d'instruction primaire & secondaire de Beyrouth & du Liban (entr. autres l'Ecole d'Antoura) ne font pas faire aux élèves des études scientifiques suffisantes pour les préparer à commencer leur médecine.

Les établissements protégés & subventionnés par la France devraient recevoir l'avertissement d'élever le niveau des études scientifiques, de se pourvoir de professeurs & de modifier leurs programmes dans ce sens.

Dès leur première année, les étudiants en médecine devraient être exercés à la dissection des animaux & à l'étude de pièces anatomiques humides envoyées de France qui remplaceraient pour eux la dissection rendue impossible par la pénurie des cadavres. Actuellement leurs connaissances anatomiques sont superficielles & pratiquement nulles. J'en dirai presque autant de leurs connaissances en physiologie, histologie, bactériologie.

L'enseignement de la physique, de la chimie, de la

parasitologie est bien fait; mais les élèves y mettent peu d'application, jugeant ces connaissances accessoires pour le praticien. Au contraire, ils montrent beaucoup de zèle pour les études cliniques, particulièrement pour la clinique médicale et sur ce point ils sont au moins les égaux des étudiants de nos facultés françaises.

C- Services rendus par l'organisation actuelle de la Faculté de médecine de Beyrouth

Le plus grand mérite de cette Faculté est d'exister & de fonctionner économiquement.

La création d'une faculté laïque demanderait une énorme dépense. Elle se heurterait ensuite à ~~une~~ double concurrence; d'abord la Faculté américaine, ensuite la Faculté des Jésuites qui, si elle ne continuait pas à garder son étiquette française (ce qui est possible), passerait peut-être sous la protection d'une autre nation, Italie ou Allemagne.

Le caractère religieux du Chancelier & de plusieurs professeurs, prête à d'intéressantes remarques.

L'accès de la Faculté est ouvert aux étudiants de toutes nations & de toutes religions, à la condition que les parents des étudiants soient fixés définitivement en Orient. J'ai pu me convaincre, par des questions multiples & discrètes posées à diverses personnes, tant à Beyrouth qu'en Egypte (où la Faculté française de Beyrouth est très connue), qu'aucune pression n'est exercée sur les étudiants non catholiques pour les amener à changer de religion. On m'a affirmé de divers côtés qu'aucune conversion de ce genre ne s'était produite. En tout cas, la faveur dont jouit cette faculté auprès du monde musulman est une preuve de la liberté religieuse pratiquée dans cette Ecole. Les Jésuites exigent seulement des étudiants non catholiques le respect extérieur dû à la religion de leurs maîtres & de leurs camarades. Le nombre des étudiants non catholiques de la Faculté est, du reste, presque égal à celui des catholiques, 106 contre 127 (voir la pièce annexée n° 4 pour le détail)

Telle qu'elle est, la Faculté de médecine de Beyrouth rend de réels services à l'influence française. Les médecins qui en sortent viennent en grande majorité en France visiter nos hôpitaux, acheter livres & instruments. Ils restent en relations avec leurs maîtres français & se considèrent comme débiteurs de leur instruction vis-à-vis de notre pays. On peut voir dans le Bulletin annuel de l'Association des anciens élèves 1905 (pièce annexée n° 5 bis) - tableau final- que les médecins de notre Faculté de Beyrouth se disséminent dans toute la Turquie d'Asie & d'Europe & en Egypte pour y répandre nos idées & y propager notre langue. En Egypte notamment, ils sont préférés aux médecins sortis de l'Ecole du Caire & ils constituent un obstacle à l'effort incessant fait par les Anglais & par les Allemands pour envahir les postes médicaux de la vallée du Nil & du littoral de la Mer Rouge.

D. Modifications désirables à la Faculté de médecine de Beyrouth

Je les résumerai brièvement car il serait trop long de les développer:

1° Constitution d'un musée anatomique formé de pièces humides (conservées à l'état de flaccidité dans des liquides antiseptiques selon les derniers procédés). Ces pièces pourraient remplacer jusqu'à un certain point l'absence de cadavres. Elles serviraient aux démonstrations des professeurs & aux études des élèves. Elles pourraient être à la fois des pièces de dissection & des pièces de médecine opératoire (ligatures, amputations, résections etc..) On pourrait se les procurer à peu de frais. Il suffirait de conserver les pièces provenant des concours d'aides d'anatomie & de prosecteurs dans nos facultés, & même de conserver certaines pièces provenant des préparations faites pour les cours de nos professeurs. La Faculté de Beyrouth (j'en ai reçu l'assurance du Chancelier) ferait les frais de la conservation dans les boîtes, du montage, de l'assemblage & du transport. On obtiendrait ainsi très vite un admirable instrument d'études (voir pièce an-

nexée n° 6 pour la désignation des pièces les plus indispensables)

2° Envoi de préparations microscopiques provenant des laboratoires de nos facultés: mêmes observations que ci-dessus.

3° Envoi des livres en double dans nos bibliothèques médicales (Facultés de médecine, Académie de médecine etc.) Abonnements par les soins du Ministère de l'Instruction publique aux principales publications périodiques (journaux, revues) scientifiques & médicales de France, d'Allemagne & d'Angleterre. Actuellement la pénurie de la Bibliothèque à Beyrouth est lamentable & rend impossible toute recherche bibliographique; c'est une des causes du découragement des travailleurs & de l'absence de travaux originaux.

4° Création d'un laboratoire de physiologie, d'histologie & de bactériologie & nomination d'un professeur ou d'un chargé de cours (Coût: environ 10.000 francs par an)

5° Création d'un enseignement spécial pour les maladies des yeux & pour les maladies syphilitiques & cutanées, si répandues en Orient (plus tard on devra aussi créer un enseignement complémentaire spécial pour les maladies de la gorge, du nez & du larynx) Coût: environ 10.000 francs par an)

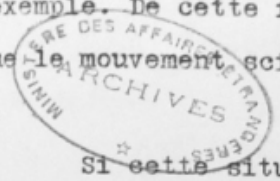
6° Augmentation de traitement (de 2000 francs) au professeur de Pharmacie & de matière médicale qui actuellement (& sans raison suffisante) a un traitement inférieur à celui de ses collègues laïques (voir pièce annexée n° 7).

7° Création à l'Hôpital français d'un service de Pédiatrie qui serait confié au professeur de Thérapeutique & de Pédiatrie qui n'a pas encore de service régulier à l'Hôpital.

8° Installation à l'Hôpital d'une salle d'opérations aseptiques pour les grandes opérations aseptiques, en particulier pour les laparotomies qui actuellement sont pratiquées dans des conditions défectueuses & dangereuses.

9° Augmentation du nombre des Soeurs attachées à l'Hôpital (deux soeurs au moins sont nécessaires)

- 10° Création à l'Hôpital d'un pavillon d'isolement
- 11° Création à l'Hôpital d'un laboratoire commun à tous les services & d'un chef de laboratoire (Cf. pièce annexée n° 8)
- 12° Enfin une réforme importante & très désirable serait que les professeurs au lieu d'être nommés à vie (pour ainsi dire) ne fussent désignés que pour un temps limité, trois ou cinq années par exemple. De cette façon ils ne risqueraient plus de perdre de vue le mouvement scientifique & de rester en arrière des progrès.



Si cette situation pouvait être attribuée à de jeunes travailleurs à la fin de leurs études, en leur fournissant les moyens de travailler dans une retraite agréable & fructueuse, assurément on ne manquerait pas de candidats distingués.

Le Ministère pourrait attacher certains avantages (au point de vue de la retraite & des distinctions honorifiques) à ces années de campagne à l'Etranger.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Ministre, l'hommage de ma haute & respectueuse considération.

POZZI

Pour copie conforme :
Le Directeur de l'Enseignement Supérieur,

Mayet

حضرت فی سبوتہ حفتہ چاندھار

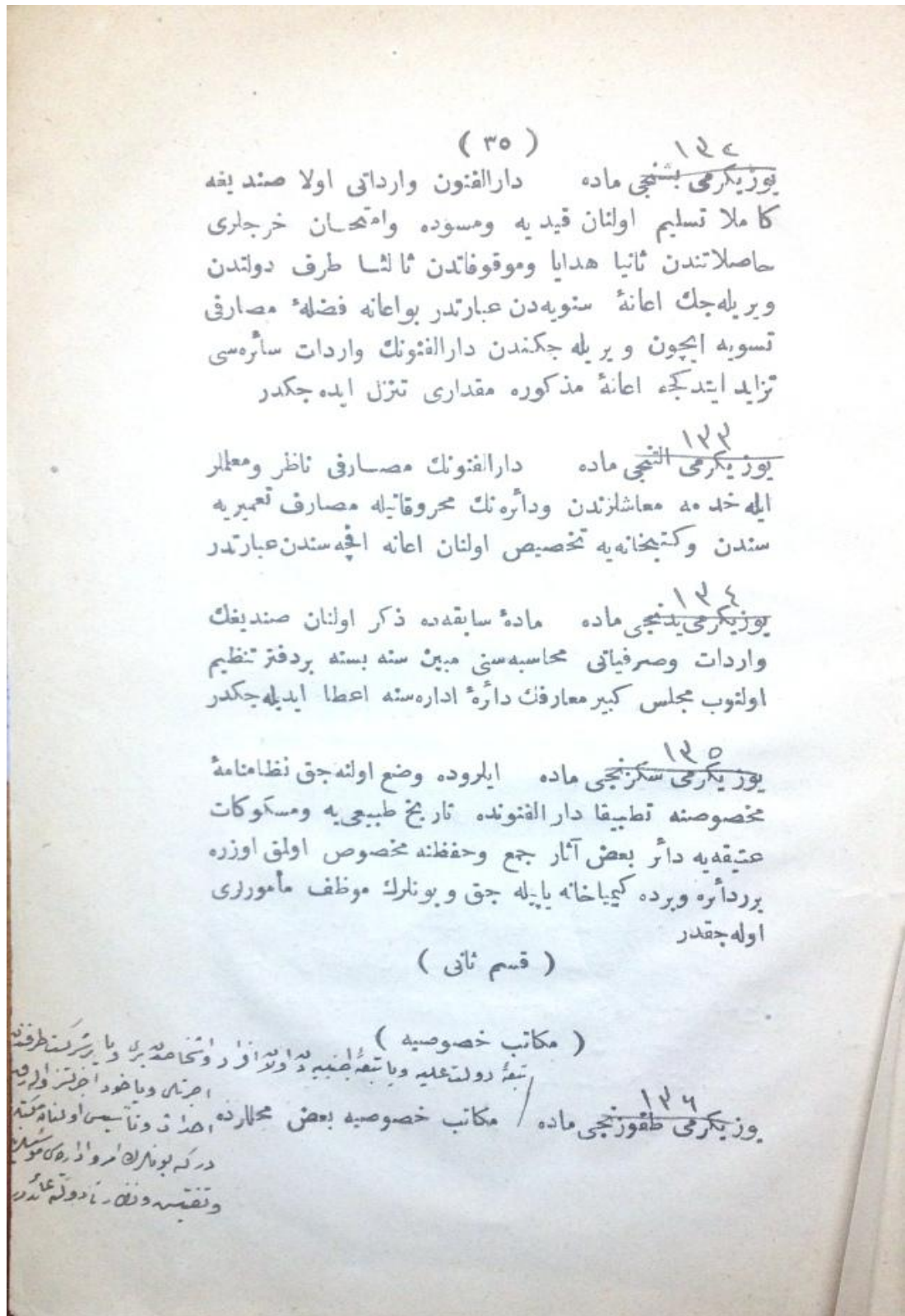
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۱۲۷. ماده منتخب ظهور تاسیس و تاسیس از روضه بوشاندر ملک درجه بی و نولم خف محلی و نای و نای
اولم خف بیلدر محلی معارف مجلسه و معارف محلی بوشاندر روضه حکومت بر قطعه عظامه اعظمه خف است
و منتخب ظاهره از خف ایله در سید و نای و معملک ایله جھارک اسم شهر تیزه بایانم بوشاندر روضه و کتور بوشاندر
و احواله اوله قلمه در تبعه دولت علیه و اولمدر محمد لوط قلمه و امین بوشاندر فخریه و یا قوتلوسخاندر روضه

علم غیر الیه و از این جهت تا بیخ جائعتر طرفند و بیکرک تبعه دولت علیه و کربک تبعه اجنبیه دن
استاد بسم اول قد زمره اولان افراد و اشخاصدن بری جانبین اجرتلی و یا اجرتسز
آقا عاید طری بلیدر مکتبدر اولان مکتبدر که بونلرک مصارف
و مخصوصاتی یا مؤسسه طرفند و یا خود هر بوط اولدقلری

و نیز در صورت لزوم و قضاوتی جانبین اداره و در وقت قتل و ممالک شاهانه و انواع
و سایر اموال و غیره به حال بر مکتوبات تأسیس اولاه و سایرینک بدین معارف جانبین
مدرسون و تحت اذن و بولیه و یا خود معارف اداره شدن شهادت نامه بولمق و نایا

۲۵، نخبه داره مؤسسه جنبه بود کتبلوده ادلیه و پولتیقه به «عارف» درس اوقوتی ر لماع ایچون اوله مکاتبه صبیانه مخصوصه تعلیم اولنه حق درس لک جدولی و کتابار «عارف» نظارت نیدن

سنة ١٢٨٥ هـ في شهر ربيع الثاني يوم الاثنين
ويعود من غير رسم طهره ايسه ولايت معارف اداره سيله ولايت واليهي طرفندن

الفلاح اخلاصاً و طمأنینه
مآثر اوله

۱۹. غیبه مکاتیب صبا نه
دوامه رخصت ویران و خلافتد حرکت وقوعی تقدیرنده منع
سند اوانور مکاتب خصوصیه کشاد ایدلک تعیین ایده جکاری

خواجه ارك يازنده شهادتنامه بولنديجي حالده اتني معارف
اداره ستمه تصديق ايتدباره لري لازم كله جكمبر

اضطرار فی سیر مرتبه مافوقه استنبه مخصوصه

۱۴۷
۱۴۱ بخماره مطبوعه - یوزاوتوزنجی ماده مکاتب عمومیہ و خصوصیہ اطفالک

خفت اعلا کی بول بول جگر مملکت
یواسن حر کتلندن ویاخود درسه چالشه ام لوندن طولانی
مکان عمومی نهاده است
معامله ضربه اجرائی والفاظ نامنا استعمالی قطعیا ممنوع

اولوب اومقوله مستحق جزا اولان شاگردان درجه قباح
ورخا وتلرینه کوره تعلیمات مخصوصه سننه توفیقا تأدیب

۱۴۰ بحمد الله اوله رفقه قلند جق و خلافتده حرکت ایدنلر فظهر مجازات اولنه بقدر
سار اولنه مشهور مدیر

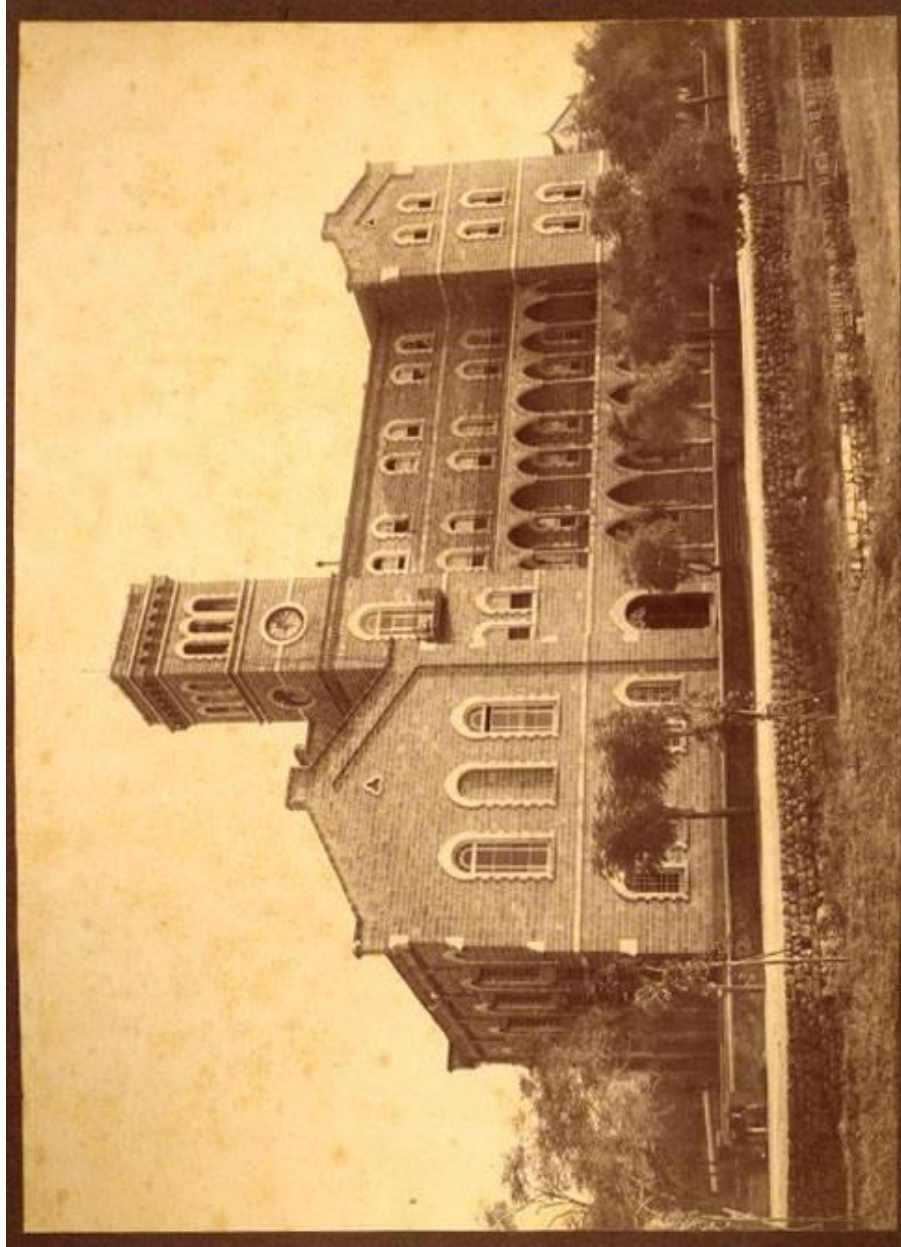
و موسیٰ علیہ السلام را در این بهشت نبیند و بدو میسر نیاید بخاورد آنچه او پس از خود

E. PICTURES

APPENDIX 20: Beirut in the 19th Century



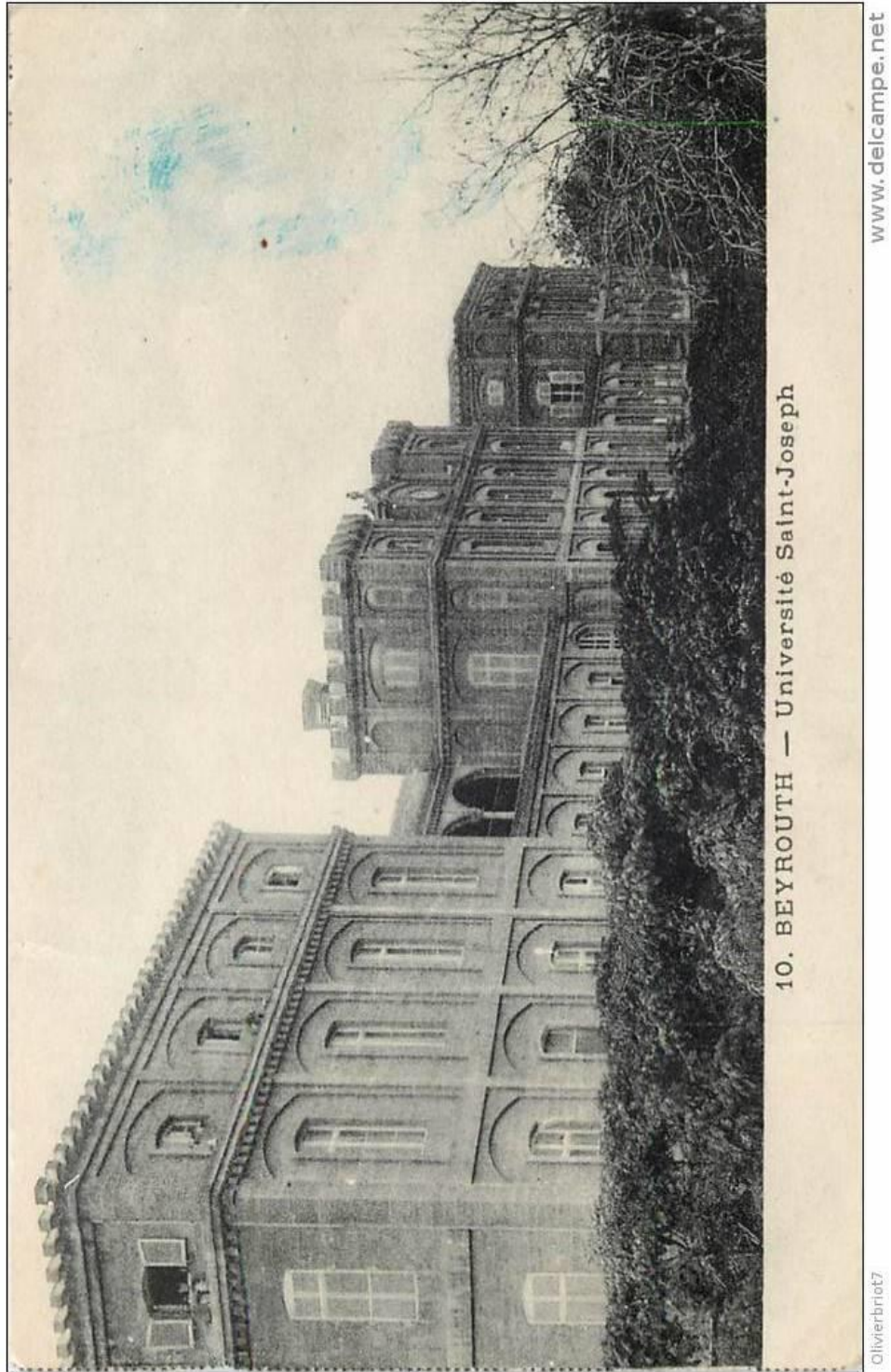
APPENDIX 21 : The College Hall of the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut



APPENDIX 22: The College of Antoura



APPENDIX 23: The Saint Joseph University of the Jesuits in Beirut



10. BEYROUTH — Université Saint-Joseph

www.delcampe.net

Olivierbriat7

APPENDIX 24: Lazarist Missionaries and Students at the College of Antoura



F. CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Gül, Serkan

Nationality: Turkish (TC)

Date and Place of Birth: 20 June 1979, Çankırı

Marital Status: Married

Phone: (535) 777 35 69

E-mail: serkan.gul@bozok.edu.tr ; serkanebu@yahoo.com

EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU, Department of History	2006
BS	METU, Department of History	2003
High School	Maltepe Lisesi	1997

STUDY AND RESEARCH ABROAD

American University of Beirut (Lebanon): Research for doctoral study (1–30 June 2012)

École Pratique des Hautes Etudes-Sorbonne (France): Research for doctoral study (20 February- 20 August 2010)

University of Tartu (Estonia): Erasmus Program (September 2008-February 2009)

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2006-Present	Bozok University	Research Assistant
2005-2006	Erciyes University	Research Assistant
2005	Tapu Kadastro Gen. Mūd.	Expert

2003-2005

Private Schools

Teacher

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Advanced French, Elementary Russian

ACADEMIC STUDIES

Thesis:

GÜL Serkan, Armenian Question in *Tasvir-i Efkar* Between 1914 and 1918, Advisor: Assoc. Prof. Ömer TURAN, The Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University, Ankara, 2006.

Articles:

GÜL Serkan, “Anlatı Tarih Üzerine Tartışmalar ve Yeni Yaklaşımlar”, *Karadeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi* (Yıl: 2013, Sayı: 38).

GÜL Serkan, “Arap Ulusal Kimliğini Oluşturmada İslami Söylem”, *Akademik Orta Doğu Dergisi*, (Yıl: 2012, Sayı: 6(2)).

GÜL Serkan, “Discussions on the Armenian Question in the Meclis-i Mebusan and the Fifth Branch Commission After the First World War” *Bozok Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (Yıl: 2010, Sayı: 1).

GÜL Serkan, “Method and Practice in Comparative History”, *Karadeniz Araştırmaları Dergisi*, (Yıl: 2010, Sayı: 26).

International Congresses:

GÜL Serkan, “Religious Propaganda and Rhetoric in Legitimizing the French Intervention to Eastern Mediterranean in 19th Century”, *Middle East Studies Association (MESA) 47th Annual Meeting*, New Orleans 2013.

GÜL Serkan, “Osmanlı Devlet Yönetiminde Kültürlerarası Etkileşim Örnekleri: İkinci Abdülhamit’in Ermeni Devlet Adamları ile İlişkileri”, *Erciyes Üniversitesi Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Sempozyumu (EUSAS I)*, Kayseri 2006.

National Congresses:

GÜL Serkan, “11 Eylül Sonrası Batının İslam Algısı ve Ötekileştirmenin Kuvvetlenmesi”, *Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Lisansüstü Sempozyumu*, Ankara 2010.

Book Chapters:

GÜL Serkan, “Interaction between Cultures in the Ottoman Administration: Relations of Abdülhamit II with Armenian Statesmen”, *Armenians in the Ottoman Society*, v. II, eds. Metin Hülagü et.al. Erciyes University Printing House, Kayseri 2008.

GÜL Serkan, “Tarihi Sosyal Bilimselleştirmek; Sosyal Bilimleri Tarihselleştirmek”, (Ferdan ERGUT ile Söyleşi) *Tarihsel Sosyoloji*, ed. Elisabeth Özdalga, Doğu Batı Yayınları, 2009.

GÜL Serkan, “Tavir-i Efkâr Gazetesi’nde Ermeni Sorunu (1914–1918)”, *Ermeni Meselesi’ne Kültürel ve Sosyal Yaklaşımlar*, ed. İbrahim Erdal, IQ Yayınları, 2009.

SCHOLARSHIPS

The Grant for Doctoral Study by the Council of Higher Education (2010)

Erasmus Grant by National Agency (2008–2009)

Grant for Thesis Research by Humanities Institute (Dumas, Texas) (2005–2006)

AWARDS

Honor and High Honor Lists at METU

MEMBERSHIPS

Middle East Studies Association

G. TURKISH SUMMARY

Doğudaki Hristiyanların himayesi meselesi Fransa açısından tarihi, dini, politik ve ekonomik açılardan önemli bir konu olarak yüzyıllara yayılan bir siyasi faaliyetin temelini oluşturmuştur. Her ne kadar himaye meselesi 19. Yüzyılda uluslararası siyasetin önemli bir tartışma konusu olsa da konunun temelleri çok eskilere dayanmaktadır. Fransa, tarihsel gerçekler ile bir takım efsaneleri harmanlayarak ve ince ince dokuyarak oluşturduğu dini himaye sistemini en son noktada büyük bir diplomatik araç haline getirmeyi başarmıştır.

Fransa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile diplomatik ilişkilerinin başlangıcını oluşturan 16. Yüzyıldaki ilk kapitülasyonlardan itibaren dini himaye de gündeme gelmişti. İlk dönemlerde son derece dar kapsamlı bir içeriği olan himaye konusu ilerleyen yüzyıllarda farklı bir hal aldı. Fransa'nın hem Avrupa'da hem de Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerinde gittikçe artan siyasi gücüne paralel şekilde dini himaye konusu da daha kapsamlı şekilde kapitülasyonlarda ve Fransa-Osmanlı ilişkilerinde yer aldı. 16. yüzyılda, Fransa'nın Kudüs'ü ziyaret edecek Latin Katolikleri himaye etmesine yönelik verilen ayrıcalıkla başlayan süreç önce Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki bütün Latin Katoliklerin himayesine sonrasında ise Osmanlı tebaası olan Katoliklerin üzerinde himaye iddiasına dönüştü. Fransa, yüzyıllar içinde dini himayeyi başarılı bir şekilde Doğu politikasının bir aracı haline getirmeyi başardı. Dini himayenin sağladığı ayrıcalıkları kullanarak siyasi ve ekonomik kazanımlar da elde etti.

Fransa'nın gerçek anlamda Doğu'daki Hristiyanlarla ilgili bir himaye hakkına sahip olmasını sağlayan süreç 1535 yılında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan elde ettiği kapitülasyonlarla başladı. Bu kapitülasyon anlaşması Osmanlı ve Fransa arasında daha sonra yapılacak pek çok anlaşmanın ilki olması bakımından önemliydi. Belirtmek gerekir ki Fransa Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Kapitülasyonları elde eden ilk devlet değildi. Ancak Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Fransa'ya verdiği kapitülasyonlar ilerleyen yıllarda kapsamı ve uygulanması açısından diğer ülkelere verilenlerin çok önüne geçmiştir.

Esas itibarıyla Fransa'ya verilen ilk kapitülasyonlar çok büyük oranda dönemin ticari ve siyasi atmosferinin bir sonucuydu. 15. yüzyılın sonlarına doğru hız

kazanan Coğrafi Keşifler ve yeni ticaret yollarının bulunması Akdeniz ticaretini henüz sınırlı bir şekilde de olsa 16. Yüzyılın başından itibaren etkiledi. Mısır'ın 1517'deki fethiyle Akdeniz ticaretini çok büyük oranda elinde tutan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu bunu canlı tutmak istiyordu. Bu açıdan ticareti canlandıracak kapitülasyonlar verilmesi uygun görünüyordu.

Siyasal açıdan bakıldığında ise Avrupa'nın 16. Yüzyılın başındaki son derece karmaşık siyasal atmosferi bir kapitülasyon anlaşmasının yapılmasında etkili oldu. İki tarafın birbirinden elde etmeyi umduğu faydalar Osmanlı ve Fransa arasında bir anlaşma için zemin oluşturmuştu. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Avrupa'daki en önemli rakibi olan Kutsal Roma-Cermen İmparatorluğu'na karşı Fransa ile iyi ilişkiler kurma fikrini benimsedi. Fransa da bu dönemde Kutsal İmparatorluk ile çok ciddi bir çatışma halinde olduğu için Osmanlı İmparatorluğu gibi bir müttefike sahip olmayı çıkarları açısından uygun buldu. Kapitülasyonlar da bu yakınlaşmanın bir sonucu olarak Fransa'nın isteği üzerine verildi.

9. Charles (r. 1560–1574) Muhteşem Süleyman'ın vefatı ile hükmünü kaybetmiş olan kapitülasyonları yeniden elde edebilmek için girişimlere başladı. İstanbul'daki Fransa Büyükelçisi Claude du Bourg'un çalışmaları neticesinde 1569 yılında 2. Selim tarafından yeni bir kapitülasyon anlaşması yapılması kabul edildi. Bu kapitülasyonlar esas olarak 1535 tarihli kapitülasyonların tekrar tasdik edilmesi anlamına geliyordu. Dini konularda, Fransa'nın himayesinde Kilise'nin Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bulunan Katoliklere hizmet vermek üzere misyonerler göndermesine izin verildi

16. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından Fransa'ya son kapitülasyonlar 1597 tarihinde verildi. Bu dönemde Fransa tahtında 4. Henri (r. 1589–1610) bulunuyordu. Bir süre içerdeki karışıklıklar ve din savaşlarıyla uğraşan 4. Henri yönetimde istikrar sağladıktan sonra daha aktif bir dış politika izlemeye başladı. Bu doğrultuda İstanbul'daki Fransa Büyükelçisi Comte Savary de Brèves'i görevlendirerek yeni bir kapitülasyon anlaşmasının yapılmasını istedi. Elçinin çabaları sonucunda 1597 tarihinde 3. Mehmet (r. 1595–1603) Fransa'ya yeni kapitülasyonların verilmesini onayladı.

1597 tarihli kapitülasyon Katoliklerin himayesi hakkında önceki kapitülasyonlardan daha kapsamlı yeni bir hüküm içermiyordu. Ancak Fransa,

Katolikler lehine girişimlerini kesmedi. Elçi Brèves'in girişimleriyle İstanbul'da Saint Francesco Kilise'si yeniden açıldı ve Katoliklerin haklarının korunması için çalışmalar yapıldı. Fransa'nın üstlendiği hamiliğe karşılık bir jest göstergesi olarak İstanbul'daki Katolik din adamları Pazar ayinlerinde Fransa elçisine onur konuğu koltuğunu verdiler. Bu durum Fransa'nın Katolikler nezdindeki ayrıcalıklı konumunun bir göstergesi olarak bundan sonra da devam etti.

16. yüzyılın genel bir değerlendirmesini yaptığımızda, Fransa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda kapitülasyonlar yoluyla önemli kazanımlar elde ettiğini görüyoruz. Bu kazanımlar çok büyük oranda ticaretle ilgiliydi. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hakim konumda olduğu Doğu Akdeniz'de ticareti canlı tutmak istiyordu. Kapitülasyonlar sayesinde doğrudan doğruya Fransa'nın Osmanlı Katolikleri üzerinde bir himayeye sahip olduğu şeklinde bir iddiada bulunmak ise mümkün değildir.

16. Yüzyılda yapılan ilk kapitülasyon anlaşmaları doğrudan dini ve siyasi himaye konularını içermiyordu. Ancak anlaşmalarda yer alan bazı hükümler ileriki dönemlerde bunun yolunu açacaktı. Özellikle Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda bulunan Latin Hristiyanların ve Kudüs'e gidecek hacıların güvenliğinin sağlanmasına yönelik ifadeler himaye iddialarına zemin teşkil etti. Kapitülasyonlarla Fransa'ya yeni konsolosluklar açma izninin verilmesi ve bu konsoloslara verilen geniş yetkiler ilerleyen dönemlerde himaye sisteminin yerleşmesinde büyük rol oynadı. Fransa Krallarına bağlı olanların Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda hukuki anlamda büyük ayrıcalıklara sahip olması hatta hemen tümüyle Osmanlı hukuk sisteminin dışında tutulması anlayışı ilerleyen dönemlerde ciddi sonuçlar doğurdu. İlk kapitülasyonlar sonraki dönemlerde gerçek içeriklerinin çok ötesinde yorumlanarak Fransa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki geleneksel haklarının ve himayesinin bir kanıtı olarak sunuldu.

Fransa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda dini konularda önemli ayrıcalıklara sahip olması ve Latinler üzerinde gerçek anlamda bir himayeye sahip olmasının 17. yüzyıldan itibaren söz konusu olduğu söylenebilir. 16. yüzyıl kapitülasyonlarının biraz zorlama ile dini himayeye olanak sağladığı iddiasının aksine 17. yüzyılda bu konuda daha açık hükümler Fransa ve Osmanlı arasındaki

anlaşmalara konu olmuş ve Fransa bu konudaki iddialarını çok daha açık şekilde ortaya koymuştur.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan 1597'de kapitülasyonlar elde etmiş olan 4. Henri Osmanlı tahtının yeni sahibi 1. Ahmet'in (r. 1603–1617) 1604 tarihinde kapitülasyonları yenilenmesini sağladı. Bu anlaşmayı Fransa adına elde eden büyükelçi ise François Savary, Comte de Brèves, idi. Daha önceki kapitülasyonların hükümlerini tekrar eden bu anlaşmada öncekilerde olmayan şekilde açıkça dini himaye hükümleri de yer aldı. Kapitülasyonların 4. maddesine göre Fransa Kralının ve Fransa Kralının dostu ve müttefiki olan diğer Hristiyan hükümdarların tebaaları Kudüs'teki Kutsal Yerleri ziyaret etmek hususunda serbest olacaktı ve kendilerine hiçbir tecavüzde bulunulmayacaktı. 5. maddeye göre ise Kudüs'te oturan ve Kamame Kilisesi'nde ayin icra eden rahipler burada tam bir emniyet ve huzur içinde oturacaklar ve istedikleri yere seyahat edebilecekleri. Bunların emniyet ve huzuru ise garanti altına alınacaktır.

Kapitülasyonlarda Kudüs ve Kutsal Yerlerde bulunan Hristiyanların haklarından ve himayesinden açık şekilde bahsedilmesi Fransa açısından önemli bir kazanımdı. Kapitülasyonlarda bahsi geçen Hristiyanlar ise Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda bulunan Latinleri ifade ediyordu. Bu şekilde Fransa, Osmanlı ile doğrudan ilişkisi olmayan Vatikan'ın da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki doğal temsilcisi durumuna gelmiş oldu. Bundan sonraki dönemlerde Latinlerle ilgili bütün meselelerde Fransa'nın devreye girmesinin önü de açıldı. Özellikle kapitülasyonların 5. maddesi Fransa tarafından Doğu Katoliklerinin hamisi olma iddialarının temelini teşkil etti. Fransız elçiler bu madde çerçevesinde özellikle Kudüs'te Saint Sepulcre Kilisesi'nde bulunan din adamlarının ve Kudüs'e giden hacıların rahatça seyahat edebilmesi ve korunması için sıklıkla devreye girdi.

Fransa'nın Latinler üzerindeki himayesinin geliştiğinin bir göstergesi olarak daha önce İstanbul'a yerleşme izni elde etmiş olan Cizvit misyonerler, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun değişik yerlerinde faaliyet gösterme iznini 4. Henri'nin talimatları ve büyükelçinin çalışmalarıyla elde etti. 1608'de Cizvitlerin Fransa büyükelçiliğinde çalışan din görevlileri olarak tanıtılması ve bu şekilde İstanbul'a gelmeleri sağlandı. Bunların sorumluluğu Cizvit rahip François de Canillac'a verildi. Ayrıca 1609

tarikhinde Canillac, Saint-Benoit Manastırı'nı geri aldı ve Cizvitler Suriye, Ermenistan, İran, Ege Adaları, Makedonya ve Kırım'a gönderildi.

Fransa'nın artan siyasi ve dini rolünün Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na yönelik yansımaları da oldu. Fransa kapitülasyonların ve diplomatik sonucu olarak elde ettiği kazanımları daha etkili şekilde kullanmaya başladı. Bu açıdan 14. Louis (r. 1643–1715) iktidarından itibaren Fransa dini himaye meselesini daha aktif bir şekilde kullanmaya başladı. Özellikle, 14. Louis tarafından Marunilere hitaben 1649 yılında yazılan mektup dikkate değerdir. Bu mektupta, Maruni Patriği ile başta Lübnan olmak üzere her yerdeki bütün Marunilerin Fransa'nın himayesinde oldukları güçlü bir şekilde vurgulanıyordu. Bu himayenin etkin bir şekilde uygulanması için de başta İstanbul'daki büyükelçi olmak üzere Doğu'daki bütün limanlardaki Fransız konsolos ve yardımcı konsoloslara gereken talimatların gönderildiği bildirilmekteydi.

14. Louis'in Marunilere yönelik mektubu bir yönüyle Fransa'nın Haçlı Seferlerine ve 9. Louis'e dayandırdıkları himaye iddialarının yeniden canlandırılmasıydı. Fransa, Doğu Akdeniz'de etkinliği artırmak için buradaki Katolik ve Vatikan'a bağlı olan Doğu Hristiyanları ile iyi ilişkiler kurma yoluna gidiyordu. Fransa, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ile yaptığı anlaşmalarla elde ettiği ayrıcalıkları yorumlarken Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki bazı Katolik Hristiyan gruplarının himayesini de üstlendiklerini kabul ediyorlardı.

Fransa'nın iyice artan askeri ve siyasi gücü; Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Polonya ile savaş durumuna gelmiş olması ve siyasi desteğe duyduğu ihtiyaç ve Büyükelçi Nointel'in girişimleri sayesinde Osmanlı yönetimi 1673 yılında yeni bir kapitülasyon verilmesini kabul etti. Fransa büyükelçisi sadrazama kapsamlı bir rapor sunarak talep edilen kapitülasyonlarda bulunmasını istedikleri hususları bildirdi. Bu raporda d'Arvieux'un daha önce 14. Louis'e önerdiği gibi öncelikle dini konularla ilgili talepler iletildi. Bunlar son derece güçlü ve önceki kapitülasyonlarda hiç olmadığı kadar kapsamlı taleplerdi.

Fransa'nın dini konularla ilgili bu talepleri Osmanlı yönetimi tarafından tamamıyla kabul edildi. Böylece Fransa'nın Osmanlı topraklarındaki Katoliklerin hamisi olma iddiası Osmanlı yönetimi tarafından da kabul görmüş oldu. Daha önceki kapitülasyonlarda Fransa'nın himayesi Kudüs'e seyahat eden hacıları ve buradaki bir takım kiliseleri içerirken bu himayenin kapsamı bütün Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki

Katolikleri kapsayacak hale getirilmiş oldu. Yine ilk kez bir kapitülasyonda Fransız ya da Fransa himayesinde olan misyonerlerin faaliyetleri, dini ayinleri ve kiliselerinin tamiri gibi hususlarda izin veriliyor ve bunların takip edilmesi konusunda da Fransız elçi ve konsoloslara yetki veriliyordu.

17. yüzyılın dini himaye açısından genel bir değerlendirmesi yapıldığında, Fransa'nın bu açıdan son derece etkili olduğu söylenebilir. 16. yüzyılda sadece Kudüs'ü ve bazı kiliseleri içeren himayenin çerçevesi 17. yüzyılda iyice gelişti. Fransa, sadece buralardaki Latin Hristiyanlar üzerinde değil Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun değişik bölgelerinde bulunan Osmanlı tebaası Katolikler üzerinde de koruyuculuk iddiasında bulunmaya başladı. Bu son derece önemli bir gelişmeydi ve sonraki dönemlerde Fransa tarafından sıkça vurgulandı. Ancak değişik defalar Fransız elçilerin de belirttiği gibi Osmanlı yönetimi Fransa'nın dini himayesinin kapsamı konusunda Fransa ile aynı yaklaşımı benimsemiyordu ve Fransız himayesinin Latinler ve bunlara ait yerler üzerinde olduğunu kabul ediyordu.

18. yüzyılda Fransa'nın himaye politikasına yönelik ilk hareketi 14. Louis'in Büyükelçi Charles de Ferriol'e Marunilerin sorunlarının çözülmesi için 10 Ağustos 1701 tarihinde yazdığı bir mektupla başladı. 14. Louis mektubunda, Maruni Patriği Etienne'in kendisinden sadece Şam Valisi'ne bağlı olmak, Kralın himayesine sahip olmak ve Trablus Valisi'nin kendilerine müdahalesinden uzak olmak hususlarında yardım talep ettiğini belirterek büyükelçiden bu konuyla ilgilenmesini ve adil ve mantıklı olanın ne olduğuna inanıyorsa onun için elinden geleni yapmasını emrediyordu. 14. Louis bu faaliyetlerin Katolik inancının güçlenmesi ve himayesinin hissedilmesi için gerekli olduğunu da ifade ediyordu.

14. Louis'in iktidarının son zamanlarında 1713 yılında İstanbul'a elçi olarak gönderilen Markiz de Bonnac, Fransa'nın dini himaye politikasının güçlü bir savunucusu oldu. Kendisine önceki elçilere verildiği gibi üç temel görev verilmişti. Bunlar Katolik inancının ve Kudüs'ün korunması; Fransızların Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki ticaretinin korunması ve geliştirilmesi ve son olarak da Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda başta Fransa'nın olmak üzere Avrupa'nın çıkarlarına karşı olabilecek her türlü gelişmeyi ve hareketi engellemektir.

Bonnac'ın dini konularla ilgili en önemli uğraşlarından birisi daha önceki elçilerin yaptığı gibi Kutsal Yerler meselesi ile ilgilenmektir. Ortodokslarla Katolikler

arasında uzunca bir süredir devam eden Kutsal Yerlerde daha fazla hak elde etme mücadelesi devam etmekteydi. Bonnac sorunun tarihçesiyle ilgili 1716'da Paris'e bir rapor sundu. Bu rapora göre başlıca tartışma konularından birisi Kudüs'te Saint-Sépulcre Kilisesi'nde yapılacak tamiratlardı.

Kutsal Yerler meselesiyle birlikte Fransa açısından diğer önemli bir mesele de Fransız misyonerlerin durumuydu. 17. yüzyılda etkinliklerini artırmaya başlamış olan misyonerler 18. yüzyıla gelindiğinde oldukça yaygın ve etkili bir örgütlenmeye sahip olmuşlardı. Bu etkinlik bazı bölgeler de o derece artmıştı ki misyonerlere Müslümanlar kadar diğer Hristiyanlar da şüpheyile bakmaya başladı. Fransa'nın Halep Konsolosu çevredeki limanlarda misyonerlerin sayısının çok arttığını bu nedenle bölgedeki yeni paşanın bu durumdan rahatsız olabileceğinden endişelendiğini belirtiyordu.

Fransa'nın dini konularla ilgili girişimleri açıkça gösterdi ki Fransa kapitülasyonlarla elde ettiği ayrıcalıkları sürekli olarak gündeme getirerek sadece Latinleri ve misyonerleri değil Katolikliğe geçen Osmanlı tebaası Hristiyanları da himaye etme politikası takip ediyordu. Fransa, bu konuda son derece girişken ve kararlı davrandığı için misyonerler karşılaştıkları her sorunun çözülmesi için Fransız büyükelçilerden ya da konsoloslarda yardım talep ediyordu. Ancak bu Osmanlı yetkililerinin kendi tebaasından gayri Müslimlere Fransızların keyfi bir himaye uygulamasını kabul ettiği anlamına gelmiyordu. Aksine Osmanlı yönetimi sıklıkla Fransa'nın girişimlerine karşı çıktı.

Fransa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki dini himaye politikasına ve etkinliğine karşı Avrupa'da 18. yüzyılın ilk yarısında bazı rakipler de ortaya çıkmaya başladı. Bunların başında Katolik bir güç olarak Avusturya ve Ortodoks bir güç olarak Rusya geliyordu. Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun uzun yıllar boyunca rekabet içinde olduğu Avusturya özellikle Karlofça Anlaşmasından (1699) itibaren bu rekabette öne geçmişti. 1718 yılında imzalanan Pasorofça Anlaşması ile bu durum daha da kuvvetlendi.

Fransa'ya karşı ortaya çıkan diğer bir rakip ise Rusya idi. Rusya, 1774'te Küçük Kaynarca Anlaşması ile resmiyet kazanan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki Ortodoksların hamisi olma iddiasını bu şekilde başlatmış oldu. Bu durum ilerleyen

dönemlerde başta Kutsal Yerler meselesi olmak üzere Fransa ve Rusya'nın sürekli karşı karşıya gelmesine neden oldu.

Fransa'nın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerinde artan gücünün ve etkinliğinin zirvesini ise Fransa'ya 1740 yılında yeni bir kapitülasyon verilmesi oluşturdu. 1740 kapitülasyonları Fransa'ya ekonomik, siyasi ve diplomatik alanlarda büyük kazanımlar sağladı. Bu kapitülasyonlar daha önceki kapitülasyonlarda yer alan Fransa'ya ait bütün ayrıcalıkları teyit etmekle kalmadı bu ayrıcalıkların kapsamını yeni maddeler ekleyerek genişletti. Bir diğer husus olarak da önceki kapitülasyonlarda belirtilmeyen bir şekilde anlaşmanın 84. maddesine göre kapitülasyonlar sürekli hale getirildi.

Fransa'nın ve Katoliklerin Kutsal Yerlerle ilgili hakları 1740 kapitülasyonu ile güçlü bir şekilde garanti altına alınmış oldu. Dini anlamda Katolik Kilisesi için önemli bir başarı olan bu gelişme Fransa açısından ise kendi himayesinin, çıkarlarının ve onurunun tescillenmesi anlamına geliyordu. Her ne kadar Fransa Katolikler lehine büyük kazanımlar elde etmiş olsa da belirtmek gerekir ki Kutsal Yerlerde tam anlamıyla bir Katolik hakimiyeti sağlanamadı. Kutsal Yerlerdeki Katoliklere ait ibadet yerlerinin sayısı sınırlıydı.

18. yüzyılın ortalarına gelindiğinde Fransa'nın Doğu Hristiyanları üzerindeki etkisinin artmasının yanında Fransız misyonerlerin etkinliği de Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda oldukça ciddi bir boyuta ulaşmıştı. İstanbul, İzmir, Suriye, Lübnan ve Filistin başta olmak üzere birçok yerde misyonerler faaliyet içindeydi. Ancak Fransa'da yaşanan bazı önemli gelişmeler Doğu'daki himaye siyasetini de etkiledi. Bu gelişmelerden ilki Fransa'da Cizvitlerin faaliyetlerinin yasaklanması (1764) ve yerlerine Lazaristlerin yerleştirilmesine (1780) karar verilmesiydi. Bu durum Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Fransız misyonerlerin faaliyetlerini bir süre için ciddi şekilde sıkıntıya soktu. Doğu'da Fransız misyonerlik faaliyetleri büyük ölçüde Cizvitler tarafından temsil ediliyordu. Bunların faaliyetlerinin yasaklanması ve yerine gelen Lazaristlerin yerleşmesi sırasında misyonerlik faaliyetleri durma noktasına geldi

Fransa'da 18. Yüzyılda yaşanan en önemli gelişme ise 1789 yılında gerçekleşen Fransız Devrimi oldu. Devrim sonrasında Fransız yönetimleri ve Kilise arasındaki ilişkiler büyük yara aldı. Fransa'da Kilise ve misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin

yasaklanması ile Fransa'nın Doğu'daki dini himayesi de bir süre için durma noktasına geldi. Bundan sonra dini himaye meselesi farklı bir yola girdi.

Fransa'nın 18. yüzyılda himaye sistemine genel bir bakış Fransa'nın büyük bir aşama kaydettiğini gösterir. 17. yüzyılda ve özellikle bu yüzyılın son çeyreğinden itibaren güçlenen himaye sistemi son derece etkili bir şekilde devam ettirildi. Fransız misyonerlerin sayısı büyük ölçüde arttı ve Osmanlı tebaası arasında da etkili olmaya başladılar.

Fransa'da her anlamda köklü değişikliklere neden olan Fransız Devrimi dini kurumları ve misyonerleri de derinden etkiledi. Fransa'da Eski Rejim'in bütün kurumlarına karşı ortaya çıkan tepki Kilise'ye karşı da gösterildi. Kiliselere ve din adamlarına karşı geniş çaplı bir saldırı söz konusu oldu. Kilise mallarının yağmalanması ve din adamlarının öldürülmesi ya da sürülmesi gibi olayların yanında Ruhban Sivil Yasası, anayasaya bağlılık için yemin zorunluluğu, Vatikan'a karşı emirler din adamları için büyük sıkıntılar yarattı.

Fransa'daki bütün bu gelişmelerden Doğu'daki misyonerler de şüphesiz etkilendi. Fransa'da Kilise'ye karşı uygulanan baskılar ve Kilise'nin hamisi olarak görülen Kral'ın önce tutuklanması ve sonradan idamı gibi gelişmeler Katolikler arasında yeni yönetime karşı çok ciddi bir tepkinin ortaya çıkmasına neden oldu. Fransa yönetimi açısından da ortada başka bir sıkıntı vardı. Bir yandan ülke içinde Kilise karşıtlığı son hızla devam ederken diğer tarafta da Fransa'nın uluslararası alanda gücü ve çıkarları açısından son derece yararlı olan dini himaye geleneğinin korunması gerekiyordu.

Devrim yönetimleri sırasında İstanbul'da görev yapan Fransız büyükelçiler Verninac ve General Aubert du Bayet Fransa'nın himayesinin devamı için devrede oldular. Fransız Yönetimi kendilerinden hem Latin din adamları üzerindeki himayeyi devam ettirmelerini ve Lübnan'daki Hristiyanların sükûnetinin sağlanması hususunda Osmanlı yönetimi nezdinde çalışmalarda bulunmalarını istedi. Bu talepler, büyükelçiler tarafından uygulandı. Hatta General Bayet, Direktuar'ın talimatı olmaksızın Fransa'nın bütün konsolos ve konsolosluk temsilcilerine bir talimat göndererek kendilerine kapitülasyonlardan doğan bütün ayrıcalıkların korunmasının Doğu'da görev yapan bütün temsilcilerin görevi olduğunu hatırlattı. Ayrıca bu bölgelerdeki kiliselerin ve kiliselere devam eden Hristiyanların

korunmasının da bu ayrıcalıkların bir parçası olduğunu bildirdi. Büyükelçi ibadetlerin rahatça yapılabilmesi ve “söylemleri ve faaliyetleri Cumhuriyet kanunlarına aykırı olmayan” din adamlarının faaliyetlerine müdahale etmeden güvenliklerinin sağlanması için gayret gösterilmesini Fransa’nın diplomatik temsilcilerinden istiyordu.

Napolyon döneminde Fransa’nın Doğu Hristiyanları ve misyonerler üzerindeki himaye politikası genel anlamda Fransız İhtilali ile ortaya çıkan büyük zararı mümkün olduğunca ortadan kaldırmaya yönelikti. Fransa’da devrimle ortaya çıkan kilise karşıtlığı dalgasının dış politikada ortaya çıkardığı tahribat önceden görülmüş ve bu konuda önlem alınmaya çalışılmıştı. Napolyon ise imparatorluğu elde etmesinden sonra bunu biraz daha ileri götürmeye çalıştı. Hem içerde hem de dışarıda dini bir araç olarak kullanmayı hedefliyordu. Fransa’nın Doğu’daki misyonerlere ve Hristiyanlara yönelik eski hamiliğini yeniden canlandırma girişimleri bu düşüncenin bir ürünüydü.

Fransız Devrimi sonrasında Fransa’nın Doğu’da misyonerler ve Hristiyanlar üzerindeki himayesinin durumu değerlendirildiğinde bir geriye gidiş olduğu görülür. Devrimin, Eski Rejimin kurumlarına yönelik düşmanlığından Kilise de büyük oranda etkilendi. Çok sayıda kilisenin kapatılması ve mallarına el konulması, dini cemaatlerin yasaklanması ve sert laik uygulamalar Fransa’da dini alana büyük bir darbe vurdu. Bu durum dünyanın her tarafındaki Fransız misyonerleri doğrudan etkiledi. Fransa’dan gelecek maddi ve insani kaynağa ihtiyaç duyan misyonerler merkezlerinin faaliyetlerinin durmasıyla zor durumda kaldı. Bu durumdan Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda faaliyet gösteren misyonerler de olumsuz etkilendi. Öyle ki neredeyse tümüyle Fransız bir karaktere sahip olan İstanbul’daki Lazaristler 1793’te Fransa himayesinden çıkarak Avusturya himayesine girme kararı aldı. Misyonerlerden başka Doğu Hristiyanları ve Kutsal Yerler üzerindeki Fransız himayesi sıkıntıya girdi.

Bütün bu olumsuz gelişmelere rağmen Fransa, dini himayenin sağladığı siyasi prestijin farkındaydı. Fransa Doğu’da sahip olduğu ekonomik ve siyasi ayrıcalıkların tehlikeye girmesini istemedi ve pragmatik bir politika takip etti. Fransa içinde dini kurumlara karşı kampanya devam ederken Osmanlı İmparatorluğundaki diplomatik temsilcilere dini himayeyi devam ettirmeleri yönünde

talimatlar gönderildi. Hatta Napolyon döneminde misyonerlere yeniden bütçeden ödenek ayrılması mümkün oldu. Ancak 1815'te Fransa'da monarşinin tekrar kurulmasına kadar Fransa'nın dini himaye konusundaki etkinliği zayıf kaldı.

Fransa, 1814–1815 yıllarında yaşadığı yenilgiler ve Napolyon yönetiminin sona ermesiyle yeniden siyasi bir sıkıntıya girmesine rağmen dini himayeye dayalı gücü Türkiye'de devam etti. Fransa'daki Restorasyon'dan sonra Félix de Beaujour Doğu'ya genel bir teftişe gönderildi ve buralarda Fransa'nın dini himayesinin etkinleşmesi için neler yapılabileceğini araştırdı. İstanbul'daki yeni büyükelçi Markiz Rivière ise Kutsal Yerlerdeki Latinlerin haklarını savunmak için girişimlerde bulundu. Paris'ten verilen talimata göre kendisinden Kutsal Yerleri ve Doğu'da Latinlere ait bütün dini yapıları koruması altına alması isteniyordu.

Napolyon'un iktidarı kaybetmesinden 1848 Devrimi'ne kadar geçen sürede Fransa'nın Doğu'ya ve dini himayeye olan ilgisi konjonktürel olarak değişti. 1830'larda Mısır Sorunu'nun derinleşmesi ve Mısır'ın Suriye'yi işgali Fransa'nın bölgeye olan ilgisini yeniden artırdı. Bu süreçte Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na ve diğer Büyük Güçlere karşı Mısır'ın yanında yer alan Fransa'nın bölgedeki etkinliği de arttı. Başta Maruniler olmak üzere bölgedeki Katolikler ve Katolik misyonerler Fransa'nın etkinliğinden faydalandı. Maruniler siyasi ve ekonomik kazanımlar elde ederken misyonerler faaliyet alanlarını ve kurumlarını genişletme fırsatı buldu.

Fransa 1848'de yine bir devrim ile sarsıldı. Monarşi yıkılarak Üçüncü Cumhuriyet kuruldu. Fransa'daki bu rejim değişikliğine rağmen Katolikliği himaye rolünü terk etmedi. Cumhurbaşkanı olan Louis Napolyon, Fransa'da Kilise ve Katolik din adamları ile yakın ilişki kurdu. Bu yakın ilişki ilerde Louis Napolyon'un imparatorluğuna Kiliseden büyük bir destek verilmesine de katkı yaptı. Fransa'nın yeni yönetimi uluslararası alanda da aktif bir politika benimsedi. Bunun bir parçası olarak dünyanın her yanında misyonerlik faaliyetleriyle birlikte Osmanlı topraklarındaki misyonerler desteklendi. Ayrıca Üçüncü Cumhuriyet yöneticileri kendilerini Doğu Hristiyanlarının özellikle de Lübnan'da Marunilerin hamisi olarak gördü. Bu girişimler Doğu'da Fransa'nın Mısır Sorunu sonrasında azalan prestijini yeniden artırmayı amaçlıyordu.

Fransa'nın Doğu politikasında dini konularla ilgili rakiplerinden birisi olan Rusya benzer şekilde dini himayeyi Ortodokslar üzerinden uygulamaya çalışıyordu.

İki taraf arasındaki en önemli tartışma konusu şüphesiz Kutsal Yerler Sorunuydu. Geçmişi eskilere dayanan bu sorun önceleri Fransa himayesindeki Katoliklerle Osmanlı Ortodoksları arasındayken 1774 Küçük Kaynarca Anlaşması ile Rusların Ortodokslar üzerinde kazandığı himaye hakkı ile Fransa ve Rusya arasında bir soruna dönüştü.

Osmanlı yönetimi iki taraf arasındaki statükonun korunmasını istiyordu. Ancak Latin rahipler ısrarlı bir şekilde Fransa'nın devreye girmesi için çaba harcadı. Fransa 1850'de verdiği bir ultimatomla Kutsal Yerler Sorunu'nu yeniden gündeme getirdi. Fransa ve Rusya arasında kalan ve dengeleri korumaya çalışan Osmanlı yönetimi sorunun çözümü için 1852 yılında bir komisyon kurulmasına karar verdi. Bu komisyonun kurulmasına Fransa öncülük etmişti. Osmanlı, Latin ve Ortodoks temsilcilerinden oluşan karma komisyon Latinlerin ve Ortodoksların ellerinde bulunan bütün belgelerini inceleyerek bir çözüme varacaktı.

Ne Latinler ne de Ortodokslar Kutsal Yerlerin 1740'tan önce kendilerine ait olduğuna dair bir belge sunamadı. Ancak Komisyonun çalışmaları Latinlerin hak iddialarının çürütülemeyeceğini gösterdi. Komisyonun çalışmalarının çıkarlarına aykırı olacağını anlayan Rusya olaya müdahil oldu. Rusya'nın Ortodoksların Kutsal Yerlerdeki haklarını Latinler aleyhine savunma girişimi diplomatik bir krize neden oldu. Rusya'nın olağanüstü temsilcisi Mençikof, 1853 yılında İstanbul'da yürüttüğü faaliyetler ve verdiği ultimatomla Rusya'nın dindaşları üzerindeki himayesini resmi hale getirmeye çalıştı. Rusya'nın taleplerinin Osmanlı yönetimi tarafından reddedilmesi üzerine patlayan savaşta Fransa ve İngiltere Rusya'ya karşı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yanında savaştı.

1853–1856 yılları arasında gerçekleşen Kırım Savaşı, dini himaye konusunu nasıl siyasi ve stratejik meselelerle iç içe geçebileceğinin güçlü bir örneği oldu. Bu aslında Fransa'nın yüzlerce yıl boyunca Osmanlı İmparatorluğu üzerinde takip ettiği politikanın özetiydi. Siyasi ve ekonomik çıkarların korunması için diplomatik üstünlük ve prestij son derece önemliydi. Bunlar çok uzun soluklu politikalarla kazanılabilecek ayrıcalıklardı. Fransa, Doğu'da uzun çabaların sonucu elde ettiği ve pratik olarak kullandığı himaye sisteminin bir anda çökmesine izin veremezdi. Kırım Savaşı'nda bunu gösteren Fransa, savaş sonrasında da dini himayesini devam

ettirmek için çabalarına devam edecekti. Ancak değişen şartlar yeni imkânlarla beraber yeni mücadeleleri de beraberinde getirecekti.

Katolik misyonlar doğaları gereği uluslar arası karaktere sahip oluşumlardı. Bu misyonların nihai olarak bağlı oldukları merkez Vatikan ve Vatikan tarafından Dünya'nın dört bir yanındaki misyonerlik faaliyetlerini idare etmek için kurulan Propaganda Fide idi. Bu nedenle dünyanın her tarafındaki Katolik misyonlar teorik olarak her millettten misyonere açık bulunuyordu. Ancak pratikte ise bazı misyonlar büyük ölçüde homojen olarak kalabiliyordu. Bu durum dünyanın her yanına yayılmış misyonlarda bölgesel olarak da farklılık gösteriyordu. Bu açıdan Suriye misyonlarına ve özellikle de Cebel-i Lübnan, Beyrut, Trablus, Sayda gibi Lübnan'daki misyonlara bakıldığında Fransız misyonerlerin ağırlığı dikkat çeker. Pek çok durumda bu misyonerler Fransız diplomatik temsilciler tarafından Fransız olarak tanımlarken onlar da kendilerini Fransız olarak tanımlamışlardı. Fransız yöneticilerin ya da diplomatların söylemleri dikkate alındığında en genel tanımıyla Fransızca öğreten ve Fransa'dan maddi destek alan bütün misyoner kurumları Fransız kurumu olarak değerlendiriliyordu.

Fransız diplomatların misyonerlerin ne ölçüde Fransız kimliğine sahip olduğu konusunda sıklıkla değerlendirmeler yaptığı görülür. Bu değerlendirmelerde misyonerler Beyrut Başkonsolosu Sienkiewicz Fransa'nın Doğu'da kuracağı yeni konsolosluklarda kullanabileceği görevlilerle (agents) ilgili görüşlerini bildirdiği yazısında Cizvit ve Lazarist misyonerler arasında Fransa açısından bir karşılaştırma yapmıştı. Başkonsolosun ifadesine göre Fransa'nın Suriye'de etkin bir şekilde yararlanabileceği iki cemaat Cizvit ve Lazarist cemaatleriydi. Cizvitleri daha iyi öğretmenler olarak nitelendiren Başkonsolos onların yakın bölgelerde görevlendirilmesinin uygun olacağını ifade ediyordu. Cizvitlerin kısmen uluslar arası bir karakteri olmasına vurgu yaparak konsolosların denetiminden uzak bölgelerde görevlendirildiklerinde kesin bir şekilde sahip olmaları gereken Fransız karakterlerini unutabilecekleri ve bunun istenmeyen sonuçlar doğurabileceğini ifade ediyordu. Buna karşın Başkonsolos, Lazaristlerin eğitim alanında Cizvitlerden geri olmasına rağmen tamamıyla Fransız karaktere sahip olduklarını bildiriyordu. Bu nedenle uzak bölgelerde daha fazla güvenilir olacaklarını vurguluyordu.

Fransa açısından gerçek Fransız misyonerlerin Lazaristler ve onların kadın kolları FC olduğu sıkça dile getirilmiş bir iddiaydı. Fransa'nın Doğu'daki misyonerlik faaliyetlerinden Cizvitleri dışlayarak Lazaristlerin tek temsilci olması için çaba gösterdiği buna karşılıksa Roma'nın Cizvitleri desteklediği ve Doğu Hristiyanlarının mentorluğunu "en eğitilmiş ve Roma'nın çıkarlarına en saygılı olan" Cizvitlere vermeyi tercih ettiği de vurgulanıyordu. Beyrut Başkonsolosu Petiteville Lazaristleri misyoner cemaatleri içinde "en Fransız olanı" olarak değerlendirmişti.

Doğu'daki misyoner kurumlarının Fransız karakterinin bir başka göstergesi de kendilerine düzenli bir şekilde Fransa tarafından yapılan maddi yardımlardı. Bu kurumlar eğer Fransa'nın kültürel ve diplomatik çıkarlarına hizmet ediyorsa desteklenmeleri de gerekiyordu. Fransa hem İmparatorluk hem de Cumhuriyet dönemlerinde misyoner kurumlarını desteklemeye devam etti. Bu desteği yaparken misyoner kurumları açık bir şekilde Fransız kurumları olarak değerlendirildi. Örneğin 1890 yılında Fransa Parlamentosunda bir sonraki yılın Dışişleri Bakanlığının bütçesi ile ilgili yapılan çalışmalarda "Doğu'daki Fransız kurumlarına yapılacak bağışlar, okullara yardımlar ve farklı inançlara (rites) yardım" için 520.000 bin Frank ayrılması önerilmişti. Muhafazakâr milletvekili Jules Delafosse Parlamenta hitabında Doğu'da hizmet veren dini kurumların hem Fransızca öğretmeleri hem de hayır işleri yapmaları nedeniyle Fransa'ya büyük hizmetleri olduğunu ifade ederek yapılacak yardımların artırılmasını öneriyordu. Milletvekilinin "Doğu'daki dini kurumlarımız" şeklinde tanımlaması bu kurumlarının Fransız karakterine yönelik de açık bir vurguydu. Radikal milletvekili Douville-Maillefeu de kadın-erkek olması ya da hangi kıyafeti giydiği fark etmeden dini cemaatlerin hepsinin Fransız ismine kesin bir bağlılık gösterdiğini ifade ederken Katolik cemaatlerin Suriye ve Filistin'de oynadıkları Fransız rolüne saygısını sunuyordu. Milletvekillerinin vurguladıkları ortak nokta ise Doğu Hristiyanları arasında Fransa'ya duyulan saygının ve Fransızcanın yaygınlaşmasında Fransız misyonerler büyük rol oynamasıydı.

Fransa'nın genel olarak dini himaye meselesine özel olarak da misyoner kurumlarının himayesine bakışı son derece pragmatikti. Fransa açısından 1870 yılına yani imparatorluğun sona ermesine ve 3. Cumhuriyet'in ilan edilmesine kadar zaten bir problem söz konusu değildi. Fransız İmparatorluğu genelde ülke içinde de Kilise

ile oldukça iyi ilişkiler içindeydi. Fransız Devrimi başta olmak üzere siyasi kriz anlarında ciddi sıkıntılar yaşayan Kilise Louis Napolyon'un imparatorluğu döneminde yeniden toparlanma ve güçlenme fırsatı bulmuştu. Buna paralel olarak Fransız misyonlarının etkinliği de iyice artmıştı. Buna mukabil Napolyon yönetimi de aktif dış politikası ve emperyalizmi açısından misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin önemini görmüş ve desteklemişti.

1870 yılında Almanya-Fransa Savaşı'nda yaşanan ağır yenilgi ve sonrasında Fransa'da imparatorluk rejiminin çökmesi Kilise açısından yeniden bir krizin habercisiydi. Yeni Fransız Cumhuriyeti kısa sürede Fransa'da Kilise karşıtı bir tutum takındı. Her ne kadar misyonerler monarşi yanlısı bir hassasiyete sahip olsalar da bu durumu açıkça ifade etmekten uzak durdular ve her fırsatta Fransa'ya olan saygılarını ve vatanseverliklerini bildirdiler. Gerek diplomatik yazışmalar gerek misyonerlerin yazışmaları bu yaklaşımı kanıtlayan ifadelerle doludur. Ancak bu yaklaşım misyonerler açısından Fransa'da yaşadıkları acı tecrübelerinden alınan bir ders olarak görülebilir.

1880 yılında kabul edilen laik yasalarla Fransız yönetimleri ve misyonerler arasındaki ilişkiler yeniden ciddi bir teste tabi tutuldu. Bu yasalarla Fransa'da Kilisenin ve misyoner cemaatlerin eğitim faaliyetleri çok ciddi bir yara aldı. Daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi misyoner okullarında görev yapan pek çok öğretmen Fransa'yı terk ederek başka ülkelere gitmek zorunda kaldı. Ancak Fransa yurt dışındaki Fransız misyonerleri desteklemeye devam etti.

Fransa'nın misyoner kurumlara yönelik bu şekilde açık bir destek sunması emperyalist kaygılar ile açıklanabilir. Fransa'nın çıkarları açısından misyonerlerin oynayacağı rolün önemi büyüktü. Emperyalizmin politik ve ekonomik yönü yanında kültürel bir tarafı da vardı ve misyonerler burada önemli bir konuma sahipti. Diğer bir ifadeyle misyonerler Fransız emperyalizminin yumuşak gücünü temsil ediyordu. Misyonerlerin faaliyetleri Fransız yöneticiler açısından en genel tanımı ile “medenileştirme misyonu” kapsamında görülüyordu. 19. yüzyıl emperyalist söyleminin güçlü bir argümanı olan “medenileştirme misyonu” Fransız yöneticiler tarafından da vurgulanıyordu. Başbakan Jules Ferry 1885'te “üstün ırkların aşağı ırkları medenileştirme görevi” olduğunu açık bir şekilde vurgulamıştı. Buna dayanarak yurt dışında görev yapan Fransız eğitimciler “Fransa'nın medenileştirici

dehasını ve aşağı ırklara yönelik medenileştirme görevlerini” yücelttiler. Bu görevi yerine getirmede en önemli araç da şüphesiz her tarafta açılan Fransız okullarıydı. Fransız yönetimlerinin Fransa içinde 1880’de sert laik yasalarını dışarıda uygulamamasında bu anlayış etkili olmuştu.

Yukarıda bahsi geçen ifadeler, Fransız politikacı ve bilim adamı Paul Bert tarafından 1885 yılında dile getirilen “laiklik bir ihraç ürünü değildir” vecizesinin genel bir anlayış olarak Fransız devlet adamları arasında kabul gördüğünün bir kanıtı olarak görülmelidir. Yine de misyonerler ve Fransız yönetimleri arasındaki ilişki 3. Cumhuriyet döneminde hiçbir zaman kolay olmadı. Ülke içinde katı bir laiklik anlayışı ile ülke dışındaki menfaatler arasında kurulması zor olan bir denge her zaman söz konusuydu. 1900’lerin başında Dünya’daki bütün Katolik misyonerlerin beşte üçü Fransız’dı. Bu Fransa’nın dünyanın her tarafındaki siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel çıkarları için önemli bir gücü ifade ediyordu. Ancak yine bu dönemde 1901 ve 1904 yıllarında dini cemaatlerin Fransa’daki faaliyetlerini çok ciddi şekilde engelleyen kanunlar kabul edildi. Bu nedenle kadın ve erkek yaklaşık 30 bin misyoner Fransa’yı terk etmek zorunda kaldı.

Fransız yöneticiler içerde laik okullar açarken ve misyoner okullarını büyük oranda kapatırken diplomatik temsilcilerine misyonerlerin korunması ve desteklenmesi yönünde kesin talimatlar göndermeye devam ediyordu. Örneğin Lazaristlerin Fransa’daki merkezi ve birkaç kurumu dışında bütün faaliyetleri engellenirken Dışişleri Bakanlığı Şam’daki konsolosa Lazaristlerin faaliyetlerinin ortadan kaldırılmasının düşünülmediği bildirilmişti. Hatta 1904 yılındaki düzenlemelere karşın Fransız yönetiminin Lazaristlere yaptığı yardımlarda herhangi bir azalma olmamıştı.

Bu ikili durum Fransa içinde sürekli bir politik tartışma konusu oldu. Fransız aşırı solu laikliğe aykırı bulduğu için ülke dışındaki misyonerlerin desteklenmesine karşı çıkıyordu. Öte yandan misyonerlerin Fransız çıkarlarına sağladığı avantajları vurgulayıp onlara destek verilmesi gerektiğini savunanlar vardı. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu 1903 yılında *Revue des Deux Mondes*’taki makalesinde misyonerlerin “ücretsiz ve pasif bir enstrüman” olarak Dünya’nın her tarafında Fransa’ya hizmet ettiklerini ve Fransız ruhunu, fikirlerini, dilini ve edebiyatını yaydıklarını

vurgulamıştı. Bu durumda ona göre “ruhban karşıtı politika Fransa için bir ulusal intihar politikasıydı”.

Misyonerler ve Fransa arasındaki ilişkilerin dinamikleri son derece karmaşık bir karaktere sahipti. Dönemsel ve bölgesel olarak bu ilişkilerin karakterinde ciddi değişiklikler olduğunu mutlaka göz önünde bulundurmak gerekir. Ancak Fransa açısından misyonerlerin kolonyal çıkarlar açısından işlevsel görüldüğünü ve bu çerçevede genel olarak faaliyetlerinin desteklendiğini belirtmek gerekir. Bu çerçevede Fransa Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda faaliyet gösteren Fransız misyonerleri destekleme konusundaki politikasını ülke içindeki tartışmalara rağmen korumaya devam etti. Fransız kültürünü ve eğitimini yaymak üzere Osmanlı topraklarına gelen laik misyonları da destekleyen Fransa, misyonerleri hiçbir zaman göz ardı etmedi. Misyonerler özellikle Doğu Akdeniz’de 19. Yüzyılının ikinci yarısından itibaren artan uluslararası rekabette önemli bir araç olarak görüldü.

Batı emperyalizminin altın çağı olan 19. Yüzyılda misyonerlerin oynadığı rol böylesine bir bilinci dayatıyordu. Misyonerler yaymakla görevli oldukları Katolikliğin yanında “temsil ettikleri” anavatanlarının çıkarlarının da savunucusu konumundaydılar. Yani sadece Tanrının değil Fransa’nın da hizmetindeydiler.

Misyonerlerin Fransa’ya en büyük hizmeti emperyalist çıkarlara sunacakları yardımla mümkün olabilirdi. Fransa’nın emperyal çıkarları açısından misyonerlerin oynayacağı rolün önemi büyüktü. Misyonerler Fransız emperyalizminin yumuşak gücünü temsil ediyordu. Emperyalizmin politik ve ekonomik yönü yanında kültürel bir tarafı da vardı ve misyonerler burada önemli bir konuma sahipti. Misyonerlerin faaliyetleri Fransız yöneticiler açısından en genel tanımı ile “medenileştirme misyonu” kapsamında görülüyordu. 19. yüzyıl emperyalist söyleminin güçlü bir argümanı olan “medenileştirme misyonu” Fransız yöneticiler tarafından da vurgulanıyordu. Başbakan Jules Ferry 1885’te “üstün ırkların aşağı ırkları medenileştirme görevi” olduğunu açık bir şekilde vurgulamıştı. Buna dayanarak yurt dışında görev yapan Fransız eğitimciler “Fransa’nın medenileştirici dehasını ve aşağı ırklara yönelik medenileştirme görevlerini” yüceltiler. Bu görevi yerine getirmenin en önemli araç da şüphesiz her tarafta açılan Fransız okullarıydı.

Protestan misyonerler de Katolikler gibi Orta Doğu'ya kendilerini üstün değerlerin taşıyıcısı ve İncil'in ve İsa'nın doğduğu yeri ve İncil'de bahsi geçen yerleri barbarlıktan, yozlaşmadan ve hurafelerden kurtaracak görevliler olarak görerek gitmişlerdi. Batı'nın eğitimini ve kültürünü bu coğrafyalarda yaymak, yani buradaki insanları “medenileştirmek” başlıca görevleriydi. Aynı zamanda bu görev, yeni metotlarla ve yeni bir anlayışla yürütülecek bir Haçlı Seferi'ydi. Misyonerler kendilerini “Hristiyan ilerlemesi ve İslami despotizm arasında yaşanan tarihi bir çarpışmanın” bir parçası olarak görüyorlardı.

Orta Doğu oldukça büyük nüfusuna ve çok sayıda Hristiyan'ın yaşadığı bir bölge olmasına rağmen burada hiçbir Protestan misyonerlik faaliyetinin olmaması ABCFM'nin bölgeye ilgisinin doğmasında başlıca etkendi. Pliny Fisk bu bölgede yaşayan insanların Protestanlığa geçirilmesinin Hristiyanlık için büyük bir kazanç olacağını belirtiyordu. Samuel Newell da İslam'ı Hristiyanlığın heretik bir kolu olarak değerlendirerek Orta Doğu'da faaliyet göstermenin verimli sonuçlar ortaya koyabileceğini iddia ediyordu.

İlk misyonerlere verilen talimatlar göz önüne alındığında Misyonerler açısından üzerinde çalışılması planlanan öncelikli dini gruplar Doğu ritlerinden “sözde Hristiyanlar” ve Yahudiler olarak görülüyordu. Ancak misyonerler bölgeye ulaştıklarında Doğu'nun gerçeklerinin hayal ettikleri gibi olmadığını kısa sürede gördüler. Ne Yahudiler ne de bölgenin diğer Hristiyanları yani Protestanların onları adlandırdığı şekliyle “sözde Hristiyanlar” Protestanları çok sıcak karşılamadı. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda geçerli olan İslam hukukuna göre zaten Müslümanlar üzerinde doğrudan bir çalışma yapmaları da mümkün olmadığı için Protestan misyonerler için zor bir süreç söz konusuydu.

Protestan misyonerlerin bölgede etkili olabilmeleri için öncelikle belirli sayıda mensubu olan bir cemaat oluşturmaları gerekiyordu ki bu son derece zor bir görevdi. Bunun için çalışmaya başladıklarında karşılarına hemen Doğu Kiliseleri ve Katolik misyonerler çıktı. 1824–25 gibi Protestanların henüz Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na yeni ulaştığı dönemlerde Protestanların dini metinleri dağıtmalarını yasaklayan bir ferman çıkarılması sağlandı. Özellikle Roma Katolik Kilisesi'ne bağlı Doğu Kiliselerinin mensupları arasında evanjelik öğretilerin yayılmasına karşı hem Katolik misyonerler hem de

patrikler çok ciddi tepki gösterdiler ve din deęiřtirme olaylarına karřı son derece ciddi tedbirler aldılar. Bu tedbirler arasında, dini deęiřtirenlerin ya da Protestan okullarına çocuklarını gönderenlerin řiddete maruz bırakılması ya da toplumdan tamamen dıřlanması gibi uygulamalara sıklıkla rastlanıyordu. Özellikle Maruniler bu konuda son derece katı bir tutum içindeydiler. Bu nedenle Protestanlar, Marunilerin etkili olduęu Cebel-i Lübnan’da ilk dönemlerde güçlü bir zemin kazanamadı. Maruniler gibi Rum Katoliklerin dini liderleri de cemaatlerini çocuklarını Protestan okullarına göndermemeleri hususunda kesin bir řekilde uyarıyordu.

Protestan misyonerler, Lübnan’da yeni inananlar kazanmak için İncil dağıtmayı ve kolej açmayı denedi. Ancak yine Maruni Patrięinin aforoz tehdidini ortaya koyması insanları korkutmak için yeterli oluyordu. Protestanların dağıttıkları kitaplar toplatılıyor ve misyonerler kovuluyordu. Hatta işin geldięi noktada “hiçbir İngiliz Cebel-i Lübnan’da gezemez” olmuştu. Gerek Maruni gerekse Rum Katolik patrikliklerinin Protestan misyonerlere bu kadar kesin bir řekilde karřı olmasında hem kendi cemaatlerini kaybetme korkusu hem de bölgelerindeki Katolik misyonerlerin kesin telkinleri etkiliydi.

Protestan misyonerler, ilk yıllarda yaşadıkları sıkıntılara rağmen çalışmalarını devam ettirdi. Az sayıda misyonerin vaazları ve dağıttıkları İncil ve dięer kitaplarla ciddi bir netice alınamayacaęının görölmesi üzerine, Protestan misyonerler yerel halka ulaşabilmenin en iyi yolunun, belki de tek yolun, eğitim olduęunu gördüler. Son derece katı cemaat kurallarının geçerli olduęu bir ortamda halka iletişime geçebilmeleri için en uygun yol buydu. Fisk, kendisine katılan Paris’te Arapça eğitimi almıř bir oryantalist ve misyoner olan Jonas King ile birlikte Beyrut’a gittięinde halka ulaşmak için buraya özgü yolların kullanılması gerektięini tespit etti. Bunun için eğitim faaliyetlerinde Arapçanın kullanılması ve insanlar ile daha doğrudan bir iletişim sağlanmasının gerektięi anlaşıldı. Bu düşünce ilerleyen yıllarda Protestan misyonerlerinin bölgedeki başarısında çok önemli katkı sağladı.

Katolik misyonerler, Protestanların Hristiyanlar arasında inançlarını ve düşüncelerini yaymak üzere matbaayı etkili bir řekilde kullanmasını yakından

takip ediyordu. Suriye ve Lübnan'daki halkın cehaletinden bahseden bir Cizvit rahip bunun üstesinden gelmek için “medeniyetin büyük bir aracı” olan matbaanın önemini dile getiriyordu. 1860 yılına gelindiğinde Beyrut'ta sadece bir matbaaya sahip olduklarını ve okullara kitap sağlamak konusunda geri kaldıklarını belirtirken buna karşı İngiliz Protestanların yoğun bir çalışma içinde olduklarını söylüyordu. Rahip şöyle devam ediyordu: “İngiltere Protestanlara en hızlı makineleri sağladı. Bu kurum ürettiklerini bütün Suriye'ye yaymaktan geri durmuyor. İngiliz hereşisi matbaa ile şüpheyi yayıyor, inançları sarsıyor ve bu insanların Batı'ya olan bağlılıklarını temelinden sarsıyor...”

1860 olayları sonrasında kısa bir sürede şehrin nüfusunun yaklaşık üç katına çıktığını belirten Katolik misyonerler, burada İngiltere, Prusya ve Amerika tarafından desteklenen Protestanların dini olduğu kadar politik amaçlarla hareket ettiğini ifade ediyorlardı. Çok sayıda açılan Protestan okulları ile mücadele edebilmek için yeni Katolik okullarının açılmasının gerekliliği de vurgulanıyordu. Cebel-i Lübnan'dan yazılan bir başka raporda ise köylerin Protestanlar tarafından tehdit edildiği bildiriliyordu. “Luther ve Calvin'in taraftarlarının çok kalabalık ve çok güçlü” oldukları ve “şeytanın bu işçilerinin” başta Rum şizmatiklerin arasından olmak üzere her gün yeni öğretmenler kazandıklarını ifade ediliyordu. Bu katılımların sebebi olarak ise bu kişilerin düzenli bir eğitim almak istemeleri ve kendilerine ve ailelerine Protestanlar tarafından her yıl ciddi miktarda para ödenmesi gösteriliyordu. Pek çok köyün bu tür öğretmenler tarafından “kirletildiği” ve son zamanlarda da Malaka, Zahle, Beka ve Havran gibi birçok yere sızan Protestanların hem erkekler hem de kızlar için okullar açtıkları bildiriliyordu.

Katolik misyonerler kendilerinin “ter, gözyaşı ve kan ile ıslattıkları yerleri” İngiliz, Amerikan ve Prusyalı Protestanların “işgal etmek” için büyük gayret gösterdiklerini iddia ediyordu. Onlara göre, Kilise'nin kendi mirası olarak gördüğü bu topraklara sızmak için Protestanların kullandığı en önemli araç “Batı medeniyetinin bütün unsurlarını eğitim yoluyla getirdiklerine” halkı inandırmalarıydı. Protestan misyonerlerin çalışma yöntemleri hakkında verdikleri bilgiye göre, Protestanlar eğer bir köye sızabilmişlerse yaptıkları ilk

şey orada ücretsiz bir okul kurmaktı. Bu okullarda görev yapacak öğretmenler yetiştirmek için de kolejler ve öğretmen okulları kuruyorlar ve buralara çoğunluğu şizmatik Hristiyanlardan olmak üzere yerli halktan insanları alıyorlardı. Katolikler, Protestanlarla mücadele edebilmek için yetiştirecekleri rahip ve rahibelere “tam bir entelektüel formasyon” vermeleri gerektiğini anlayarak Roma ile birtakım önlemler alınması konusunda anlaşmışlardı.

Ülkede artan dini toleransın bütün inançları cesaretlendirdiği ifade edilerek Anglikan rahiplerin İngiltere’nin bayrağı altında ilerledikleri, İngiliz ve Amerikan konsolosları tarafından desteklendikleri vurgulanıyordu. Ayrıca Protestan misyonların göz alıcı bir zenginliğin prestiji ile kuşatıldıkları ve İncil derneklerinin her birinin Katoliklerinkinden dört kat daha fazla kaynak elde ettiği belirtiliyordu. Bunlarla mücadele edebilmek için her Protestan okulunun yanına bir Katolik okulunun açılmasına izin verilirse ve kendilerine yapılan yardımlar artırılırsa “bütün Hristiyanların geleceğinin kurtarılacağı” ifade ediliyordu.

Katolik misyonerler açısından Protestan misyonerlerin faaliyetleri arasında en rahatsız edici olan şüphesiz eğitim faaliyetleriydi. Protestanların Suriye’ye girmelerinden sonra Cebel-i Lübnan’ın her yanına okullar açtıkları ifade ediliyordu. Protestanların en aktif olduğu bölgelerde, Maruni piskoposlar ve rahipler bu faaliyetleri engellemek için Katolik misyonlarla birlikte hareket ediyordu. Özellikle bölgedeki Cizvit Semineri “eğitimli ve çalışmaları içselleştirmiş rahipler yetiştirerek” Marunilerin Protestanları uzak tutma çabasına destek veriyordu. Mücadelede kilise okullarının önemini vurgulayan Katolik misyonerler, halkın bulundukları yerlerde başka alternatif olmadığı için çocuklarını Protestan okullarına gönderdiğini ifade ederek her tarafa Katolik okulları açılması gerektiğini bildiriyordu.

Katolik ve Protestan misyonerler arasındaki rekabette üstünlük sağlamak için her türlü çabanın harcandığını ifade etmek mümkündür. Rekabetin konularından birisi de yerli misyonerler tarafından işletilen okullardı. Bunlar daha önce başta Fransızlar olmak üzere Avrupalı misyonerlerin yanında yetişmiş olan yerli misyonerler tarafından yerel halk için açılan okullardı. Bu okullar yabancı okul statüsünde değildi ama Katolik

misyonerlere bağılı olarak çalışıyordu. Katolik misyonerler, Lübnan'da yerel halk nezdinde yeterli ilgiyi göremeyen Protestanların kendilerinin bu çalışmalarını engellemek için Türk Yönetimine bu misyonerlerin Fransa'nın Lübnan'daki casusları olduğı yönünde şikayette bulunduğunu iddia ediyordu. Bu konuda daha önce de Genel Vali'nin İstanbul'dan okulların kökeni ve verdiği eğitim hakkında iki defa bilgi aldığı bildiriliyordu. Bu okullarda görev yapan yerli halktan misyonerlerin de bu tür durumlarda sıkıntıya düşmemek için; okullarının kendi piskoposlarına bağılı olduğı ve öğretmenlerin de yerli rahipler olarak öğrencilerine dini eğitim verme hakkı olduğunu her yerde ilan ettikleri vurgulanıyordu.

20 Kasım 1912 tarihli bir yazışmada Fransız Konsolosluğu *Progrès* adlı bir gazetede yayınlanan *La France en Syrie* adlı bir makalenin özetini Dışışleri Bakanlığı'na iletti. Bu makale Suriye'de ve Doğı'da İngiltere'nin gittikçe artan etkisine karşın azalan Fransa etkisi hakkında oldukça çarpıcı değerlendirmeler yapıyordu. Fransa'nın Doğı'daki etkinliğinin yıllarca misyonerler ve okullar üzerindeki himayesinden kaynaklandığı ifade edilirken bu politikanın 1906 yılından itibaren değıştiğı ifade ediliyordu. Fransa laik misyonların bütçesini artırırken Doğı'daki dini himayesini terk etmeye ve misyoner okullarını desteklemeyi bırakmaya başlamıştı. Buna karşın komşu Mısır'ın ve Suriyelilerin Amerika'ya göçü sayesinde İngilizce bölgede etkili olmaya başlamış ve Suriye elitleri üzerindeki eski Fransız entelektüel etkisi neredeyse ortadan kalkmıştı.

Bu tespitler büyük oranda Fransa'nın 19. yüzyılın sonlarından itibaren Doğı'da gittikçe artan şekilde misyonerlere olan azalan ilgisiyle doğru orantılıydı. Özellikle Fransa'da 1901 ve 1905 yıllarında benimsenen ruhban karşıtı sert laik yasaların etkisi Doğı'da da yankı bulmuştu. Her ne kadar Fransa, ülke dışındaki ve özellikle Doğı'daki Katolik misyonları himayeye devam ettiyse de eski etkinliğini koruyamadı. Bu durum daha sonra ele alınacağı gibi Fransa'nın diğier Katolik devletlerle ortaya çıkan mücadelenin yanında Protestan misyonerlere karşı da rekabette geri kalmasına yol açtı.

Osmanlı otoriteleri için misyonerlik faaliyetleri her zaman için sorunlu bir alan oldu. Misyonerlerin, Osmanlı tebaasından Hıristiyan topluluklar ve kısmen de

Müslüman üzerindeki çalışmaları, çok farklı dini ve etnik yapıyı bünyesinde barındıran Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki merkezi ve yerel yöneticiler açısından yakından izlenilmesi gereken bir durumdu. Özellikle 19. Yüzyılda, Osmanlı toplumunun sosyal ve siyasal yapısının istikrarlı bir şekilde devam edebilmesi için misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin kontrol altında tutulabilmesi Osmanlı yönetimi açısından bir zorunluluk halini aldı.

Ermeni, Rum, Süryani, Maruni gibi Doğu Hıristiyanları arasında güçlenen Katolik misyonerlik faaliyetleri hem Osmanlı yönetimi hem de cemaatlerini kaybetme tehlikesiyle karşı karşıya kalan Doğu Kiliseleri açısından zaman içinde önemli bir sorun haline geldi. Osmanlı yönetimi geleneksel olarak, geniş dini, hukuki ve eğitimsel haklar tanıdığı patrikhaneler vasıtasıyla Hıristiyan tebaası ile ilişkilerini yürütüyordu. Osmanlı yönetiminin Patrikhaneler ve ruhbanlarla mevcut olan ve karakteri hukuki ve geleneksel uygulamalarla belirlenmiş ilişkileri Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki toplumsal işleyişin sorunsuz bir şekilde devamı açısından önemliydi. Bu durum, hem Osmanlı yönetimi hem de Doğu Kiliselerinin ruhbanları için devam etmesi istenilen bir ilişki biçimini ortaya çıkarmıştı.

Osmanlı yönetimi açısından bakıldığında, Katolik misyonerlerin asli vazifeleri Osmanlı topraklarında ticaret yapan tüccarlara ve Kutsal Yerleri ziyaret eden hacılara dini hizmet sunmaktan ibaretti. Ancak, zaman içinde görüldüğü üzere misyonerler faaliyetlerini bununla sınırlandırmadı. Farklı mezheplerden Hıristiyan topluluklar Papa'nın önderliğini tanımaya ve Katoliklik inancını benimsemeye teşvik edildi. Bu noktadan itibaren Osmanlı yönetimi, Katolik misyonerleri toplumsal düzen açısından bir tehdit olarak görmeye başladı. Ancak, Osmanlı yönetiminin Katolik misyonerler ve misyonerlik faaliyetleri üzerindeki yaptırım gücü sürekli olarak Fransa tarafından kısıtlandı. Fransız diplomatik temsilcileri, Fransa'nın kapitülasyonlardan doğan himaye hakkını kullanarak Osmanlı yönetimi nezdinde sürekli olarak Katolik misyonerler lehine çalıştı.

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, 19. Yüzyıl'da hızlanan misyonerlik faaliyetlerinin çok canlı olduğu bölgelerden birisi durumundaydı. Farklı faaliyet alanları arasında eğitim Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki başlıca misyonerlik faaliyet alanıydı. Sayıları ve etkinlikleri gittikçe artan yabancı okullar büyük oranda Osmanlı yönetiminin kontrol ve denetiminden uzak bulunuyordu. Bu okulların açılmasında ve

işetilmesinde izlenecek prosedürlerin kesin hükümlere bağlı bulunmaması sıklıkla sorunların ortaya çıkmasına neden oluyordu. Çoğu zaman ruhsatsız şekilde açılan ve eğitim faaliyetlerine başlayan okullar daha sonra ruhsat alma girişimlerinde bulunuyordu. Osmanlı yönetiminin bu gibi durumlarda olumsuz bir tutum takınması durumunda ise misyoner okullarının hamisi durumundaki devletler Osmanlı yönetimine baskı yaparak gerekli ruhsatların alınmasını temin ediyorlardı. Bundan dolayı, Osmanlı yönetimi hem yabancı okulların kuruluşunu hem de faaliyetlerini denetleme isteğindeydi. Bunu gerçekleştirmek adına, İmparatorlukta eğitimle ilgili yapılan geniş kapsamlı bir düzenlemeye bu konuyu da dahil etti. 1869 tarihli Maarif Nizamnamesi'ne eklenen bir madde ile yabancılar ve Osmanlı tebaası gayri Müslimlerin okullarının kuruluşu ve eğitimi denetim altına alınmaya çalışıldı.

Maarif Nizamnamesi'nin 129. maddesine göre, yabancılar ve gayri Müslim tebaa tarafından açılacak okulların öncelikle ruhsat almaları gerekiyordu. Bu ruhsat, vilayetlerde maarif müdürlükleri ve vali tarafından İstanbul'da ise Maarif Nezareti tarafından verilecekti. Yine mezkur maddeye göre, bu okullarda görev yapacak öğretmenlerin diplomalarının Maarif Nezareti ya da maarif müdürlükleri tarafından onaylanması şart koşulmuştu. Bu gibi teknik meselelerin dışında, yabancı ve gayri Müslim okullarda “adaba ve imparatorluk politikalarına aykırı” bir eğitim verilmesi de yasaklanıyordu.

İmparatorluğun son yıllarına kadar yürürlükte kalan Maarif Nizamnamesi Osmanlı yönetiminin beklediği sonuçları vermekte yetersiz kaldı. Osmanlı yönetiminin bu Nizamname mucibince yabancı okulların kurulması ve faaliyetlerinin denetlenmesi yolundaki girişimleri sürekli olarak bir himaye duvarına çarptı. Cevdet Paşa tarafından 1893 yılında 2. Abdülhamit'e sunulan bir layihada, içeriklerinde doğrudan bir hüküm bulunmamasına rağmen hem kapitülasyonlar hem de Islahat Fermanı bahane edilerek yabancı devletlerin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda yabancı okullarla ilgili her türlü kısıtlamaya karşı çıktığı ifade edilmişti. Bu nedenle, eğitim konusuna ve özellikle yabancı okullar konusuna özel bir önem veren 2. Abdülhamit'in bu okulların faaliyetlerin kısıtlanmasına yönelik çabaları kesin bir sonuç vermedi. Okulların dışında misyonerlere ait kilise, hastane ve yetimhane gibi kurumları da 1. Dünya Savaşı'nın başladığı ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarafından kapitülasyonların kaldırıldığı 1914 yılına kadar sayıca artmaya devam etti.

H. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
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Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : GÜL
Adı : SERKAN
Bölümü : TARİH

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : The French Catholic Missionaries in Lebanon
between 1860 and 1914

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☐ Doktora ☒

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